

Immigration and Integration Policy in Switzerland, 1848 to 2014

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Abstract

The regulation of immigration and how immigrants are treated once they settle in a country are fundamental aspects of national policy. Existing descriptions of the developments of immigration and integration policy have either provided a limited snapshot, or relied on the author's subjective assessment of how policies developed over time. In this research note, we provide a systematic and truly historical assessment of immigration and integration policy in Switzerland: between the foundation of modern Switzerland in 1848 and 2014. The most recent MIPEX questionnaire was used to provide a systematic and multidimensional portrait of how immigration and integration policy has evolved in Switzerland. Using these data, we identify three distinctive periods (expansive, restricting, expanding), and argue that the changes in policies reflect the fact that immigrants are increasingly accepted as a permanent feature of Swiss society.

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Keywords: immigration policy, MIPEX, Switzerland, historical, migration

Immigration policies are a fundamental aspect of modern states: they regulate who is permitted to enter a country under what conditions, as well as how immigrants are treated once they are settled in the country. In most modern states, immigration and integration policies have evolved into highly complex legal constructs (Bijl 2012; Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert 2011; Joppke and Seidle 2011; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009), but conceptually this is not necessarily the case.¹ Like in most Western European countries, immigration and integration are highly politicized in contemporary Switzerland – underlining the importance of these policies (Ruedin and D’Amato 2015). Today there are populist and radical right parties across Europe that mobilize on a ticket against immigration, and the Swiss People’s Party (SVP/UDC) is often regarded as one of the most successful examples (Kriesi et al. 2005; Stockemer 2012). In this context it is often asserted that immigration and integration policies are becoming increasingly restrictive (see Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012 for a review of this argument),² although few empirical tests exist.

This is not to say that immigration and integration policies were ignored in the literature: There are legal assessments of immigration law, selective overviews, and subjective assessments. Legal assessments are provided in the *Handbuch Schweizer Politik* (e.g. Lavenex and Manatschal 2014); selective overviews are provided for instance by the *European Union Observatory on Democracy* (EUODO, Achermann et al. 2009) or the *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX) publications (Niessen et al. 2007; Huddleston and Niessen 2011). Manatschal (2011; 2012) similarly offers insights into the large cantonal variation of immigration and integration policies in Switzerland, relying on indicators that are inspired by but not nearly as exhaustive as those used in the MIPEX. Insightful as they are, these descriptions of immigration and integration policies are united in their selective approach: be this by covering an arbitrary or limited time span, not being comparable across contexts, or by not being collected in a systematic manner. Extensive (historical) subjective assessments are provided in Mahnig (2005), Piguët (2004), Niederberger (2004) or Skenderovic and D’Amato (2008). While comprehensive and certainly providing valuable insights into how immigration and integration policies have developed, these contributions are not systematic in their approach and do not provide empirical material to compare the situation across time.

Here we present new data that allow a systematic assessment of immigration and integration policies in Switzerland over time. Using the widely used MIPEX questionnaire as the basis, we track how policies have evolved over time in a multidimensional manner. These data are consistent with Freeman’s advice to avoid treating immigration policies as a cohesive whole (Freeman 2008). By presenting and making available these data,³ we do not intend to question the value of existing material, but seek to complement these contributions with multidimensional data that are strictly comparable over time. We show that to date there have been three periods in the history of Swiss immigration and integration policy – referring to

1 As a concept, integration policies rose to prominence in social sciences only in the 1980s, but alternative terms like immigrant policies or assimilation policies were in use before.

2 Throughout this research note, we refer to *restrictive* and *expansive* policies as ideal types. We follow Givens and Luedtke (2004) and define restrictive policies as strict admission mechanisms, and limited rights and social benefits for immigrants already settled in the country. Similarly, we refer to expansive policies as having few entry barriers, and legal norms that ensure rights and access to welfare under the same conditions than country nationals.

3 The full data are available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/27991>.

them as an expansive period, a restricting period, and an expanding period. Furthermore, we demonstrate that immigration and integration policies as measured by the MIPEX have not become more restrictive in recent years, although the expanding tendency has slowed down markedly or even stalled completely. In this context it seems opportune to highlight that the well known ban on the construction of minarets or the automatic expulsion of criminal foreigners (still awaiting implementation) affect a small number of the many items in the MIPEX despite their large symbolic importance. In our view this highlights a strength of the questionnaire-based approach used here: it ensures that ‘positive’ developments are not forgotten. The political climate at the time of writing, however, does not seem to preclude the possibility of more restrictive policies in the near future.

Data and Variables

In this section, we present the main variables in the new dataset.⁴ We use the 2015 MIPEX questionnaire as the basis (Huddleston and Vankova 2015). The MIPEX captures immigration and integration policy in a multidimensional approach. There are seven dimensions: labour market mobility, family reunion for third-country nationals, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination. Each dimension is divided into four sub-dimensions (see Table 2 in the appendix), and there are a total of 148 items. Most of these items cover integration policies, but there are a few items that capture immigration policies, like access to residence statuses (rather than the security of the status). Each item is a closed ordinal item, coded as 0, 50, or 100 – with 100 being the highest policy standard for equal treatment according to MIPEX, often drawing on policy standards set by the European Union. The way the MIPEX approaches immigration and integration policies, there are strong normative assumptions as to what is ‘best’ for immigrant integration that are not necessarily shared among all social scientists and practitioners. By using the MIPEX questionnaire we emphasize the value of systematic comparison and do not relieve researchers from critically evaluating whether a data source is adequate for a particular problem and to which extent its scores reflect empirical reality. Despite its name, the MIPEX measures policies and not the outcomes thereof: a high score does not necessarily mean high levels of integration. The forthcoming MIPEX study is the latest in a series of now four releases, adding another time point in an expanding database on immigration and integration policies in up to 40 countries in 2004, 2007, 2010, and 2014. For a selection of countries slightly longer time series are available by adding 1995 and 2000 (van der Brug et al. 2015), but like the MIPEX this was done in an interrupted manner. For a better assessment of how immigration and integration policies have developed, the data presented in this research note examine the situation for every year.

While the MIPEX questionnaires offer a multidimensional assessment of immigration and integration policies, it should be borne in mind that they are not all-inclusive. Explicitly, policies regulating the following groups are *not* included: EU immigrants under the provision of free movement of persons, international students, asylum seekers, diplomats, and short-term migrants such as seasonal workers. We are nonetheless convinced that the data presented in

4 With a focus on presenting the new data, this research note is devoid of theory or commonsense statements disguised as theory (see for example Alba and Nee 1997; Brettell and Hollifield 2008; de Haas 2010 for migration theory). Furthermore, the research note is also devoid of methods (unless presenting and interpreting descriptive data are counted).

this research note offer a good picture of how immigration and integration policies have developed in Switzerland.

There are assessments of the reliability and validity of the MIPEX data. Helbling (2013) compared different indicator-based approaches including the MIPEX, and highlighted the high correlation between the different approaches. This is an important test of so-called construct validity (Carmines and Zeller 1979), suggesting that the MIPEX captures the same as other indicators of immigration and integration policy (see also Koopmans 2013). Bijl (2008) outlines different ways to measure immigrant integration policies, mentioning the MIPEX as a valid approach. This assessment seems widely shared given the common use of MIPEX data in the literature (e.g. Meuleman and Reeskens 2008; Dronkers and Vink 2012; DeWard 2013), but the ready availability and relative wide coverage of these data certainly also play a role. Bjerre et al. (2014) compared different measures of immigration policies, but they excluded the MIPEX because it emphasizes integration policies above immigration policies. Ruedin (2011) focused on aspects of reliability and used data from MIPEX II (Niessen et al. 2007) to show that the different domains used in the MIPEX publications are reliable scales, although there is some overlap between domains and data redundancy. For the assessment over time, this data redundancy – items that could be removed without affecting the scale – is likely to be beneficial, because it allows capturing more subtle policy changes.

Over the years, the MIPEX questionnaire has expanded to include new dimensions, and there have been small adjustments to some of the individual items. We have used the most recent version of the questionnaire as the basis to reflect improvements made to the questionnaire over time, and to have a relatively wide conception of immigration and integration policies. During data collection we faced the challenge that some of the 148 items in the MIPEX were simply not relevant or not regulated (at the national level) in earlier times. We resolved these on a case by case basis, determining whether the absence of regulation matches one of the categories in the questionnaire – no regulation can indeed be an indication of a restrictive practice –, or whether no regulation means that the item should be left blank. A full discussion of these instances is available with the data file. As a result, it is conceivable that for individual items a move from no regulation to regulation leads to apparently more restrictive policies. It is important to bear in mind that in such instances day to day practices on the ground may not have changed a great deal. As far as we are able to determine, however, there are few such instances, and none of these has a significant impact on the overall picture or even sub-dimensions. Further research at the level of the cantons is necessary for those interested in the impact of (the onset of) regulation on day to day practices. Such an assessment is clearly beyond the scope of the present research note.

Immigration and Integration Policies since 1848

With a time span of 166 years, it is unsurprising that policy on immigration and integration has changed during the period covered. In Table 1, we highlight key dates in terms of policymaking alongside historical context. The dates are divided into three periods, which will be introduced and justified in subsequent paragraphs. At the same time, a distinction is drawn between three channels of policy-making: federal law, decrees, and popular initiatives (and referendums). In the first period, between the foundation of the federal state and 1921, national immigration and integration policies were regulated solely in the constitution and laws on

naturalization. This reflects the fact that at the time, cantons had their own immigration policies (Skenderovic and D'Amato 2008). In more recent times, decrees are increasingly used, and since 1968 popular initiatives have become a major instrument in shaping immigration and integration policy in Switzerland.

Table 1: Major changes in immigration and integration policy in Switzerland

Historical Context	Federal Law	Decrees	Popular Initiatives
1848 to 1920			
1848 creation of the modern Swiss state	1848 constitution 1874 revision of the constitution 1876 law on naturalizations 1903 law on naturalizations		
1914 World War I 1917 creation of Alien's Police			
1921 to 1973			
		1921 decree on controlling foreigners	
	1931 law on foreigners ANAG/LSEE	1933 decree on settlement of foreigners	
1939 World War II 1950s economic growth and labour shortage	1952 law on naturalization	1949 ANAV/RSEE	
1960s growth of foreign population 1970 more than 1 million foreign citizens			1968 against foreigners (withdrawn) 1970 Schwarzenbach (failed)
1973 oil crisis , Switzerland affected especially in 1975			
1974 to 2014			
			1974 Schwarzenbach
		1986 decree to limit number of foreigners (BVO/OLE)	Between 1974 and 2008: 16 popular initiatives on immigration and the

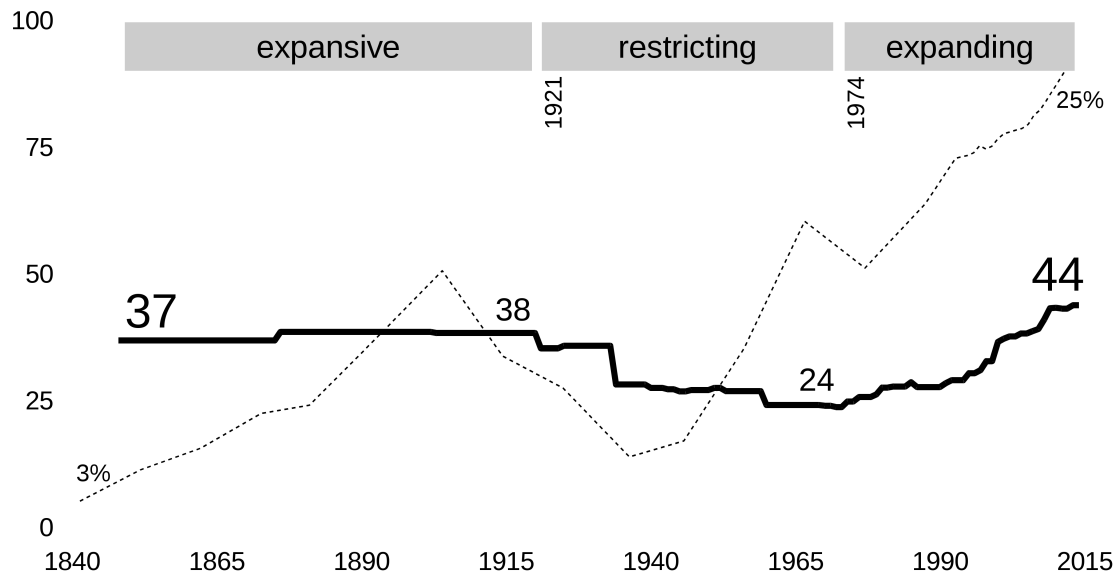
1991 three circles model	1990 law on naturalization		
1998 two circles model	1995 anti-racism law		
	1998 modification of law on foreigners		rights of foreign citizens, as well as 3 referendums (1983, 1994, 2004)
	1999 change of constitution	2000 decree on free movement	
2002 bilateral agreements with EU countries		2000 decree on integration of foreigners	
	2005 new law on foreigners AuG/LEtr	2007 decree on integration of foreigners	2009 against construction of minarets (accepted)
		2007 decree on settlement and labour market access (VZAE/OASA)	2010 automatic expulsion of criminal foreigners (accepted)
			2014 against mass immigration (accepted)

Notes: major events highlighted in bold

The overview of key dates in Table 1 makes it apparent that there is an increasing number of regulations. For reasons of brevity the 16 popular initiatives on immigration and integration and three referendums between 1974 and 2008 are not listed separately. This increasing rate of regulating immigration and integration is also reflected in Figure 1, where the development of the overall MIPeX scores is shown. In Figure 1, the increasing number of regulations translates into a smoother curve with many small changes. For a detailed discussion of the key policy changes readers are referred to more extensive discussions of immigration and integration policy in Switzerland (Piguet 2004; Niederberger 2004; Mahnig 2005; Skenderovic and D'Amato 2008).

Figure 1 shows the average MIPeX scores over time. For the presentation of the data here, we have followed MIPeX methodology strictly. This means that the scores for each sub-dimension are calculated separately, and subsequently aggregated by calculating the mean for each dimension. The overall policy scores are the mean of the dimensions for which a score could be calculated. Based on this aggregate trend, but also based on developments in each of the policy dimensions separately (see Figure 4 in the appendix), we have identified three distinct periods of policy making in Switzerland: the first period is characterized by stability and relatively expansive policies, the second by a trend towards more restrictive policies, and the third by a trend towards more expansive policies.

Figure 1: Immigration and Integration Policies over Time



Notes: Overall MIPEX score (solid black line, left-hand scale) and three periods of policy making: expansive, restricting, and expanding. The share of foreign citizens among residents in Switzerland is given as a fine dotted line for comparison (different scale).

To begin with the first period between 1848 and 1921, Swiss immigration and integration policy has not changed a great deal. There were few changes in policy, and these changes did not change the fundamental principle of free movement. Despite the relatively few changes, the inclusion of this period also serves as a benchmark to interpret subsequent changes and establishing the context. The establishment of an Alien's Police in 1917 ebbed the way for more restrictive policies after World War I. We use 1921 as the cut-off year, because it was the first time when the overall score decreased. In this regard we differ from other accounts that use World War I as the boundary – but we argue that ours is a more precise and empirically founded cut-off for actual changes in policies. Indeed, it should be borne in mind that policies are rarely a precise reflection of historical developments, especially given the time it takes to instigate and implement policy changes. Between 1921 and 1974 almost all policy changes were towards a more restrictive end. With an overall score of 24, the Switzerland of 1974 is equivalent to present-day Turkey (Huddleston and Niessen 2011). Here we differ from accounts that separate out the period between the World Wars because with a focus on policies rather than historical context a distinction seems unwarranted. For the same reasons we draw no distinction between the immediate post-war period and later years. This differs for instance from Skenderovic and D'Amato (2008) where only the years between 1963 and 1973 are counted as attempts to restrict immigration. Figure 1 suggests that the changes between 1963 and 1973 are a continuation of a trend that started earlier.

After the turning point of 1974, policies have become increasingly expansive. It is important to highlight that this expanding trend – like the MIPEX scores generally – does not take into

consideration the situation of EU citizens who since 2002 benefit from free movement provisions. Put differently, the data cover the situation of legally resident immigrants from non-EU/EEA nationals. This trend towards more expansive policies took place at a time where immigration has become increasingly politicized and contested (Ruedin and D'Amato 2015), although we note that this trend has slowed down or even stalled in recent years. In not differentiating this period further, we again differ from existing accounts. As above, the reason for this is a strict focus on policies rather than historical context – like the economic situation, or the countries from which immigrants predominantly come from.

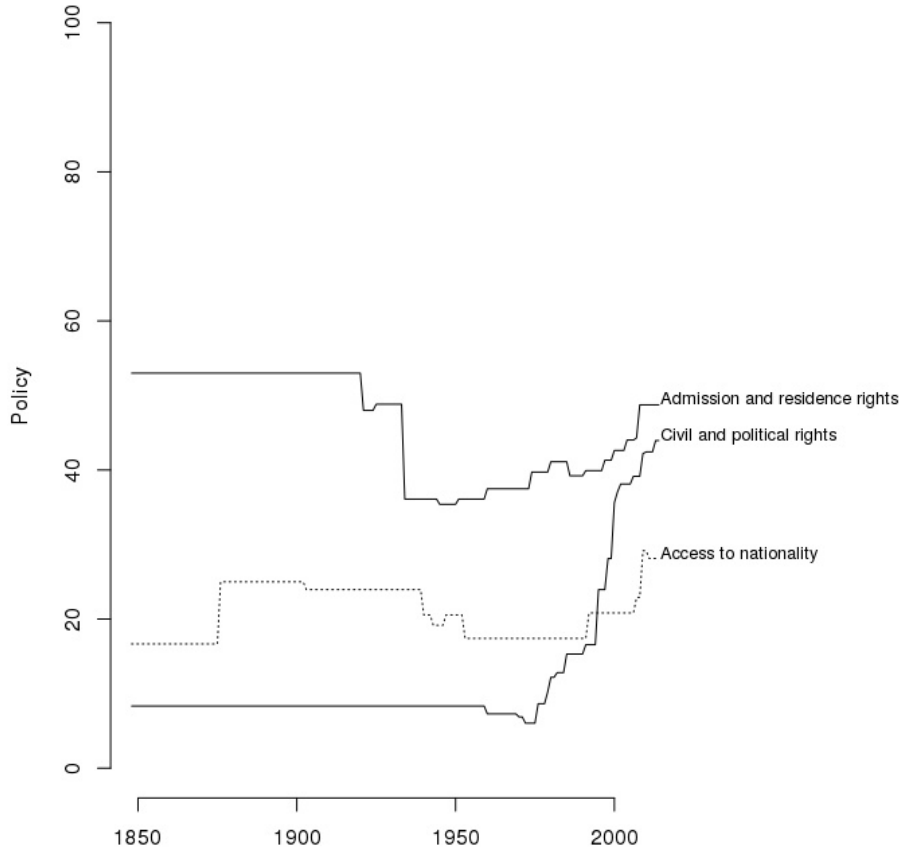
Figure 1 includes the share of foreign citizens among residents in Switzerland to highlight that there is no direct association between the number of immigrants and policies. Such a direct association would exist if the overall MIPEX score would correlate – positively or negatively – with the number of immigrants. Figure 1 makes it apparent that neither association is likely. Particularly the first period is instructive here, given that policies remained relatively stable while the share of foreign citizens increased and then decreased. Furthermore, we note that the share of foreigners had been decreasing well before policies became more restrictive in 1921. It follows that the smaller number of immigrants cannot be solely a consequence of more restrictive policies – which could be expected if integration policies are a pull factor, for instance –, but it is likely to have other causes linked to international and domestic developments. In fact, during the second period the share of foreign citizens increased at the same time as policies tended towards the more restrictive end. During the third period, the share of foreign citizens seems to correlate with more expansive policies, but with the benefit of data covering a wider time span, we can confidently reject a direct causal relationship between the two lines.

Developments in Specific Policy Areas

While the overall score presented in Figure 1 is instructive, it also hides differences in policies. A central quality of the MIPEX approach is that it captures immigration and integration policies in a multidimensional approach (see Gest et al. 2014 for an extensive treatment highlighting the importance of this aspect). In Figure 2 we have grouped the seven dimensions identified in MIPEX into admission and residence rights, civil and political rights – where social rights are also covered, ‘classic’ integration policies that capture admission to participation in society –, and access to nationality. By so doing we maintain multiple dimensions but avoid giving what we consider undue weight to some of the MIPEX dimensions. Obviously, depending on the research question, different ways to group policies may be more appropriate (Ruedin 2015). In this sense, the figure illustrates how the data can be used in a different form than as ‘raw’ numbers, and does not constitute a definitive proposition as to how to weigh the MIPEX data. Figure 2 makes it apparent that admission and residence rights have seen a significant drop in the early 20th century, but have slowly and gradually recovered to reach similar levels to those before the drop. Civil and political rights have developed in a different manner: after a long period during which civil and political rights have not changed, they have increased rapidly since the 1970s. As was the case with admission and residence rights, the increase in policy scores was steady and gradual, marked by many small changes that accumulate to significant changes over time. Access to nationality, by contrast, has evolved in a different manner. We see a marked increase in policy scores in 1871, followed by restrictive changes after World War II. After 1953, access to nationality remained unchanged

until 1992 since when there have been a few changes to increase the policy score to a level slightly higher than we have seen for the period after 1871.

Figure 2: Immigration and Integration Policies in Three Dimensions



Notes: In this figure, the seven MIPEX dimensions were grouped into three. Admission and residence rights were calculated as the mean of the MIPEX scores for labour-market access, family reunion, and long-term residence; civil and political rights were calculated as the mean of the MIPEX scores for education, political participation, and anti-discrimination. Access to nationality corresponds to the MIPEX scores.

When comparing the developments in Figure 2 with the overall scores in Figure 1, it becomes apparent that not all dimensions contribute to the overall trend in the same way. The trend towards more restrictive policies that marks the second period in Figure 1 is a combination of more restrictive admission and residence rights as well as changes in access to nationality. Civil and political rights remained stable at the time and contributed nothing to the outlined changes. By contrast, the trend towards more expansive policies in the third period is shaped by all three dimensions examined here. Admission and residence rights were the first to change, initially offset by restrictions in access to nationality. Since the 1970s, however, the trend in all dimensions has been in the same direction, which indeed makes it warranted to speak of a third period. Recently this trend towards more expansive policies seems to have slowed, and interestingly this is the case in all three dimensions examined. In fact, when

examining Figure 4 in the appendix, we can see that this is the case for six of the seven dimensions identified by MIPEX, with the exception of education.

The changes in policies presented in Figure 2 are a reflection of a fundamental shift in Swiss immigration and integration policy: from accepting and inviting immigrants as workers (but trying to prevent them from staying) to accepting the fact that immigrants are likely to stay (and the view that they should therefore become part of society). Expansive admission and residence rights combined with restrictive civil and political rights are characteristics of the first condition; the rapid increase of civil and political rights is characteristic of the second condition. By examining how policies have evolved over time, we show that it would be misguided to (try to) identify a key event behind this change. Even though in Figure 1 we identify clear boundaries between the three periods, policies have changed gradually, and the dates we have identified mark the beginning of changes that continued for decades. Put differently, the empirical evidence shows a gradual conversion that started in the 1970s. This gradual conversion in the third period led to generally more expansive policies, although admission and residence rights have not increased to match the expansive approach of the first period. The policy changes recorded in all dimensions nonetheless tend towards uniformity: rather than putting the accent on an isolated policy area, trying to change just one aspect of immigration and integration policy, we increasingly see that policy changes affect different dimensions. One result is that the MIPEX scores in the different dimensions are now increasingly similar (standard deviation in 1848: 28 points; standard deviation in 2014: 10 points; see Figure 5 in the appendix). A corollary of this is that immigration policy is increasingly comprehensive and interconnected, something also observed in other European countries that experienced similar patterns of immigration as Switzerland did in the last three decades (Koopmans, Michalowski, and Waibel 2012).

Regulation and Policies

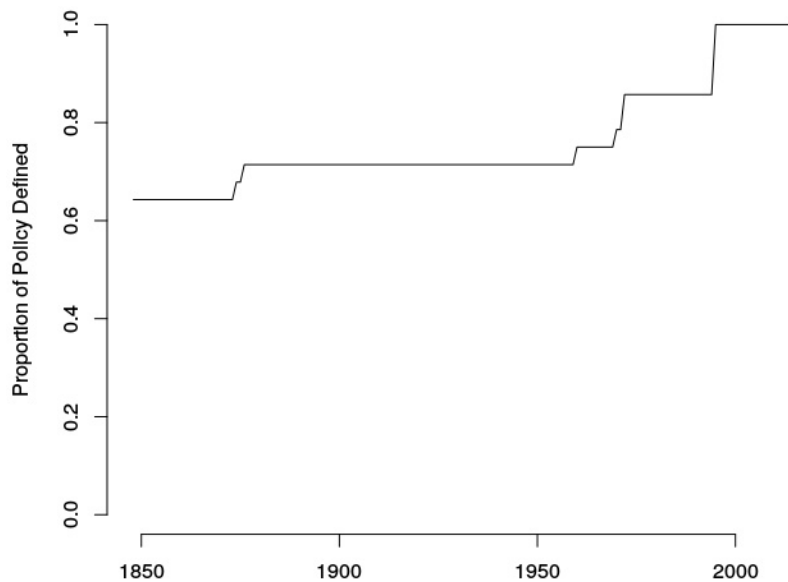
Using the data at hand, we can also examine the nature of regulation and policy change. Rather than focusing on changes in policies, the interest here is on the rate of change and the number of items that are not defined. A higher rate of change means more policy-making, a larger number of items that are defined means more regulation. Recall that in some instances, it was impossible to assign MIPEX scores to individual items because having no regulation simply has no match in the questionnaire and it would have been wrong to assume a restrictive (or expansive) policy. In some instances, cantonal law and practices might have provided sufficient regulation, but a detailed analysis of cantonal law and practices is beyond the scope of this research note. This means that lack of regulation should be read as lack of regulation at the *national* level. At the same time, in other instances, the situation may simply not have required formal regulation, in which case lack of regulation at the national level means lack of *formal* regulation at the national level.

Figure 1 makes it apparent that the amount of regulation has increased: the changes in the overall line are far more frequent in the second and third period. Given that each change in the overall score stands for a change in policy, the many changes demonstrate that immigration and integration are regulated increasingly more often. This is evidence of the topic being high on the political agenda, not only in public discourse (Morales, Pilet, and Ruedin 2015), but also in the legislative and executive. Figure 2 shows that not all dimensions of immigration and integration policy are affected by this increasing rate in policy-making to the same degree. For

instance, access to nationality is changed less frequently than the other dimensions considered, frequently vetoed by referendum if policy making is regarded too expansive as this was the case in 1983, 1994 and 2004. Figure 6 in the appendix provides more direct evidence for the increased rate of policy-making by counting the number of policy domains that changed each year. It is apparent that the rate of regulating immigration and integration has increased particularly after the 1960s. In recent years, on average at least one of the 28 sub-dimensions in the MIPEX has changed every year.

A different approach is taken in Figure 3, where areas of immigration and integration not regulated at the national level are examined. In 1848, just under two thirds of the 28 sub-dimensions considered were regulated at the national level. Since 1995, with the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation, all areas of immigration and integration policy are regulated at the national level to some extent. It is important to bear in mind that even though all 28 sub-dimensions have been defined in recent years, there are still individual items on the MIPEX questionnaire that remain undefined. The federal nature of Swiss policy makes it often difficult to identify a national policy, especially when it comes to integration policies where cantons retain substantive influence (Wichmann et al. 2011).

Figure 3: Proportion of Immigration and Integration Policies Defined



Notes: Immigration and integration policies were divided into 28 sub-dimensions (defined by MIPEX). The line gives the proportion of these sub-dimensions that were reasonably defined at the national level at any point in time.

The increasing rate of regulation can be understood as a form of politicization of the topic. Rather than examining media output as is often done (Kriesi et al. 2012; van der Brug et al. 2015), the legislative activity captured here is evidence that policy is changed – and not merely

in symbolic terms, because symbolic action will not be picked up by an indicator-based approach like the MIPEX. It is also important to note that the increase of regulation outlined here started in the 1960s, long before the Swiss People's Party (SVP/UDC) started to increase its electoral success (Kriesi et al. 2005). If political parties are the drivers behind this increased politicization, it is wrong to point the finger solely at the Swiss People's Party. Chronologically, actions by the National Action and the Republicans are more suited if one believes that a single (series of) event(s) can trigger ongoing politicization like the one outlined here. One would also have to take into consideration the reactions of government, parliament, and other actors like political parties, so the impact of these fringe parties can only be said to be indirect (Skenderovic and D'Amato 2008).

Discussion & Conclusion

In this research note, we have presented new data to capture the development of Swiss immigration and integration policy in a wide and multidimensional manner. Starting with the establishment of the modern state in 1848 and ending in 2014, the data offer a systematic insight into how policies have evolved over time. With seven dimensions, 28 sub-dimensions, 148 indicators, and yearly data, a fine-grained picture is presented how immigration and integration policies have evolved over time. By making these data available to other researchers, we hope to stimulate research because it is now possible to include immigration and integration policies over a long period of time rather than forcedly focusing on the most recent years (due to data limitations). While some researchers will be interested in the historical dimension of the data, others will benefit from the opportunity of focusing on periods theoretically most interesting or the inclusion of counterfactual periods. For instance, it is possible to compare different periods of economic decline, or including periods with decreasing immigrant numbers, or times where (specific) policies become more expansive or restrictive. The systematic approach employed allows a look beyond headline-grabbing policies like the ban on the construction of minarets to capture the wide range of policies that affect the admission and integration of immigrants into society.

By making the data freely available, alongside their full documentation, we do our utmost to help others interested in extending and updating the data in the future. For instance, the data set could be complemented with new issue domains like asylum policies, or with specific developments in cantons – ever so important in Swiss politics (e.g. Vatter, Stadelmann-Steffen, and Danaci 2014). Since the data are available in their disaggregated form, they will be doubly useful for the scientific community. On the one hand, the data can be used as they are – using the MIPEX approach – both as explanatory and dependent variable. On the other hand, it is possible to use the individual indicators in any way that is appropriate for a research project: informed by theory and prior expectations rather than existing presentation (Ruedin 2015). We look forward to seeing these data being used in the academic world.

On the substantive side, this first presentation of the data highlights a few things. First, the three periods of immigration and integration policies identified in subjective assessments by migration scholars in Switzerland have their equivalent in the data. This association validates the subjective assessments and suggests that we should continue to refer to these reference books for understanding the development of Swiss policy. At the same time, there are also refinements and distinctions in some of the subjective assessments that have no

correspondence in the data provided, highlighting the importance of systematic data. Furthermore, this research note demonstrated that there is a clear mismatch between immigrant numbers and related policies, something we were only able to ascertain by covering a long period because in the past few decades the two factors appear to be correlated. Instead of a direct relationship, we argue that the observed changes in immigration and integration policies reflect a fundamental shift: from letting immigrant workers come relatively freely, but trying to prevent them from staying, to trying to prevent immigrants from outside the EU/EEA from coming in most cases, but helping all immigrants to become part of society if they choose to stay for a prolonged period. Recent changes like the – yet to be implemented – automatic expulsion of criminal foreigners and revisions to the law of nationality suggest that a new, more exacting, policy regime may be in the making, but it is too early to tell.

Appendices

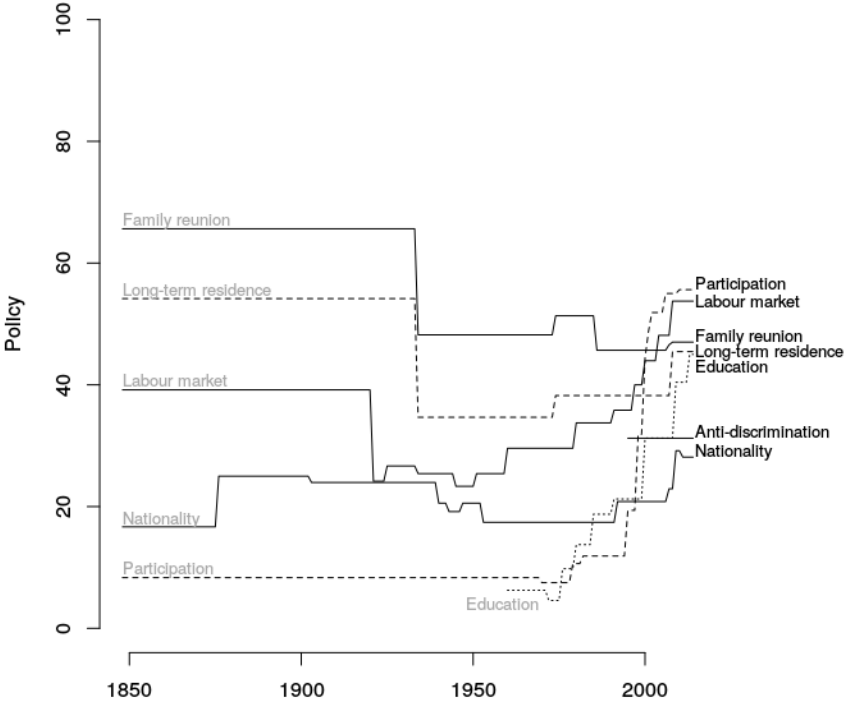
Table 2: Immigration and Integration Policy Dimensions and Sub-Dimensions

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Sub-Dimensions</i>
Labour Market Mobility	Access Access to General Support Targeted Support Workers' Rights
Family Reunion for Third-Country Nationals	Eligibility Conditions for Acquisitions of Status Security of Status Rights Associated with Status
Education	Access Targeting Needs New Opportunities Intercultural Education for All
Political Participation	Electoral Rights Political Liberties Consultative Bodies Implementation Policies
Long-Term Residence	Eligibility Acquisition Conditions Security of Status Associated Rights
Access to Nationality	Eligibility Acquisition Conditions Security of Status Dual Nationality

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Sub-Dimensions</i>
Anti-Discrimination	Definitions and Concepts Fields of Application Enforcement Mechanisms Equality Policies

Notes: After MIPEX

Figure 4: Immigration and Integration Policies by Dimension



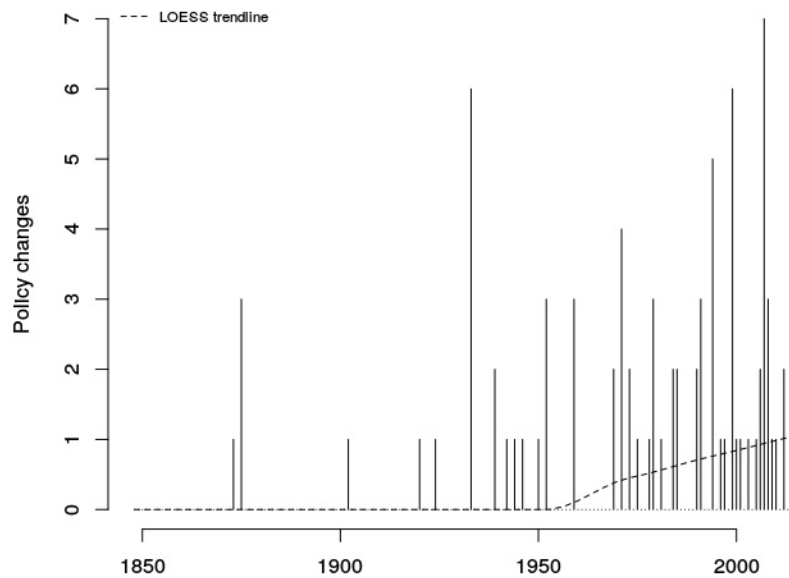
Notes: This figure corresponds to Figure 1, but shows developments in each of the seven dimensions identified by MIPEX.

Figure 5: Standard Deviation in Immigration and Integration Policies



Notes: Standard deviations in the policy scores shown in Figure 4. Scale does not start at zero.

Figure 6: Number of Policy Changes



Notes: Number of policy changes by year. To count policy changes, the four sub-dimensions of each of the seven MIPEX dimension were considered separately; a change at this aggregated level was counted as a policy change. The dashed LOESS trend line has a span of 0.65.

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