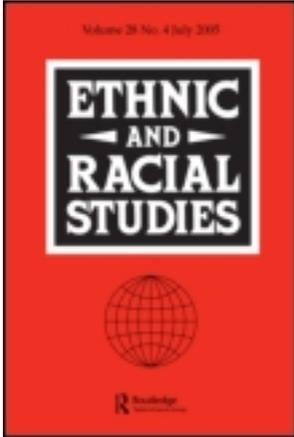


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Path-dependent or dynamic? Cantonal integration policies between regional citizenship traditions and right populist party politics

Anita Manatschal

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Abstract

Immigrant integration policies are commonly assumed to be shaped by traditional understandings of citizenship and belonging. Accordingly, such policy frameworks are considered path-dependent and thus stable over time. The recent surge of radical right anti-immigrant parties in many Western European countries challenges this stability-thesis. Several scholars contend that this change in the party political landscape caused an illiberal turn, resulting in more restrictive integration policies. This paper tests whether integration policies are indeed challenged by radical right parties, or whether they remain path-dependent policy frameworks, using subnational comparative analysis. The results of our cross-sectional regression analysis over twenty six Swiss cantons reveal that cantonal integration policies reflect clear patterns of regional citizenship culture, suggesting that they remain stable policy frameworks. By contrast, the considerable electoral success of the right populist Swiss People's Party (SVP) over the last two decades did not directly result in more restrictive cantonal integration policies.

Keywords: Integration policy; regional citizenship traditions; immigrant sceptic voting behaviour; right populist parties; subnational comparison; Swiss cantons.

Introduction

Among the migration literature, immigrant integration policies are considered stable policy frameworks over time. Such policies are assumed to be influenced by national understandings and traditions of what it means to become a fully integrated member and citizen of a

society. Or, to speak in Favell's (2001b) terms, these policies are said to be shaped by 'public philosophies' of nationhood and citizenship. However, the recent rise of right populist parties in many Western European countries challenges this assumption. Over the course of the last few years, radical right-wing parties have made the immigration issue one of their favourite areas on which they try to distance themselves from mainstream parties. This demarcation strategy not only proved to be effective in terms of electoral gain, but many scholars assume that the rise of radical right parties leads to more restrictive orientations in the field of integration policy.

If it is the case that the success of radical right parties has direct implications on policy making, resulting in more restrictive immigrant integration policies, this would seriously question the thesis of path-dependency commonly attributed to these policies. In light of the recent surge of radical right parties, the central purpose of this paper is to assess whether right populism really challenges established integration policy frameworks, which are commonly assumed to reflect stable, traditional understandings of citizenship and belonging.

Regarding research design and methodology, the present paper applies cross-sectional comparative analyses conducted at the subnational level. This analytical approach allows us to address two important research gaps. Most essential contributions of the migration literature on the topic are qualitative case studies (see Brubaker 1992; Ireland 1994; Favell 2001b). Accordingly, the causal mechanisms underlying the path-dependent evolution of immigration and integration policies have been elucidated by several qualitative analyses. By contrast, quantitative comparative analyses of national integration policies are still scarce. We are primarily interested in measuring these assumed causal effects, and in disclosing systematic and generalizable patterns among subnational units. For this purpose, a quantitative comparative approach seems most appropriate (see George and Bennett 2005). By choosing this alternative methodological approach, the paper potentially contributes to the cross-validation of empirical evidence. The second research gap regards the subnational comparative research design. Subnational units offer the best approximation to a most similar cases setting (Przeworski and Teune 1970). Thus, leading comparativists have long demanded that the results of international comparative research should be verified at the subnational level (see Lijphart 1971). In spite of the acknowledged analytical benefit, and although subnational variations of integration policy are observed in most federal immigration countries, such as the United States (Schmitter Heisler 2001), Canada (Schmidtke 2001), or Germany (Henkes 2008), the subnational analytical level remains largely neglected.

Switzerland's cantonal level is particularly suited to address our research question from a cross-sectional comparative perspective. Lijphart (1999, p. 38) classified Switzerland as one of the 'most federal and decentralized countries worldwide', and therefore explicitly recommends comparative subnational analyses for the Swiss case (Vatter 2002, p. 14). The unprecedented degree of autonomy of Swiss cantons results in a substantial variety of cantonal approaches, a 'heterogeneous puzzle' (Cattacin and Kaya 2005, p. 289) or 'Mini-Europe' (Cattacin 1996, p. 69) of cantonal integration policies (see Ireland 1994; Soysal 1994; D'Amato and Gerber 2005; Lavenex 2006). Similarly, cantons provide considerable variety regarding the independent variables of central interest. As for citizenship traditions, Switzerland's multilingual heritage reflects in varying regional cultural understandings of citizenship. The same holds for the success of the radical right: although the right populist anti-immigrant Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*, SVP) gained seats in all but three out of twenty six cantonal parliaments over the last fifteen years, the party's electoral success varies clearly between cantons. In short, Switzerland's cantonal level facilitates a systematic cross-sectional comparative analysis of the determinants of cantonal integration policies.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 begins with the literature review, from which we derive our hypotheses of integration policies as path-dependent and stable (Hypotheses 1a and 1b), or dynamic and reactive policy frameworks respectively (Hypothesis 2). Section 3 elaborates on operationalization and data for all variables. The empirical results of the cross-sectional regression analyses presented in Section 4 support the path-dependency hypotheses, suggesting that cantonal integration policies remain rather stable policy frameworks over time. At the same time, no direct restrictive effect of the SVP in terms of the party's electoral strength could be accounted for.

Theoretical background

The argument that integration policies reflect historical understandings of the relationship between states and citizens, and thereby constitute relatively stable policy frameworks over time, is shared by several leading migration scholars. Favell (2001b, p. 27), for instance, explains the remarkable stability he attests to integration policy frameworks with their path dependency. Similarly, Brubaker (1992) and Mahnig (2000) refer to deeply rooted, historically established notions of how state and society should relate to each other, in order to explain the persistence and stability of migration related policies such as citizenship and integration policies.

Following this line of thought, national citizenship conceptions are assumed to crystallize in and shape integration policies of the respective countries as either restrictive and assimilationist or permissive and inclusive (see Favell 2001b; Koopmans et al. 2005). The case is slightly more complex in multilingual and thus, multicultural countries, such as Switzerland. Here, we assume that such citizenship conceptions and understandings of nationhood are transmitted by language, and thereby cross national borders. In the Swiss case, this would imply that French-speaking cantons are influenced by France's more inclusive *jus soli* citizenship conception, while German-speaking cantons are exposed to Germany's more restrictive *jus sanguinis* citizenship tradition.

Empirical evidence of such a 'limitrophe' coinage of integration policies in French- and German-speaking Swiss cantons is reported by Cattacin and Kaya (2005, p. 290) or D'Amato (2010, p. 143). An analogous pattern has been observed in another multilingual country, Belgium, where Walloon and Flemish integration policies are said to be influenced by French and Dutch understandings of citizenship (Favell 2001a, p. 382; Ireland 2006, pp. 146–8; Koopmans 2010, p. 6). By contrast, Helbling (2008, p. 93) found no transborder cultural impact considering citizenship conceptions at Switzerland's local level. The comprehensive measurement of cantonal integration policies provided in this paper lends itself to a renewed test of this assumption, as it is outlined in Hypothesis 1a:

H 1a: Influenced by Germany's jus sanguinis tradition, German-speaking cantons exhibit more restrictive integration policies than French-speaking cantons, which are in turn expected to be influenced by France's more inclusive jus soli understanding of citizenship.

While we assume that understandings of citizenship in Swiss cantons are determined by a canton's French or German cultural heritage, this cultural-linguistic heritage alone does not suffice to account for cantonal citizenship conceptions. According to Favell (2001b, p. 28), notions of citizenship need to fulfil two conditions in order to succeed as established, self-producing, and self-justifying public philosophies: they were able to defeat and dominate rival ideas or conceptions of citizenship, and could thereby reach a large and dominant social consensus. Thus, if we speak of cantonal public philosophies of citizenship, we suppose that they are sustained by a larger social consensus. The most immediate way to capture this social consensus is through public opinion or public attitudes towards immigrants and immigrant integration. The assumption that cantonal populations share varying citizenship conceptions and thus attitudes toward immigrant integration is corroborated on a regular basis in

national votes on the topic: Switzerland's French-speaking population is clearly less sceptic towards immigrants, and less restrictive towards immigrant integration than its German-speaking population (see Kriesi et al. 1996; Danaci 2009). Accordingly, Hypothesis 1b captures the supposed effect of citizenship understandings on cantonal integration policies in terms of social consensus, i.e. people's attitudes towards immigrants:

H 1b: Immigrant sceptic public attitudes are reflected in more restrictive cantonal integration policies.

Hypothesis 1b goes in line with Raijman's argument (2010), according to which public sentiments such as exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants may be contagious and could, by being spread, influence government policies. By providing an immediate channel for popular participation, Switzerland's direct democratic political setting seems particularly prone to such an impact of the popular will on policy formulation. Although empirical evidence from Switzerland's local level supports this assumption (Helbling 2008, 2009a), direct democracy turns out to be no necessary condition for the interrelatedness between public opinion on immigrant integration and respective policies. Similar relationships are also reported for non-direct democratic settings such as Spain (Zapata-Barrero 2009), New Zealand (Ward and Masgoret 2008), or more generally the countries of the European Union (Weldon 2006).

At the same time, there is no unanimous consensus on the assumption of integration or citizenship policies as path-dependent and thus stable over time. Based on a contentious and political notion of the naturalization process, Helbling (2008, p. 23) describes the outcome of citizenship policies as the result of permanent political struggles over 'who we are and who belongs to us'. Currently, the stability-hypotheses, postulated in Hypotheses 1a and 1b, are challenged by the rise of radical right parties, which took place in several European countries over the last two decades. Due to their pronounced anti-immigrant agenda, radical right parties are increasingly viewed as important actors shaping policies in the field of immigration (see Helbling 2008; Henkes 2008; Mudde 2008). Kriesi (2006, p. 216) even considers the surge of the radical right as the 'driving force behind the illiberal turn in migration policies in western European countries'. In a similar vein, Giugni and Passy (2006) conceive the radical right as the most imminent threat to the identity and interests of the migrant population.

At a systemic level, one might think of two ways through which a policy effect of the right populist SVP might occur: by way of cantonal parliaments or governments. Party-political influence through the

governmental arena is clearly restricted by broad concordant cantonal governments (see Schmidt 2002). Accordingly, we expect no direct impact of the SVP's governmental share on cantonal integration policies. As for the parliamentary arena, the case seems less clear. Minkenberg (2001) contends that parliamentary presence of the radical right alone does not result in policy effects. Yet, considering the sharp rise of the SVP in certain cantonal parliaments, one could still expect this trend to have an immediate restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies, as assumed in Hypothesis 2:

H 2: A strong parliamentary representation of the SVP coincides with more restrictive cantonal integration policies.

To sum up, Hypotheses 1a and 1b assume that integration policies are mainly shaped by established, path-dependent cantonal conceptions of citizenship, while Hypothesis 2 challenges this stability-thesis. Instead, the second hypothesis suggests that recent changes in the party-political system, i.e. the rise of the right-populist SVP, had a restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies.

Data and research design

The present section explains research design and methodology of the paper, and it elaborates on the operationalization of the dependent variable (cantonal integration policy), as well as independent and control variables.

The design of this study corresponds to a cross-sectional comparison at Switzerland's subnational level with the twenty six Swiss cantons as units of analysis. As for the methodological approach, we applied cross-sectional linear regression analyses. By approaching a most similar systems setting (Przeworski and Teune 1970), we could focus the comparison on the variance of the central variables. At the same time, several context variables such as definition and understanding of integration policy, or the structure of the political system in the cantons could be held constant. A similar degree of comparability is barely reachable in migration studies at the international comparative level, where more often than not the vast amount of control variables poses a serious methodological challenge (Fennema and Tillie 2001, p. 38; IMISCOE 2008).

The dependent variable cantonal integration policy was captured by the current status of the respective policies, covering a period from 2005 to 2008. Obviously, a conceptualization of integration policy should cover all aspects of societal life which are considered essential for immigrant integration. In the scientific, just as in the official debate on the topic, the following areas are commonly identified as

important: civic, political, socio-structural, cultural, and religious aspects of integration (Esser 2001; Wicker 2004; Cattacin and Kaya 2005; Federal Office for Migration [BFM] 2006; Swiss Federal Council 2010). Koopmans (2010), and the more detailed Koopmans et al. (2005), offer a comprehensive conceptualization of integration policy, accounting for all the aspects listed above. Accordingly, our conceptualization of integration policy draws on this internationally established approach, which we transferred to the subnational cantonal level. Koopmans et al. (2005) suggest a two-dimensional typology in order to express inclusivity or exclusivity of integration policies. The two dimensions, along which integration regimes are classified, capture policies addressing 'individual equality', or 'cultural difference' respectively. Each of the two dimensions in turn consists of several components (see Table 1) which are measured by various indicators.

The asterisks after the components in Table 1 show that there are many equivalents for measuring the individual equality dimension at the cantonal level, while there are fewer for the cultural dimension. This is not surprising, as Switzerland is clearly considered an assimilationist country with only scarce concessions to cultural pluralism (Kleger and D'Amato 1995; Koopmans and Kriesi 1997; Koopmans et al. 2005; Skenderovic 2009). The dependent variable cantonal integration policy constitutes an additive index based on the components marked in Table 1 (for details on operationalization and sources of single indicators, see Table 3 in the Appendix).

Table 1. *Measuring integration policy along the individual equality and cultural difference dimensions*

Dimensions	Components
<i>individual equality</i>	labour market access * long term residence political participation * access to nationality * anti-discrimination *
<i>cultural difference</i>	cultural requirements for naturalization * religious rights outside public institutions * cultural rights in public institutions political representation rights (for specific cultural groups) affirmative action (labour market)

Notes: * = Components exhibiting sufficient variation at the cantonal level and accordingly included in the measurement of cantonal integration policies. Most of the components in the cultural dimension are not applicable at the cantonal level. However, this dimension has been amended by an additional component measuring the 'tendency for legal recognition of minorities' religions' in the cantons.

Our hypotheses were tested by the following variables: as we assume that the border-crossing transmission of citizenship understandings occurs via language, we approximate the measurement of our first independent variable, regional citizenship culture, by a language dummy (see Freitag 2006). French-speaking cantons were coded 1, and German-speaking cantons 0.¹ The second independent variable, social consensus on citizenship conceptions, was captured by the extent of immigrant sceptic voting behaviour in a canton. Analogous to Helbling (2008, p. 85f), we chose cantonal rejection rates of a national vote on facilitated naturalization to measure people's citizenship conceptions. Additional models based on survey data were considered in order to test the results obtained with the ballot data. Comparing the ballot results and survey data over the last ten years, they turned out to reflect quite stable exclusionary attitudes of the population towards immigrants over time.² Our third independent variable, the popular support of the SVP, was measured by the SVP's share of the electoral vote in cantonal parliamentary elections.

As previously mentioned, the potential influence of the SVP through the governmental channel is expected to be rather weak due to the cantons pronounced concordant governments. Nevertheless, a dummy denoting SVP participation in government was included in the analysis as a control variable. Further controls were added for the degree of urbanization, since the overwhelming majority of immigrants live in urban areas, and for the cantonal share of immigrants. Assuming a pragmatic approach to the challenge of integration in urban cantons with a higher number of immigrants, both controls are expected to be positively correlated with the dependent variable yielding less restrictive cantonal integration policies. Further details on operationalization and data sources for all variables can be found in Table 3 in the Appendix.

Empirical results

In the remainder of the paper, the hypotheses will be empirically tested. Therefore, we run multiple OLS-regressions for our dependent variable cantonal integration policy.³ One last remark needs to be made regarding the independent variables, as they are not as independent as assumed by the regression models. Hypotheses 1a and 1b represent alternative ways of capturing the citizenship conception prevalent in a given canton. In line with Helbling (2009b), who considers the relationship between culture and individuals as mutually dependent and conditioning, we expect the two variables to be clearly interrelated. A look at our data confirms this assumption: German-speaking cantons and immigrant sceptic voting

behaviour are strongly correlated, with Pearson's r amounting to 0.78, significant at the 0.01 per cent level. In order to uncover insignificant results caused by collinearity of the independent variables, the latter were introduced one by one into the regression analyses, thereby simulating a simple path structure.

In Table 2, the regression results for the comprehensive integration policy index are displayed. Throughout Model 1, as well as Models 5 to 7, regional culture turns out to be a highly significant positive predictor of cantonal integration policies. According to Model 1, the regional factor alone accounts for 49 per cent of the cantonal variance. In line with Hypothesis 1a, French-speaking cantons tend to have more liberal or less restrictive integration policies than German-speaking cantons.

The introduction of the variable 'immigrant sceptic voting behaviour' in Models 2 to 5 leads to negative and significant coefficients, thereby corroborating Hypothesis 1b. People's scepticism towards immigrants is clearly reflected in more restrictive cantonal integration policies. Yet, as expected due to the collinearity of the two independent variables (regional culture and voting behaviour), the introduction of this variable causes the significant regional effect to vanish (see Models 2 to 4).

The third independent variable, support for the SVP, is not related to cantonal integration policies at a significant level, which contradicts our Hypothesis 2 and lends support to Minkenberg's zero hypothesis. As for the parliamentary arena, the presence of the SVP alone does not result in more restrictive integration policies. Finally, neither of the controls introduced into the models (governmental share of the SVP, non-national cantonal population, and urbanization) altered the empirical findings nor did they add to the explained variance (see Models 4 and 7).

In order to address the challenge of insignificant coefficients for regional culture due to high correlation of the central independent variables, three modified models (Models 5, 6, and 7) were calculated. Instead of the results of the popular vote, the average of cantonal answers to the survey item 'same opportunities for non-national and Swiss citizens' was included in the regression. The underlying assumption was that voting against facilitated naturalization emerges from a similar exclusionary attitude towards the integration of immigrants as opting against equal opportunities for Swiss nationals and non-nationals. The results of Models 5 to 7 can be read as a strong corroboration of the preceding findings: not only do they reveal highly significant coefficients for the central variables regional culture and immigrant sceptic attitudes, but both coefficients remain significant through all the models. By this last step, the share of explained

Table 2. *Multivariate OLS-regressions based on comprehensive integration policy index*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Regional culture	0.577*** (0.15)	0.052 (0.13)	0.049 (0.13)	0.039 (0.22)	0.456*** (0.09)	0.402*** (0.11)	0.444** (0.15)
Immigrant sceptic voting behaviour	–	–0.022*** (0.01)	–0.021*** (0.01)	–0.022* (0.01)	–	–	–
Immigrant sceptic attitude	–	–	–	–	–0.026*** (0.01)	–0.025*** (0.01)	–0.26** (0.01)
SVP vote	–	–	–0.002	–0.001 (0.01)	–	–0.004 (0.01)	–0.001 (0.01)
SVP gov.	–	–	–	–0.001 (0.01)	–	–	–0.002 (0.01)
Urbanization	–	–	–	–0.001 (0.01)	–	–	0.002 (0.01)
Non-nationals	–	–	–	–0.003 (0.01)	–	–	–0.008 (0.01)
F-Test	14.81***	23.55***	15.4***	7.64***	46.71***	38.52***	12.39***
R ²	0.49	0.75	0.74	0.74	0.77	0.78	0.8
N	26	26	25	25	26	25	25

Note: Appenzell Inner Rhodes (AI) is the only missing case in the models with the SVP-variable, since there are no parties elected in parliament, no vote-share of the SVP is available; reported values are unstandardized coefficients (t-values in brackets); *: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$; ***: $p < 0.001$; robust standard errors (hc3) were calculated to deal with heteroscedasticity (Long and Ervin 2000); multicollinearity was tested for by the computation of uncentred variance inflation factors (VIF). In all models VIF values were markedly below 5; depending on the source, the critical threshold varies between 5 or 10. See Wooldridge (2009).

variance could be raised from 74 per cent in Model 4 to 80 per cent in Model 7.

Discussion

With the recent surge of radical right parties, the topic of immigrant integration emerged as a top priority on the political agenda of many European countries. As a consequence, many scholars assume that this development led to an illiberal turn of policies dealing with immigration and integration. This assumption, however, challenges the notion of stability and path-dependence commonly attributed to these policies. Based on this controversy, the present paper addresses the question whether the surge of the radical right indeed constitutes a challenge to established, path-dependent integration policies, resulting in more restrictive policy outputs, or whether these policies are resilient to such short term changes in the party political landscape.

The empirical results of our cross-sectional comparative analysis at Switzerland's subnational level show that the surge of the right populist SVP had no immediate restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies. Instead, the empirical evidence reveals that cantonal integration policies reflect established cantonal notions of citizenship and belonging. These findings corroborate the traditional scholarly consensus, according to which integration policies are considered path-dependent and remarkably stable over time (Favell 2001b, pp. 26–8). Furthermore, the empirical evidence presented in this paper offers a strong argument for the transborder influence of citizenship understandings, with cantonal integration policies of French-speaking Switzerland exhibiting many elements of France's *jus soli*, while the policies in the German-speaking part closely correspond to the traditional German *jus sanguinis* type of citizenship. As assumed by the literature, these cantonal notions of citizenship are carried by a larger social consensus: in line with the less restrictive *jus soli* understanding of citizenship, French-speaking citizens are generally less sceptic towards immigrants than German-speaking citizens. As a result, integration policies of French-speaking cantons are clearly less restrictive than policies of German-speaking cantons.

By contrast, the short-term surge of the SVP in cantonal parliaments could not be attested to have any direct restrictive effect. These results confirm Minkenberg's (2001) hypothesis according to which a radical right party's parliamentary presence alone is not enough to yield direct policy impacts. Further comparative studies at inter- or subnational levels are needed to check whether these negative findings regarding right populist party effects are particular to the Swiss specific context, or whether they may be generalized at a larger scale.

However, this does not mean that the SVP's strategy of steady campaigning and mobilization has no effect at all on cantonal policy-making in the field of integration. Rather, a look at the national level would suggest otherwise: over the last two years, Switzerland has adopted two anti-immigrant initiatives proposed by the national SVP, leading to a more rigorous expulsion of criminal immigrants and a prohibition of the construction of Islamic minarets on Swiss soil. For the time being, the party's success in national votes does not recur in cantonal votes. What is more important, an impact of the SVP's veto power in the parliamentary arena is rather expected to occur indirectly (Giugni and Passy 2006, p. 15; Kriesi 2006, p. 218; Skenderovic and D'Amato 2008, p. 225; Skenderovic 2009). Fortified by the party's electoral success, it seems likely that the decisive anti-immigrant agenda of the SVP might appeal to other centrist parties, which in turn see themselves forced to adopt a more decisive position on the topic. In the end, this could result in more restrictive integration policy outcomes. While there is some evidence from cantonal parliamentary debates that such indirect restrictive policy effects occur, more in depth qualitative discourse analyses are needed to analyse such effects systematically.

Subnational variations among integration policies in federal states have long been neglected by scholars of citizenship and migration studies. The present paper shows that a comparative investigation at the subnational level is potentially illustrative by uncovering valuable insights on the determinant forces impacting on the formulation of integration policies. Most notably, the multilingual setting of French- and German-speaking cantons offered a unique opportunity for the systematic test of the assumption of a transnational shaping of integration policies by differing national approaches to citizenship. So far, cantonal integration policies remain amazingly stable and resilient policy frameworks, even in light of an invigorated populist right.

Notes

1. Continuous data (percentage of French-speaking population) did not yield significantly different results. Therefore, the dummy solution was retained.
2. Considering sample restrictions, it is not surprising that the correlations were less stable in the survey data (Pearson's r min. 0.18, max. 0.69***, based on SELECTS '95, '99 and '03). For the variable 'immigrant sceptic attitude', the mean of the three years has been used. The poll data on the other hand reveal very strong and highly significant correlations with the voting data from 2004 (Pearson's $r > 0.8$ ***).
3. For all the regression models, influential cases were identified with cooks-d statistics. An elimination of influential cases (cooks $d > 4/n$) only slightly fostered already significant results. Therefore, all the models are based on the full sample of available cantons.

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Appendix

Table 3. Operationalization of dependent, independent, and control variables

Variable	Operationalization	Sources
<i>dependent variable</i>		
Cantonal integration policy	additive index based on the components listed below	
Labour market access	additive index based on migrants' access to cantonal employment in administration, teaching position, police service, and judiciary	Federal Commission for Migration (EKM), own survey (official documents)
Access to nationality	additive index based on cantonal requirements (fee, period of residence, facilitated procedure, right of appeal) for naturalization	26 cantonal citizenship laws, own survey (official documents)
Political participation	additive index based on cantonal provision of immigrant voting rights (active/passive, cantonal/local, additional requirements regarding period of residence and residence permit)	Federal Commission for Migration (EKM) own survey (official documents)
Anti-discrimination	additive index based on cantonal anti-discrimination regulation in constitution and/or laws	Tripartite Agglomeration Conference (TAK), own survey of cantonal constitutions and laws Achermann (2004)
Family reunion	additive index based on cantonal requirements regarding housing situation and differing criteria for EU- and third country nationals	
Cultural requirements for naturalization	additive index based on cultural integration required for naturalization and cantonal implementation of integration agreements	26 cantonal citizenship laws, Federal Office for Migration (BFM)
Religious rights I	tendency for legal recognition of minorities' religions	Christmann (2010)
Religious rights II	cantonal disposition towards Islamic burials	own survey (official documents)
<i>Independent variables</i>		
SVP vote	electoral support of the SVP in cantonal parliamentary elections	BADAC

Table 3. (Continued)

Variable	Operationalization	Sources
Immigrant sceptic voting behaviour	cantonal rejection rate of national vote on 'regular naturalization and facilitated naturalization for second generation immigrants' from 26 September 2004	Swiss Federal Statistical Office (BFS)
Regional culture	regional dummy denoting Switzerland's French-and German-speaking cantons (1 = French)	own assignment
<i>Control variables</i>		
SVP gov.	dummy expressing governmental participation of the SVP (1 = SVP in government during considered term)	Swiss Federal Statistical Office (BFS)
Urbanization	cantonal degree of urbanization (2001)	BADAC
Non-nationals	cantonal share of non-nationals (2003)	BADAC
Immigrant sceptic attitude	cantonal average of the survey-item 'equal opportunities for non-nationals and Swiss citizens', mean value of the years '95, '99 and '03	SELECTS