

# Assessing the Impact of Exclusionary Citizenship Conceptions on Cantonal Integration Policies

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## **Abstract**

While the surge of radical right parties in western European countries is assumed to yield a restrictive impact on immigrant integration policies, little is known on how exactly such an influence might occur. The situation appears particularly complex at Switzerland's sub-national, canton level. Apart from party influence, exclusionary direct democratic decisions and the broader cultural-linguistic regional background are considered potentially influential factors when it comes to the formulation of cantonal integration policies. The present paper aims at disentangling this complexity by assessing the individual impact of the aforementioned factors. By approximating a most similar cases design, Switzerland's pronounced federalism allows for a systematic comparative analysis of the expected effects. The results of the cross-sectional regression analyses strongly corroborate the assumption that exclusionary direct democratic outputs and cultural-linguistic regional background significantly impact on the respective policies, while no evidence could be found for Switzerland's right-populist Swiss People's Party (SVP) having a similar direct impact.

## **Introduction**

In recent 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. While this demarcation strategy proved to be effective in terms of electoral gain (Giugni/Passy 2006: 15; Kriesi 2005: 45), much less is known on how this strategy affects policy outputs in the field of migration policies. Whereas scholars assume a restrictive impact, systematic empirical evidence on this effect remains scarce. With the surge of radical right anti-immigrant parties in western European countries, this question has become more important, and deserves further investigation. Switzerland is no exception to this rule: over the last two decades, the right-populist anti-immigrant Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*, SVP) has more

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than doubled its electoral share, being now Switzerland's single most important party in terms of electoral strength (Vatter 2008: 9). Based on this broad popular support the SVP claims to be the party that best represents the 'popular will'. Furthermore, Switzerland's extensive direct democracy over all federal levels allows any xenophobic and exclusionary tendencies of this 'popular will' to exert an immediate influence on policy making in the respective fields. Finally, the linguistic and thereby cultural closeness of German- and French-speaking cantons to neighbouring France and Germany is expected to have shaped policies dealing with immigrants at the subnational level.

The lack of systematic empirical studies on the assumed effects may be explained by the complexity of the comprehensive field of migration policies. Switzerland's subnational level allows reducing this complexity by focusing on cantonal integration policies as one specific subfield of migration policy. The country offers a particularly interesting case for a sound comparative investigation of the respective assumptions for at least three reasons. Firstly, the autonomous Swiss cantons display very diverse integration policies. Secondly, the factors of central interest, electoral support for the SVP, exclusionary popular attitudes finding their expression in direct democratic decisions, and the cultural-linguistic context vary considerably among the cantons. Finally, approximating a most similar systems design, the subnational Swiss level affords the opportunity to focus the comparison on these factors of central interest.

In order to test the assumptions outlined above, a definition and operationalisation of cantonal integration policies is needed. In line with international measurements, the theoretical conceptualization of integration policy used in this paper is based on the idea of the immigrant's access to citizenship. The respective understanding of citizenship is a broad one including civic, political, socio-structural, cultural and religious rights and obligations. For the measurement of cantonal integration policies, an internationally established instrument was

transferred to the subnational level. Conceptual shortcomings of this instrument have been modified in order to foster its theoretical coherence.

### **Party-Politics, Popular Will or Culture?**

In spite of a lack of systematic empirical analyses, many scholars assume radical right parties have a restrictive impact on migration policies. Kriesi (2006: 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: 16) conceive the radical right as the most imminent threat to the identity and interests of the migrant population. Helbling and Kriesi (2004: 53) offer empirical evidence from Switzerland’s local level, where they disclosed a restrictive influence of the electoral strength of the SVP on the rejection rate of naturalisation requests. On the whole and compared to other public policy approaches, Henkes (2008: 117) attributes the party-political branch particular importance in the specific field of immigrant integration policies, due to the ideological, rather than material nature of the topic.

According to Mudde (2008: 18), government participation enables radical right parties to exert direct influence on the legislation in the field of migration policies. By contrast, party-political influence through the governmental channel is restricted in Switzerland by broad concordant governments at the national and subnational levels (cf. Schmidt 2002: 183). Therefore, the restrictive impact on migration policies the SVP is assumed to have gained through its growth as a referendum party might be a rather indirect one (Giugni/Passy 2006: 15; Kriesi 2006: 218; Skenderovic/D’Amato 2008: 225).

However, the SVP is not the first party to play the immigration card in Switzerland. The country has a long tradition of resistance to ‘Overforeignization’ (Skenderovic 2009) dating back to the post second world war era (Niederberger 2004: 22; Mahnig/Piguet 2003: 56ff;

Skenderovic/D'Amato 2008: 32ff). Starting with the 'National Movement against Overforeignization of the Nation and Homeland' founded in 1961, a series of small radical rightwing parties emerged and entered the political arena, using the direct democratic instruments of initiative and referendum to bring their anti-immigration claims into the political debate (Ladner 2006: 235f; Skenderovic/D'Amato 2008: 207).

Considering this tradition of politicization of immigrant-sceptic sentiments among the Swiss population one could argue that it is not so much the party factor exerting a restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies, as it is the degree of xenophobia among the population. This assumption goes in line with Rajzman's argument (2010: 101), according to which public sentiments such as exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants may be contagious and could, by their spreading, influence government policies. By providing an immediate channel for popular participation, Switzerland's direct democratic political setting is particularly prone to such an impact of the popular will on policy formulation. In theoretical terms, this assumption might be fostered by public choice approaches regarding the effects of direct democratic participation on policy outputs. According to this line of thought, direct participation, by acting as an additional, strongly binding control on politicians, leads to political outcomes which are closer to citizens' preferences than without such direct participation (Frey et al. 2001: 272). Similar results have been found in studies in the US on the relationship between direct democracy and minorities' legislation. From an institutional perspective on direct democracy, Gerber (1996), Gerber and Hug (2001), and Bochsler and Hug (2009) were able to demonstrate that direct democratic instruments, if available, act as an amplifier in aggregating median voter preferences. Coming back to the Swiss case and policies dealing with immigrants, Lavenex (2006: 656) revealed that xenophobic tendencies in the population, besides the demand for labour, are the central steering determinants of immigration policies. Similarly, Helbling's studies on the rejection rate of naturalisation requests provide empirical evidence on

the potentially discriminating effects of direct democracy on the migrant population at Switzerland's local level (Helbling/Kriesi 2004; Helbling 2008; 2009).

Taking a broader, transnational perspective, the potential effect of citizenship traditions of neighboring countries has to be considered. Cattacin and Kaya observed a 'limitrophe' coinage of integration policies in French- and German-speaking cantons situated adjacent to countries France and Germany (Cattacin 1996: 70; Cattacin/Kaya 2005: 290). Interestingly, Eggert and Murigande's (2004: 131) categorization of Cattacin and Kaya's data along the citizenship approach did not reveal a specific regional pattern. Helbling (2009: 93), finally, explicitly dismisses the assumption of a transborder cultural-linguistic impact at the level of policy outcomes in his analysis of naturalisation rejection rates at Switzerland's local level. His findings are countered by a recent study of Danaci (2009), who discloses a cultural-linguistic shaping of citizens' attitudes towards immigrants along French- and German-speaking regions at the individual behavioural level. The comprehensive and broad measurement of cantonal integration policies provided in this paper lends itself to a renewed test of the assumed border-crossing cultural shaping of integration policies at the cantonal level.

To sum up, the following hypotheses will be tested in this paper, which according to their expected impact can be divided into short-, middle, and long-term influencing factors: Based on the particularities of Switzerland's political system, which endows people with comprehensive participation rights, the 'popular will' will be considered a potentially strong influencing factor in the formulation of cantonal integration policies. As short-term factor, the SVP, in terms of its electoral strength, is assumed to have a restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies. A hypothesis, which is based on the party's successful mobilization of xenophobic tendencies in the population over the last two decades. In a similar vein, immigrant-sceptic direct democratic outputs are expected to yield a restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies. Unlike the institutional perspective prevalent in traditional approaches dealing

with direct democracy and minorities' rights, this paper is interested in the direct effects of immigrant-sceptic attitudes expressed at the ballot. Accordingly, the focus will be on the immediate impact of direct democratic outputs on integration policies. Since we are dealing with a specific aspect of migration policies, integration policies, the independent variable will be adapted accordingly: not xenophobic attitudes in general, but the narrower aspect of nationals resistance toward the integration of immigrants, hereafter called 'exclusionary attitudes', will be looked at. These attitudes are expected to reveal certain stability over time and are therefore considered middle-term influencing factors. Finally, taking a long-term perspective, national citizenship traditions of the adjacent countries France and Germany are expected to shape integration policies in French- and German-speaking cantons.

The purpose of this paper is to assess the individual impact of the three factors described above. Yet, they might not be as independent as assumed. On the contrary: it seems plausible that long-term national conceptions of citizenship shape the popular attitude regarding integration policies, conceptualized here in terms of difficulty or ease of access for new applicants to citizenship rights and obligations, broadly understood. In turn, this attitude might be one reason for supporting radical right parties (Lubber et al. 2002). Corresponding assumptions of interrelatedness between the central hypotheses will be accounted for in the empirical analyses.

### **Data and Research Design**

The design of this study corresponds to a cross-sectional analysis at Switzerland's subnational level with the 26 Swiss cantons as units of analysis. In Switzerland's pronounced federalism the canton exhibiting many features of singular states, such as an institutionalized separation of powers, proper territories and cantonal constitutions (Vatter 2006: 204). However, they remain subnational units subject to one national federation and legislation, and therefore share

many similar structures. By approaching a comparison according to the most similar systems design (Przeworski/Teune 1970), the structure of this study allowed us 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.

The dependent variable was captured by the current status of cantonal integration policies, covering a period from 2005-2008. Conceptualizations of integration policy in terms of citizenship rights and obligations, as well as details on the operationalization can be found in the next section. Accordingly, the measurement of the independent variables occurred at a preceding point in time (t-1). The central hypotheses were tested by the following variables: The popular support of the SVP was measured by the electoral vote share of the SVP in cantonal parliamentary elections. Exclusionary tendencies of the population expressed through direct democratic decisions were captured by cantonal rejection rates of a national vote on facilitated naturalisation. Results from the polls offer more representative data than survey data (e.g. SELECTS, Swiss Household Panel), since surveys sometimes operate with small numbers of respondents at the cantonal level and thereby run the risk of selection bias. However, 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.<sup>1</sup> French and German speaking cantons have been coded with a dummy (1 = French).<sup>2</sup>

As previously mentioned, the potential influence of the SVP through the governmental channel is expected to be rather weak due to pronounced concordant governments established at the national and cantonal levels. Nevertheless, a dummy denoting SVP participation in government was included in the analysis as a control variable. Further controls were added for cantonal and non-national population and 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. The detailed operationalization and data sources for the independent and control variables can be found in table 5 in the appendix.

### **How to Measure Integration Policy**

For an empirical analysis of the hypotheses formulated above, a clear conceptualization and measurement of integration policy is needed. When dealing with immigration and integration policies, studies at the international comparative level often make use of the concept of citizenship (see for example Brubaker 1992; Favell 2001b: 362f; Tilly 1995: 8, Koopmans 2003a; 2005; 2010). Citizenship can broadly be defined as an interaction of rights and obligations toward any given state, thereby creating an area of legal equality between former and new citizens (Brubaker 1992: 21; Koopmans/Kriesi 1997: 297; Tilly 1995: 8). Whilst earlier studies often applied a formal, one-dimensional perspective of citizenship along the axis between *jus-soli* and *jus-sanguinis* (Brubaker 1992), such approaches have occasionally been criticized for being too reductive. According to Wicker (2003: 30), economic, educative and social capitals would give a more adequate definition of the position of migrants in the country of residence than their mere civic status. Similarly, the political discourse on integration policy in Switzerland distinguishes between structural (school, work), political or social and cultural aspects of integration (BfM 2006: 9; Cattacin/Kaya 2005: 293; Prodolliet 2006: 88; TAK 2009). Accordingly, a more comprehensive conceptualization of citizenship is aimed at. Koopmans (2003a; 2005; 2010) offers such a comprehensive perspective by distinguishing two dimensions of citizenship called ‘formal-legal’ and ‘cultural’ dimension respectively.



Based on the two dimensions of citizenship, Koopmans derives a typology with four ideal-types of citizenship regimes called *assimilationist*, *segregationist*, *universalist* and *multiculturalist*, as illustrated in figure 1. Together with the Germanic countries, Switzerland is typically classified as belonging to the assimilationist group.

‘Figure 1 about here’

Each dimension consists of several components and is measured by various indicators. The respective indices are called *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (MIPEX) for the formal-legal and *Cultural Rights Index* (CRI) for the cultural dimension. Table 1 offers an overview of the respective dimensions and their components. The components of the two dimensions reveal a broad understanding of citizenship, embracing structural, civic, political, cultural and religious aspects. As figure 1 reveals, similar citizenship approaches are commonly applied and restricted to the national level. The sometimes considerable subnational variations of integration policies, which are particularly pronounced in federal states such as the US, Canada, Austria, Germany or Switzerland (Akgün/Tränhardt 2001: 19), are still widely neglected by the scientific literature.

In order to measure cantonal integration policies, I transferred Koopmans’ citizenship-model to the subnational Swiss level. Details on this transfer, as well as operationalization and data sources for all the components of the dependent variable measured at the cantonal level can be found in table 6 in the appendix. The asterisks after the components show that there are many equivalents for measuring the formal-legal dimension of citizenship at the cantonal level, while there are few for the cultural dimension. This is not surprising, as Switzerland is clearly considered an assimilationist country with only scarce concessions to cultural pluralism (Koopmans/Kriesi 1997: 299; Koopmans et al. 2005: 73; Kleger/D’Amato 1995: 266;

Skenderovic 2009: 48; cf. Fig. 1). However, an additional legal component can be added to the cultural dimension at Switzerland's cantonal level: the tendency for legal recognition of minorities' religions, which may be considered of particular interest for Switzerland's growing Muslim community (Christmann 2010; Cattacin et al. 2003).

'Table 1 about here'

A closer look at the components of the two dimensions reveals that they lack a coherent theoretical embedding. The components of the MIPEX cover such different issues as socio-structural (labour market access), political (political participation) or civic aspects (access to nationality). Equally, the cultural dimension comprises a mix of cultural and religious aspects. In search of a more solid theoretical base and conceptualization of the measurement for cantonal integration policies, a first inspection of the data was carried out. A factor analysis of all the components measured at the cantonal level revealed a pattern which does not correspond to the two-dimensional model presented in table 1. Instead, four factors resulted from the analysis, presented in table 2.

'Table 2 about here'

As could be expected, the factor loadings suggest that the components measure more subtle theoretical dimensions, which could instead be captured by different categories of rights or, as in the case of the cultural component, rights and obligations. It seems important to note here that obligations are negatively correlated to rights. More rights mean less restrictive integration policies, while more obligations stand for more restrictive integration policies. This fact

has been considered in the coding of the respective variables measuring the category of cultural obligations. In any case, a measurement based on the theoretical concept of rights and obligations would better correspond to the definitions of citizenship and integration policy presented above. Therefore, the components were aggregated along their highest factor loadings, creating thereby the following categories.<sup>3</sup> Factor one stands for political and civic rights, factor two represents religious rights, factor three denotes socio-structural rights and factor four comprises cultural rights and obligations. These categories can be read as case specific, applying to the full sample of Swiss cantons. In a next step, the four categories were aggregated into a comprehensive additive index, measuring cantonal integration policies. Together with the four categories of rights, this index built the foundation for the following empirical analyses.<sup>4</sup>

### **Empirical Findings**

In order to test the postulated hypotheses, multiple OLS-regressions were run at the category and comprehensive index level.<sup>5</sup> As already discussed in the theoretical part of this paper, the independent variables might not be as independent as assumed by the regression models, but rather be interrelated. Cultural-linguistic effects are expected to influence attitudes concerning immigrants, which in turn are considered to be one reason for the support of radical right parties. Due to the small number of cases, a simple modelling of this path structure based on multiple regression models focusing on the three central independent variables was carried out.

A look at table 3 reveals that the cultural-regional dummy turns out to be a highly significant positive predictor of cantonal integration policies. In the cultural category for instance, the regional factor alone accounts for 48 per cent of the cantonal variance. According to these results, French-speaking cantons tend to have less restrictive policies in the respective categories

than German-speaking cantons. In line with the assumption, the coefficient for ‘exclusionary direct democratic output’ is negative and significant in all three categories. However, the introduction of this variable in the model causes the significant regional effect to vanish, as can be observed in the civic-political and cultural category in models 2 and 5 respectively. The covering of the regional effect by exclusionary voting behaviour is a strong indicator for the relatedness of the two factors. Interestingly, none of the regression models displays critical levels of multicollinearity. Yet, a look at the bivariate correlation between Switzerland's French speaking cantons and exclusionary voting behaviour reveals a strong negative correlation of Person's  $r = -0.78$ , significant at the 0.1 per cent level. The third independent variable, support for the SVP, did not reveal significant or consistent coefficients in any of the models, nor did it greatly affect the significance of the other variables.

‘Table 3 about here’

Compared to the first two categories, the category ‘religious rights II’ reveals an interesting pattern. Again, models 8 and 9 exhibit a highly significant negative coefficient for the exclusionary direct democratic output. Yet, the regional dummy only becomes significant in the multiple models (models 7 and 8), and, contrary to the preceding categories, displays a negative coefficient. It appears that paradoxically, French-speaking cantons are less restrictive than German-speaking cantons when it comes to civic-political rights, but more restrictive regarding religious rights such as Islamic burials. However, as proposed in Danaci (2009) for the individual level, this could again be explained by differing national approaches: Germany's secularism and France's more radical form of a separation between church and state called *laïcité*.

In line with the expectation, the control for the governmental influence of the SVP did not display a negative correlation. The controls for native and non-national cantonal population,

as well as for urbanization, did not add any explanatory force to the models nor did they display consistent or significant coefficients. Accordingly, the controls were excluded from the models presented in table 4. As for the remaining categories, no effect of the central variables could be discerned for ‘socio-structural rights’ and ‘religious rights I’. This suggests that the topics of labour market access and the recognition of minorities’ religions are not as controversial in the public opinion as civic-political and cultural rights, or the allowance of Islamic burials. Through all the models, linguistic region and exclusionary direct democratic output were exposed as the strongest predictors of cantonal integration policies.

Finally, corresponding regression analyses have been conducted for the comprehensive integration index displayed in table 4. The same pattern already discerned at the category level can be confirmed for the comprehensive index: Linguistic region exhibits a highly significant positive coefficient, accounting alone for 49 per cent of explained variance of cantonal integration policies. As was the case at the categorical level, this variable loses its significance when the exclusionary direct democratic output variable is introduced, which in turn is highly significant. Again, the SVP variable has no explanatory force and neither control variables, nor SVP vote, greatly affect the significant results of the central independent variables. In order to address the problem of insignificant coefficients for the linguistic region due to high correlation of the central independent variables, three last modified models (14, 15 and 16) were calculated. In spite of the restriction regarding a potential sample bias, as discussed previously in this paper, survey data were used for this step. Instead of the results of the popular vote, the average of cantonal answers to the item ‘same opportunities for non-national and Swiss citizens’ was included in the regression. The underlying assumption was that voting against facilitated naturalisation 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 14 to 16 can be read as a strong corroboration of the preceding

findings: not only do they reveal highly significant coefficients for the central variables linguistic region and exclusionary direct democratic output, but both coefficients remain significant through all the models. By this last step, the share of explained variance could be raised from 74 per cent in model 13 to 80 per cent in model 16.

‘Table 4 about here’

A glance at a two-dimensional map based on the two central citizenship categories ‘civic-political rights’ and ‘cultural rights and obligations’ offers additional evidence corroborating the cultural-linguistic pattern observed in the preceding regression models. Figure 2 shows a scatter plot, where a clustering of the French speaking cantons (GE, JU, NE, FR, VD, and, to a lesser degree, VS) in the upper right quadrant denoting the liberal and multicultural pole is discernible, while the conservative rural Swiss cantons lie closest to the lower left quadrant, representing the restrictive and assimilationist pole of citizenship. Ticino (TI), the only Italian speaking canton of Switzerland, lies together with FR and VS at the margin of this cloud of French-speaking cantons. In more general terms we could therefore speak of a ‘Latin cluster’. Furthermore, figure 2 clearly shows that French-speaking cantons do not only reveal less restrictive integration policies on the civic-political axis, as we would expect bearing in mind Koopmans typology (cf. figure 1), but also on the cultural one.

‘Figure 2 about here’

## **Discussion**

The central purpose of this paper was to assess the impact of party political, attitudinal and cultural-linguistic factors on cantonal integration policies. The research approach was guided by the assumption that in Switzerland's direct democratic setting the popular will is a particularly influential factor when it comes to the formulation of cantonal integration policies. More precisely, the assumed restrictive impact was expected to occur through the direct democratic channel or by mobilization through the right-populist SVP. Furthermore, the regional setting of French and German speaking cantons was assumed to yield an impact on the respective policies, influenced by the citizenship conceptions of the adjacent countries France and Germany.

Starting at the level of the comprehensive integration policy index, the results of the empirical analysis can be read as a strong corroboration of the middle- to long-term hypotheses: French-speaking cantons present less restrictive integration policies, while exclusionary direct democratic outputs coincide with more restrictive policies. By contrast, the short-term factor, the surge of the SVP over the last decades, could not be attested to have any systematic restrictive effect. While no direct restrictive effect of the SVP could be established in this paper, this does not mean that the strategy of steady campaigning and mobilization of the SVP has no effect at all on governmental policy making. Yet, this influence on public political debates by continually thematizing and expounding the so called 'foreigners problem' would be rather an indirect one, as Skenderovic (2009) convincingly demonstrated, which could hardly be accounted for by the quantitative means applied in this paper. Moreover, the pronounced federal shaping of Switzerland's cantonal party system further limits the comparability of this variable across the cantons. Although the SVP is famous for its decisive anti-immigrant stance all over Switzerland it seems that the interests of the cantonal sections of the party are still too diverse in order to be fully comparable. Scholars often describe the pronounced federal fragmentation

of Swiss parties as a characteristic trait. Whilst Linder calls them ‘children of their cantons’ (Linder 2005: 81), Ladner (2006: 236) mentions the temptation to speak of 26 instead of one Swiss party system. As for the governmental level, the empirical evidence clearly corroborate Schmidt’s conclusion that the impact of incumbent parties in non-majoritarian democracies with many veto-players is strongly limited (Schmidt 2002: 183).

The findings of this paper support the assumption that cantonal integration policies are rather stable institutions, clearly shaped by traditional conceptions of citizenship. Furthermore, they promote the notion of interrelatedness between the respective factors. Cultural-linguistic background turned out to be strongly related to exclusionary tendencies in the population, which in turn yield a considerably restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies. In this sense, Lavenex's (2006: 656) conclusion of a central impact of xenophobia on immigration policies at Switzerland's national level may be endorsed in a more subtle manner at the subnational level. Exclusionary attitudes in the population regarding the integration of immigrants yield a restrictive impact on cantonal integration policies.

Coming to the category level, the preliminary theoretical modifications of Koopmans’ measurement for integration policies which resulted in four categories of citizenship rights turned out to be productive and allowed for more subtle conclusions at this level. Considering cultural-linguistic background and popular will, civic-political and cultural rights as well as the subcategory religious rights II, which included the topic of Islamic burials, were revealed as contested issues. If cultural and religious rights had been treated as belonging to one and the same ‘cultural dimension’, as suggested by Koopmans, the ‘French pattern’ of opposing approaches regarding civic-political and cultural rights on the one hand, and religious rights on the other, would have been ignored. It was only due to the differentiation between cultural and religious rights that the impact of differing national traditions regarding the relationship between religion and state could be accounted for. While the small number of 26 cases im-



pedes any generalization of the results of the factor analysis beyond the Swiss case, it can be read as a suggestion on how the measurement of MIPEX and CRI could be refined.

Interestingly, the general issue of recognition of minorities' religions, captured by the category 'religious rights I', is not as contested as specific religious rights such as Islamic burials. Yet direct democracy could still yield an indirect effect on legislation concerning minorities' religions, for instance when legislatures respond to the mere threat of direct legislation. A similar effect could be accounted for in Christmann's (2010) analysis of cantonal parliamentary debates concerning the legal recognition of minorities' religions. On the other hand, the finding that socio-structural rights are not as contested is less surprising. Without neglecting real situations of competition over scarce jobs between nationals and immigrants, the absence of any effect has to be interpreted in the light of the necessarily narrow operationalization of this category. The immigrant population's access to cantonal employments (administration, teaching, police service, and judiciary) seems to depend on pragmatic rather than ideological considerations. A look at the current recruitment strategies of cantonal police departments reveals for instance, that the shift to less rigid employment requirements for non-nationals is often a consequence of the low attractiveness of this job for nationals resulting in a lack of manpower in the police force.<sup>6</sup>

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 policies. Furthermore, the particularity of French- and German-speaking cantons offered a unique setting for the systematic test of the assumption of a trans-national shaping of integration policies by differing national approaches to citizenship.

There is one last but important remark concerning the assumed path structure. The underlying idea was that attitudes shaped by cultural linguistic backgrounds influence policy outputs at the institutional level. Considering Switzerland's pronounced direct democracy over all federal levels, this direction of causality may seem convincing. Yet it remains contestable. Weldon (2006) offers an extensive comparative study at the EU level, assuming the opposite causality between citizenship regime types on the one hand and tolerance for ethnic minorities on the other. After proving the strong relationship between the two factors, Weldon (2006: 333) admits that a valid argument could be made that the causality runs in the other direction. He concludes with the remark that 'there is certainly some type of mutual causality between citizens' attitude and the type of citizenship regime policies' (Weldon 2006: 345f). The strategy chosen in this paper to include a temporal lag between independent and dependent variables may support the notion of the causal direction going from culture to attitude to policies. However, policies might again impact on attitudes. A closer analysis of exemplary cantonal cases might be a promising approach to further disentangle the causal structure between the strongly interrelated variables of regional and attitudinal conceptions of citizenship and their concretisation at the institutional level in form of cantonal integration policies.

## Notes

- [1] 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 "exclusionary attitude", the mean of the three years has been used. The poll data on the other hand reveal very strong and highly significant correlations (Pearson's  $r > 0.8$ \*\*\*), based on a comparison between the considered 2004 vote, and a poll on facilitated naturalisation from 1994.
- [2] Interval data (percentage of French speaking population) did not yield significantly different results. Therefore, the dummy solution was retained.
- [3] The results of the factor analysis did not prove to be stable enough for an index creation based on factor scores. Instead, an additive index-creation was applied. For more information on the index-creation see table 6 in the appendix.
- [4] Alternative factor extraction methods (maximum likelihood) yielded a very similar factor structure for the cantonal data. For a critical methodological discussion of different approaches to exploratory factor analysis see Fabrigar et al. 1999.
- [5] For all the multiple regression-models, influential cases (cantons) 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.
- [6] As occurred in canton Basel-City. See *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, „Wenig Ausländer in Verwaltungen“, 23 September 2009, p.23.

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## Abbreviations

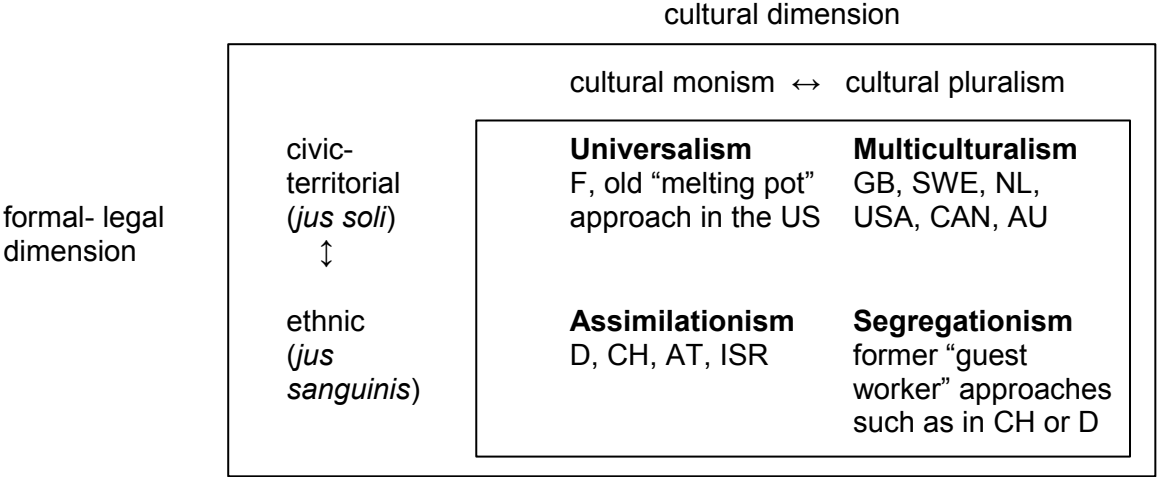
SVP Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*)

### *Swiss cantons*

AG	Argovia
AI	Appenzell Inner Rhodes
AR	Appenzell Outer Rhodes
BE	Berne
BL	Basel-Country
BS	Basel-City
FR	Fribourg
GE	Geneva
GL	Glarus
GR	Grisons
JU	Jura
LU	Lucerne
NE	Neuchâtel
NW	Nidwald
OW	Obwald
SG	St. Gall
SH	Schaffhausen
SO	Solothurn
SZ	Schwyz
TG	Thurgovia
TI	Ticino
UR	Uri
VD	Vaud
VS	Valais
ZG	Zug
ZH	Zürich

**Figures and tables in the text**

*Figure 1 – Two dimensional conception of citizenship*



*Sources:* Own illustration, based on Koopmans (cf. Koopmans/Kriesi 1997: 298; Koopmans/Statham 2000; Koopmans 2003b: 208ff; Koopmans 2005: 10).

Figure 2 – Two-dimensional map of citizenship rights and obligations



Note: Entries are z-standardised values.

*Table 1 – Measuring Integration Policy along the formal (MIPEx) and cultural (CRI) dimensions of citizenship*

<b>Index</b>	<b>Components</b>
MIPEx <i>formal-legal dimension</i>	labor market access * family reunion * long term residence political participation * access to nationality * anti discrimination *
CRI <i>cultural dimension</i>	cultural requirements for naturalisation * religious rights outside public institutions * cultural rights in public institutions political representation rights (for specific cultural groups) affirmative action (labor market)

*Note:* \* = 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.

*Table 2 - Factor analysis based on components of MIPEX and CRI*

<b>components</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
political participation	<b>0.884</b>	0.182	0.065	0.119
access to nationality	<b>0.568</b>	-0.292	0.043	-0.277
religious rights I	0.270	<b>0.722</b>	-0.054	-0.126
religious rights II	0.190	<b>0.476</b>	-0.395	-0.006
labour market access	0.126	0.007	<b>0.717</b>	0.087
cultural requirements for natural.	0.252	-0.164	0.310	<b>0.580</b>
anti discrimination	0.355	0.083	-0.286	<b>0.387</b>
family reunion	0.302	0.067	0.074	<b>-0.473</b>

*Note:* Principal factor analysis, oblique rotation (promax). Extraction of factors according to scree-test. *Religious rights I* stands for the “tendency for legal recognition of minorities’ religions”, *religious rights II* for the “authorisation of Islamic burials”.

Table 3 – Multiple OLS-regressions at the category level

category	civic-political			cultural		religious II			
	model 1	model 2	model 3	model 4	model 5	model 6	model 7	model 8	model 9
linguistic region	0.835*** (0.2)	-0.099 (0.2)	-0.001 (0.2)	0.787*** (0.18)	0.405 (0.24)	0.349 (0.32)	-0.16 (0.54)	-1.901** (0.61)	-2.014** (0.6)
exclus. DD output	-	-0.039*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-	-0.16* (0.01)	-0.014 (0.008)	-	-0.74** (0.02)	-0.074** (0.02)
SVP vote	-	-	0.006 (0.01)	-	-	-0.007 (0.01)	-	-	-0.009 (0.02)
F-Test	16.16***	23.18***	15.77***	18.19***	13.53***	8.67***	0.09	6.31**	4.96**
R <sup>2</sup>	0.35	0.64	0.62	0.48	0.56	0.55	0.005	0.39	0.38
N	26	26	25	26	26	25	26	26	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 unstandardised 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/Ervin 2003); 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 2009:99).

Table 4 – Multiple OLS- regressions based on comprehensive integration policy index

	model 10	model 11	model 12	model 13	model 14	model 15	model 16
linguistic region	0.577*** (0.15)	0.052 (0.13)	0.049 (0.13)	0.052 (0.19)	0.456*** (0.09)	0.402*** (0.11)	0.439** (0.14)
exclus. DD output	-	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.021*** (0.01)	-0.021* (0.01)	-	-	-
exclus. attitude	-	-	-	-	-0.026*** (0.01)	-0.025*** (0.01)	-0.24** (0.01)
SVP vote	-	-	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
urbanization	-	-	-	0.001 (0.01)	-	-	0.002 (0.01)
non-nationals	-	-	-	-0.002 (0.01)	-	-	-0.007 (0.01)
F-Test	14.81***	23.55***	15.4***	9.57***	46.71***	38.52***	18.41***
R <sup>2</sup>	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 unstandardised 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/Ervin 2003); 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 2009:99).

## Tables in the appendix

*Table 5 – Operationalization of independent and control variables*

variable	operationalization	source
SVP vote	electoral support of the SVP in cantonal parliamentary elections	BADAC
exclus. DD output	cantonal rejection rate of national vote on „regular naturalisation and facilitated naturalisation for second generation immigrants“ from 26 September 2004	Swiss Federal Office
linguistic region	regional dummy denoting Switzerland's French and German speaking cantons (1 = French)	own assignment
SVP government	dummy expressing governmental participation of the SVP (1 = SVP in government during considered term)	Swiss Federal Statistical Office, own calculations
urbanization	cantonal degree of urbanization (2001)	BADAC
non-nationals	cantonal share of non-nationals (2003)	BADAC, own calculations
exclus. attitude	cantonal average of the survey-item “equal opportunities for non-nationals and Swiss citizens”	SELECTS, mean value of the years '95, '99 and '03

*Note:* According to the design of the study as a cross-sectional comparison, the independent and control variables were collected at a preceding point in time (t-1). Since the time span covered by the indicators of the dependent variable(s) lasts from 2005-2008, for the two SVP variables parliamentary and governmental elections up to 2004 and before were considered.



Table 6 – Conceptualization and operationalization of dependent variable(s): categories of citizenship rights and obligations and cantonal integration policy

international level		subnational level		
international indices	components	operationalization at Switzerland's subnational level	corresponding categories of rights and obligations	comprehensive index
<i>MIPEX</i> <i>Migrants Integration Policy Index</i>	labour market access	migrants access to job in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cantonal administration</li> <li>• teaching position</li> <li>• police service</li> <li>• judiciary</li> </ul>	<i>socio-structural rights</i>	<i>cantonal integration policy index</i>
	long-term residence	-	-	
	political participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• right of non-nationals to vote</li> <li>• existence of immigrants' commission</li> </ul>	<i>civic-political rights</i>	
	access to nationality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• period of residence</li> <li>• charges</li> <li>• facilitated procedure</li> <li>• right of appeal</li> </ul>		
	family reunion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• cantonal definition of the criteria "appropriate living place"</li> <li>• differing criteria for EU- and third country nationals regarding family reunion</li> </ul>	<i>cultural rights and obligations</i>	
	anti-discrimination	anti-discrimination prescription in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• constitution</li> <li>• laws</li> </ul>		
<i>CRI</i> <i>Cultural Rights Index</i>	cultural requirements for naturalisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• degree of integration required for naturalisation</li> <li>• cantonal implementation of "integration agreement"</li> </ul>		
	religious rights outside public institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• allowance for Islamic burials</li> <li>• legal tendency for recognition of minorities religions</li> </ul>	<i>religious rights I and II</i>	
	cultural rights in public institutions	-	-	
	political representation rights (group specific)	-	-	
	affirmative action	-	-	

Note: The theoretical conceptualization and operationalization of the international indices is based on the works of Koopmans et al. (2003; 2005; 2010). The MIPEX has been institutionalized by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group (see <http://www.integrationindex.eu>). Time span covered with dependent variable(s): 2005-2008. Data sources: BFM 2006; BFM 2008; Christmann 2010; EKM 2007 a&b; TAK 2005; TAK 2009; cantonal constitutions and citizenship laws; own investigations in cantonal migration offices.