



Thèse

2019

Public access

This version of the publication is provided by the author(s) and made available in accordance with the copyright holder(s).

Interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles
: le parcours de vie des immigrants en Suisse

Lacroix, Julie

How to cite

LACROIX, Julie. Interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles : le parcours de vie des immigrants en Suisse. Doctoral Thesis, 2019. doi: 10.13097/archive-ouverte/unige:125594

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:125594>

Publication DOI: [10.13097/archive-ouverte/unige:125594](https://doi.org/10.13097/archive-ouverte/unige:125594)

© This document is protected by copyright. Please refer to copyright holder(s) for terms of use.

Last deposit update in Archive ouverte UNIGE on 15.03.2023 19:18

Interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles : le parcours de vie des immigrés en Suisse

THÈSE

présentée à la Faculté des sciences de la société
de l'Université de Genève

par

Julie Lacroix

sous la direction de

**Prof. Philippe Wanner et
Prof. Alain Gagnon**

pour l'obtention du grade de

**Docteur ès sciences de la société
mention démographie**

Membres du jury de thèse:

Prof. Matteo GIANNI, Université de Genève, président du jury
Dr. Ariane PAILHÉ, Institut national d'études démographiques
Dr. Reto SCHUMACHER, Statistique Vaud

Thèse no 129

Genève, 18 septembre 2019

La Faculté des sciences de la société, sur préavis du jury, a autorisé l'impression de la présente thèse, sans entendre, par-là, émettre aucune opinion sur les propositions qui s'y trouvent énoncées et qui n'engagent que la responsabilité de leur auteur.

Genève, le 18 septembre 2019

Le doyen

Bernard DEBARBIEUX

Impression d'après le manuscrit de l'auteur

Photographie de couverture : Boris Dunand

Table des matières

Table des matières	iii
Résumé	v
Summary	vii
Remerciements	ix
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Le parcours de vie comme paradigme méthodologique	3
1.2 Le parcours de vie des immigrés, quelles spécificités ?	8
1.3 Objectifs et structure de la thèse	11
1.4 Références	14
2. La Suisse comme laboratoire d'études	19
2.1 Une brève histoire des migrations récentes en Suisse	19
2.2 Origines géographiques de la population immigrée	25
2.3 Structure par âge	26
2.4 Structure du ménage	29
2.5 Origine du partenaire	30
2.6 Statut d'activité	31
2.7 Secteurs d'activité	33
2.8 Répartition spatiale et marché du logement	34
2.9 Synthèse	37
2.10 Références	38
3. Differences in labor supply by birthplace and family composition in Switzerland : The role of human capital and household income	41
3.1 Introduction	42
3.2 Theoretical perspectives and research hypotheses	44
3.2.1 Theoretical framework	44
3.2.2 Swiss context	48
3.2.3 Hypotheses	50
3.3 Methodology	51
3.3.1 Data	51
3.3.2 Variables	51
3.3.3 Methods	53
3.4 Results	54
3.4.1 Descriptive results	54
3.4.2 Employment patterns by origin and family composition	59
3.4.3 Education and income effects by women's birthplaces	63
3.5 Discussion and conclusion	66
3.6 Reference	69
4. A Life Course Approach to Immigrants' Relocation: Linking Long- and Short- distance Mobility Sequences	79
4.1 Introduction	79
4.2 Long- and short-distance migration in a life course framework	82
4.3 Analytical strategy	87
4.3.1 Data	87

4.3.2	Modelling strategy	88
4.3.3	Working hypotheses	90
4.4	Descriptive findings	91
4.5	Multivariate results.....	94
4.6	Summary and discussion.....	98
4.7	References	101
5.	Family-level sources of internal migration for natives and immigrants: Evidence from Swiss administrative data	105
5.1	Introduction.....	105
5.2	The Swiss Context.....	106
5.2.1	Migrants and immigration to Switzerland	106
5.2.2	Housing market and internal migration	107
5.3	Previous research on migration and the life course.....	109
5.4	Hypotheses.....	113
5.5	Data and Method.....	114
5.5.1	Databases.....	114
5.5.2	Analytical strategy.....	116
5.5.3	Variables.....	117
5.6	Sample Characteristics.....	118
5.7	Family-level determinants for residential mobility	121
5.8	Discussion	126
5.9	References	129
6.	Ethnic discrimination in the Swiss housing market.....	137
6.1	Results from the field experiment	139
6.2	Conservatism or Xenophobia? Ethnic Discrimination in Context	143
6.2.1	Introduction	143
6.2.2	Theory: Attitudes, Discrimination, and Context	145
6.2.3	Experimental Design and Identification.....	148
6.2.4	Conservatism Drives Discrimination	155
6.2.5	Robustness check.....	160
6.2.6	Conclusion	160
6.2.7	References.....	167
7.	Conclusion	173
7.1	Synthèse des résultats	174
7.2	Les parcours de vie des immigrants diffèrent-ils de ceux des natifs?.....	178
7.2.1	Le rôle du processus migratoire.....	179
7.2.2	Entre agentivité et contraintes.....	181
7.3	Références	186

Résumé

La migration internationale est aujourd'hui, en Europe, l'un des principaux phénomènes d'évolution démographique. En Suisse, c'est 30% de la population résidente permanente qui est née à l'étranger et environ 37% qui est issue de la migration. Saisir et appréhender ces changements démographiques nécessite une compréhension approfondie des conditions de vie des immigrés et des mécanismes à l'origine des spécificités de leurs parcours.

A cette fin, cette thèse se propose d'intégrer les principes théoriques et méthodologiques du paradigme parcours de vie afin d'apprécier la complexité des interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles des immigrés en Suisse. Nous y analysons l'hétérogénéité des trajectoires d'*installation* en fonction du statut migratoire et interprétons leurs spécificités au prisme des différentes dimensions dans lesquelles elles sont imbriquées. Au niveau micro, nous mettons l'accent sur le rôle des ressources individuelles et sur certains traits de personnalité latents pour expliquer la propension qu'ont les immigrés et les natifs à connaître (simultanément) certaines transitions. Au niveau macro, nous considérons les spécificités des marchés du logement et de l'emploi comme garant de certaines opportunités différenciées pour ces deux groupes.

Au fil de ce manuscrit, nous apportons des réponses aux questions suivantes : (1) dans quelle mesure les trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles s'expliquent l'une l'autre ? (2) l'occurrence et la temporalité de ces événements diffèrent-elles entre immigrés et natifs, et entre immigrés de différentes origines géographiques ? (3) quel est le rôle des ressources individuelles et des structures institutionnelles (marché de l'emploi et du logement) ou culturelles (dans le pays d'origine et de destination) sur ces dynamiques ? Afin d'élucider ces questions, cette thèse s'est appuyée sur un large éventail de données quantitatives de diverses natures (données d'enquêtes, administratives et expérimentales), offrant tour à tour un regard complémentaire sur le parcours de vies des immigrés et leur situation vis-à-vis de leur société d'accueil.

Cette thèse se décline en six chapitres, dont quatre chapitres empiriques écrits

sous la forme d'articles scientifiques. Un premier article traite des spécificités de la structure du marché du travail suisse, notamment la forte prévalence du travail à temps partiel chez les femmes, pour analyser les interrelations entre parcours professionnels et familiaux en fonction du statut migratoire. Alors que les femmes natives et immigrées présentent d'importantes similitudes en matière de présence en emploi et d'heures travaillées lorsqu'elles sont célibataires, la présence d'enfant dans le ménage, le niveau d'éducation et le revenu du ménage se posent comme marqueurs d'une insertion en emploi différenciée pour ces deux groupes.

Dans les deuxième et troisième articles de cette thèse, une attention particulière est donnée aux trajectoires résidentielles, au moyen de mesures de l'intensité des mouvements, de leurs déterminants, de leurs séquencements et de leurs interrelations avec certains événements qui jalonnent les parcours de vie. Nous y relatons notamment une plus forte mobilité résidentielle au moment de transitions familiales (naissance, mariage, divorce) et professionnelles (prise et perte d'emploi). L'ajustement résidentiel lié à l'agrandissement de la famille se révèle toutefois plus difficile pour les immigrés, en particulier pour les ménages à faible revenu.

Dans un quatrième article, nous testons formellement l'hypothèse de la discrimination dans l'accès au logement (et ses mécanismes sous-jacents au niveau local) comme contraintes additionnelles pour les immigrés dans la poursuite de leurs parcours résidentiels. Ces analyses, tirées d'une collecte de données expérimentales, confirment un plus faible taux de réponse positive pour les candidats fictifs mentionnant un nom à consonance étrangère au moment d'une requête écrite pour visiter un appartement. La prévalence de la discrimination se révèle par ailleurs plus importante dans les municipalités où la prévalence d'idéologies conservatrices et xénophobes est exacerbée.

Summary

International migration is now, in Europe, one of the main phenomena of demographic evolution. In Switzerland, 30% of the permanent resident population is foreign-born and approximately 37% have a migration background. Capturing and assessing these demographic changes requires an in-depth understanding of immigrants' life conditions and the mechanisms underlying the specificities of their life course.

To this end, this thesis aims at integrating the theoretical and methodological principles of the life course approach to appraise the complexity of interrelations between residential, familial, and professional trajectories of immigrants in Switzerland. We analyse the *settling* trajectories based on the migratory status and interpret their specificities through the different dimensions in which they are nested. At the micro level, we put the emphasis on the role of individual resources (human capital) and on various latent personality traits to explain the propensity of immigrants and natives to go through (simultaneously) various transitions. At the macro level, we consider the specificities of the housing and job markets as responsible for certain differentiated opportunities for these two groups.

Throughout this manuscript, we provide answers to the following questions: (1) to what extent the residential, familial, and professional trajectories explain each other? (2) do the occurrence and temporality of these events differ between immigrants and natives, and between immigrants of different geographic origins? (3) what is the impact of individual resources and institutional (job and housing markets) and cultural (in the countries of origin and destination) structures on these dynamics? To elucidate these questions, this thesis is supported by a wide range of quantitative data of diverse natures (survey, administrative, and experimental data), each offering complementary insights on the immigrants' life course and their situation regarding their host society.

This thesis is divided into six chapters, four of which are written in the form of scientific articles. A first article deals with the specificities of the Swiss labour market structure, notably the important prevalence of part-time work among women, to analyse the interrelations between professional and family domains by immigration status. Although native and immigrant women present important similarities in terms of

work presence and number of hours worked when they are single, the presence of children in the household, the level of education, and the household income arise as markers of a differentiated labour market integration for these two groups.

In the second and third articles of this thesis, a special attention is paid to the residential trajectories, through measurements of movements' intensity, of their determinants, of their sequencings, and of their interrelations with certain life course events. We notably report a stronger residential mobility during familial (childbirth, marriage, divorce) and professional (start and loss of a job) transitions. The residential adjustment related to family enlargement, however, proves to be harder for immigrants, especially for low-income households.

In a fourth article, we formally test the hypothesis of discrimination in housing access (and its underlying mechanisms at the local level) as additional constraints for immigrants in pursuing their residential trajectories. These analyses, based on an experimental data collection, confirm a lower positive response rate for fictitious candidates mentioning a foreign-sounding name in a written request to visit an apartment. Moreover, the prevalence of discrimination is higher in municipalities where the prevalence of conservative and xenophobic ideologies is greater.

Remerciements

Je tiens à remercier chaleureusement de nombreuses personnes qui ont contribué, de près ou de loin (littéralement), à l'aboutissement de cette thèse.

Parmi celles-ci se trouvent, évidemment, mes co-directeurs de thèse. Merci Philippe d'avoir permis et facilité ma venue en Suisse et pour ton soutien scientifique tout au long du processus de thèse ; les méandres politiques du système migratoire suisse me sont maintenant bien connus. Alain, ta passion pour la recherche aura été une source d'inspiration et de motivation, et pour cela, je t'en remercie.

Je suis également reconnaissante à l'égard des membres du jury, Ariane Pailhé, Reto Schumacher et Matteo Gianni pour leurs analyses critiques et pour leurs conseils judicieux qui m'auront permis d'améliorer la version finale de ce manuscrit.

Je tiens aussi à souligner le cadre institutionnel dans lequel j'ai évolué ces cinq dernières années et qui m'aura permis de poursuivre mes activités de recherches dans des conditions optimales. Cette recherche n'aurait pu voir le jour sans le projet « Inventory of individual data on migration to, from and within Switzerland in a post-census world » du nccr-On the move, supervisé par Philippe Wanner et financé par le FNS. Ce projet a aussi bénéficié de nombreux jeux de données (Enquête suisse sur la population active, Panel suisse des ménages), en particulier d'un projet ambitieux d'extraction et d'appariement de données administratives, mené par Ilka Steiner et Philippe Wanner, et rendu possible par l'Office fédéral de la statistique.

J'aimerais aussi remercier mes amis et collègues de l'Université de Montréal et de l'Université de Genève, particulièrement Jonathan, Anne-Laure, Adrien et Aljoscha pour leur amitié, soutien scientifique, et peut-être surtout, pour avoir facilité mon intégration à Genève et à IDESO.

À des amitiés précieuses : Cynthia et Élodie, votre esprit critique et votre curiosité scientifique auront été une source de cheminement intellectuel ; votre énergie et vos folies passagères m'auront elles permis de lâcher prise et de grandir sur le plan humain.

LE PARCOURS DE VIE DES IMMIGRÉS EN SUISSE

A Mélanie qui a marqué un tournant dans mon parcours doctoral ; pour ton soutien au quotidien et pour les nombreux moments de complicité qui auront adouci cette aventure.

À ma famille qui m'a offert son support inconditionnel, de mes premiers pas en milieu scolaire aux confins obscures de la thèse.

À ma mère qui s'est mobilisée chaque jour pour favoriser mon intégration scolaire et permettre au système éducatif d'atteindre son rôle d'ascenseur social.

1. Introduction

La migration internationale est aujourd'hui, en Europe, l'un des principaux phénomènes d'évolution démographique (Coleman 2008). En Suisse, c'est 30% de la population résidente permanente qui est née à l'étranger et environ 37% qui est issue de la migration¹ (OFS 2017 – STATPOP, ESPA). Saisir et appréhender ces changements démographiques nécessite de fait une compréhension des conditions de vie des immigrés et des spécificités de leurs parcours.

Parce qu'elle constitue généralement un tournant dans le parcours de vie d'un individu, la migration internationale conduit à un nombre élevé de transitions professionnelles, familiales et résidentielles, souvent nécessaires à une intégration progressive à la société d'accueil. La littérature scientifique fait état d'effets directs et indirects de la migration internationale sur le développement de ces trajectoires. On parle d'effet direct ou perturbateur de la migration lorsque cette dernière induit une réorientation ou une interruption (temporaire ou permanente) de la trajectoire. On peut notamment évoquer la trajectoire résidentielle qui se voit, par définition, modifiée au moment d'une migration. La trajectoire professionnelle, quant à elle, se caractérise souvent par un changement d'employeur, ou encore par une interruption de la trajectoire si, par exemple, le migrant ne parvient pas à se réinsérer sur le marché de l'emploi local. Dans le cas de la trajectoire familiale, mentionnons la séparation temporaire ou épisodique des conjoints pouvant perturber la poursuite des projets familiaux.

Ces trajectoires peuvent aussi répondre à une nécessité d'adaptation ou d'ajustement au nouveau contexte — culturel et institutionnel — du pays d'accueil, ou encore, à la réalité post-migratoire du migrant et de son ménage. Il s'agit dans ce cas d'effets indirects de la migration. Les dynamiques d'ajustement (ou d'intégration) liées à l'emploi (voir par exemple Akresh, 2008 ; Chiswick, 1978 ; Fuller & Martin, 2012 ; González-Ferrer, 2011 ; Lacroix, Gagnon, & Lortie, 2017), au logement (Kleinepier, van Ham, & Nieuwenhuis, 2018 ; Massey & Denton, 1985, Charles 2003) ou encore à la formation de la famille (Adserà & Ferrer, 2014 ; Andersson, 2004 ; De Valk, 2006 ; Kleinepier, 2016 ; Kulu & González-Ferrer, 2014 ; Milewski, 2007) ont été

¹ Population âgée de 15 ans et plus.

extensivement documentées dans la littérature scientifique. Toutefois, les liens entre ces événements – leurs interrelations et séquencements – ne sont que peu étudiés. Ceci contraste avec les études du parcours de vie des populations natives qui documentent de fortes interdépendances entre différentes sphères du parcours de vie (Billari & Liefbroer, 2010 ; Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011 ; Morris, 2017; Warner & Sharp, 2016 ; Widmer & Ritschard, 2009).

Il semble pourtant évident que si la migration affecte (directement ou indirectement) les trajectoires familiales, professionnelles et résidentielles individuellement, elle peut tout autant avoir de profondes conséquences sur la nature de ces liens. Ceci s'explique, non seulement par l'expérience particulière produite par la migration internationale, mais aussi, par les caractéristiques singulières de la population immigrée. Certains désavantages peuvent aussi se cumuler au fil du processus d'installation à la société d'accueil et affecter *simultanément* plusieurs trajectoires. Si par exemple les immigrés habitent d'emblée des logements plus exigus ou moins bien localisés que les natifs, peut-être seront-ils plus enclins à se relocaliser au moment d'un mariage ou de la naissance d'un enfant. Au contraire, s'ils ont moins de ressources que les natifs ou s'ils subissent de la discrimination dans l'accès au logement, un changement dans la structure du ménage se soldera plus souvent par l'inertie résidentielle et potentiellement dans une situation de logement surpeuplé. Toutefois, en raison d'un manque d'articulation du paradigme du parcours de vie à l'étude des migrations et de l'intégration des immigrés, on en sait très peu sur la manière avec laquelle ces trajectoires s'influencent mutuellement².

Cette thèse prend pour ancrage le paradigme du parcours de vie afin d'apprécier la complexité des interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles des immigrés en Suisse. La migration internationale peut être comprise comme un événement marquant du parcours de vie, perturbant l'enchaînement des événements constitutifs de ce parcours, mais aussi comme un état — celui d'immigré — dont les conséquences sur les processus d'installation et d'intégration à la société d'accueil s'observent sur la durée ; c'est à la mesure de cette seconde dimension que cette thèse est dédiée. Son ambition vise à prendre en compte les spécificités de la population immigrée pour caractériser et expliquer l'hétérogénéité

² Les interrelations entre trajectoires professionnelles et familiales ont quant à elles été davantage étudiées (Vidal-Coso, 2018).

des trajectoires et leurs interdépendances, en fonction du statut migratoire. Pour ce faire, nous comparons les parcours individuels des immigrés (c.-à-d., des personnes nées à l'extérieur de la Suisse) à ceux des natifs, qui pour la plupart n'ont pas vécu à l'étranger. Bien que l'effet perturbateur de la migration internationale sur les parcours de vie ne puisse être mesuré directement, son rôle demeure central pour l'interprétation des résultats et sera au cœur des discussions au fil du manuscrit.

Dans un premier temps, nous traitons des interrelations entre statut professionnels et familiaux et en appréhendons les différences en fonction du statut migratoire. Une attention particulière est ensuite donnée aux trajectoires résidentielles, au moyen de mesures de l'intensité des mouvements, de leurs déterminants, de leurs séquencements et de leurs interrelations avec certains événements qui jalonnent les parcours de vie. En complément, nous abordons la question de l'accès aux logements et des processus de discrimination pouvant l'entraver.

Cette thèse a par ailleurs une dimension méthodologique incontournable : elle s'appuie sur un ensemble de données longitudinales administratives et d'enquêtes récentes permettant une analyse dynamique des parcours de vie. À ceci s'ajoutent des données expérimentales, collectées par nos soins, sur les pratiques discriminatoires sur le marché du logement locatif en Suisse. Cette dernière étude permet de tester plus directement l'hypothèse de la discrimination (et ses mécanismes sous-jacents) comme contraintes additionnelles pour les immigrés dans la poursuite de leurs parcours résidentiels.

Dans la suite de ce chapitre, nous détaillons les aspects théoriques, fondés sur le paradigme du parcours de vie, ayant guidé nos analyses (section 1.1). Nous évoquons par la suite les spécificités de la population immigrée, justifiant du même coup l'attention particulière que nous lui vouons (section 1.2). Enfin, la section 1.3 décrit la structure et les objectifs de la thèse.

1.1 Le parcours de vie comme paradigme méthodologique

L'approche du parcours de vie comme paradigme méthodologique a permis de nombreuses avancées dans la compréhension des phénomènes démographiques, notamment en favorisant l'analyse longitudinale de trajectoires individuelles. De l'analyse des états et des comportements agrégés de population, ce paradigme propose une observation plus fine et dynamique des comportements individuels

(Hogan & Goldscheider, 2003, p. 690). Selon ce paradigme, le parcours de vie d'un individu est composé de différentes transitions et trajectoires qui le façonnent peu à peu. L'occurrence et la temporalité de ces transitions peuvent être interprétées à la lumière de la trajectoire dans laquelle elles s'inscrivent, et plus largement, du contexte dans lequel elles évoluent (Elder Jr, 1985 ; Elder Jr., Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003). Dans une revue de littérature récente, Huinink et Kohli (2014) documentent quatre dimensions structurantes du parcours de vie. Nous présentons ici succinctement ces dimensions.

La première dimension met l'accent sur les multiples niveaux dans lesquels les parcours de vie sont imbriqués, allant du niveau social au niveau biologique. Au niveau social, les structures – culturelles, institutionnelles, économiques et politiques – déterminent les contraintes et opportunités qui encadrent nos actions. En particulier, les structures sociales encouragent la poursuite de trajectoires à des moments plus ou moins précis de la vie, afin que certaines étapes ou statuts puissent être atteints à *temps* (Kohli, 2007). Pour ce qui a trait aux relations sociales, cette approche considère les liens entre les individus comme facteurs d'influence dans la prise de décisions (Elder, 1994). En effet, beaucoup de comportements décrits comme des préférences individuelles s'inscrivent plutôt dans des stratégies familiales ou encore dans d'autres types de relations sociales. Pour faciliter la garde des enfants, par exemple, les parents pourront choisir d'habiter près des grands-parents. Les immigrants tendent, quant à eux, à habiter là où des réseaux de compatriotes sont déjà bien constitués. Cette présence de réseaux favorise l'accès à certaines ressources (p. ex., une assistance pour la recherche d'emploi ou de logement) pouvant faciliter leur intégration.

Le niveau individuel fait plutôt appel aux ressources qu'un individu peut mobiliser afin de surmonter certains obstacles et d'atteindre ses objectifs. Dans les études portant sur la population immigrée, l'accent est principalement mis sur le rôle du capital humain pour expliquer la capacité de ces derniers à s'intégrer à la société d'accueil et à atteindre certaines aspirations personnelles. Enfin, le niveau interne réfère aux dispositions psychologiques de l'individu, alors que le niveau biologique fait appel aux capacités physiologiques, plus ou moins fixées génétiquement, à poursuivre ses objectifs. Cette approche multiniveau permet d'allier les composantes micro, méso

et macro en considérant les interactions entre structure et agentivité³ (Wingens, de Valk, Windzio, & Aybek, 2011) ; cette perspective analytique sera au centre des analyses pour cette thèse.

La seconde dimension se focalise, quant à elle, sur l'interdépendance et l'interrelation entre les différentes trajectoires du parcours de vie ; il s'agit là du principal focal d'intérêt de cette thèse. Pour différentes raisons, la poursuite d'une trajectoire (ou son issue) peut affecter le déroulement d'une autre trajectoire, notamment par effet de compétition pour les ressources disponibles. Évidemment, allouer davantage de temps à la poursuite d'une activité implique une réduction du temps disponible pour d'autres activités. Cette même logique s'applique à l'allocation des ressources financières. Par ailleurs, l'issue d'une trajectoire (professionnelle) peut bénéficier à la poursuite d'autres objectifs (accès à la propriété), par exemple, en assurant davantage de ressources. Plusieurs trajectoires peuvent aussi aller de pair, lorsque planifiées autour d'un projet commun. A ce compte, les transitions résidentielles et parentales sont intimement liées ; l'accès à la propriété est même considéré, dans certains contextes et pour certains individus, comme une condition préalable à la parentalité (voir par exemple, Withers 1998 ; Öst 2012 ; Mulder and Wagner 1998).

Il a aussi été proposé Diewald ((2012) tel que cité par Huinink & Kohli, 2014) que le succès rencontré dans un domaine puisse, par effet de substitution, compenser les échecs ou les manques dans d'autres domaines. Les dynamiques entre carrière professionnelle (p. ex., le temps alloué au travail) et vie familiale en sont un exemple. Au contraire, le succès (l'échec) dans un domaine peut influencer positivement (négativement) l'issue d'une autre trajectoire. Les différents événements de la vie d'un individu sont donc en constante interaction et se posent comme déterminants incontournables de la poursuite d'autres trajectoires.

Le troisième élément mentionné par Huinink et Kohli (2014) est l'interdépendance temporelle entre les événements passés, présents et futurs. L'analyse longitudinale de données individuelles, telle que mobilisée dans cette thèse, nous permettra de bien considérer cette dimension pour la compréhension des parcours de vie. Entrevoir des projets pour le futur ou poursuivre certains objectifs peut

³ L'agentivité réfère au concept d'*agency* en anglais, soit à la capacité d'agir de façon indépendante, à poursuivre ses objectifs et à faire ses propres choix.

influencer les décisions prises dans le présent. Pareillement, les décisions passées et leurs conséquences ont des effets cumulatifs au fil du temps : elles influencent à la fois les opportunités et ressources disponibles sur le moment, mais aussi dans le futur (Birg, 1987). La naissance d'un enfant est sans doute l'un des événements les plus saillants pour illustrer cette dynamique : au moment de devenir parent, les individus s'engagent à veiller au bien-être de leur enfant pour de nombreuses années, influençant du même coup un ensemble de ressources et d'opportunités pour le futur.

Plus largement, les processus de socialisation, d'apprentissage et les expériences personnelles dans l'enfance et au fil de la vie contribuent à façonner nos perceptions de ce que constitue un parcours de vie typique ou idéal. Cette dimension fait ainsi appel aux facteurs culturels, assimilés dans un contexte particulier, et qui donnent un sens à nos actions. Plusieurs décisions et expériences sont donc interreliées au fil de la vie et soumises aux forces sociales (géographiquement et historiquement) en place. C'est ce que Kohli (2007) qualifie d'institutionnalisation du parcours de vie, où influences institutionnelles au niveau macro et influences dites de développement (intra) personnelles au niveau micro interagissent entre elles. Nous observons toutefois aujourd'hui une pluralité grandissante des parcours de vies des jeunes cohortes, avec un calendrier et un enchaînement des principales transitions qui deviennent moins prévisibles, plus longs et plus diversifiés (Liefbroer et Dykstra, 2000 tels que cité par De Valk, 2011). Ce processus de dé-standardisation des parcours de vie prend toutefois différentes formes et s'observe à des rythmes variables selon les pays ou encore selon les groupes sociaux (Widmer et Ritschard 2009). Il s'agit là d'une autre perspective d'intérêt pour cette thèse qui veut documenter l'hétérogénéité des trajectoires en fonction du statut migratoire.

La quatrième et dernière dimension est celle qui donne un sens à la poursuite des objectifs individuels. Selon De Jong et Fawcett (1981) ou encore Lindenberg (1996) nous aspirons à deux objectifs universels, soit le bien-être physique et social, et ce, de la façon la plus efficiente⁴ possible. Ces objectifs sont atteints *indirectement* par l'entremise d'objectifs instrumentaux plus modestes et concrets, comme l'activité physique, l'occupation d'un emploi, le développement de liens affectifs ou encore, la conformité avec les normes dominantes (Kley, 2010). Les ressources individuelles

⁴ L'efficacité dans ce domaine peut se résumer par la recherche d'un équilibre optimal entre les gains estimés et l'effort dépensé pour y parvenir (Huinink & Kohli, 2014).

(p.ex., l'éducation, les capacités sociales ou l'effort intellectuel) sont ainsi mobilisées afin d'assurer l'atteinte de ces objectifs. Suivant cette logique, la fécondité, le mariage, la mobilité résidentielle et professionnelle peuvent être vus comme des comportements instrumentaux dont l'objectif sous-jacent est l'atteinte du bien-être. Dans un ouvrage classique sur la mobilité résidentielle des immigrés, Massey et Denton (1985) proposent que la mobilité résidentielle soit déterminante pour l'atteinte du bien-être économique et social puisque le lieu de résidence a une forte incidence sur un ensemble de facteurs qui lui sont liés, en commençant par l'acquisition d'un certain prestige social, l'accès à des services (école, hôpitaux) de qualité, ou encore, une plus faible exposition à criminalité.

Ainsi, afin de mieux expliquer les comportements individuels, il est d'usage d'articuler l'approche du parcours de vie à d'autres théories (comportementales ou décisionnelles), souvent fondées sur la rationalité individuelle. Cette alliance permet de considérer simultanément les aspects structurels au niveau macro et décisionnels au niveau micro. Alors que les facteurs macro-structurels fixent l'ensemble des opportunités et leurs alternatives, les événements du parcours de vie influencent les préférences en la matière, le désir d'entreprendre une action et ultimement, son exécution (Wagner & Mulder, 2015).

L'âge joue un rôle prépondérant dans l'analyse du parcours de vie et des comportements démographiques : la migration, tout comme la fécondité et la mortalité, est fortement déterminée par l'âge (Rogers & Castro, 1979). Derrière ces effets d'âge se cachent toutefois de nombreuses transitions, elles-mêmes liées aux comportements démographiques (Warnes, 1992). Pour Clark (2013), l'âge serait davantage un proxy pour mesurer l'occurrence d'événements démographiques, alors que les événements survenant au fil de la vie en seraient les principaux déterminants. Ce chevauchement de facteurs est d'autant plus prononcé dans la population immigrée pour qui la migration internationale survient le plus souvent au début de l'âge adulte, un moment de la vie particulièrement dense en matière d'événements démographiques (Rindfuss, 1991).

Dans une étude comparative sur le profil par âge à la migration, Bernard (2014) conçoit plutôt les événements du parcours de vie comme des déterminants proches (au sens de Bongaarts, 1978) de la migration. Selon ce modèle, les facteurs contextuels comme les cycles économiques ou encore la taille des cohortes

influencent la temporalité et l'occurrence d'événements du parcours de vie qui à leur tour déterminent la structure par âge des migrations dans ces contextes nationaux ou régionaux. Encore une fois, ces travaux font bien ressortir l'importance des interactions entre contextes nationaux ou régionaux et les comportements démographiques individuels.

1.2 Le parcours de vie des immigrés, quelles spécificités ?

Plusieurs dynamiques sont à l'origine des spécificités observées dans le parcours de vie des immigrés. Ces dynamiques peuvent être regroupées sous les concepts de socialisation (ou de facteurs culturels), de sélection, d'ajustement, de perturbation et d'interrelation entre événements du parcours de vie⁵ (Kleinepier, de Valk, & van Gaalen, 2015; Milewski, 2007).

L'idée d'un effet perturbateur d'une migration de longue distance sur le parcours de vie fut évoquée il y a maintenant un siècle par Thomas et Znaniecki (1918) pour qui l'incertitude et les changements sociaux et institutionnels induits par cet événement viendraient perturber la continuité des trajectoires. Les immigrés sont confrontés à de nombreuses transformations sociales au moment de s'installer dans un nouveau contexte national ; les normes et coutumes, institutions et habitudes quotidiennes leur sont souvent méconnues (De Valk, Windzio, Wingens, & Aybek, 2011). Ces derniers sont donc appelés à s'ajuster rapidement afin d'orchestrer — souvent simultanément — un nombre important de transitions. Dans un ouvrage consacré aux parcours de vie des immigrés, Wingens et ses collègues décrivent cette situation comme suit :

"As a person's life course and biographical continuity, hitherto provided and guaranteed by the social structures and institutions of the origin country, becomes fragile or even disintegrated by migration she has to "re-frame" her life and biography as an agentic, self-monitored actor yet under conditions of fundamental uncertainty due to the unknown societal structures and institutional regime of the destination country (Wingens et al., 2011, p. 6) "

Cette citation met bien de l'avant l'importance des interactions entre structures (institutionnelle, sociale, culturelle) et agentivité, chère au paradigme du parcours de

⁵ Ces hypothèses ont principalement été explorées dans le cadre de la littérature sur la fécondité des immigrés.

INTRODUCTION

vie. Il s'agit donc pour ces auteurs d'une perspective théorique particulièrement bien adaptée pour l'étude de l'intégration des immigrés et de leurs descendants.

Cette perspective est d'autant plus importante que la migration internationale survient dans la majorité des cas aux jeunes âges adultes, un moment charnière du parcours de vie (De Valk & Milewski, 2011) : les individus terminent leur scolarité, débutent une activité professionnelle, ont des enfants, se marient, déménagent *simultanément*, car ces transitions font partie d'une même étape (âge) de la vie (Zufferey et Lacroix (à venir)). Il y a ainsi concordance simple entre le profil par âge à la migration (internationale) et plusieurs autres événements de parcours de vie. Pour cette raison, l'occurrence simultanée d'événements n'implique pas nécessairement de liens directs entre ces événements ; l'âge intervient comme variable médiatrice dans ce processus.

Dans d'autres cas, et c'est précisément ce qui nous intéresse dans le cadre de cette thèse, plusieurs transitions sont planifiées conjointement puisqu'elles font partie d'un même projet. Chez les immigrés, ces transitions peuvent s'articuler autour du projet d'immigration ; les migrations familiales et de travail en sont des exemples évidents. Dans ce cas, et c'est ce que l'on constate dans le second article de la thèse, les premières années d'installation seront riches en transitions. Au contraire, il pourrait y avoir interruption temporaire des projets dans les mois précédant et suivant la migration internationale : l'incertitude et le manque de connaissance du contexte local peuvent rendre difficile l'anticipation ou la planification simultanée de plusieurs événements. Par ailleurs, lorsqu'orchestrées suivant la migration internationale, les trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles peuvent faire partie d'un processus d'ajustement au nouveau contexte national et à la situation post-migratoire du migrant et de son ménage. Dans ces cas, ces transitions seront parties prenantes du processus d'intégration.

Par définition, les immigrés poursuivent leurs trajectoires dans au moins deux contextes nationaux. Se pose du même coup la question des interrelations entre processus d'adaptation dans le pays de destination et effets de socialisation (dans le pays d'origine). L'une des explications souvent mise de l'avant pour expliquer des comportements différentiels entre immigrés et natifs est le rôle persistant des normes prévalant dans la société d'origine ou de socialisation. Chaque groupe n'a pas les mêmes préférences ou perceptions de ce que constitue un parcours de vie idéal (De

Valk & Liefbroer, 2007) ; ces préférences sont généralement acquises durant l'enfance et par l'entremise des parents. Différentes dynamiques de transitions à la vie adulte ont pu être documentées, notamment chez les enfants d'immigrés (De Valk, 2006 ; Ferrari & Pailhé, 2017 ; Kleinepier et al., 2015) pour qui les processus de socialisation auraient de fortes incidences sur les aspirations personnelles, valeurs et attitudes, affectant du même coup les trajectoires familiales et celles qui leur sont liées (Liefbroer & Elzinga, 2012). Le parcours de vie des immigrés et leurs spécificités doivent donc être compris et interprétés à la lumière des constructions sociales et des préférences qui en découlent.

Par ailleurs, le caractère sélectif de la migration fait des immigrés un groupe unique dont les comportements pré et post migratoires sont intimement liés à des traits de personnalité et caractéristiques individuelles qui diffèrent des populations non-migrantes (Nogle, 1994). Ces traits de personnalité (p. ex., ambition, prise de risques) n'interviennent pas uniquement dans la propension à migrer, mais aussi dans la propension à entreprendre d'autres projets au fil de la vie. C'est du moins ce que proposent Kulu et Steele (2013) qui, en modélisant simultanément la propension à migrer et à avoir un enfant, concluent que non seulement ces événements s'influencent l'un l'autre, mais que des traits latents communs expliqueraient en partie le risque de connaître ces deux événements. Cette simultanété a depuis été démontrée pour la migration et le mariage (Jang, Casterline, & Snyder, 2014), la migration et le divorce (Mikolai & Kulu, 2018), puis la migration et les transitions d'emploi (Huinink, Vidal, & Kley, 2014).

Outre l'hétérogénéité non observée, notons l'effet sélectif de la migration sur un ensemble de caractéristiques démographiques et socioéconomiques. Les différences de caractéristiques individuelles entre immigrés (de différentes origines) et natifs expliquent, du moins en partie, la variabilité des parcours résidentiels, familiaux et professionnels observés.

L'effet sélectif de la migration ne se limite toutefois pas qu'à l'entrée sur le territoire : tout comme l'immigration, l'émigration n'a rien d'un processus aléatoire. La décision de rester ou de quitter la Suisse est influencée, du moins en partie, par le parcours de vie dans la société d'accueil. Ainsi, le succès professionnel ou encore la mise en couple peut influencer la probabilité qu'a un individu de rester en Suisse, de retourner au pays d'origine ou de poursuivre son parcours migratoire vers une tierce

destination. Ce biais de sélection à la sortie peut être particulièrement problématique pour les données rétrospectives qui ne documentent que des parcours d'*établissement*. L'hypothèse de la sélection fait aussi référence aux similitudes entre immigrés de différentes origines et population à destination (Milewski, 2007). Les individus qui migrent auraient des intentions et préférences similaires à celles de la population de destination en matière de parcours de vie et d'aspirations personnelles. Cette hypothèse, au contraire de celles qui précèdent, prédit une convergence des parcours entre immigrés et natifs. Bien que toutes ces spécificités ne puissent être mesurées formellement dans des modèles statistiques, elles seront prises en compte au moment d'analyser les résultats.

1.3 Objectifs et structure de la thèse

Cette thèse se propose d'intégrer les principes du parcours de vie afin d'appréhender les interrelations entre trajectoires professionnelles, familiales et résidentielles et de faire ressortir les différences entre immigrés et natifs, ou entre immigrés de différentes origines. Nous y analysons l'hétérogénéité des trajectoires et interprétons leurs spécificités au prisme des différentes dimensions dans lesquelles elles sont imbriquées. Au niveau micro, nous mettons l'accent sur le rôle des ressources individuelles (capital humain) et sur certains traits de personnalité pour expliquer la propension qu'ont les immigrés et les natifs à connaître (simultanément) certaines transitions. L'influence des relations sociales (au niveau méso) ne peut toutefois être modélisée directement dans le cadre de cette thèse ; faute de données adaptées, cette dimension ne sera que brièvement évoquée au fil du manuscrit. Au niveau macro, nous considérons les spécificités des marchés du logement et de l'emploi comme garant de certaines opportunités différenciées pour ces deux groupes. Le sixième chapitre de cette thèse va d'ailleurs un peu plus loin en testant formellement le rôle de la discrimination comme contrainte additionnelle dans l'accès au logement.

Cette thèse se décline en six chapitres, dont quatre chapitres empiriques écrits sous la forme d'articles scientifiques. En préambule (Chapitre 2) nous y décrivons la population à l'étude et ses spécificités. Le Chapitre 3 intitulé « Differences in Labor Supply by Birthplace and Family Composition in Switzerland : the Role of Human Capital and Household Income » (avec Elena Vidal-Coso) et publié dans la revue « International migration and integration », s'intéresse à l'intersection des trajectoires

familiales et professionnelles pour expliquer les différences d'heures travaillées entre femmes natives et immigrées. Bien qu'il s'agisse d'une approche transversale, la richesse des données de l'Enquête suisse sur la population active (2010-2014) nous permet de modéliser l'effet du statut migratoire sur la présence en emploi, séparément pour les ménages de femmes célibataires, de couples sans enfant et de couples avec enfants. Nous y considérons la notion de coût et d'opportunité en mettant l'accent sur le capital humain (éducation et revenu du ménage principalement) et ses effets sur les dynamiques famille-emploi.

Le quatrième chapitre intitulé « A life course approach to immigrants' relocation : Linking long- and short-distance mobility sequences » (avec Jonathan Zufferey) et publié dans « Migration Letters » documente les premières étapes constitutives des parcours résidentiels des immigrés en Suisse. Nous y dissociions les individus immobiles, de ceux dont la mobilité est liée à des événements professionnels, familiaux, ou encore aux deux. En parallèle, nous testons deux hypothèses concurrentes - celle de l'ajustement résidentiel et celle du migrant fréquent - pour expliquer l'enchaînement des mouvements migratoires. Par ailleurs, en restreignant nos analyses aux jeunes migrants (arrivés avant 35 ans) nous cherchons à dissocier les effets d'âge, de durée de résidence et d'événements liés à la transition à la vie adulte sur la propension à se relocaliser en Suisse.

Le cinquième chapitre « Family-level sources of internal migration for natives and immigrants : Evidence from Swiss administrative data » (Avec Alain Gagnon et Philippe Wanner) est en quelque sorte un prolongement du quatrième chapitre et se focalise sur le rôle du statut matrimonial et les événements familiaux pour expliquer la mobilité résidentielle de la population. Grâce aux données administratives, nous sommes à même d'identifier les variations dans l'intensité des changements de résidence au moment d'une naissance, d'un mariage et d'un divorce. Nous y testons notamment l'hypothèse d'une mobilité différentielle pour la population immigrée et native au moment de ces transitions. L'immobilité, ou l'incapacité à trouver un logement à la mesure de ses besoins (en particulier au moment de l'agrandissement de la taille du ménage), est utilisée comme signal d'un désavantage sur le marché du logement.

Enfin, l'hypothèse du désavantage sur le marché du logement suisse est analysée plus directement dans le sixième chapitre, pour lequel mes collègues (Daniel

INTRODUCTION

Auer, Didier Ruedin et Eva Zschirnt) et moi avons mené une étude expérimentale sur la discrimination. Pour ce faire, 11 000 candidatures fictives pour visiter des logements ont été envoyées par courriel à 5500 propriétaires, soit deux candidatures par annonce, l'une avec un nom à consonance étrangère, l'autre avec un nom à consonance suisse. Six messages types (formel, neutre, informel) dans la langue de l'annonce (français, allemand, italien) ont été créés, dans lesquels nous avons intégré aléatoirement nombre de caractéristiques individuelles (type d'emploi, permis de séjour, structure familiale) sur les candidats fictifs. À ces variables s'ajoutent plusieurs indicateurs régionaux (taux de logements vacants, part d'immigrants dans la population, affiliation politique) caractérisant le territoire et ses habitants.

Les analyses ont d'abord conduit à un rapport de recherche intitulé « Discrimination ethnique sur le marché du logement Suisse »⁶ (Avec Daniel Auer, Didier Ruedin et Eva Zschirnt) pour le compte de l'Office fédéral du logement. En plus de l'effet de l'*ethnicité* (tel qu'indiqué par le nom des candidats) nous y avons mesuré l'importance du genre, de l'âge, du permis de séjour, du niveau de qualification, ou encore, de la qualité de la rédaction sur la probabilité d'être invité pour visiter un logement.

Les principales analyses de ce rapport sont présentées en préambule du Chapitre 6 et servent de base d'analyse à la seconde section de ce chapitre intitulé « Conservatism or xenophobia? Ethnic discrimination in context » (avec Daniel Auer, Didier Ruedin et Eva Zschirnt). Nous tirons avantage de la spécificité du système politique suisse et incluons les résultats des votations par référendum comme proxy du climat idéologique au niveau municipal. Ce faisant, nous testons quel climat idéologique - xénophobe ou conservateur (conceptualisé comme une résistance aux changements) - explique le mieux les comportements discriminatoires à l'égard des minorités ethniques.

⁶ Titre original: Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt. Seul le résumé est traduit en français.

1.4 Références

- Adserà, A., & Ferrer, A. (2014). Chapter 7 - Immigrants and Demography: Marriage, Divorce, and Fertility. In B. R. Chiswick & P. W. Miller (Éd.), *Handbook of the Economics of International Migration* (p. 315-374). <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-53764-5.00007-4>
- Akresh, I. R. (2008). Occupational Trajectories of Legal US Immigrants: Downgrading and Recovery. *Population and Development Review*, 34(3), 435-456. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2008.00231.x>
- Andersson, G. (2004). Childbearing after Migration: Fertility Patterns of Foreign-born Women in Sweden. *International Migration Review*, 38(2), 747–774.
- Bernard, A., Bell, M., & Charles-Edwards, E. (2014). Life-Course Transitions and the Age Profile of Internal Migration. *Population and Development Review*, 40(2), 213-239. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2014.00671.x>
- Billari, F. C., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2010). Towards a new pattern of transition to adulthood? *Advances in Life Course Research*, 15(2), 59-75. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2010.10.003>
- Birg, H. (1987). *A biography approach to theoretical demography*.
- Bongaarts, J. (1978). A Framework for Analyzing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility. *Population and Development Review*, 4(1), 105-132. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1972149>
- Buchmann, M. C., & Kriesi, I. (2011). Transition to Adulthood in Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37(1), 481-503. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150212>
- Chiswick, B. R. (1978). The effect of Americanization on the earnings of foreign-born men. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 897.
- Clark, W. A. V. (2013). Life course events and residential change: unpacking age effects on the probability of moving. *Journal of Population Research*, 30(4), 319–334.
- Coleman, D. A. (2008). The demographic effects of international migration in Europe. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 24, 452–476.
- De Jong, G. F., & Fawcett, J. T. (1981). Motivations for migration: an assessment and a value-expectancy research model. In *Migration Decision Making. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries* (Pergamon Press, p. 13-58). New York: De Jong, G. F. and Gardner, R. W.
- De Valk, H. A. G (2006). *Pathways into adulthood. A comparative study on family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth* (Dissertation, Utrecht University). Consulté à l'adresse <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/12835>

- De Valk, H. A. G., & Milewski, N. (2011). Family life transitions among children of immigrants: An introduction. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 16(4), 145-151. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2011.10.001>
- De Valk, H. A. G., Windzio, M., Wingens, M., & Aybek, C. (2011). Immigrant settlement and the life course: An exchange of research perspectives and outlook for the future. In M. Wingens, H. A. De Valk, & Aybek (Éd.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration* (p. 283–297). Dordrecht: Springer.
- De Valk, H. A. G. (2011). Path to adulthood : A focus on the children of immigrants in the Netherlands. In M. Wingens, H. A. De Valk, & Aybek (Éd.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration* (p. 283–297). Dordrecht: Springer.
- De Valk, H. A. G., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2007). Timing Preferences for Women's Family-Life Transitions: Intergenerational Transmission Among Migrants and Dutch. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69(1), 190-206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00353.x>
- Diewald, M. (2012). Bedürfnisse und Präferenzen. Kompensations- und Substitutions-Möglichkeiten dialogischer Beziehungen. In *Die notwendige Vielfalt von Familie und Partnerschaft*. Consulté à l'adresse <https://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/record/2531617>
- Elder, G. H. (1994). Time, Human Agency, and Social Change: Perspectives on the Life Course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57(1), 4-15. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2786971>
- Elder Jr, G. H. (1985). *Life course dynamics: trajectories and transitions 1968-1980*. (Cornell University Press). Ithaca and London.
- Elder Jr., G. H., Johnson, M. K., & Crosnoe, R. (2003). The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory. In J. T. Mortimer & M. J. Shanahan (Éd.), *Handbook of the Life Course* (p. 3-19). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-306-48247-2_1
- Ferrari, G., & Pailhé, A. (2017). Transition to adulthood in France: Do children of immigrants differ from natives? *Advances in Life Course Research*, 31, 34-56. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2016.10.001>
- Fuller, S., & Martin, T. F. (2012). Predicting Immigrant Employment Sequences in the First Years of Settlement1. *International Migration Review*, 46(1), 138-190. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2012.00883.x>
- González-Ferrer, A. (2011). Explaining the labour performance of immigrant women in Spain: The interplay between family, migration and legal trajectories. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52(1-2), 63-78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715210377153>
- Hogan, D. P., & Goldscheider, F. K. (2003). Success and Challenge in Demographic Studies of the Life Course. In J. T. Mortimer & M. J. Shanahan (Éd.), *Handbook of the Life Course* (p. 681-691). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-306-48247-2_32

- Huinink, J., & Kohli, M. (2014). A life-course approach to fertility. *Demographic Research*, 30, 1293.
- Huinink, J., Vidal, S., & Kley, S. (2014). Individuals' openness to migrate and job mobility. *Social science research*, 44, 1–14.
- Jang, B. J., Casterline, J. B., & Snyder, A. R. (2014). Migration and marriage: Modeling the joint process. *Demographic Research*, 30, 1339.
- Kleinepier, T. (2016). *Life courses of immigrants and their descendants*. University of Groningen, Groningen.
- Kleinepier, T., de Valk, H. A., & van Gaalen, R. (2015). Life Paths of Migrants: A Sequence Analysis of Polish Migrants' Family Life Trajectories. *European Journal of Population*, 31(2), 155–179.
- Kleinepier, T., van Ham, M., & Nieuwenhuis, J. (2018). Ethnic differences in timing and duration of exposure to neighborhood disadvantage during childhood. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 36, 92-104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2018.04.003>
- Kley, S. (2010). Explaining the stages of migration within a life-course framework. *European sociological review*, 27(4), 469–486.
- Kohli, M. (2007). The Institutionalization of the Life Course: Looking Back to Look Ahead. *Research in Human Development*, 4(3-4), 253-271. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15427600701663122>
- Kulu, H., & González-Ferrer, A. (2014). Family Dynamics Among Immigrants and Their Descendants in Europe: Current Research and Opportunities. *European Journal of Population*, 30(4), 411-435. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-014-9322-0>
- Kulu, H., & Steele, F. (2013). Interrelationships between childbearing and housing transitions in the family life course. *Demography*, 50(5), 1687–1714.
- Lacroix, J., Gagnon, A., & Lortie, V. (2017). À l'intersection du genre et de l'origine nationale: quels sont les parcours professionnels des immigrants sélectionnés au Québec? *Population*, 72(3), 435–462.
- Liefbroer, A. C., & Dykstra, P. A. (2000). *Levenslopen in verandering: een studie naar ontwikkelingen in de levenslopen van Nederlanders geboren tussen 1900 en 1970*. Den Haag: SDU.
- Liefbroer, A. C., & Elzinga, C. H. (2012). Intergenerational transmission of behavioural patterns: How similar are parents' and children's demographic trajectories? *Advances in Life Course Research*, 17(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2012.01.002>
- Lindenberg, S. (1996). Continuities in the theory 10 of social production functions. *Verklarende sociologie: Opstellen voor Reinhard Wippler*, Thesis Publishers, Amsterdam, 169–184.

- Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1985). Spatial Assimilation as a Socioeconomic Outcome. *American Sociological Review*, 50(1), 94-106. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095343>
- Mikolai, J., & Kulu, H. (2018). Divorce, Separation, and Housing Changes: A Multiprocess Analysis of Longitudinal Data from England and Wales. *Demography*, 55(1), 83–106.
- Milewski, N. (2007). First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: Interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation? *Demographic Research*, 17, 859.
- Morris, T. (2017). Examining the influence of major life events as drivers of residential mobility and neighbourhood transitions. *Demographic Research*, 36, 1015–1038.
- Mulder, C. H., & Wagner, M. (1998). First-time home-ownership in the family life course: A West German-Dutch comparison. *Urban studies*, 35(4), 687–713.
- Nogle, J. M. (1994). Internal migration for recent immigrants to Canada. *International Migration Review*, 31–48.
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2017), Population selon le statut migratoire, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/selon-statut-migratoire.html>, (récupéré le 19 août 2019).
- Öst, C. E. (2012). Housing and children: simultaneous decisions?—a cohort study of young adults' housing and family formation decision. *Journal of Population Economics*, 25(1), 349–366.
- Rindfuss, R. R. (1991). The Young Adult Years: Diversity, Structural Change, and Fertility. *Demography*, 28(4), 493-512. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2061419>
- Rogers, A., & Castro, L. (1979). *Age patterns of migration: cause-specific profiles* | *POPLINE.org* (N° Research report RR-79-065). Consulté à l'adresse International Institut for Applied Systems Analysis website: <https://www.ponline.org/node/389792>
- Thomas, W., & Znaniecki, F. (1918). *The polish peasant in Europe and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vidal-Coso, E. (2018). Female employment following childbirth: differences between native and immigrant women in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 0(0), 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1444983>
- Wagner, M., & Mulder, C. H. (2015). Spatial Mobility, Family Dynamics, and Housing Transitions. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie*, 67(1), 111-135. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-015-0327-4>
- Warner, C., & Sharp, G. (2016). The short- and long-term effects of life events on residential mobility. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 27, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2015.09.002>

- Warnes, A. M. (1992). Age-related variation and temporal change in elderly migration. In *Elderly migration and population redistribution* (p. 35-37). A. Rogers.
- Widmer, E. D., & Ritschard, G. (2009). The de-standardization of the life course: Are men and women equal? *Advances in Life Course Research*, 14(1), 28-39. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2009.04.001>
- Wingens, M., de Valk, H., Windzio, M., & Aybek, C. (2011). The sociological life course approach and research on migration and integration. In M. Wingens, H. de Valk, & C. Aybek (Éd.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration* (p. 1–26). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Withers, S. D. (1998). Linking household transitions and housing transitions: a longitudinal analysis of renters. *Environment and Planning A*, 30(4), 615–630.
- Zufferey, J., & Lacroix, J. (accepté pour publication). Interrelations entre vies familiale, professionnelle et migratoire : le cas des jeunes migrants en Suisse. Dans *Mobilités spatiales et populations*. CUDEP

2. La Suisse comme laboratoire d'études

Cette thèse et les quatre articles qui la composent prennent la Suisse pour laboratoire d'études. Ce contexte national confère de nombreux avantages pour l'analyse des parcours de vie des immigrés, en commençant par un large éventail de données (d'enquêtes et administratives) permettant de reconstituer les parcours familiaux, professionnels et résidentiels de la population. La portée des résultats dépasse toutefois le seul contexte suisse. Cette thèse vise en effet à apporter des réponses généralisables aux questions précitées, à l'aide de différentes sources de données suisses. En revanche, certains parcours peuvent être très spécifiques au lieu d'étude, c'est pourquoi nous nous efforçons d'interpréter les résultats à la lumière des spécificités du territoire et de son organisation sociale.

Il est d'abord primordial d'évoquer, dans ce chapitre, les particularités historiques et politiques de l'immigration en Suisse, afin de mieux cerner le contexte d'arrivée de la population à l'étude. Nous y décrivons, par la suite, les caractéristiques de la population présente sur le territoire, en matière de motif d'admission, d'origine géographique, de structure par âge, de composition des ménages, d'insertion professionnelle et enfin, de répartition territoriale.

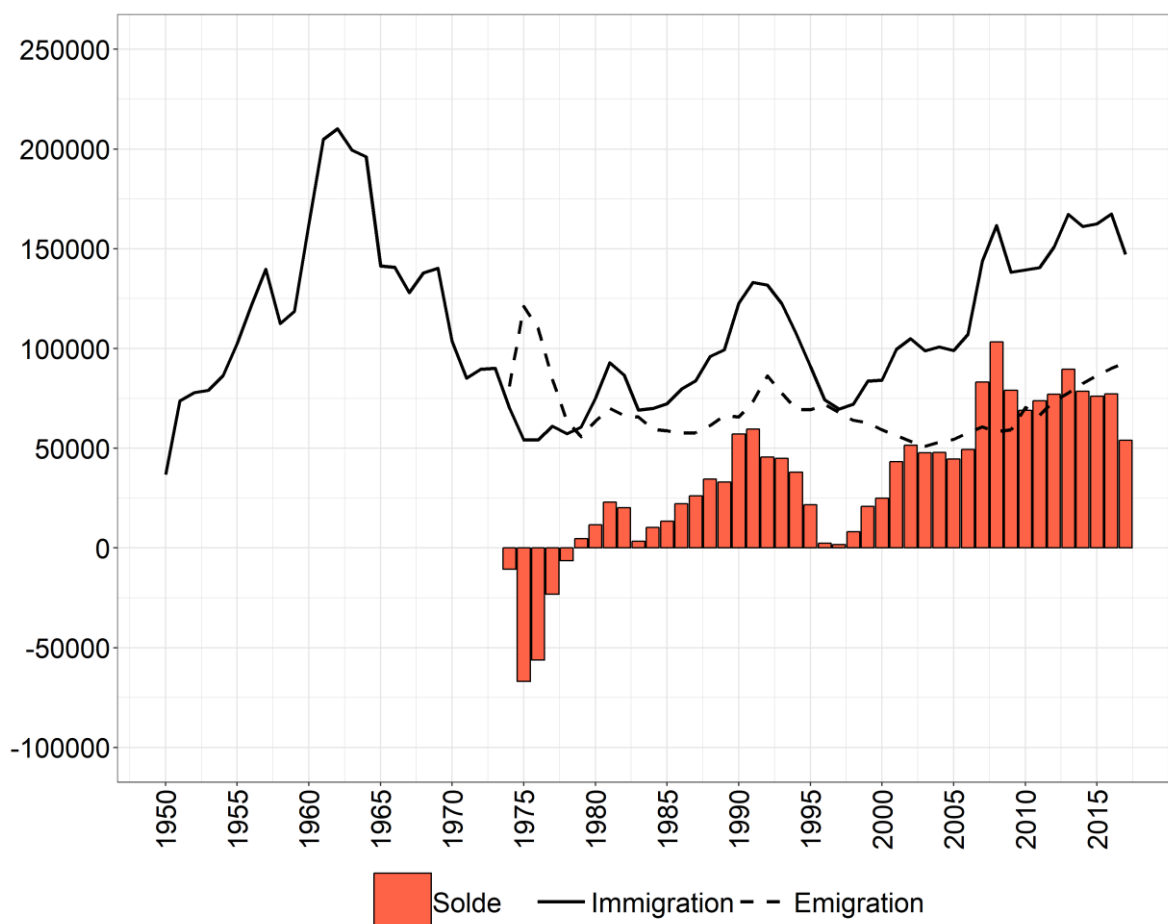
2.1 Une brève histoire des migrations récentes en Suisse

La Suisse compte fin 2017 2 519 100 résidents permanents nés à l'extérieur du pays, soit 30% de sa population totale (OFS 2018a). Les flux migratoires depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont fortement été régulés par des forces et intérêts — souvent divergents — des milieux économiques et politiques.

Au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et au bénéfice d'une situation économique florissante, les portes sont grandes ouvertes pour le recrutement d'une main-d'œuvre étrangère, en particulier dans certains secteurs peu qualifiés où les entreprises peinent à recruter. Les entrées et sorties des travailleurs sont alors assujetties à une politique de rotation de la main-d'œuvre, censée assurer le caractère temporaire de ces migrations. Les immigrés se voient octroyer des permis saisonniers ou de séjours de courtes durées, astreints à l'occupation d'un emploi. Ce sont principalement les Italiens, et dans une moindre mesure les Espagnols, qui répondent à l'appel, en particulier dans les secteurs de l'industrie et de la construction. Les

secteurs du textile, de l'industrie alimentaire et des services domestiques attirent, quant à eux, une population de travailleuses majoritairement venues d'Autriche et d'Allemagne. Le nombre d'entrants se maintiendra au-dessus de 100 000 chaque année entre 1955 et 1970, avec un pic à 210 000 en 1962 (Figure 1).

Figure 1 : Flux migratoires vers et depuis la Suisse, 1950-2017



Source : Office fédéral de la statistique : OFIAMT (1950-1973) – RCE (1974-1980)
– PETRA (1981-2010) – STATPOP (dès 2011)

Loin de faire l'unanimité, la politique de rotation alors en place est rapidement mise à l'épreuve de revendications populaires. Devant la perception d'une menace de surpopulation étrangère, des amendements constitutionnels sont proposés par voie référendaire. Plusieurs initiatives populaires contre *la pénétration étrangère*⁷ (1965) ou encore contre *l'emprise étrangère et le surpeuplement de la Suisse* (deux votations,

⁷ Initiative retirée en 1968 après que le Conseil fédéral se soit engagé à réduire de 3% la population étrangère pour la fin de 1968, puis de 2% l'année suivante (Piguet 2009, 27).

l'une en 1970⁸ et l'autre en 1974) proposent tour à tour un durcissement des politiques migratoires et une réduction drastique des admissions. La multiplication des initiatives et le durcissement des débats forcera le gouvernement à réagir. La solution proposée est alors celle de quotas d'admission annuels visant à réguler les entrées dès le début des années 1970. Cette tentative de plafonnement de la population étrangère va toutefois échouer, notamment en raison des gains acquis en matière de regroupement familial (non soumis au contingentement), de la possibilité de convertir un permis saisonnier en permis annuel après cinq années consécutives de travail en Suisse, mais aussi, en raison des naissances issues de la population étrangère. La part de la population étrangère continue donc de croître, passant de 17% en 1970 à 18,4% en 1973 (Piguet 2009, 34).

La crise pétrolière de 1973 va toutefois renverser cette tendance. Pour la première fois depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la Suisse enregistre davantage de sorties que d'entrées. Entre 1974 et 1977, environ 10% des emplois sont supprimés et les étrangers sont les premiers touchés par les licenciements (Piguet 2009, 36). Le renouvellement des permis étant conditionnel à l'occupation d'un emploi, nombre de licenciés n'ont d'autres choix que de quitter la Suisse.

Les années 1980 apportent un renouveau dans le paysage migratoire helvétique. La politique de quotas toujours en place depuis les années septante aura pour conséquence de favoriser les permis de plus longue durée au profit des permis saisonniers. C'est donc une migration plus durable qui voit le jour. Par ailleurs, l'assouplissement des règles en matière de regroupement familial fait de ce motif d'admission le plus important de la période. Des immigrés venus du Portugal et d'Ex-Yougoslavie s'ajoutent aux vagues d'immigration traditionnelles et amorcent un phénomène de substitution de main-d'œuvre dans les secteurs d'activité (p.ex., construction, restauration, hôtellerie) précédemment investis par les Suisses et les immigrés de plus longue date.

Différents facteurs viendront raviver, une fois de plus, les tensions politiques à l'égard de la population étrangère. D'abord, le ralentissement économique du début des années nonante touchera disproportionnellement la population étrangère qui verra

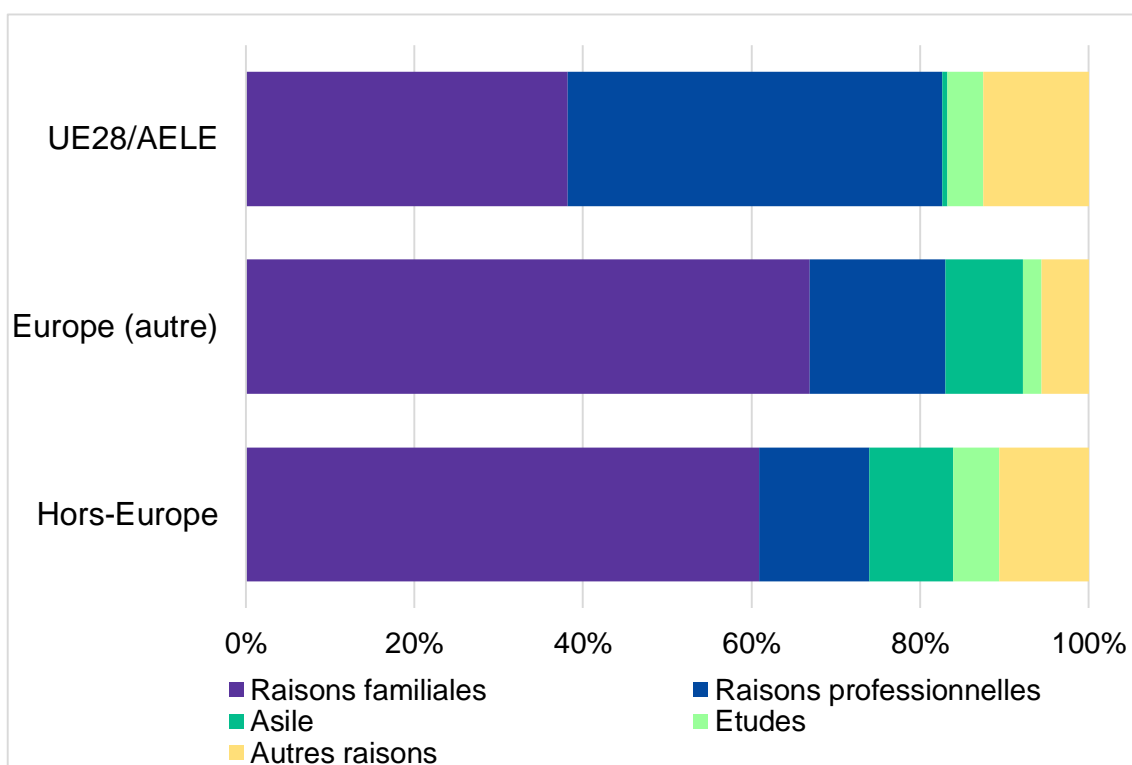
⁸ Cette initiative propose d'abaisser la proportion d'étrangers établis ou en séjours à un maximum de 10% dans chacun des cantons, à l'exception de Genève (Piguet 2009, 28).

son taux de chômage augmenter considérablement (Becker, Liebig, et Sousa-Poza 2008). Cette situation s'explique par une plus grande inadéquation entre les qualifications des immigrés (souvent peu qualifiés) et les nouvelles exigences d'un marché du travail (Straubhaar 1991, tel que cité par Becker, Liebig, et Sousa-Poza 2008). Contrairement au scénario des années 1970, une part importante d'immigrés bénéficie d'une protection sociale en cas de licenciement et n'est donc plus financièrement contrainte de quitter la Suisse. Par ailleurs, les demandes d'asile se multiplient entre 1991 et 1999 des suites des crises politiques dans les Balkans, mais aussi en Turquie et au Sri Lanka, pour en nommer quelques-uns. Ces crises continueront à s'étendre à un nombre croissant de régions, complexifiant ainsi les procédures d'octroi du statut de réfugié. Bien que la politique d'accueil des réfugiés ne soit en aucun cas nouvelle, elle ne répond plus à une logique de solidarité contre le communisme (Piguet 2009, 76). Le consensus en est par le fait même affaibli. On parlera d'une crise de l'asile alors que la Suisse reçoit 42 000 demandes en 1991, puis 46 000 en 1999, des effectifs jamais atteints auparavant (Piguet 2009, 81). Les questions liées au domaine de l'asile seront dès lors constamment remises à l'agenda politique, laissant place à un durcissement progressif des politiques en la matière. Toutefois, malgré un nombre record d'entrées pour motif d'asile, le solde migratoire des années 1990 (environ 30 000 annuellement) restera bien en deçà des effectifs atteints au cours de la période des Trente Glorieuses.

En parallèle, un défi de taille occupe les parlementaires suisses : celui d'un rapprochement avec l'Union européenne. Pour ce faire, des concessions en matière de libre circulation paraissent inévitables. Devant des mouvements xénophobes exacerbés, il est impératif de trouver un compromis. La politique des trois cercles, alors officieusement en place, fera dorénavant office de politique officielle. Sont alors priorisés à l'admission les ressortissants de *cultures proches*, avec un cercle intérieur composé des pays membres de l'UE et de l'AELE, suivi du cercle médian (États-Unis, Canada et Europe de l'Est), puis du cercle extérieur ou de cultures dites éloignées. Cette politique met explicitement de l'avant des critères ethnoculturels comme mode de sélection des immigrés, avec pour principe que la proximité culturelle des immigrés importe davantage que son nombre (Mahnig et Piguet 2003, 90; Zufferey 2014). Puis, dans un ultime effort de rapprochement avec l'UE à la fin des années nonante, la politique des deux cercles, opposant l'Union Européenne au reste du monde, se

substituera à celle des trois cercles. Enfin, c'est avec une forte majorité de voix (67%) que le peuple suisse accepte, en 2000, l'accord de libre circulation des personnes avec l'UE/AELE. Dès son entrée en vigueur en 2002, les conditions de séjour et de travail seront facilitées pour les ressortissants de ces pays. Ainsi, deux tiers des immigrés proviennent aujourd'hui de l'UE/AELE, avec pour principaux contributeurs les ressortissants des pays voisins (Allemagne, Italie et France). Cette migration se distingue des flux précédents par une importante part d'actifs hautement qualifiés. En contrepartie, les travailleurs non européens ne sont admis qu'exceptionnellement, sur la base de leurs qualifications professionnelles.

Figure 2 : Motifs d'admission auto-déclarés des immigrés selon la nationalité



Source: OFS, ESPA, module migration

Cette opposition des règles en matière de séjour et d'admission pour les ressortissants de l'Union européenne et les ressortissants des pays tiers se reflète dans les motifs d'admission de ces deux groupes de population (Figure 2). En effet, les entrées pour raisons professionnelles sont prépondérantes chez les ressortissants de l'UE/AELE (44% des admissions), alors qu'elles ne sont que marginales pour les ressortissants d'autres pays (16% pour les autres pays de l'Europe et 13% pour les pays extra-européens). Bien que les entrées pour motifs familiaux soient aussi importantes chez les ressortissants de l'UE/AELE (38% des admissions), elles

représentent la principale part des admissions pour les autres pays (66 et 60% respectivement).

Malgré une situation économique favorable, le taux d'émigration demeure élevé en Suisse. Le taux de départ pour les individus arrivés en 1998 atteint 56% après cinq années de résidence pour les ressortissants de l'OCDE (hors UE/AELE), 46% pour les ressortissants originaires de l'UE/AELE et 24% pour les ressortissants hors OCDE (OFS / SEM (CAR, CEMIS, STATPOP). D'ailleurs, depuis la ratification par la Suisse de l'accord de libre circulation des personnes, le rythme des départs s'est considérablement accentué pour les citoyens de l'UE (nccr – on the move, Migration-Mobility indicators, 2019).

Dans une étude des déterminants des flux d'émigration récents depuis la Suisse, Fioretta et Wanner (2017) soulèvent la difficulté d'identifier un seul profil type de l'émigrant tant les motifs de départ sont variés. Néanmoins, ces auteurs documentent une plus forte propension à l'émigration parmi les hommes, jeunes, célibataires, détenant un niveau de formation tertiaire, en formation ou sans emploi, nés à l'étranger, ressortissants d'un pays de l'OCDE et arrivés récemment en Suisse. La sélection négative à la sortie, telle que théorisée par Borjas et Bratsberg (1994), n'est que partiellement validée dans le cas de la Suisse. En effet, si les départs concernent davantage les personnes qui connaissent des difficultés d'insertion sur le marché de l'emploi (tant pour les natifs que pour les immigrés), les auteurs notent aussi un plus fort taux de départ parmi les titulaires d'un diplôme universitaire. Cette dynamique s'expliquerait en partie par une présence importante de sièges d'entreprises multinationales et qui s'accompagne pour beaucoup d'employés d'une forte mobilité de courte durée.

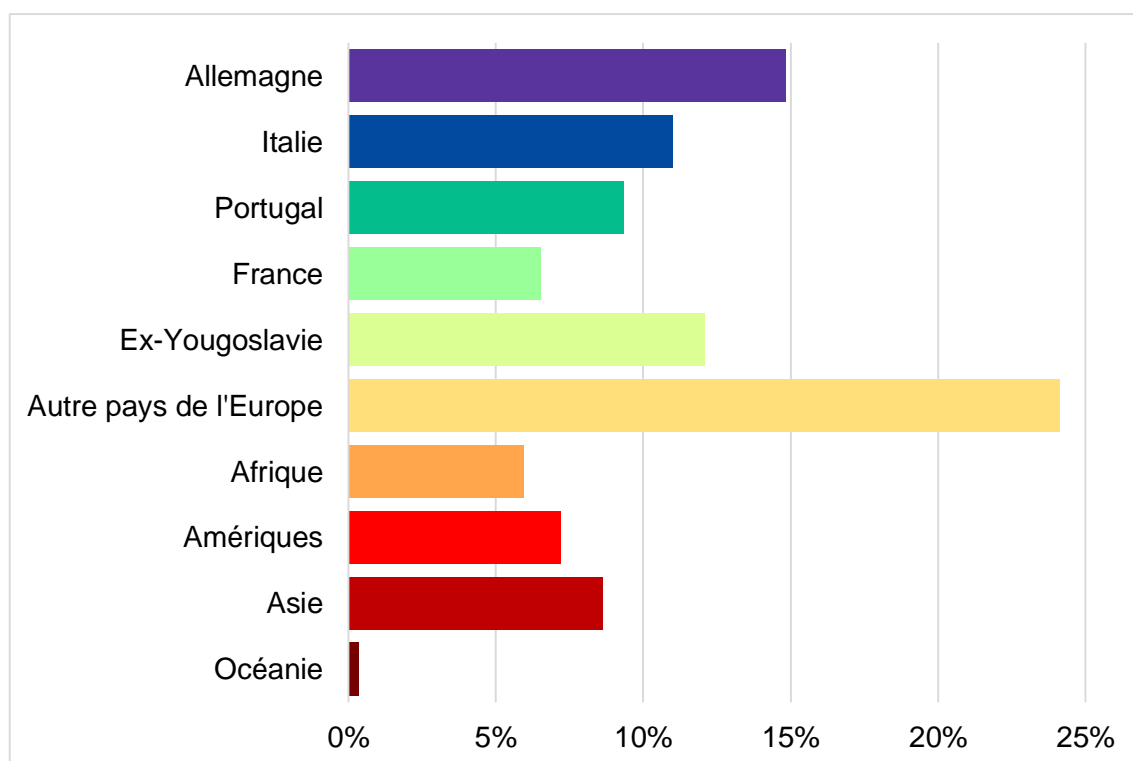
En ce qui concerne la naturalisation, on compte environ un tiers des personnes nées à l'étranger qui possèdent la nationalité suisse (OFS - STATPOP 2014). Ce sont, en revanche, les ressortissants de l'UE/AELE qui ont le plus faible taux de naturalisation. Cette situation n'est pas très étonnante étant donné que ce groupe est moins enclin à s'installer de façon prolongée, voire de façon permanente en Suisse. Par ailleurs, ces derniers sont moins susceptibles de rencontrer des contraintes administratives dues à leur nationalité.

2.2 Origines géographiques de la population immigrée

Les Figures 3 et 4 font écho aux spécificités historiques des flux migratoires vers et depuis la Suisse, telles que décrites à la section 2.1. La succession et diversification des flux migratoires au fil de la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle se reflètent, encore aujourd'hui, dans la composition de la population immigrée présente sur le territoire.

La Figure 3 illustre la distribution de la population née à l'étranger en fonction de la région ou du pays de naissance et selon son importance relative dans le pays, en commençant par l'Allemagne qui compte près de 15% du total des ressortissants nés à l'étranger, suivi par l'Ex-Yougoslavie (12%), l'Italie (11%), le Portugal (9%) et la France (6,5%). Hormis ces cinq pays, les immigrés nés sur le continent européen sont les plus représentés en Suisse (24%), loin devant l'Asie (8,6%), les Amériques (7%), l'Afrique (6%) et l'Océanie (0,4%). Cette prépondérance des ressortissants européens tient bien sûr à l'accord récent de libre-circulation avec l'UE, mais aussi à une migration plus traditionnelle avec des réseaux en Suisse historiquement bien ancrés.

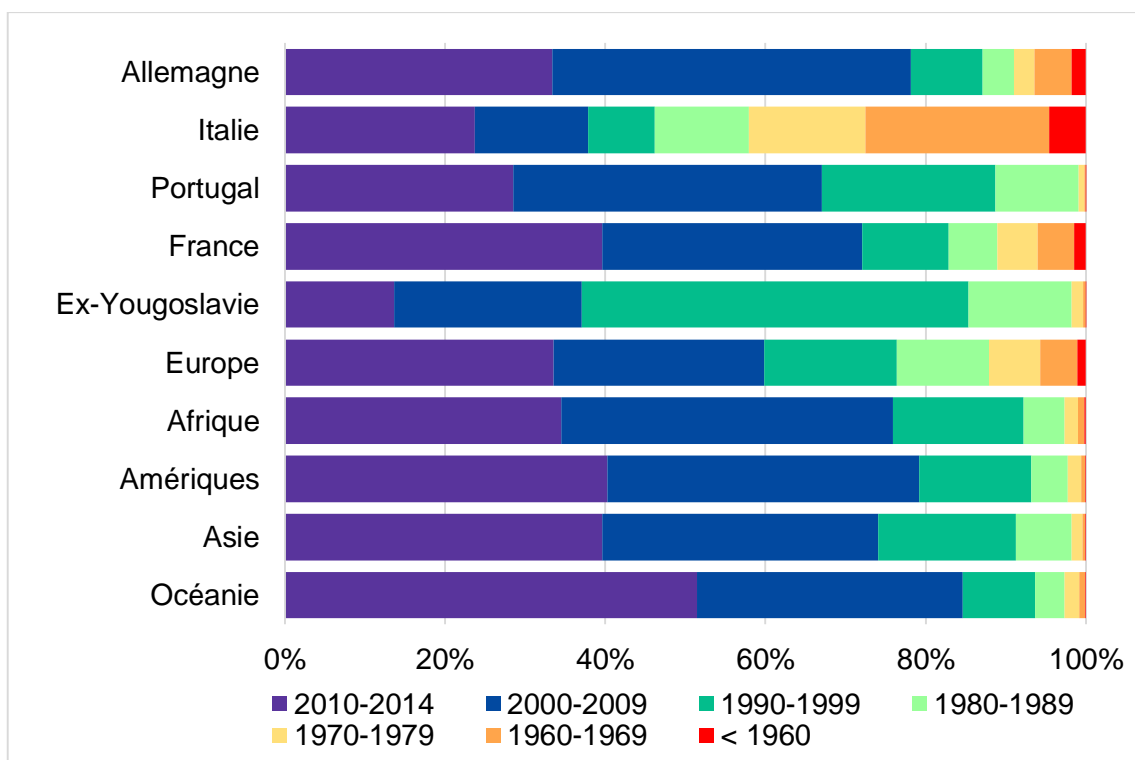
Figure 3 : Population immigrée selon le pays ou la région de naissance.



Source : STATPOP 2014

La Figure 4 souligne, quant à elle, la temporalité de ces flux avec une distinction selon l'année d'arrivée en Suisse. Bien entendu, plus une cohorte est ancienne et plus sa présence s'amenuise en raison des migrations de retour et de la mortalité. C'est en effet une surreprésentation évidente des cohortes récentes (2000-2014) que l'on observe, avec en particulier l'arrivée de migrants venus des pays voisins. Nous retrouvons toutefois les vestiges d'une migration plus ancienne, notamment celle des Italiens (cohorte 1950-1970), mais aussi celles des Portugais, de Turques et de ressortissants d'Ex-Yougoslavie, arrivés massivement dans les années 1980 et 1990.

Figure 4 : Population immigrée selon le pays de naissance et l'année d'arrivée



Source : STATPOP 2014 (20% de valeurs manquantes)

2.3 Structure par âge

La structure par âge et sexe des populations nées en Suisse et nées à l'étranger diffère à bien des égards. C'est d'abord le phénomène de vieillissement de la population, observé dans la plupart des pays occidentaux, qui caractérise la pyramide suisse. Ce déséquilibre démographique s'illustre par un bombement des effectifs pour les cohortes plus âgées, avec une part de personnes de plus de 65 ans qui atteint les 20% en 2014. Nous pouvons d'ailleurs y discerner les marques de différents événements historiques et comportements démographiques qui leur sont liés. Le

bombement des effectifs observés aux âges de 70 ans et autour de 50 ans correspond aux deux inflexions de la fécondité du baby-boom. En effet, la Suisse a connu une augmentation rapide et prolongée de la natalité une première fois entre 1938 et 1946, puis une seconde fois entre 1952 et 1964, avec un nombre record de 112 890 naissances enregistrées en 1964 (Duvoisin 2017, 60). On peut aussi y voir une génération de jeunes adultes plus nombreuse. Ces enfants de baby-boomers sont toutefois largement moins nombreux que leurs parents. L'indice conjoncturel de fécondité, autour de 1.5 enfants par femmes dans les années 1990 (OFS 2018b), n'aura pas suffi au renouvellement de la cohorte du baby-boom. La crise économique des années septante marque aussi la pyramide, soit par un recul des effectifs des trentenaires. A sa base, les moins de 15 ans comptent pour environ 20% de l'effectif total, soit une part relativement large. Ces effectifs regroupent les enfants d'immigrés nés après l'immigration. On compte en effet 20% de résidents de moins de 15 ans, nés en Suisse, qui ne possèdent pas la nationalité suisse.

Figure 5: Pyramide des âges



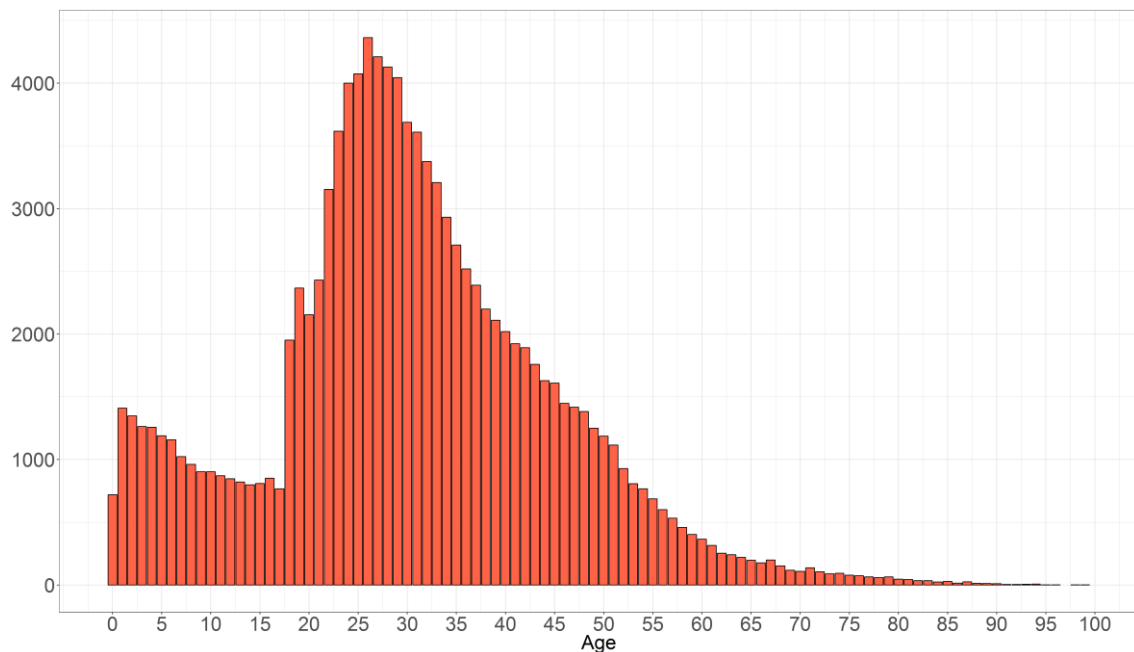
Source : STATPOP 2014

La pyramide de la population née à l'étranger, en forme de toupie, est quant à elle beaucoup plus atypique. La structure par âge et sexe de cette population

s'appréhende, non pas par une succession de cohortes de naissance, mais plutôt en fonction de l'âge à l'arrivée des immigrés. Par ailleurs, en plus du processus de vieillissement, c'est le processus de rétention des immigrés (ou *a contrario* l'émigration) qui assure principalement l'évolution verticale des effectifs. On ne sera pas étonné de voir une population composée majoritairement d'individus en âge d'activité, soit une part de 86% d'individus âgés entre 15 et 65 ans, souvent venus en Suisse pour occuper un emploi. Ces effectifs se réduisent toutefois considérablement dès 60 ans. Deux phénomènes expliquent cette situation. Le premier est qu'un nombre important d'immigrés effectuent une migration de retour dans le pays d'origine au moment de la retraite. Le second est que ces flux d'émigration ne sont que très peu compensés par de nouvelles arrivées de personnes âgées.

La Figure 6 documente l'âge à l'arrivée des immigrés la même année et fait écho à la forme de la pyramide de droite. On peut en effet y voir un maximum d'entrées sur le territoire helvétique entre 24 et 29 ans, avec un âge modal à 26 ans. Après 30 ans, le nombre d'immigrés réduit progressivement et se marginalise aux âges avancés. On y observe également les effectifs de jeunes enfants accompagnant leurs parents et que l'on retrouve au bas de la pyramide.

Figure 6 : Age à l'arrivée en Suisse



Source : STATPOP 2014

2.4 Structure du ménage

La structure du ménage revêt une importance capitale pour qui veut comprendre les dynamiques résidentielles et professionnelles d'une population. Alors que la mise en couple et l'arrivée d'enfants sont associées à une plus forte mobilité résidentielle, la présence d'enfants dans le ménage tend à la réduire. L'accès à la propriété ou encore la taille des logements disponibles diffèrent quant à eux selon le milieu de vie (p. ex., zones périurbaines, milieux ruraux ou urbains) qui lui-même attire différents types de ménages. Quant aux dynamiques professionnelles, elles sont bien entendu sujettes à des stratégies familiales et donc intimement liées à la présence d'enfants dans le ménage, mais aussi, au succès professionnel du conjoint, le cas échéant.

Les formes de vies familiales sont en outre le reflet de certaines normes culturelles. Elles s'observent en particulier par la prévalence de la cohabitation (prémariage), du mariage et de la parentalité dans ces deux formes d'union. La typologie des ménages présentée au Tableau 1 démontre une surreprésentation des couples (mariés ou non) avec enfant(s), soit 35 % de l'ensemble des ménages. Chez les non-Européens, cette part atteint les 46 %. Il est à noter que parmi les couples avec enfant(s), les couples non-mariés ne sont que marginalement représentés. Des variations s'observent toutefois entre groupes de nationalité, avec des Suisses qui optent plus fréquemment pour cette configuration que les immigrés : 27 % des couples suisses avec au moins un enfant dans le ménage ne sont pas mariés, contre 17 % pour les Européens et 11 % chez les non-Européens.

Les couples sans enfant représentent un autre quart des effectifs de l'ensemble des ménages. Les non-Européens sont légèrement sous-représentés dans cette configuration et lorsqu'ils y sont, une large majorité d'entre eux sont mariés. Hormis les préférences culturelles, nous expliquons la prépondérance du mariage chez les non-Européens par certains droits qui lui sont attachés, notamment celui du regroupement familial, ou dans d'autres cas, une certaine garantie de prolongation de l'autorisation de séjour.

Tableau 1 : Structure du ménage selon le pays de naissance du répondant, 20-65 ans, Suisse

	Suisse	UE28/ AELE	Hors-UE	Tous
Couple avec enfant(s)	33,3	32,1	46,3	34,9
marié	24,4	26,7	41,3	27,3
non-marié	8,9	5,3	5	7,6
Couple sans enfant	25,1	23,3	18,3	23,8
marié	15,4	14,4	15	15,1
non-marié	9,7	8,9	3,3	8,7
Ménage d'une personne	32,2	35,7	22,6	31,5
Ménage monoparental	6,7	4,9	7,3	6,4
Ménages multifamiliaux	0,3	0,5	3,6	0,8
Ménages non-familiaux avec plusieurs personnes	2,5	3,6	1,9	2,6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Relevé structurel 2014, valeurs pondérées

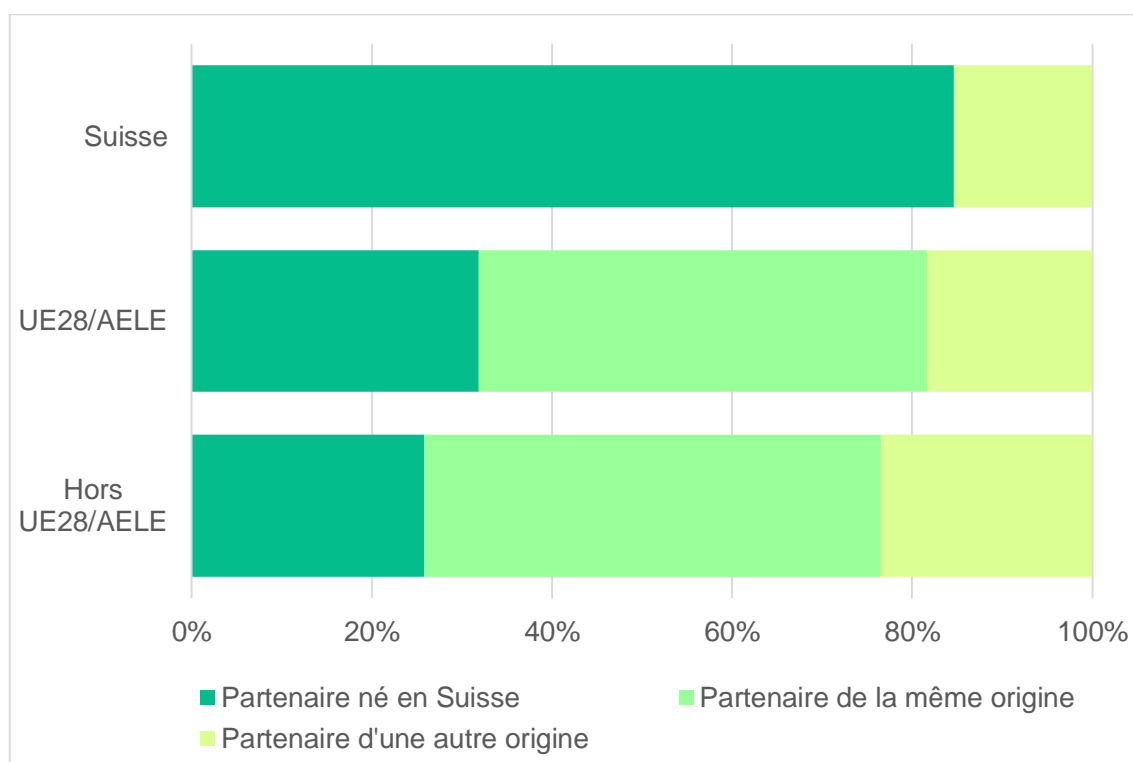
Près du tiers des ménages ne compte qu'un seul résident. Les migrants non-Européens échappent quelque peu à cette tendance avec une part de ménages d'une personne ne dépassant pas le quart des effectifs (23 %). Cette prévalence des ménages d'une seule personne est représentative d'une tendance historique, où depuis les années septante, le nombre de ménages de ce type a été multiplié par trois (OFS 2019a). En comparaison, les ménages constitués de couples sans enfant ont doublé alors que ceux de couples avec enfant(s) sont demeurés stables. En parallèle, le nombre d'habitants par logement est passé de 2,2 en moyenne en 2014 (2,1 pour les Européens et 2,8 pour les résidents nés à l'extérieur de l'UE) (Relevé structurel 2014) contre 2,9 en 1970 (OFS 2019b), une dynamique contribuant à la diminution des logements disponibles sur le territoire. Enfin, quelques différences s'observent chez les ménages multifamiliaux où l'on observe une surreprésentation d'immigrés non-Européens et chez les ménages non-familiaux (notamment des individus en colocation) qui comptent davantage d'immigrés européens.

2.5 Origine du partenaire

La mixité des couples, indiquée par une différence d'origine nationale entre partenaires, est souvent considérée comme un indicateur d'acculturation, en particulier chez les secondes générations. Nous nous garderons toutefois de lui donner un sens trop pointu dans le contexte de cette étude. Hormis le problème d'endogénéité que

cette mesure suscite, il n'est pas possible de déterminer si la mise en couple survient avant ou après l'arrivée en Suisse. Chez les primo-migrants, il est en effet fréquent que la mise en couple précède la migration vers la Suisse : elle ne peut donc pas être interprétée comme marqueur d'acculturation.

Figure 7 : Origine géographique du partenaire selon le pays de naissance du répondant, 20-65 ans, Suisse



Note : Uniquement pour les couples cohabitant au sein d'un même ménage

Source : Relevé structurel 2014, valeurs pondérées

La figure 7 montre qu'environ 50% des couples européens et non-européens cohabitant au sein d'un même ménage ont un partenaire de la même origine géographique. En revanche, nous constatons une plus forte proportion d'immigrés européens en couple avec un partenaire d'origine suisse, soit 32% d'entre eux, contre 26% chez les répondants nés hors de l'UE. Les Suisses, quant à eux, se mettent en couple avec un partenaire né en suisse dans 85% des cas.

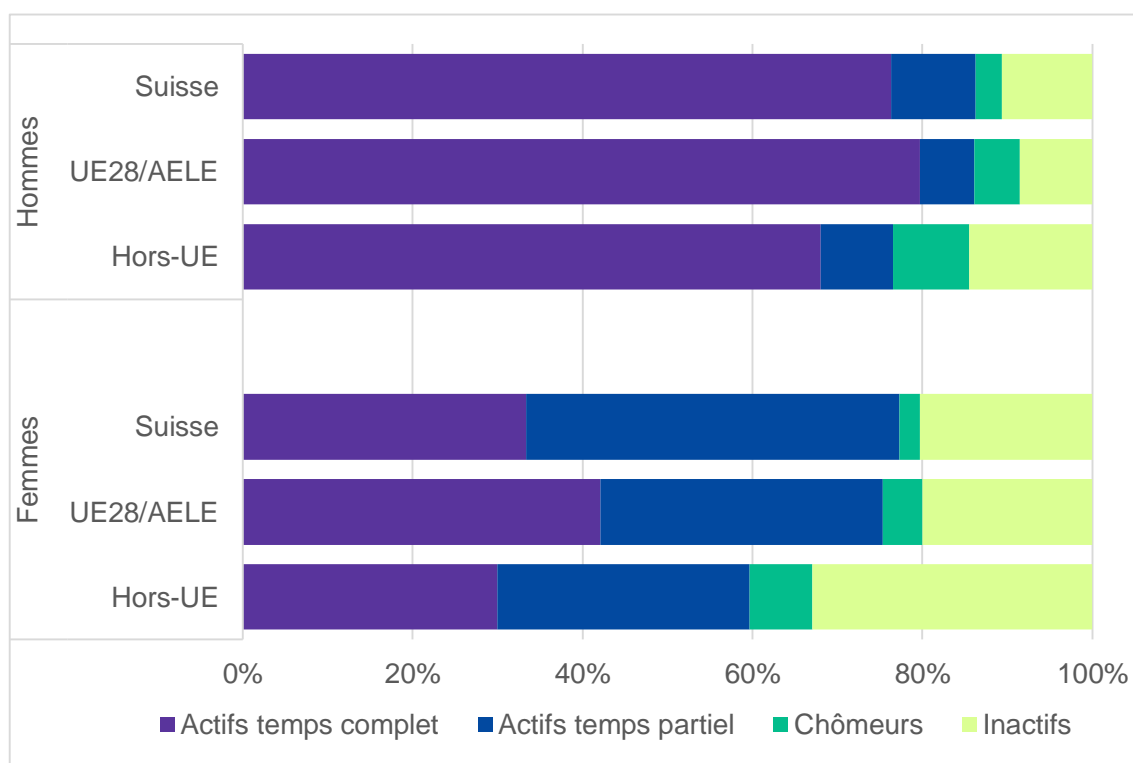
2.6 Statut d'activité

La Suisse se caractérise par un fort taux d'activité — le deuxième parmi les pays de l'OCDE (OCDE 2019) — tant chez les hommes que chez les femmes, et *a contrario*, par un faible niveau de chômage. Hommes et femmes se distinguent toutefois par le

temps en activité rémunérée et la part d'inactifs et d'inactives dans la population. Pour cette raison, nous présentons cette statistique séparément pour les deux groupes. Une fois de plus, le statut migratoire se pose comme variable déterminante du statut d'activité chez les 20 à 65 ans.

Plus des trois quarts des hommes, toutes origines confondues, occupent un emploi à temps complet, alors que moins d'un homme sur dix occupe un emploi à temps partiel. Les chômeurs sont quant à eux peu nombreux — autour de 4% — avec toutefois une surreprésentation d'immigrés nés hors UE/AELE (8,5%). Les différences entre groupes de nativité chez les hommes s'observent principalement entre actifs à temps complet, où les Suisses et les immigrés européens sont surreprésentés, et les inactifs, qui comptent une plus forte proportion d'immigrés nés hors de l'Union Européenne.

Figure 8 : Statut d'activité selon le sexe et la région de naissance du répondant, 20-65 ans, Suisse



Source : Relevé structurel 2014, valeurs pondérées

Chez les femmes, c'est la part d'actives à temps partiel qui ressort comme modalité prédominante, rassemblant 40% de l'ensemble des femmes. Ce sont toutefois les Suissesses qui sont le plus représentées dans cette modalité. En revanche, les Européennes sont plus nombreuses à travailler à temps complet, soit

42% d'entre elles, contre 33% des femmes nées en Suisse et 30% de celles nées hors de l'UE. Enfin, tout comme leurs homologues masculins, les non-Européennes sont plus souvent touchées par le chômage (7%) et sont plus souvent inactifs (33%).

2.7 Secteurs d'activité

Les flux migratoires vers et depuis la Suisse sont fortement conditionnés par les transformations de l'économie locale et conséquemment, par l'évolution des besoins de main d'œuvre dans des secteurs plus ou moins qualifiés de l'économie.

En analysant les caractéristiques professionnelles des immigrants et des émigrants, Wanner, Zufferey et Fioretta (2019) documentent pour les années 2011 à 2014, un solde migratoire positif, tant chez les travailleurs qualifiés que chez les travailleurs non-qualifiés. Alors que l'on observe un certain phénomène de substitution de la main d'œuvre moins qualifiée (principalement due à des départs à la retraite de cohortes moins éduquées) par des travailleurs venus de l'extérieur, l'arrivée de migrants hautement qualifiés contribue à l'accroissement d'une force de travail locale de plus en plus qualifiée.

Le tableau 2 offre un portrait des secteurs d'activité selon l'origine en 2014, grâce aux données du relevé structurel. Alors que les Suisses marquent une plus forte présence relative dans les professions intermédiaires et de type administratif, les immigrés européens sont légèrement surreprésentés chez les dirigeants et cadres supérieurs et chez les ouvriers et employés non qualifiés. Cette distribution montre bien la contribution des flux migratoires aux deux extrémités de la hiérarchie des professions. Néanmoins, tout comme les Suisses, les immigrés européens comptent le plus fort de leurs effectifs de travailleurs dans les professions de types intellectuelles et scientifiques (environ 20% des effectifs).

Chez les non-Européens, on observe une surreprésentation de travailleurs dans certains secteurs moins prestigieux de l'économie, en particulier parmi le personnel de service et de vente et chez les ouvriers et les employés non qualifiés. Comme bien des pays occidentaux, la Suisse se tourne aujourd'hui vers une main-d'œuvre étrangère (européenne et non-européenne) pour desservir plusieurs secteurs d'activité, souvent délaissés et déconsidérés par la population locale, mais indispensable à l'économie (Sassen 1988). A ce compte, certains secteurs d'activité

dépendent essentiellement d'une main d'œuvre étrangère. C'est le cas parmi le personnel domestique et de nettoyage, chez les opérateurs de machines ou encore chez les cuisiniers qui comptent une part de travailleurs immigrés frôlant les 60% à 70% (OFS : relevé structurel 2011-2014).

Tableau 2 : Secteurs d'activité selon la région de naissance du répondant, 20-65 ans, Suisse

	Suisse	UE28/ AELE	Hors-UE	Tous
Forces armées	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,1
Dirigeants, cadres supérieurs	11,2	13,0	8,4	11,2
Professions intellectuelles et scientifiques	22,9	22,7	14,8	21,9
Professions intermédiaires	22,1	16,2	12,8	19,8
Employés de type administratif	10,3	6,3	6,2	9,0
Personnel des services et vente	14,1	15,1	21,9	15,3
Agriculteurs	2,9	0,9	0,7	2,2
Artisans et ouvriers des métiers de type artisanal	10,2	12,4	13,6	11,1
Conducteurs de machines et assembleurs	3,3	5,1	7,6	4,2
Ouvriers et employés non qualifiés	3,0	8,4	14,0	5,4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source : Relevé structurel 2014, valeurs pondérées

2.8 Répartition spatiale et marché du logement

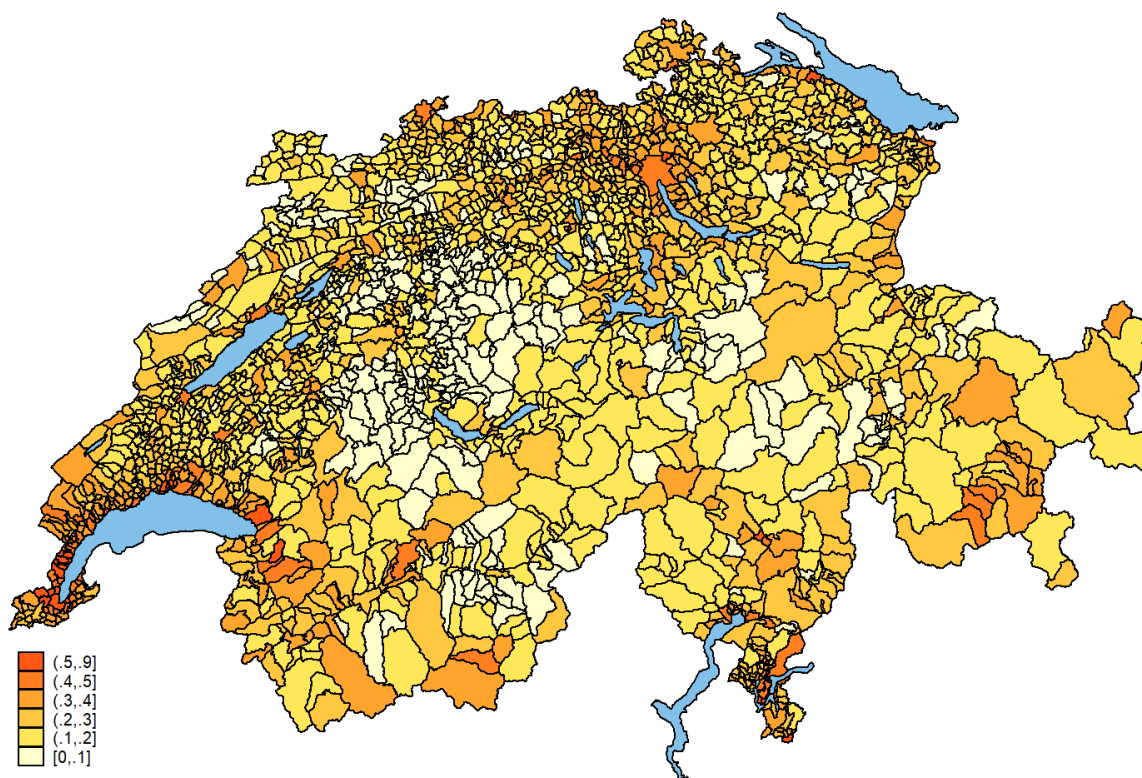
La Figure 8 fait état d'une répartition géographique inégale de cette population sur le territoire. Les opportunités d'emploi et la présence de réseaux dans un quartier ou une municipalité sont des déterminants clés dans le choix du lieu d'établissement (Huissoud et al. 1999). Ainsi, il n'est pas étonnant de voir une surreprésentation des immigrés dans les grandes villes et agglomérations. On constate en effet une forte présence immigrante (en pourcentage de la population) dans les régions de Zurich, de Bâle, de Lugano et dans tout l'arc lémanique.

Au total, on compte 27 communes (sur 2222) dont plus de 50% de la population est née à l'étranger. Dans la majorité des cas, il s'agit de grandes villes ou alors de plus petites communes adjacentes à ces dernières. On y retrouve par exemple les communes de Pregny-Chambésy ou du Grand-Saconnex, adjacente à Genève et connues pour abriter les sièges sociaux de plusieurs organisations internationales. Dans de plus rares cas, il s'agit de communes touristiques, comme Leysin, une petite commune située dans les Alpes et dont la population est composée à près de 65%

d'immigrés. En contrepartie, la Suisse centrale, très rurale, se caractérise par une faible présence de population immigrée.

La concentration des immigrés dans les principales agglomérations de la Suisse a des répercussions sur les conditions de logement et la mobilité résidentielle de cette population. On compte en effet des taux de logements vacants plus faibles dans ces régions et de fait, une plus forte compétition pour accéder à des logements attractifs. Au niveau national, le taux de logement vacants était de 1,45% en 2018. En comparaison, cet indicateur se chiffrait à 9,6% en France (INSEE 2015). Cette moyenne cache bien évidemment d'importantes disparités régionales, avec des taux inférieurs dans les principales villes du pays (0,21 à Zurich ; 0,57% à Genève ; 0,38% à Lausanne ; 0,47% à Bâle et 1,25% à Lugano).

Figure 8 : Répartition géographique des résidents permanents nés à l'étranger



Source : Office fédéral de topographie swisstopo (2018) - swissBOUNDARIES / OFS – Portrait régionaux

La compétition dans l'accès au logement s'est accentuée dans les dernières années, nous l'avons vu, des suites d'une diminution de la taille des ménages et d'une croissance démographique soutenue, en particulier dans les agglomérations où le solde migratoire international demeure positif. Cette situation contribue en outre à

l'augmentation des prix du logement et à une raréfaction des logements plus abordables.

De même, l'accès à la propriété demeure limité, en particulier dans les grandes villes. Au niveau national, le taux de propriétaire est de 45% chez les natifs et de 14% chez les ménages composés uniquement de non-nationaux (SFSO 2016). Il s'agit du plus faible taux de propriétaires parmi les pays de l'OCDE (OECD/EU 2018). Ainsi, l'accès à la propriété peut, dans certain cas, être contingente à une migration en direction de communes suburbaines ou périurbaines, là où les opportunités d'achats sont plus importantes. C'est ce que suggère une étude produite par Van den Hende (2015) et qui montre une logique de mobilité depuis les espaces urbains en direction des régions périphériques, expliquée en partie par un désir d'accéder à la propriété. Les migrations vers les périphéries sont toutefois sélectives en termes socioéconomiques et concernent principalement les Suisses (Da Cunha et Roth 2004, tels que cités par Lerch 2012).

Dans une étude des flux migratoires à l'intérieur de la Suisse, Wanner (2019) documente des déplacements progressifs des personnes bénéficiant d'un revenu plus élevé vers des communes plus riches (notamment vers des communes périphériques des agglomérations) et inversement, des personnes à faible revenu en direction des communes plus pauvres. L'analyse de la mobilité résidentielle des personnes à plus faible revenu révèle par ailleurs une immobilité relative pour ces personnes. Lorsque ces personnes déménagent, elles tendent toutefois à se relocaliser au sein de la même commune (Wanner 2019).

Néanmoins, la ségrégation résidentielle demeure relativement faible en Suisse, qu'elle soit mesurée selon le niveau de revenu ou encore de l'origine nationale. Dans une étude récente, Zufferey (2019) analyse la ségrégation résidentielle des étrangers à différents niveaux géographiques pour la Suisse. Ce dernier conclut notamment à une plus forte dynamique ségrégative au niveau des régions qu'au niveau des quartiers, avec toutefois certaine spécificité selon la nationalité. En effet, certains groupes comme les Français, les Portugais et les Nord-Américains se concentrent principalement au niveau régional, alors que certains groupes associés à un plus faible niveau de qualifications professionnelles (Turcs, Portugais, Asiatiques, Africains) se concentrent davantage au niveau des quartiers (Zufferey 2019). Cette situation tient notamment à un Etat fédéral décentralisé aux frontières culturelles et linguistiques bien

marquées et qui justifie un certain cloisonnement national dans l'une ou l'autre des régions. En contrepartie, la mixité sociale qui caractérise les quartiers et les communes de la Suisse (Wanner 2019) contribue certainement à la faible ségrégation au niveau local.

2.9 Synthèse

En retraçant les contours historiques et politiques de la Suisse, ce chapitre offre un aperçu du contexte d'arrivée de différentes cohortes d'immigration depuis les années 1950. La composition de la population immigrée en 2014, illustrée par différents indicateurs démographiques et socio-économiques, reflète en particulier une sélection selon des critères d'employabilité et d'origine géographique à l'immigration, mais aussi, une propension variable pour ces individus à s'établir en Suisse de façon durable ou permanente.

Les caractéristiques démographiques et socio-économiques présentées dans ce chapitre sont des déterminants importants de l'insertion en emploi, de la mobilité résidentielle et des comportements familiaux. Il nous semblait donc essentiel de dresser un portrait de cette population et de cerner les attributs qui les caractérisent afin de mieux appréhender la complexité de certains parcours.

2.10 Références

- Becker, Leonhard, Thomas Liebig, et Alfonso Sousa-Poza. 2008. « Migration policy and industrial structure: the case of Switzerland ». *International Migration* 46 (2): 81–107.
- Borjas George et Bernt Bratsberg. (1994). Who Leaves? The Outmigration of the Foreign-Born, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 78 (1): 165-176
- Da Cunha, Antonio, Suisse Office fédéral de la statistique, et Jean-François Both. *Metropolisierung, Städte und Agglomerationen: soziodemografische Struktur und Dynamik von urbanen Räumen*. Office fédéral de la statistique, 2004.
- Duvoisin, Aline. 2017. « Les origines du baby-boom en Suisse: une approche biographique des cohortes féminines (1910-1941) ». Thèse de doctorat, Université de Genève.
- Fioretta, Juliette, et Philippe Wanner. (2017). Rester ou partir ? Les déterminants des flux d'émigration récents depuis la Suisse. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 33(1): 111-31. <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.8532>.
- Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (2018), Les logements vacants progressent plus vite que l'ensemble du parc, <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3572856>, (Consulté le 19 août 2019).
- Lerch, Mathias. « La mobilité des étrangers sur le territoire suisse ». In *La démographie des étrangers en Suisse*, édité par Philippe Wanner. zurich: Seismo, 2012.
- Mahnig, Hans, et Etienne Piguet. 2003. « La politique suisse d'immigration de 1948 à 1998: évolution et effets ». *Les migrations et la Suisse: résultats du Programme national de recherche "Migrations et relations interculturelles"*, Zürich: Seismo, 63–103.
- Nccr – on the move, Migration-Mobility Indicators. Neuchâtel: nccr – on the move, 2019. <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/quelle-proportion-de-migrant%e2%8b%85e%e2%8b%85s-quitte-la-suisse-au-fil-du-temps/?lang=fr>, (Consulté le 28 août 2019)
- OECD/EU (2018), Affordable housing database. <http://www.oecd.org/social/affordable-housing-database.htm> (Consulté le 19 août 2019)
- OCDE (2019), Taux d'emploi (indicateur). doi: 10.1787/f58ea354-fr (Consulté le 02 août 2019)
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2016). Portrait de la Suisse: Résultats tirés des recensements de la population 2010–2014 (No. 1646–1400). Neuchâtel.

- Office fédéral de la statistique, Relevé structurel 2010–2014. Dans quels secteurs économiques trouve-t-on le plus de migrant-e-s ? <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/dans-quels-secteurs-economiques-trouve-t-on-le-plus-de-migrant%c2%b7e%c2%b7s/?lang=fr>
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2018a), Migration de la population résidente permanente étrangère, 1950-2017, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migrationintegration/migration-internationale.html>, (récupéré le 9 mars 2019).
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2018b), Nombre moyen d'enfants par femme selon la nationalité, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/naissances-deces/fecondite.assetdetail.6067054.html>, (récupéré le 9 mars 2019).
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2019a), Formes de vie familiale, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/familles/formes-vie-familiale.html>, (récupéré le 19 août 2019).
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2019b), Conditions d'habitation, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/familles/formes-vie-familiale.html>, (récupéré le 19 août 2019).
- Piguet, Etienne. 2009. *L'immigration en Suisse: soixante ans d'entrouverture*. Collection le savoir suisse.
- Sassen, Saskia. *The mobility of labor and capital: A study in international investment and labor flow*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Straubhaar, Thomas. 1991. *Schweizerische Ausländerpolitik im Strukturwandel*. Strukturberichterstattung, BFK, Basle.
- Van Den Hende, Anthe. « Settling and dwelling in the Swiss peri-urban areas: residential trajectories and life course events ». PhD Thesis, University of Geneva, 2015.
- Wanner, Philippe. « Quitter son lieu de vie pour des raisons économiques ? Une analyse de la mobilité résidentielle au sein de six agglomérations ». Granges: Office fédéral du logement, 2017.
- Wanner, Philippe, Jonathan Zufferey, et Juliette Fioretta. « The Impact of Migratory Flows on the Swiss Labour Market. A Comparison Between In-and Outflow ». *Migration letters* 13, n° 3 (2016): 411–426.
- Zufferey, Jonathan. 2014. « Pourquoi les migrants vivent-ils plus longtemps?: analyse des différentiels de mortalité des populations suisse et étrangères 1990-2008 ». Thèse de doctorat, Université de Genève.
- Zufferey, Jonathan. « Segregation Patterns among Foreigners in Switzerland: A Multi-Scalar Approach (1990–2014) ». Université de Neuchâtel, 2019

3. Differences in labor supply by birthplace and family composition in Switzerland : The role of human capital and household income⁹

Julie Lacroix (U. of Geneva)

Elena Vidal-Coso (U. of Geneva)

In Switzerland, mothers' involvement in paid work often occurs on a part-time basis. The mechanisms driving the decisions and opportunities to access part-time employment differ between native and immigrant populations. In this paper, we address the extent to which the employment behaviours of the female population differ by birthplace and family situation. Using data from the Swiss Labour Force Survey, we decompose the effect of human capital and household income on participation and the number of hours worked. Contrasting patterns of employment emerge among women born in Switzerland, within the EU, and outside the EU, especially in the presence of resident children. Women's education has a stronger positive effect on participation for natives, whereas household income is proved to have greater influence on the participation outcomes for the foreign-born population. Nevertheless, compared with immigrant women having the same level of education and household income, natives work the fewest number of hours.

Keywords: Immigrant women; Economic integration; Part-time employment; Opportunity-cost

⁹ Authors contributions: JL and EVC designed the study. JL did the statistical analysis. JL and EVC wrote the paper.

This research has received economic support from the project: NCCR On the Move (The Migration-Mobility Nexus). Subprojects: Inventory of Individual Statistical Data on Migration to, from, and within Switzerland in a Post-Census World and Mapping the Demographics of the New Forms of Mobility and Measuring their Socioeconomic Impact. Funded by the National Center of Competence in Research (Switzerland). Period: 2014–2017.

3.1 Introduction

In many European countries, the shortfall in the working age population is central to national debates regarding the recruitment and integration of immigrants (Del Boca 2009, European Commission 2015). These debates are particularly relevant for Switzerland, which attracts an impressive number of immigrants – 160 000 in 2014 – and particularly highly qualified foreign workers (SFSO, Statweb 2018). In a recent evaluation of the impact of migration on the Swiss labour market, Wanner and colleagues (2016) concluded that migratory flows counterbalanced the erosion of the low- and average-skilled, working-age, non-migrating population, while contributing to fulfilling the economy's demand for highly skilled workers. However, immigration restrictions are continuously at the core of the political agenda, making it increasingly difficult for firms to recruit outside the European Union¹⁰. Nevertheless, despite economic demand for (foreign) workers, on the one hand, and political claims for immigration restrictions, on the other hand, a large proportion of the female resident population remains on the margins of the labour market.

As in other OECD countries, women's educational qualifications and participation in the labour market have increased considerably in Switzerland in recent decades. However, family arrangements and attitudes towards female participation in the labour market remain highly gendered in the country (Bühler and Meier Kruker 2002; Levy and Widmer 2013). It is widely believed that children belong to the private sphere and should be their parents' (read: their mother) and relatives' responsibility (Viry et al., 2009). Institutional factors stand alongside these domestic constraints. Limited and costly external childcare (Buchmann et al. 2002), as well as the joint taxation system for spouses (Schwarz 2012), is often noted as an important hurdle to women's employment in Switzerland. Moreover, the labour market in Switzerland is characterized by an increasing number of part-time positions, particularly in low-skilled activities¹¹. As a result, mothers' involvement in paid work often occurs on a part-time basis, and they must balance the costs and benefits of increasing their volume of paid work. Indeed, despite having one of the highest labour participation rates (75.5%,

¹⁰ For instance, in a February 2014 referendum, Swiss citizens approved the popular initiative "Stop Mass Migration", which aims to reintroduce an annual quota for EU and EFTA nationals.

¹¹ Among the reasons explaining the availability of part-time jobs, one can mention that employers' contributions to the social insurance system (2nd pillar) are not mandatory for annual wages less than 21 150 Swiss francs -- a level that approximately equal to one third of the average wage.

compared with the OECD average of 60.4%) (OECD, Labour Force Statistic Database 2018), more than half of the working female population in the country works part time, whereas only one man out of six does (SFSO 2018). When measuring the economic integration of foreign-born women, researchers often compare their labour market performance to that of native women. In Switzerland, mothers often work short part time – less than 50% – lowering the threshold of integration for immigrant mothers, whose participation is lower but is characterized by a higher incidence of full-time employment. This context makes it interesting to investigate the patterns of employment among native and immigrant women in Switzerland with different family situations by considering two indicators of labour market attachment: participation and the number of hours worked.

As noted by Bevelander and Groeneveld (2006) in relation to the Netherlands, part-time employment is not only central to the Swiss labour market but also perceived as a means for women's emancipation (i.e., the freedom to choose the amount of time devoted to paid and unpaid activities). However, the mechanisms driving the decisions for and opportunities to access part-time employment differ for native and immigrant populations. Immigrants and natives do not integrate into the same segments of the labour market. For instance, part-time positions are more frequently in the administrative sector, where native women are overrepresented. Immigrants might also consider their stays in Switzerland to be provisional and thus decide to work full time to maximize their benefits before returning to their countries of origin. Additionally, native women can rely on better economic returns on their education. Native women are also more likely to be partnered with Swiss men, whose incomes are, on average, higher than those of immigrant men. Considering these conditions, some groups of low-qualified immigrants might have more financial incentive to maintain a high employment level, regardless of the presence of children. Accordingly, in this paper, we consider these specificities in pursuing two objectives.

First, we compare patterns of employment behaviour across a number of family situations between native and diverse groups of immigrant women. To go beyond the focus on women with pre-school children, we consider the differences in labour supply among four household structures: singles without children; couples without children; couples with children aged 0-5 years old; and couples with children aged 6-14 years old. In an empirical analysis, Zabel (1993) stated that, because of the fixed cost of

participation and the constraints imposed by firms on the minimum number of hours, individuals have more power over their participation than over their decisions regarding the supply of working hours. These constraints are expected to be stronger for foreign-born women than for native women¹². Second, to account for variability in opportunity costs and differences regarding household economic constraints among women from different origins, this analysis focuses in particular on the relative influence of women's educational attainment and their partners' earnings. For this part of the analysis, we distinguish between two groups of immigrants – women from EU countries and women originating from outside the EU – whom we compare to the native female population. Previous studies in Switzerland have confirmed that EU and non-EU immigrants differ greatly in terms of their educational structures, labour profiles and reasons for immigration (Migration-Mobility Indicators 2018). Using pooled annual data from the Swiss Labour Force Survey (SLFS hereafter) for the 2010-2014 period, we use a double-hurdle model to decompose the educational and income effects on two indicators of labour market attachment: (1) participation; and (2) working hours. This study adds to previous research, which has scarcely considered discrepancies in the numbers of hours worked by women of different national origins through distinct family situations. In these cases, levels of part-time work have been aggregated and analysed using multinomial models. Instead, the double-hurdle model allows for the assessing of the contributions of the covariates to the two aforementioned components of labour force participation.

3.2 Theoretical perspectives and research hypotheses

3.2.1 Theoretical framework

In advanced countries, as long as they remain childless, young women today are on an almost equal plane with men in relation to education and employment (McDonald 2013). Once they become mothers, women often adapt their labour supply, usually diminishing the time spent on paid work or even withdrawing from the labour market. As stated by McDonald (2000), low gender equity is evidenced by the lack of support for women in combining paid employment and childrearing. It is not surprising, consequently, that many families follow gendered strategies to achieve conciliation

¹² One reason lies in the expected economic return on hiring a migrant. One might think that, given the higher cost of hiring a foreign-born worker (e.g., administrative procedures, time for adaptation to a new working environment and national norms), employers would favour full timers over part timers to assure that the benefits of hiring a foreign worker outweigh the investment.

solutions (OECD 2011). Highly educated women are more likely to remain employed and to work more hours when they become mothers than women with lower labour market-oriented skills (Becker 1991; Blau and Kahn 2007). According to human capital theory, this decision is due to their larger potential earnings and higher opportunity costs of abandoning the labour force (Becker 1991). Moreover, women's high education levels not only reflect their greater returns from the labour market and opportunities in achieving high professional status, but they also shape their attitudes and gender roles (Van de Kaa 1987).

Individuals in partnerships have greater margins of decision on their levels of labour market involvement since they can rely on the earnings of their spouses to meet family financial needs (Blau et al. 2006). The gender wage gap, as well as the traditional adoption of gender roles within families, is the main reason for the negative effect of husbands' wage rates on their wives' labour supply. In contrast, household budgetary constraints and husbands' unemployment or low earnings also affect women's decisions to enter or remain in the paid work force (Mincer and Polachek 1974). Despite this effect, authors such as Evertsson et al. (2009) and Esteve et al. (2016) have identified marital homogamy and greater female opportunity costs as competing factors of income effects in predicting women's labour supply. When analysing which of these two antagonistic processes predominates in explaining women's employment decisions, empirical research has generally indicated a stronger positive effect of women's own education than of their husbands' income (see Henz and Sundström 2001 for Sweden).

Moreover, the existing literature has often highlighted the specificities of the migration experience affecting the labour performance of immigrant women in the host country. These factors should be considered when interpreting their labour market involvement, compared with that of native women. Apart from being selectively linked to endogenous migration decisions (Borjas 1987), institutional factors such as immigration policies limiting the labour market participation for family migrants or entry requirements (e.g., holding an employment contract) are important for certain national groups. Other characteristics have been considered powerful explanations for the post-migration behaviour of immigrant women. Among others, the reason for migration (i.e., family or economically motivated), the temporal sequence of migration and key family life-cycle events (González-Ferrer 2011), as well as being married to a foreign-born or

a native partner (Blau et al 2011), have been recognized as relevant aspects. Additionally, segmentation and discrimination processes (see, for instance, Lang and Lehmann 2012), especially towards immigrant women from countries with greater cultural divergence from the host country, might favour natives in obtaining employment. These processes decrease the labour and economic returns on human capital for immigrants (e.g., Constant and Massey 2005 for Germany; Bevelander 2005 for Sweden). This preconception accentuates the barriers that immigrants encounter in the recognition of their skills in the host country (Adsera and Chiswick 2007). Finally, the “cultural approach” (Reimers 1985; Antecol 2000), developed in the US, emphasizes the presupposed cultural differences in terms of gender roles (approximated by the gender gap in labour force participation rates across countries of origin) when interpreting the deficient structural integration of ethnic minority women. However, specifically examining economic immigrants to Canada, Lacroix and colleagues (2017) concluded that, even among work-oriented immigrants, women from non-western regions are doubly disadvantaged in access to first (qualified) employment, due both to their origins and to their gender. Many researchers have analysed the differences in employment participation patterns between native and immigrant women in different countries. In Germany, Dustmann and Schmidt (2000) found that migrants’ labour market participation reacts less elastically than that of natives to the number of children. Moreover, these authors found that elasticity is similar to other household income in terms of part-time employment, and it is greater for full-time work schedules. They explained the major effect of education on participation probabilities for natives being greater than for immigrants as being the effect of the difficulties of the second group in terms of transferability of educational credentials into the host labour market. Also for Germany, Constant and Massey (2005) detected that the longer work schedules adopted for immigrant women compared to natives pay off for their adverse occupational positions, reducing wage divergences between natives and immigrants. For the US, Stier and Tienda (1992) proved that the labour supply of Hispanic immigrant wives is greatly affected by their earning potential. Their results indicate that, compared with that of US-born white wives, the employment behaviour of immigrants is less affected by motherhood (due to the higher incidence among immigrants of extended households) and less negatively correlated with husbands’ salaries. Also for the US, Blau et al. (2011) pointed out that the working time of immigrant wives assimilates to that of US natives,

in parallel with the length of residence in the country. Finally, for the Netherlands, Bevelander and Groeneveld (2006) reported that higher educational returns for native women might explain their higher levels of part-time employment, compared with immigrant women. Other authors have restricted their analyses to the different impacts of childbearing events on the labour market withdrawal or reduction of working hours for native and immigrant women. For the US, Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) found a greater risk of exiting the labour market for black women after fertility. For the Netherlands, Kil et al. (2017) investigated the effect of the arrival of a baby on the labour attachment of certain groups of first- and second-generation migrant women. They explained the lower employment attachment after fertility as tied to migration and traditional cultural norms for the first-generation immigrants, whereas labour market penalties constituted the main explanation for the low labour attainment among the second generation after fertility.

For Switzerland, many researchers have emphasized the disadvantaged labour market positions of immigrant women, compared with Swiss-born women. Golder (1999) stressed the higher risk of unemployment for immigrant women. For women who acceded to employment, Merz-Krobana (1993) pointed to differences in terms of occupation and economic sector, whereas Pecoraro (2011) showed higher levels of overqualification. Few studies have focused on the differences between native and immigrant women regarding their participation in employment and arrangements for full-time or part-time work. Using data from the 2000 Swiss census, Wanner et al. (2005) stressed the heterogeneity between immigrant groups regarding employment trends. When differentiating among diverse family scenarios, the analysis showed that the presence of young children in the household affected in particular the supply of Swiss women for employment; these women were less likely than immigrant women (with the exception of those from Germany and North America) to participate in the work force. However, the analysis was restricted only to participation, omitting the diverse patterns of market time. Liebig et al. (2012) focused on the interaction between origin and having children, controlling for educational attainment. Their main conclusion was that the presence of children is associated with a higher probability of part-time work, especially for native-born women. Nevertheless, the household dimension was neglected since they did not include partner characteristics. Restricting the analysis to one year following childbirth, Vidal-Coso (2018) found that the probability of leaving employment after fertility is higher for immigrant women, whereas

if they continue working for the first year after childbirth, they work more hours than Swiss-born women. The main conclusion of the analysis was that differences in terms of post-fertility labour supply are mainly explained by previous occupational characteristics. Lower employment continuation after maternity for immigrant women is mainly explained by their disadvantaged position in the labour market. Nevertheless, the period covered in this analysis was not sufficiently long to assess whether the adaptation of women's labour supply after childbirth is only a temporary conciliatory strategy in compensation for the short period of paid maternity leave in the country.

3.2.2 Swiss context

As stated by Piguet (2004), Switzerland is characterized by its long trajectory as a country of immigration. The profile of the female foreign-born population in the country has evolved in parallel with the country's economic development and the evolution of its migration policies. After the Second World War, large and successive unskilled immigration flows entered Switzerland -- among which a majority was female¹³. The main flows from the 1950s to the 1970s arrived mainly from Italy and to a smaller extent from Spain. They were followed by Portuguese nationals arriving during the 1980s and by former Yugoslavian and Turkish refugees entering during the 1980s and 1990s. A bilateral agreement on the free movement of persons between Switzerland and the EU was signed in 2002. Since then, the Swiss frontiers have been very restrictive to the entrance of non-European unskilled migrants, whereas new legislation has favoured highly skilled workers (Haug 2005). Some authors (Pecoraro, 2011; Favre 2011) have identified, in the beginning of the 2000s, a shift in the occupational profile of the foreign labour force in Switzerland and the overrepresentation at the top of the occupational structure (Favre, 2011) with the recent arrival of highly skilled immigrants, mainly from Western Europe and North America. Nevertheless, the authors reported the continuation of the entrance of low-skilled immigrants, explaining the polarized educational profiles of recent migration and the significant presence of immigrants in more disadvantaged occupational positions. Indeed, the analysis of Vidal-Coso and Ortega-Rivera (2017) showed for Switzerland that immigrant women coming from Portugal, the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Latin

¹³ For a short period following the Second World War, female labour immigration exceeded male immigration for both demographic and economic reasons (e.g., demand for female workers in the textile industry) (Wanner et al. 2009).

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN SWITZERLAND

America, Africa and Asia present a lower likelihood of obtaining salaried positions, compared with Swiss and EU/EFTA nationals. In parallel with the evolution of the origins and skill composition of the successive immigrant flows, the reasons for migration have also changed: although professional motives are still dominant today, fewer people are migrating for work purposes (58% among Europeans and 12% for all other regions combined), and more are migrating for family reunification (30% and 42%, respectively), education (30% and 24%) or asylum (0.4% and 14%) (State Secretariat for Migration, SYMIC register 2011-2015). In total, Switzerland registered approximately 750 000 entries of foreigners between 2011 and 2015, with a large majority (approximately 80%) of immigrants coming from Europe (State Secretariat for Migration, SYMIC register 2011-2015). As a result of the settlement process, Switzerland is now among the countries worldwide with the highest and most heterogeneous proportion of foreigners. Indeed, according to our data, almost 30% of the Swiss female labour force was foreign born in 2014.

In terms of conciliatory policies, Switzerland is characterized by scarce and expensive provision of external childcare, which encourages mothers either to withdraw from employment or to work on part time basis (Buchmann et al. 2002; Stadelmann-Steffen 2007; Dutu 2014). Effectively, the most prevalent model in Switzerland is the “one-and-a-half-earner” model, which restructures women’s time while leaving men’s untouched (Stadelmann-Steffen 2007). The prevalence of this model varies by region. In German-speaking cantons, the actual and potential demand for public conciliatory policies is lower, whereas in the French- and Italian-speaking parts of the country, access to day care is easier and the school schedules more suitable for conciliatory purposes (Bühler and Meier Kruker 2002; Stadelmann-Steffen 2007). These authors mentioned the negative impacts of the shortage and high cost of childcare services on the female labour supply (Bütler 2011). Banfi et al. (2009) suggested that immigrant families are more likely to benefit from external childcare services because they cannot rely on the transference of care to extended family members. However, Schlanser (2011) concluded that, while French and German citizens living in Switzerland used external childcare solutions, other groups, especially less qualified ones, were much less likely to benefit from these services for economic reasons.

3.2.3 Hypotheses

Overall, our premise is that the “one-and-a-half-earner” model is more prevalent among native than immigrant families, especially in the presence of young children. While foreign-born women are expected to have lower participation rates, Swiss-born women are expected to have negative outcomes regarding the number of hours if employed. However, key determinants, such as educational level and household income, vary according to birthplace.

First, we expect strong, positive relationships between women’s education and both their labour participation and the number of hours that they work. However, native, EU, and non-EU women differ significantly in terms of their education structures and expected returns on their levels of education. Based on human capital theory, native women should be more responsive to their level of education due to higher educational economic returns. In contrast, because of the difficulties encountered by non-EU migrants in transferring their human capital to the host labour market, we expect a weaker correlation between educational level and the probability of employment for these women. However, they would need to counterbalance their lower educational returns in the labour market with a greater number of hours in employment. In contrast, EU women are privileged in the Swiss labour market owing to the Swiss migration policy, which favours EU citizens and facilitates their labour insertion and the transferability of their skills. As a consequence, we hypothesize that both highly educated and minimally educated EU women will be positively represented in employment while maintaining an elevated number of working hours. On the one hand, the highly educated receive important returns on their level of education, and on the other hand, the migration of the less educated workers to Switzerland is often motivated by the advantageous labour conditions in the country. Therefore, EU migrants should be more work oriented than native and non-EU immigrant women, regardless of their family composition.

Second, we predict a negative relationship between partners’ income and the two indicators of labour market attachment. Following a neoclassical theoretical framework, individuals’ incentives to work are negatively correlated with spouses’ wages. More concretely, we hypothesize that a native’s time devoted to paid work will be more conditioned on her partner’s income. In contrast, we expect the two collectives of immigrants to be more responsive through their participation levels. Again, we

expect the employment gap to be stronger for non-EU women. When only one or one and a half salaries are sufficient to meet household needs, partners have a greater margin to decide how many hours they dedicate to paid and unpaid work. Moreover, we argue that immigrants, especially lower-qualified ones, have a smaller margin to negotiate their working schedules. Fewer part-time opportunities could lead to increased dropouts when economic resources are sufficient and, conversely, to more full-time employment for less affluent households. Additionally, immigrants, especially those from non-EU countries, are more represented in less prestigious sectors of employment and might have to compensate with an extended schedule to achieve a sufficient household income.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Data

The data used in this investigation are from the SLFS (2010-2014), which is a representative household survey conducted by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office. It gathers information on the labour behaviours, socio-economic characteristics and household compositions of the permanent resident population aged 15 and older. This dataset also benefits from oversampling of the foreign-born population, allowing us to consider the diversity among the most numerous national groups in the country. We restrict our sample to women aged 20 to 49 years old. We exclude individuals currently in school, as well as independent workers. Additionally, we exclude same-sex couples and single mothers to address the heterogeneous forms of employment of immigrants and natives in similar household configurations, rather than reflecting the diversity of family types. Overall, the sample is composed of 39 869 women, among whom 21 962 were born in Switzerland, 9 792 in the European Union, and 8 115 outside of the EU.

Whereas employment rates and the number of working hours are almost identical across family types for men (Appendix 1), there is significant variability for women. Consequently, we distinguish in our empirical analysis the employment patterns of women living in any of the following four household structures: (1) singles without children; (2) couples without children; (3) couples whose youngest child is aged 0 to 5 years; and (4) couples whose youngest child is aged 6 to 14 years.

3.3.2 Variables

The dependent variables capture two indicators of labour market attachment. First, we consider participation (binary variable), and second, we consider the number

of hours worked per week given participation in employment (continuous variable). The main explanatory factor is the women's birthplace. When the sample sizes are sufficient, women's origins are considered separately; otherwise, they are grouped by region. In the first step of the analysis, we consider the following 15 groups according to birthplace: Switzerland, Italy, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Austria, other EU member states, other European countries, former Yugoslavia¹⁴, Turkey, EFTA countries with North America and Oceania, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In the second step of the analysis, we pay special attention to the interactive effects of women's education levels and household income to assess the specific influence of these characteristics on the employment patterns of women according to their origins. Information on household income is obtained by subtracting women's income from the total household income. Thus, the remaining income included in the analysis refers to the partner's income plus other sources of income from members living in the same dwelling. For interpretation convenience and according to similarities between regions, immigrant women are then grouped according to their birthplaces.

In addition to these key determinants, other control variables that pertain to women's specific characteristics and household and contextual factors are included in the model specification. The individual variables are age, marital status (married or not), the number of additional resident children younger than 15 years old, the length of stay in the country, and citizenship status (whether the person holds Swiss nationality¹⁵). We include two additional controls to consider the role of the partner's profile. First, we consider educational homogamy within couples, distinguishing whether the woman has the same level of education as her partner or is more or less educated. Second, we add the partner's nationality (Swiss or not) to acknowledge the potential role of mixed marriage (or mixed partnership) on the employment convergence of these couples with Swiss standards. Finally, we consider specific environmental characteristics by distinguishing between women living in rural and urban areas and distinguishing among those living in German-, French- and Italian-speaking regions. However, information on language proficiency and on "primary" or "tied" family migration status is not available in this dataset. These limitations should

¹⁴ With the exception of Slovenia, which is grouped with other EU member states.

¹⁵ Switzerland grants citizenship on a *jus sanguinis* basis. This means that second- or third-generation *immigrants* do not automatically hold Swiss nationality.

be borne in mind when interpreting the results for foreign-born women since they were shown to be important determinants of their occupational integration processes.

3.3.3 Methods

Studies have employed different methods to model two dimensions of labour supply, i.e., hours worked and participation. The tobit model assumes that a single mechanism drives the participation and decisions regarding the amount of time spent working. To overcome this limitation, we use the double-hurdle model proposed by Cragg (1971), which, in contrast to the tobit model, includes a two-stage procedure. Generally, a hurdle model addresses genuine zeros, in which individuals make choices in the presence of certain constraints (Humphrey 2013). Cragg (1971) suggested that two independent hurdles must be passed to observe a positive value: individuals choose whether to participate in the labour market; and they also make decisions regarding how much to work. The first stage estimates the probability of reporting a positive outcome using a probit model, and the second stage models the amount of the decision conditional on participation, using a truncated equation. We report marginal effects for interpretation convenience. These effects are evaluated at the sample mean, with the exception of the length of stay in Switzerland, which is fixed at more than eight years¹⁶. As Burke (2009) noted, independence in estimation (two-stage procedure) does not mean independence in interpretation. Following McDonald and Moffitt's (1980) decomposition procedure, the total marginal effect (or unconditional effect) is disaggregated into two parts: a partial effect for the participation outcome, which is weighted by the expected value of market work, and a partial effect for the number of hours given participation, which is also weighted by the probability of being observed in the labour market (Robles 2012). Given this methodological design, we identify employment patterns across origins in four family compositions. One important drawback of this model is that it does not account for self-selection into groups of childless women and mothers according to the women's employment preferences; e.g., work-oriented women who anticipate a longer career might be less inclined to have a child (see Heckman 1979). In such cases, the effect of childbirth on employment would not be counterfactual. Instead, our objective is to emphasize the different employment trends across origins within each family composition. In a second

¹⁶ This except is made to account for our inability to attribute the mean value of the length of stay for the Swiss-born population.

step, we extend this model by including interaction effects, and we account for the specific effects of the education and household income of foreign-born and native women.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Descriptive results

Table 1 presents the socio-demographic and family characteristics of the subsample of Swiss-born and foreign-born women included in our analysis. Few differences are observed regarding the median age. With respect to the household structure, the Swiss-born group contains the highest percentage of single and childless women, along with the groups from neighbouring countries and Spain. In contrast, the groups with larger percentages of children aged 0-14 are those from Portugal, the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Asia. However, insignificant differences in the number of children are found across groups if we consider only women who have children.

Nevertheless, diverse patterns of external childcare are found among these women. The groups from Turkey (82.1%), the former Yugoslavia (76.1%), EFTA, North America and Oceania (73.7%), other European countries (71.2%) and Africa (71%) rely little on any type of childcare outside of household members, compared with the widespread use of these resources by Swiss-born women and women from neighbouring countries. It is relevant to emphasize the amount of care provided by extended family members in the Swiss-born group. This resource is scarce for immigrant women, who either do not use any type of external childcare or bring their children to formal childcare services.

Table 1 Socio-demographic and family characteristics, women aged 20–49

	Switzerland	Italy	France	Portugal	Spain	Former Yugoslavia	Germany	Austria	Turkey	Other EU	EFTA & N. America & Oceania	Other Europe	Latin America	Africa	Asia
<i>Median age</i>	35,9	38,5	36	36,4	38,3	34	36,3	37,8	36,1	36,4	38,3	34,8	35,9	36,5	35,8
Household type (%)															
<i>Single, childless</i>	31,2	25,3	25,6	12,3	19,3	12,4	28,1	18,8	11,3	19	21,3	9,6	13,5	20,2	12,9
<i>Childless couple</i>	28,5	35,6	30,9	33,5	41,1	28,8	36,9	39,1	31,9	33	29,9	35,7	35,2	31	34
<i>Couple with youngest children 0-5</i>	22,6	19,8	27,9	25	17,7	32,6	22,5	22,7	31	30,2	26,4	33,9	32,1	30,3	31
<i>Couple with youngest children 6-14</i>	17,7	19,2	15,6	29,2	22	26,3	12,5	19,4	25,8	17,8	22,5	20,8	19,2	18,5	22
Living with extended family (%)	1,6	1,5	0,8	2,7	1,5	13,1	1,3	1,7	3,7	3,5	1,9	5,3	3,1	2,5	3,7
Married (%)	47,4	58,1	44	67,5	57,1	82,2	43,1	53,7	82,2	62,7	67,6	77,5	70,3	62,1	78,9
Swiss national partner															
Children 0-14	88,5	30,6	40,3	13,6	35,7	33,7	39,7	63,3	41,4	42,8	47,9	51,9	64,5	50,6	58,5
<i>Mean (with partner and children 0-14)</i>	1,8	1,6	1,7	1,4	1,6	1,7	1,6	1,7	1,6	1,7	1,9	1,5	1,6	1,8	1,6
<i>0</i>	56,1	58,3	53,6	42,1	57	38,8	62,6	56,1	40,5	49,3	49	43,5	44,7	43,9	44,9
<i>1</i>	18,5	21,7	22,7	36,4	22,3	27,6	19,7	20,9	31	25,3	19,3	32,5	30,8	26,9	27,1
<i>2</i>	19,6	17,8	18,5	19,2	17,7	25,7	14,1	18,1	22,4	20,2	21,2	20,3	20,6	21,1	22,5
<i>3+</i>	5,8	2,3	5,2	2,3	2,9	7,9	3,6	4,9	6,2	5,2	10,5	3,6	3,9	8,2	5,5
External childcare (for children 0-14) *															
<i>Not</i>	54,6	64,8	43,1	61,6	52,5	76,1	57,1	53,4	82,1	62,8	73,7	71,2	64	71	68,6
<i>Formal childcare</i>	16,2	18	40	21,9	30,3	7,7	29,4	24,2	13,6	23,8	14,4	18,8	19,2	18,7	21,2
<i>Extended family</i>	25,7	12,9	9,6	11,4	11,3	15,8	7	14,3	4,1	9,1	6,3	10	13,3	5,1	8,4
<i>Other</i>	3,5	4,3	7,2	5,2	5,9	0,5	6,6	8	0,3	4,3	5,6	0	3,5	5,2	1,8

Table 1 Socio-demographic and family characteristics, women aged 20–49 (Continued)

	Switzerland	Italy	France	Portugal	Spain	Former Yugoslavia	Germany	Austria	Turkey	Other EU	EFTA & N. America & Oceania	Other Europe	Latin America	Africa	Asia
Partner's educational level (%)															
<i>Low</i>	5,3	27,1	10,3	64,6	21,4	33,3	3,8	4,4	41,7	7,4	2,8	5,2	10,2	22,5	17,7
<i>Medium</i>	55,6	44,2	37,1	28,8	45,8	58	43	59	48	46,4	28	43,6	53,2	46	43,5
<i>Tertiary</i>	39,1	28,7	52,6	6,6	32,8	8,7	53,3	36,6	10,3	46,2	69,2	51,1	36,6	31,5	38,8
Partner's working time (%)															
<i>Not employed</i>	5,9	10,2	9,6	10,7	12,9	16,2	4,7	3,2	23,6	9,1	11,4	13,4	14,4	24,3	12,6
<i>0-40 h</i>	13,7	19,8	14	14,5	20,2	9,5	14,1	10,3	9	12,4	12,3	14,8	16,3	15,1	11,8
<i>40 h+</i>	80,4	70	76,5	74,8	66,8	74,3	81,1	86,5	67,4	78,5	76,3	71,8	69,3	60,6	75,6
Partner's wages (mean)	109	102	108	78	124	88	119	100	82	125	183	177	95	75	104
	852	950	576	064	340	908	061	154	157	400	443	532	431	142	226
Immigration characteristics															
<i>Median years in Switzerland</i>	--	17,3	10,1	14,1	17,1	15,1	8,2	13,9	16,7	11,3	12	6,8	10,6	12,1	11,3
<i>Immigrated aged 16 or older (%)</i>	--	70,4	91,5	82,3	70,4	69,6	93,3	84,6	75	85,7	78,8	96,2	87,5	83,8	83,7
Linguistic region															
<i>German</i>	74	47,5	18,4	32	49,9	80,6	93,9	93,9	83,4	70,2	59,1	65	57,5	41,7	77,4
<i>French</i>	21,4	19,9	80,5	62,2	46	15,4	4,9	3,9	14,1	25,3	38,1	28,2	35	57	21
<i>Italian</i>	4,2	32,4	1,1	5,3	3,9	4	1	2	2,4	4,5	2,5	6,8	7,5	1,3	1,4
<i>Romansh</i>	0,4	0,2	0	0,6	0,2	0	0,2	0,2	0	0	0,3	0	0	0	0,2
Residence in urban areas (%)	68,2	87,1	78,5	75,6	86,2	79,5	79,9	76,4	87,9	83	86,7	87,1	85,7	82,6	85,2
<i>Observations (N), not weighted</i>	21 962	1 073	1 144	1 537	383	2 655	3 312	334	651	2 009	390	487	1 286	1 082	1 564
<i>%</i>	55,1	2,7	2,9	3,9	1	6,7	8,3	0,8	1,6	5	1	1,2	3,2	2,7	3,9

Source: SFLS 2010–2014

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN SWITZERLAND

In relation to partner characteristics, partners' education and income were clearly lower for the Portugal, Turkey and former Yugoslavia groups than for the France, Germany, other EU, EFTA, North America and Oceania and other European groups. The latter groups of women were in partnerships with more educated and better-paid men. Their partners worked long hours in all cases, although it is equally relevant that male unemployment in former Yugoslavian, Turkish and African groups might explain their lower mean wages. Immigrants are more concentrated in urban areas than Swiss-born women. Moreover, many immigrant groups from non-neighbouring countries tend to settle in the French-speaking regions, with the exception of the former Yugoslavian and Turkish groups, which concentrate in the German-speaking region. Finally, the median years spent in Switzerland reveals longer settlement and a larger percentage of women arriving at younger ages (aged 0-15) among the most traditional groups in the country, particularly Italians and Spaniards.

Women's educational and labour distributions are displayed in Table 2. Whereas Swiss-born women are more concentrated at the medium educational level, the share of immigrant women who completed tertiary education is higher in general, in accordance with the highly skilled profile of immigration in Switzerland. In contrast, many Portuguese, former Yugoslavian and Turkish women have low qualifications, whereas Latin American, African and Asian women present a dual educational distribution. The labour force participation and employment levels are higher for Swiss-born and other EU women than for the other groups. Temporality is generally low in all cases, whereas public employment is more common for Swiss-born women, as expected. In relation to the time devoted to paid employment, it is relevant to mention the large share of native women working less than 50% (23.5%) and the small percentage working full time (43.3%) -- only slightly higher than that of Turkish women. Finally, we observe a dual profile of the immigrant female population regarding their socio-professional categories, in line with the observations regarding their educational profiles. Women from the EU (with the exception of Portugal), EFTA, North America and Oceania and other European countries are overwhelmingly concentrated at higher positions on the socio-professional scale, whereas Portuguese, former Yugoslavian and Turkish women are over-represented in the unskilled category.

Table 2: Education and labor characteristics, women aged 20–49

	Switzerland	Italy	France	Portugal	Spain	Former Yugoslavia	Germany	Austria	Turkey	Other EU	EFTA & N. America & Oceania	Other Europe	Latin America	Africa	Asia
Partner's educational level (low)	5,3	27,1	10,3	64,6	21,4	33,3	3,8	4,4	41,7	7,4	2,8	5,2	10,2	22,5	17,7
<i>Medium</i>	55,6	44,2	37,1	28,8	45,8	58,0	43,0	59,0	48,0	46,4	28,0	43,6	53,2	46,0	43,5
<i>Tertiary</i>	39,1	28,7	52,6	6,6	32,8	8,7	53,3	36,6	10,3	46,2	69,2	51,1	36,6	31,5	38,8
Partner's working time (not employed)	5,9	10,2	9,6	10,7	12,9	16,2	4,7	3,2	23,6	9,1	11,4	13,4	14,4	24,3	12,6
<i>0-40 h</i>	13,7	19,8	14,0	14,5	20,2	9,5	14,1	10,3	9,0	12,4	12,3	14,8	16,3	15,1	11,8
<i>40 h+</i>	80,4	70,0	76,5	74,8	66,8	74,3	81,1	86,5	67,4	78,5	76,3	71,8	69,3	60,6	75,6
Partner's wages (mean)	109	102	108	78	124	88	119	100	82	125	183	177	95	75	104
	852	950	576	064	340	908	061	154	157	400	443	532	431	142	226
Immigration characteristics															
<i>Median years in Switzerland</i>	--	17,3	10,1	14,1	17,1	15,1	8,2	13,9	16,7	11,3	12	6,8	10,6	12,1	11,3
<i>Immigrated aged 16 or older (%)</i>	--	70,4	91,5	82,3	70,4	69,6	93,3	84,6	75	85,7	78,8	96,2	87,5	83,8	83,7
Linguistic region (German)	74,0	47,5	18,4	32,0	49,9	80,6	93,9	93,9	83,4	70,2	59,1	65,0	57,5	41,7	77,4
<i>French</i>	21,4	19,9	80,5	62,2	46,0	15,4	4,9	3,9	14,1	25,3	38,1	28,2	35,0	57,0	21,0
<i>Italian</i>	4,2	32,4	1,1	5,3	3,9	4,0	1,0	2,0	2,4	4,5	2,5	6,8	7,5	1,3	1,4
<i>Romansh</i>	0,4	0,2	0,0	0,6	0,2	0,0	0,2	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2
Residence in urban areas (%)	68,2	87,1	78,5	75,6	86,2	79,5	79,9	76,4	87,9	83,0	86,7	87,1	85,7	82,6	85,2
Socio-professional category (Manager)	2,6	3,7	5,1	0,8	3	1,5	3,7	3,3	0,7	3,8	5,5	0,9	2	2,4	1,3
<i>Higher professional</i>	17,3	22,7	35,5	5,3	23,1	4,9	37,1	26,2	7,8	31,6	49,4	33,6	15,8	16,5	17,7
<i>Lower professional and technical</i>	30,9	22,9	33,5	17,9	27,1	17,6	31,1	33,1	16,9	25,8	27,9	32,8	23,8	23,1	27
<i>Intermediate qualified (non-manual)</i>	38,6	26,5	16,2	17,4	23,3	32,6	23,5	29,1	23,4	29	13	18,5	27	26,5	23,1
<i>Intermediate qualified (manual)</i>	3,4	3,2	2,3	2,5	1,9	5,8	1,9	4,1	3,9	3,1	0,4	1,9	2,7	3	3,9
<i>Unskilled worker</i>	3,8	20,5	6,8	54,7	18,6	35,5	1,6	3,6	44,8	5,9	3	10,5	24,5	26,3	23,2
<i>Trainee</i>	3,3	0,6	0,6	1,3	1,6	1,6	0,9	0,6	2,4	0,7	0,3	0,9	3,9	2,2	3
<i>Not classifiable</i>	0,1	0	0	0,1	1,5	0,5	0,1	0	0	0,2	0,4	0,8	0,3	0,1	0,8
Number of observations (N), not weighted	21 962	1 073	1 144	1 537	383	2 655	3 312	334	651	2 009	390	487	1 286	1 082	1 564
%	55,1	2,7	2,9	3,9	1	6,7	8,3	0,8	1,6	5	1	1,2	3,2	2,7	3,9

3.4.2 Employment patterns by origin and family composition

Table 3 provides the results of the multivariate analysis of the participation level and hours worked by natives and immigrant women. Differences for the first category, *singles*, are constrained within the participation equation, whereas outcomes for the number of hours are almost the same across groups. Discrepancies in employment levels are already noticeable at this stage for Turkish, other European, and African women. Conversely, there is no significant difference between women born in the EU, with the exception of Portuguese women, whose participation rate is 6% higher than that of Swiss women. The second group, *women living with a partner without children*, emphasizes the disadvantage in employment rates of women born outside the EU. With the exception of women born in EFTA countries, North America and Oceania, all of the groups show a lower probability of being employed. In contrast, women born in Germany and Portugal show a slight advantage over Swiss-born women. Regarding singles, the amount of time devoted to paid work varies only slightly among women of different national origins.

Heterogeneous forms of participation and working time patterns emerge for the third group, *women with pre-school children*. Indeed, employment supplies vary greatly across origins for the two outcomes of interest. Women from EU countries prove to be more or equally employed, compared to Swiss women. Statistical differences appear for France, Spain, Germany and Portugal, which show an increased probability of being employed. In contrast, the disadvantage in employment rates is widespread among women born outside the EU. The probability of being employed is approximately 18% to 23% lower for women born in Turkey, Latin America, Asia, Africa and other European countries. Distinctions are also important for the number of hours, with a contrast emerging between the Swiss and all of the migrant groups. When employed, all groups of foreign-born women work more hours than Swiss women (with the exception of those from Austria, Italy and Turkey, for whom the difference is not statistically significant). These results are similar to those of the fourth group, *women with children aged 6 to 14 years*. Differences in employment level are still at the advantage of some groups from the EU (particularly for women from Portugal and Spain), while women from all of the non-EU countries have a negative probability of being employed, in contrast to Swiss-born women. Again, the number of hours worked is different between the foreign-born groups and the natives, with the paid workload of the latter being smaller on average.

Table 3: Marginal effects for employment and the number of hours worked by family composition, women aged 20-49

	Singles		Couples without children		Couples with child <5		Couples with child >5 & <15	
	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours
Country of birth (Swiss)								
Italy	0,01	0,30	0,01	-0,80	0,02	1,90	-0,06	0,10
France	0,01	1,80 **	0,01	2,10 **	0,08 **	6,50 ***	0,04	4,50 ***
Portugal	0,06 **	1,90 **	0,05 **	0,90	0,15 ***	7,10 ***	0,07 **	6,30 ***
Spain	0,02	2,40 *	0,03	2,70 **	0,11 *	6,60 ***	0,10 *	5,00 **
Former Yougoslavia	-0,03	1,20 *	-0,05 **	0,80	-0,04	7,90 ***	-0,05 *	8,40 ***
Germany	0,02	1,00 *	0,05 ***	2,50 ***	0,08 ***	4,20 ***	-0,03	3,50 **
Austria	0,04	0,30	0,03	3,30	0,02	1,40	0,08	2,80
Turkey	-0,26 ***	0,40	-0,14 ***	0,00	-0,23 ***	2,70	-0,20 ***	3,90 **
Other EU	-0,04	1,00	-0,01	0,70	-0,02	5,20 ***	-0,09 **	4,70 ***
EFTA, North America, Oceania	-0,02	0,10	-0,02	2,00	-0,09	4,40 *	-0,20 **	2,30
Other European	-0,16 **	1,60	-0,12 **	0,30	-0,23 ***	3,80 *	-0,23 **	2,90
Latin America	-0,03	-0,60	-0,10 ***	-2,20 **	-0,21 ***	2,70 *	-0,17 ***	3,60 **
Africa	-0,08 **	-0,40	-0,09 **	-0,80	-0,18 ***	2,70 *	-0,14 **	5,70 ***
Asia	-0,05	-0,20	-0,11 ***	1,20	-0,19 ***	6,20 ***	-0,14 ***	4,70 ***
Age group (30-35)								
20-25	-0,03 *	0,60	-0,06 **	1,00	-0,15 ***	-1,40	-0,19	7,40
25-30	-0,01	-0,70	0,00	0,40	-0,60 **	1,30 *	-0,10	-1,60
35-40	-0,02	-1,00 **	-0,01	-1,20 **	0,00	0,30	0,01	-1,40
40-45	-0,05 ***	-2,00 ***	-0,04 **	-3,20 ***	-0,05 **	1,00	0,00	-1,90 *
45-50	-0,05 ***	-3,60 ***	-0,06 ***	-6,70 ***	-0,11 **	1,00	-0,03	-2,30 **

Table 3: Marginal effects for employment and the number of hours worked by family composition, women aged 20-49 (Continued)

	Singles		Couples without children		Couples with child <5		Couples with child >5 & <15	
	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours	Part.	Hours
Education (Low)								
Medium	0,12 ***	1,60 ***	0,07 ***	1,80 ***	0,08 ***	0,80	0,05 *	1,20
High	0,16 ***	1,80 ***	0,11 ***	3,80 ***	0,23 ***	5,80 ***	0,14 ***	5,70 ***
Married	-	-	-0,05 ***	-3,60 ***	-0,06 **	-3,50 ***	-0,09 ***	-5,40 ***
Number of children (One)								
Two	-	-	-	-	-0,09 ***	-3,10 ***	-0,03 *	-2,80 ***
Three or more	-	-	-	-	-0,21 ***	-7,60 ***	-0,15 ***	-5,60 ***
Time since migration (>8 years)								
3 to 8 years	0,03 *	1,00 *	-0,04 **	-1,30 **	-0,14 ***	-0,60	-0,08 **	1,60
<3 years	0,05 **	1,10 *	-0,11 ***	-3,00 ***	-0,38 ***	0,80	-0,20 ***	2,10
Foreigner	-0,02 *	0,20	-0,05 ***	0,10	-0,04 *	0,60 ***	-0,03	-0,60
Swiss partner	-	-	-0,01	-1,80 ***	-0,30 *	-4,20 ***	-0,01	-3,90 ***
Partner's education (same level)								
Partner more educated	-	-	0,00	0,00	-0,01	-0,50	-0,01	-0,50
Partner less educated	-	-	-0,02 *	-0,70 *	-0,06 ***	-0,70	-0,02	-0,80

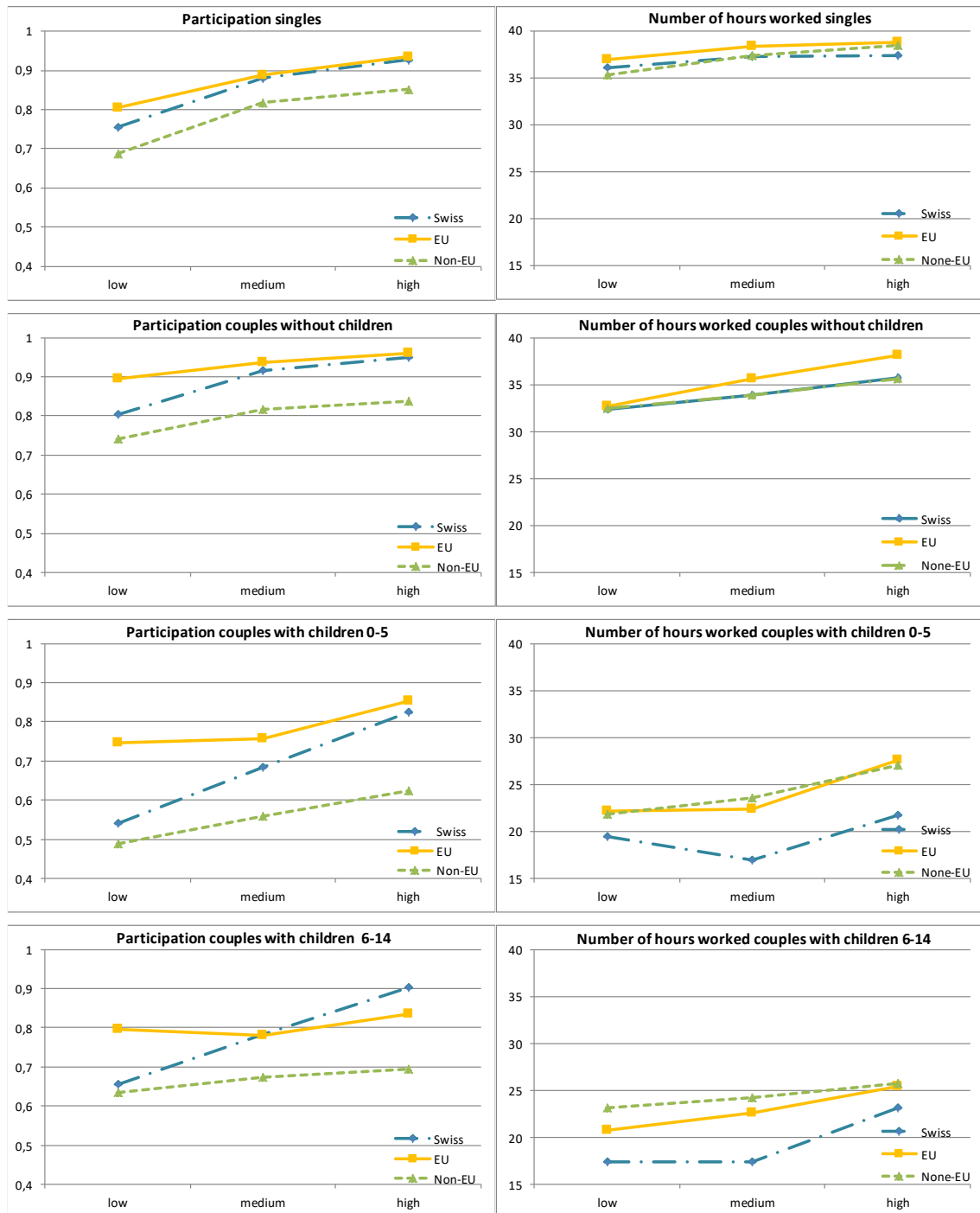
The impact of individual characteristics generally accords with human capital theory. Education level is shown to be a strong determinant of both outcomes for women; the more educated that they are, the more likely that they are to participate and to work more hours. Being married decreases the likelihood of participating and working extended hours. The results also support the increased probability of non-employment with additional children. However, decisions regarding childbearing and employment are endogenous and should not be interpreted as causal effects. Nevertheless, the results indicate that women with more children have lower labour market attachment. This effect is constant across national origins. (Interaction effects are not shown, but they are available upon request.) Having a foreign nationality has a negative effect on employment, but it has almost no effect on the number of hours worked once employed. The impact of the time since immigrating to Switzerland differs according to whether women live with a partner. When in a partnership (with or without children), the results support the usual claim in which the longer that one stays in the country, the more economically integrated that she becomes. In contrast, single women have a higher employment rate during their first years of residence, compared with more established foreign-born singles. Migration motives are likely to differ according to the family composition and to lead to different employment trajectories. While single women often migrate for employment reasons, women in a partnership can move either as primary or as tied movers. In the latter case, a time interval is needed to integrate into the labour market, even for work-oriented women. Additionally, an important share of this group holds resident permits, which require having a job to stay in the country. For these reasons, we do not observe the usual U curve in this group of single, foreign-born women. With regard to the region of residence, we observe clear variations in employment patterns. The German-speaking area represents the prevailing “one-and-a-half-earner” regime in Switzerland. In the Italian region, participation is systematically lower across family compositions but particularly when women have resident children. The number of hours is, however, similar to that in the German region. Finally, women in the French-speaking area present stronger labour market attachment in terms of both participation and number of hours when they have pre-school children.

3.4.3 Education and income effects by women's birthplaces

As shown in the previous section, having children strengthens the differences in employment trends among natives, EU and non-EU women. These three collectives are grouped accordingly in this subsection. Interaction terms of a woman's origin with her level of education (Figure 1) and the household income (Figure 2) describe the variation in the effects of education and income by birthplace. Confidence intervals (see Table A.1. to A.4. in Appendix) are used to evaluate whether the slopes (employment differences between: (1) the higher and the lower educated and (2) the more and the less affluent households) are significantly different for Swiss, EU and non-EU women.

Figure 1 first shows that the positive effect of education on the level of participation is constant across birthplace for *single* women and *childless women in partnerships*. Nevertheless, significant differences appear for *women with pre-school resident children*. Consistent with our hypotheses, more pronounced differences are observed among Swiss women regarding the employment gap between women with high and low education levels. The difference in the employment rate between minimally and highly educated women is 29% for the Swiss group, whereas it is 10% and 14% in the EU and non-EU countries, respectively. However, this strong and positive effect of education for Swiss women is not a clearly advantageous marker of labour market integration for the less skilled. Indeed, the strength of this effect is mainly attributed to the lower participation rate of Swiss women (54%) compared to EU migrants (75%) with low educational levels. As a result, Swiss women who hold a tertiary degree have a greater margin to differentiate their labour supply from that of the less qualified. These effects of education are similar to those in the fourth group, *women with resident children aged 6 to 14 years*. For EU and non-EU groups, the effect of educational level on participation is far less discriminatory. Whereas the difference is 26% between lower- and higher-educated Swiss women, the effect is almost flat for non-EU women and varies only by 6% among women from EU countries.

Figure 1: Interactions of women's education level and country of birth by family composition (c)



(c) Predictive margins for employment and number of hours worked, controlled for women's socio-demographic characteristics, partners characteristics and contextual factors.

Variations in the effect of education on the number of hours worked per week based on birthplace are less evident. At its most significant, education has an additional, positive impact of two hours for highly educated EU women in a partnership without children. The interaction terms are otherwise not statistically significant.

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN SWITZERLAND

However, in contrast to immigrants, the relation for the number of hours worked is not linear for native women with children aged 0-14. Rather, it shows a U-shaped pattern, in which the medium educated spend the fewest hours at work. Furthermore, compared with immigrant women with the same educational attainment, they are the group with the shorter schedules.

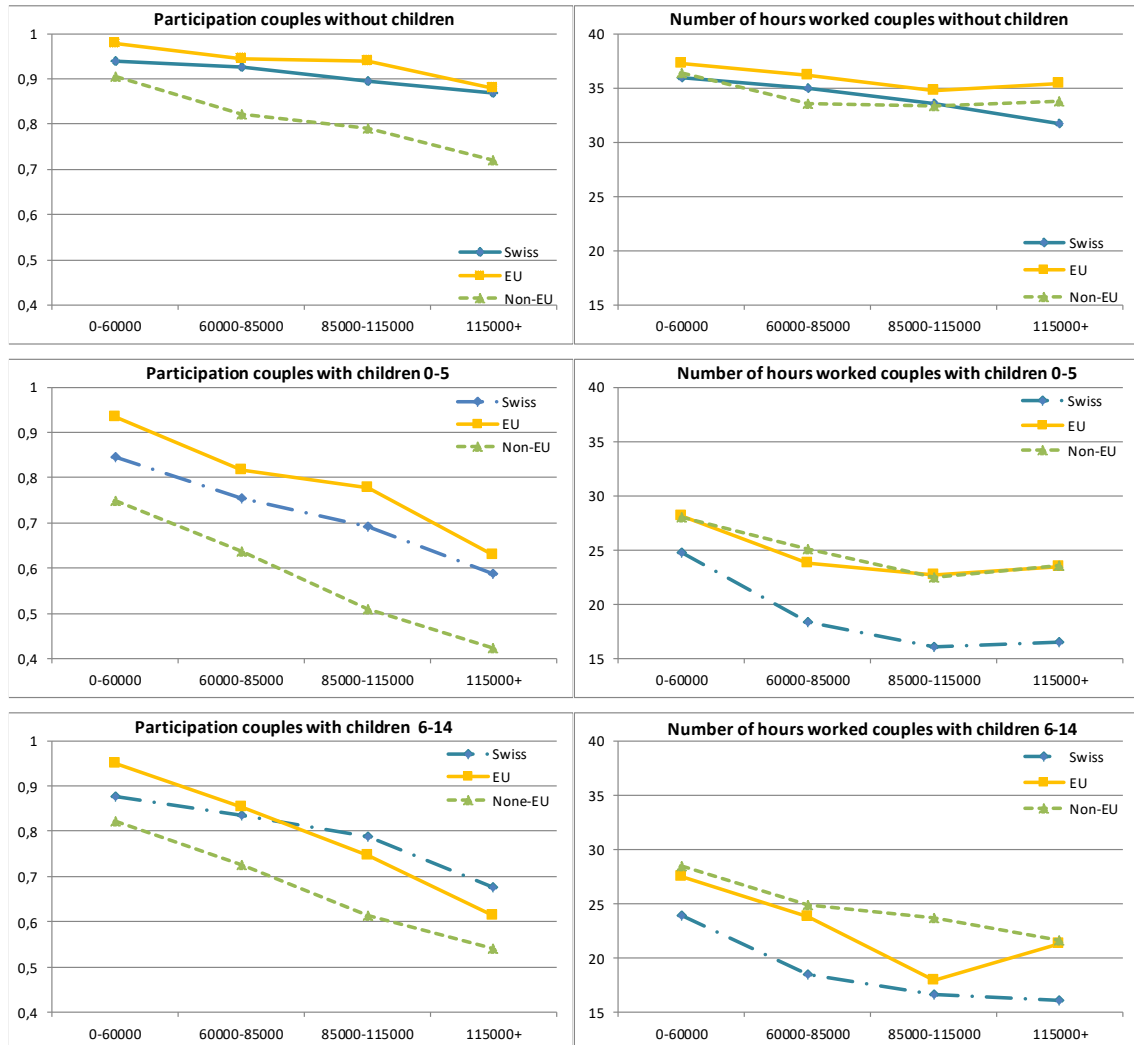
Second, regarding household income, we observe a consistent effect across family types. This effect is characterized by a clear employment gap (lower participation and hours worked) for the wealthiest households. Again, the magnitude of this effect differs statistically between national origins but not in the household configurations in which we most expected is.

For *couples without children*, variation according to birthplace is mainly observed for the outcome of the participation equation. Marginal effects for non-EU countries suggest that this group is more responsive to household income: the gap in the probability of participating between the most and least affluent households is 22%. In comparison, this gap is 11% and% for EU and Swiss women, respectively. No difference appears for the number of hours worked.

In contrast to expectations, we do not find clear-cut differences among natives, EU immigrants and non-EU immigrants for women with *pre-school resident children*. The slopes for household income do not differ for the participation equation. The gap in the probability of being employed between the most and least affluent households is 33% for non-EU women, 29% for EU women, and 27% for Swiss women. It is the number of hours worked that strengthens the differences in employment trends among these groups. Indeed, this effect is amplified for native women, whose variation (-8 hours) in the average workload is double that of non-EU and EU women (-4 hours).

Finally, among the configuration of *households with resident children aged 6 to 14 years*, noticeable differences are constrained within the participation equation. The negative effect of the family budget is amplified for EU and non-EU women in the third income quartile and for EU women in the fourth income quartile. The results show an additional 10-point decrease in the probability of being employed, compared to Swiss women.

Figure 2: Interaction of household income and country of birth by family composition^(d)



Source ESPA 2010-2014

(d) Predictive margins for employment and number of hours worked, controlled for women's socio-demographic characteristics, partners characteristics and contextual factors.

3.5 Discussion and conclusion

This research elucidates the heterogeneous forms of labour market attachment across family compositions in Switzerland. The results reveal that, although there are very few differences in the patterns of work-force participation and working hours among single women of different national origins, differences emerge when children are present in the household. The part-time regime that prevails among the Swiss-born population contrasts with the employment patterns of women born in EU and non-EU countries. Women from EU countries present higher levels of participation in employment, and they also work more total weekly hours. Conversely, the employment

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN SWITZERLAND

behaviours of non-EU women are more polarized. They are less represented in the work force, but they work longer hours when they are employed. We interpret the major employment attachment of EU women in terms of both work-force participation and working time as the effects of their labour-oriented migration and their most privileged position in the Swiss labour market. In contrast, the dual behaviour of non-EU women could be a response to lower returns on educational credentials and more precarious family finances. As Bevelander and Groeneveld (2006) noted for the Netherlands, the more favourable payment level of natives compared to the foreign-born population, along with the relative and positive incomes of their partners (in endogamous partnerships), could help to explain the shorter working hours of Swiss women. The same can be said for Switzerland, where the median income in the private sector is 11% to 14% higher among native workers (women and men, respectively), compared with their foreign counterparts (SFSO - Swiss Earnings Structure Survey 2018). The results also suggest that the reduction in the labour involvement of mothers in Switzerland is not just a temporary conciliatory strategy to lengthen the short Swiss maternity leave. Indeed, our analysis points to a long-term, negative effect of motherhood in the latter stages of the women's life courses in terms of employment (especially for immigrants) and working time (particularly for natives). However, these results should be understood within the limits of a transversal framework. Indeed, childbearing decisions are strongly intertwined with attitudes towards employment. In order to measure the effect of fertility on employment more directly, one would benefit from analysing the changes in working hours before and after having children, as well as taking into account for the endogenous decisions regarding the number of hours worked and the decision to have a child. Instead, and to circumvent this problem, we focused on the different employment trends across origins within groups of childless and mothers.

To further consider the potential trade-off between the costs and opportunities of integrating into the labour market, we emphasized in particular the differential effects of educational attainment and household income between women according to their birthplaces. Overall, the importance of these attributes is reinforced in households with resident children, regardless of the women's origin. Consistent with our hypotheses, the strength of this gap differs among native, EU and non-EU immigrants. First, the effect of education is stronger for Swiss-born women, whose participation decisions vary significantly according to their level of education. In contrast, EU and non-EU

immigrants are less responsive to this attribute: while the former display a strong attachment to the labour market regardless of their level of education, the latter are always underrepresented in the work force. As a result, the employment levels of less educated Swiss women approach those of non-EU women. Conversely, the more educated display a similar employment propensity to that of EU women. Second, although they cannot be generalized to all family configurations, the results suggest a greater decrease in hours worked for native women and a greater drop in the probability of being employed for immigrant women in more affluent households.

The lower attachment to the labour market among women in the third and fourth income quartiles supports the cultural hypothesis. One might think that gender role preferences are more achievable when economic constraints are weaker. This reasoning applies to the native population, whose probability of being employed decreases considerably in more affluent households, although to a lesser extent than for immigrant women. However, it is likely that one of the strongest determinant factors of employment behaviours is differential access to public and family-friendly sectors of employment. Individuals usually have more control over their participation decisions than over the number of hours worked. Indeed, many sectors do not allow for part-time schedules and leave women with two choices: either to withdraw from the labour market or to work full-time. Given the segmented labour market, as well as the citizenship requirements to access some public employment sectors, the native population is more likely to have access to flexible schedules. Finally, natives often rely on the support of their extended family members, constituting a precious childcare resource, whereas immigrant families are more dependent on external childcare, which in turn can increase the cost of working. Considered as a whole, Swiss women have more opportunities to combine childrearing and part-time employment. As noted by Blau and Kahn (2013), high participation rates could be achieved as a result of the important adoption of part-time employment because it could encourage the labour continuity of less career-oriented women in stages of the life cycle when their childcare requirements are more demanding. However, part-time employment is far from being an indicator of gender equality since it diminishes women's salaries and their opportunities to be in high-level jobs.

3.6 Reference

- Adsera, A., & Chiswick, B. R. (2007). Are there gender and country of origin differences in immigrant labor market outcomes across European destinations? *Journal of Population Economics*, 20(3), 495–526.
- Antecol, H. (2000). An examination of cross-country differences in the gender gap in labor force participation rates. *Labour Economics*, 7(4), 409–426.
- Banfi, S., Farsi, M., & Filippini, M. (2009). An empirical analysis of child care demand in Switzerland. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 80(1), 37–66.
- Becker, G. S. (1991). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bevelander, P. (2005). The employment status of immigrant women: the case of Sweden¹. *International Migration Review*, 39(1), 173–202.
- Bevelander, P., & Groeneveld, S. (2006). Patterns of transition: female native Dutch and ethnic minority employment patterns in the Dutch labour market, 1991 and 2002. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(5), 785–807.
- Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2007). Changes in the labor supply behavior of married women: 1980–2000. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 25(3), 393–438.
- Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2013). Female labor supply: why is the United States falling behind? *The American Economic Review*, 103(3), 251–256.
- Blau, F. D., Ferber, M. A., & Winkler, A. E. (2006). *The economics of women, men, and work* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Pearson/Prentice Hall.
- Blau, F. D., Kahn, L. M., & Papps, K. L. (2011). Gender, source country characteristics, and labor market assimilation among immigrants. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 93(1), 43–58. https://doi.org/10.1162/REST_a_00064.
- Borjas, G. J. (1987). *Self-selection and the earnings of immigrants*. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Buchmann, M., Kriesi, I., & Sacchi, S. (2002). *Halb drinnen-halb draussen: Analysen zur Arbeitsmarktintegration von Frauen in der Schweiz*. Zürich: Rüegger.
- Bühler, E. (2011). Geschlechterungleichheiten. In R. Schneider-Sliwa (Ed.), *Schweiz. Wirtschaft, Geschichte, Politik* (pp. 114–117). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlicher Buchverlag.
- Bühler, E., & Kruker, V. M. (2002). Gendered labour arrangements in Switzerland: structures, cultures, meanings: statistical evidence and biographical narratives. *GeoJournal*, 56(4), 305–313.
- Burke, W. J. (2009). Fitting and interpreting Cragg's tobit alternative using Stata. *The Stata Journal*, 9(4), 584–592.
- Constant, A., & Massey, D. S. (2005). Labor market segmentation and the earnings of German guestworkers. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 24(5), 489–512.

- Cragg, J. G. (1971). Some statistical models for limited dependent variables with application to the demand for durable goods. *Econometrica*, 39(5), 829–844.
- Del Boca, D., Pasqua, S., & Pronzato, C. (2008). Motherhood and market work decisions in institutional context: a European perspective. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 61(1), i147–i171.
- Dustmann, C., & Schmidt C. M. (2000). The wage performance of immigrant women: full-time jobs, part-time jobs, and the role of selection. *IZA Discussion Paper*, 233: 1–45.
- Dutu, R. (2014). Women’s role in the Swiss economy. OECD Economics Department Working Papers, 1144. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Esteve, A., Schwartz, C. R., van Bavel, J., Permanyer, I., Klesment, M., & García-Román, J. (2016). The end of hypergamy: global trends and implications. *Population and Development Review*, 42(4), 615–625.
- European commission. (2015). Determining labour shortages and the need for labour migration from third countries in the EU. The European Migration Network. 93 p.
- Evertsson, M., England, P., Mooi-Reci, I., Hermsen, J., de Bruijn, J., & Cotter, D. (2009). Is gender inequality greater at lower or higher educational levels? Common patterns in the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United States. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 16(2), 210–241.
- Favre, S. (2011). The impact of immigration on the wage distribution in Switzerland. Available at <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1915067>.
- Golder, S. M. (1999). The labor market performance of first-generation immigrants: Evidence for Switzerland. Kiel Working Paper. 951.
- González-Ferrer, A. (2011). Explaining the labour performance of immigrant women in Spain: the interplay between family, migration and legal trajectories. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 52(1–2), 63–78.
- Haug, W. (2005). First and second generation migrants in the labour market: an overview. In W. Haug & P.Wanner (Eds.), *Migrants et Marché du Travail. Compétences et insertion professionnelle des personnes d’origine étrangère en Suisse* (pp. 5–15). Neuchâtel: Office Fédéral de la Statistique.
- Heckman, J. (1979). Sample bias as a specification error. *Econometrica*, 47(1), 153–162.
- Henz, U., & Sundström, M. (2001). Partner choice and women’s paid work in Sweden. The role of earnings. *European Sociological Review*, 17(3), 295–316.
- Humphreys, B. R. (2013). Dealing with zeros in economic data. University of Alberta, Department of Economics.
- Kil, T., Neels, K., Wood, J., & de Valk, H. (2017). Employment after parenthood: women of migrant origin and natives compared. *European Journal of Population.*, 34, 413–440. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-017-9431-7>.

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN SWITZERLAND

- Lacroix, J., Gagnon, A., & Lortie, V. (2017). À l'intersection du genre et de l'origine nationale : quels sont les parcours professionnels des immigrants sélectionnés au Québec ? *Population*, 72(3), 419–444. <https://doi.org/10.3917/popu.1703.0435>.
- Lang, K., & Lehmann, J. K. (2012). Racial discrimination in the labor market: theory and empirics. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(4), 959–1006.
- Levy, R., & Widmer E. (2013). *Gendered life courses between standardization and individualization: a European approach applied to Switzerland*. LIT VerlagMünster.
- Liebig, T., Kohls S., & Krause K. (2012). *The labour market integration of immigrants and their children in Switzerland*. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers 128. Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- McDonald, P. (2000). Gender equity in theories of fertility transition. *Population and Development Review*, 26(3), 427–439.
- McDonald, P. (2013). Societal foundations for explaining fertility: gender equity. *Demographic Research*, 28(34), 981–994.
- McDonald, J. F., & Moffitt, R. A. (1980). The uses of Tobit analysis. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 62(2), 318–321.
- Merz-Krobova, M. (1993). Ausländische Frauen auf dem schweizerischen Arbeitsmarkt. *Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics*, 129(3), 401–413.
- Migration-mobility indicators. (2018). <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/> (Accessed on 20 August 2018).
- Mincer, J., & Polachek, S. (1974). Family investments in human capital: earnings of women. *Journal of Political Economy*, 82(2, Part 2), S76–S108.
- OECD. (2011). *Doing better for families*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2018). Employment rate (indicator). <https://doi.org/10.1787/1de68a9b-en> (Accessed on 02 July 2018).
- Pecoraro, M. (2011). Gender, brain waste and job-education mismatch among migrant workers in Switzerland. *Migration Paper*, 111. Genève: International Labour Organization. http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/labourmigration/publications/WCMS_179646/lang%2D%2Den/index.htm (accessed 26 February 2015).
- Piguet, E. (2004). *L'immigration en Suisse. Cinquante ans d'entreouverture*. Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes 150 p (Le savoir suisse ; 24), ISBN : 2-88074-615-9.
- Reimers, C. (1985). Cultural differences in labor force participation among married women. *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), 251–255.
- Robles, P. S. (2012). *Gender disparities in Africa's labour markets: an analysis of survey data from Ethiopia and Tanzania*. Paris: University Paris East, Faculty of Economics and Management.

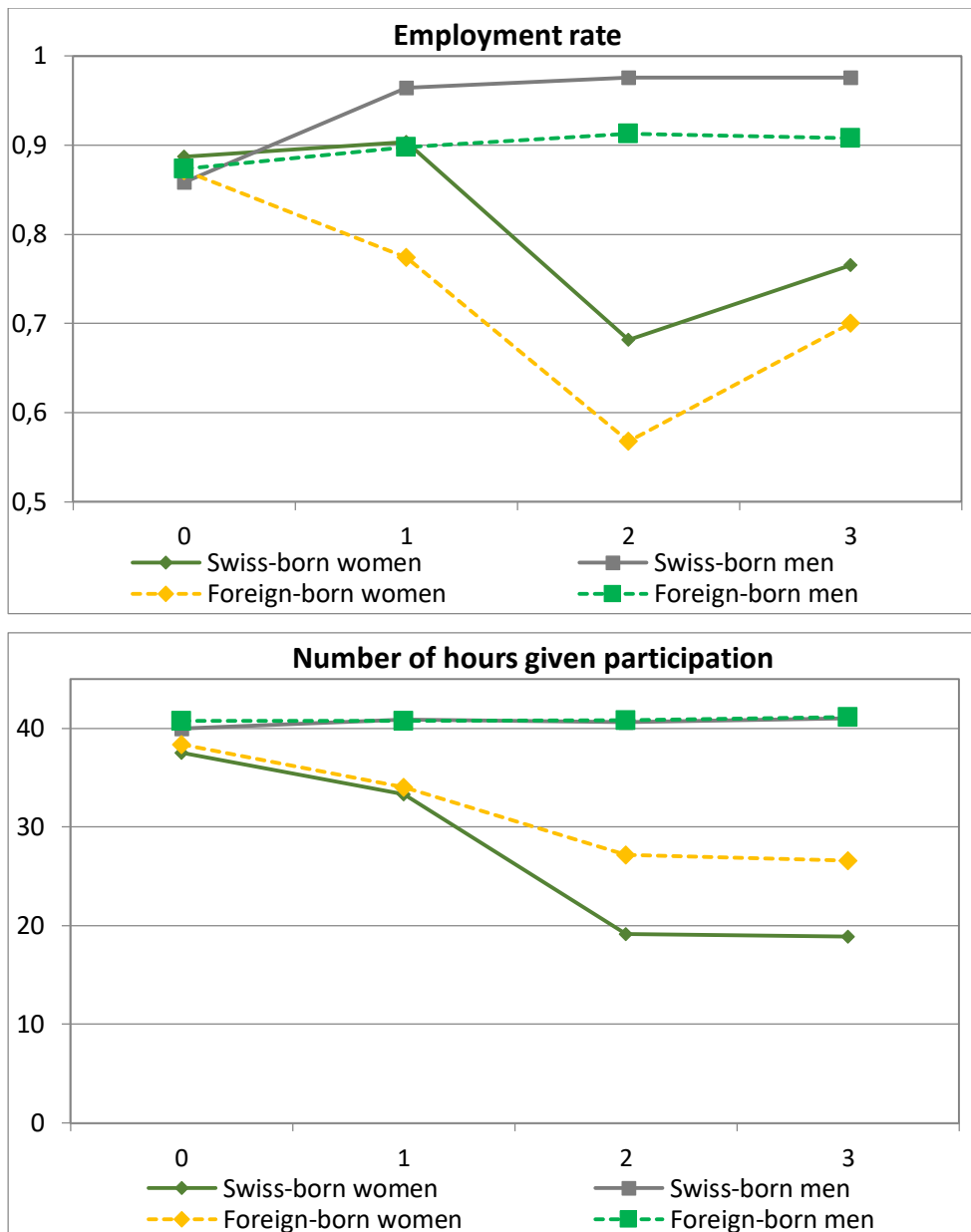
- Schlanser, R. (2011). Qui utilise les crèches? *Sécurité sociale*, 3(2011), 139–143.
- Schwarz, P. (2012). Tax disincentives and female employment in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(1), 17–29.
- Stadelmann, I. (2007). Travail des femmes et politique familiale en Suisse. *Vie Économique-Revue de Politique Économique*, 80(5), 52–54.
- State Secretariat of Migration (SEM), SYMIC register. (2010-2015). For what reason are migrants admitted in Switzerland? nccr-On the move. Migration-mobility indicators. <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/forwhat-administrative-reason-are-migrants-admitted-in-switzerland/> (Accessed on 02 July 2018).
- Stier, H., & Tienda, M. (1992). Family, work and women: the labor supply of Hispanic immigrant wives. *International Migration Review*, 26(4), 1291–1313.
- Swiss Federal Statistical Office. (2018). Part-time work, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/economicsocial-situation-population/gender-equality/paid-employment/part-time-work.html> (Accessed on 20.02.2018).
- Swiss Federal Statistical Office, Statweb. (2018). How many migrants settle in Switzerland? nccr-On the move. Migration-mobility indicators. <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/how-many-migrants-settle-inswitzerland/>(Accessed on 02 July 2018).
- Swiss Federal Statistical Office, Swiss Earnings Structure Survey. (2018). Gross monthly wage, Swiss and foreigners, by gender. <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/work-income/wages-incomeemployment-labour-costs/wage-levels-switzerland/categories-persons.html> (Accessed on 02 July 2018).
- Taniguchi, H., & Rosenfeld, R.A. (2002). Women's employment exit and re-entry: differences among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. *Social Science Research*, 31(3), 432–471. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X\(02\)00009-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(02)00009-1).
- Van de Kaa, D. J. (1987). Europe's second demographic transition. *Population Bulletin*, 42(1), 1–59.
- Vidal-Coso, E. (2018). Female employment following childbirth: differences between native and immigrant women in Switzerland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1444983>.
- Vidal-Coso, E., & Ortega-Rivera, E. (2017). Skill composition and occupational incorporation of early and recent immigrants in Switzerland: the case of Italians and Spaniards. *International Migration*, 55(S1), 86–111.
- Viry, G., Kaufmann, V., & Widmer, D. (2009). La grande mobilité géographique pour des raisons professionnelles en suisse: une étape de vie préparentale? *Recherches Familiales*, 1(6), 67–80.

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN
SWITZERLAND

- Wanner, P. (2004). Intégration professionnelle des populations d'origine et de nationalité étrangères en Suisse. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 20(1), 1–11.
- Wanner, P., Pecoraro, M., & Fibbi, R. (2005). Femmes étrangères et marché du travail. In P. Wanner & H. Werner (Eds.), *Migrants et marché du travail*. Neuchâtel: Office fédéral de la statistique.
- Wanner, P., Zufferey, J., & Fioretta, J. (2016). The impact of migratory flows on the Swiss labour market. A comparison between in-and outflows. *Migration Letters*, 13(3), 411.
- Zabel, J. E. (1993). The relationship between hours of work and labor force participation in four models of labor supply behavior. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 11(2), 387–416.

APPENDIX

Figure A.1. Employment rates and number of hours worked in different family compositions, foreign-born and Swiss-born populations



Source: ESPA 2010-2014

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN
SWITZERLAND

Table A.1. Change in the probability of participation across educational levels by country of birth and family composition

Participation singles					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	0,120	0,018	0,085	0,155
Medium vs low	EU	0,089	0,030	0,030	0,149
Medium vs low	non-EU	0,137	0,036	0,066	0,207
High vs low	Swiss	0,165	0,018	0,129	0,201
High vs low	EU	0,142	0,029	0,086	0,199
High vs low	non-EU	0,172	0,038	0,097	0,247
Participation couples without children					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	0,099	0,022	0,055	0,143
Medium vs low	EU	0,048	0,018	0,012	0,083
Medium vs low	non-EU	0,081	0,027	0,029	0,134
High vs low	Swiss	0,128	0,023	0,083	0,173
High vs low	EU	0,075	0,018	0,040	0,110
High vs low	non-EU	0,105	0,029	0,048	0,161
Participation couples with resident children 0-5					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	0,142	0,043	0,058	0,227
Medium vs low	EU	0,009	0,031	-0,051	0,069
Medium vs low	non-EU	0,071	0,028	0,016	0,126
High vs low	Swiss	0,289	0,044	0,203	0,374
High vs low	EU	0,104	0,029	0,046	0,161
High vs low	non-EU	0,135	0,032	0,072	0,199
Participation couples with resident children 6-14					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	0,131	0,038	0,056	0,206
Medium vs low	EU	-0,016	0,029	-0,073	0,040
Medium vs low	non-EU	0,037	0,030	-0,021	0,095
High vs low	Swiss	0,256	0,039	0,179	0,333
High vs low	EU	0,037	0,030	-0,022	0,095
High vs low	non-EU	0,056	0,036	-0,016	0,127

Note: We used the contrast postestimation command from Stata 14 to test for the interaction effects of education and birthplaces. Lecture note: Using the confidence intervals (example in red), we can see that the difference in the probability to be employed between individuals having low and the high educational levels for the Swiss group (0.289) is statistically different from the difference for the EU group (0.104).

Table A.2. Change in the number of hours worked across educational levels by country of birth and family composition

Number of hours worked singles					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	1,299	0,391	0,533	2,065
Medium vs low	EU	1,390	0,671	0,074	2,705
Medium vs low	non-EU	2,011	0,735	0,571	3,451
High vs low	Swiss	1,300	0,419	0,478	2,121
High vs low	EU	1,797	0,653	0,517	3,076
High vs low	non-EU	3,190	0,795	1,631	4,749
Number of hours worked couples without children					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	1,451	0,671	0,135	2,766
Medium vs low	EU	2,897	0,657	1,608	4,185
Medium vs low	non-EU	1,407	0,683	0,067	2,746
High vs low	Swiss	3,379	0,713	1,983	4,776
High vs low	EU	5,422	0,688	4,074	6,771
High vs low	non-EU	3,070	0,759	1,582	4,558
Number of hours worked couples with resident children 0-5					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	-2,500	1,366	-5,177	0,176
Medium vs low	EU	0,285	0,968	-1,612	2,183
Medium vs low	non-EU	1,767	0,899	0,005	3,529
High vs low	Swiss	2,338	1,395	-0,396	5,073
High vs low	EU	5,465	0,978	3,547	7,383
High vs low	non-EU	5,165	1,063	3,081	7,249
Number of hours worked couples with resident children 6-14					
Education	Origin	Contrast	Std, Err,	[95% Conf, Interval]	
Medium vs low	Swiss	0,069	1,201	-2,286	2,424
Medium vs low	EU	1,803	0,947	-0,053	3,660
Medium vs low	non-EU	1,053	0,917	-0,744	2,851
High vs low	Swiss	5,732	1,298	3,189	8,275
High vs low	EU	4,679	1,073	2,575	6,782
High vs low	non-EU	2,616	1,197	0,270	4,962

DIFFERENCES IN LABOR SUPPLY BY BIRTHPLACE AND FAMILY COMPOSITION IN
SWITZERLAND

Table A.3. Change in the probability of participation across income levels by country of birth and family composition

Participation couples without children					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.009	0.009	-0.028	0.009
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.038	0.011	-0.060	-0.017
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.107	0.027	-0.159	-0.055
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.036	0.011	-0.058	-0.015
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.046	0.013	-0.072	-0.019
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.146	0.031	-0.207	-0.084
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.056	0.012	-0.080	-0.032
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-0.112	0.018	-0.147	-0.078
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.225	0.031	-0.286	-0.163
Participation couples with resident children 0-5					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.091	0.019	-0.128	-0.053
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.105	0.018	-0.141	-0.070
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.118	0.027	-0.171	-0.065
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.152	0.020	-0.192	-0.112
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.142	0.021	-0.184	-0.101
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.246	0.035	-0.315	-0.178
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.256	0.022	-0.300	-0.212
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-0.285	0.025	-0.333	-0.237
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.332	0.035	-0.402	-0.263
Participation couples with resident children 6-14					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.042	0.020	-0.081	-0.002
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.094	0.020	-0.134	-0.055
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.100	0.029	-0.156	-0.044
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.088	0.021	-0.129	-0.046
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-0.200	0.027	-0.253	-0.146
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.212	0.039	-0.289	-0.135
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.198	0.023	-0.243	-0.154
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-0.332	0.031	-0.392	-0.272
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-0.287	0.039	-0.363	-0.210

Table A.4. Change in the number of hours worked across income levels by country of birth and family composition

Number of hours worked couples without children					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-0.894	0.424	-1.725	-0.062
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-1.044	0.570	-2.161	0.072
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-2.765	0.740	-4.215	-1.314
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-2.337	0.453	-3.226	-1.448
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-2.470	0.627	-3.698	-1.241
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-2.971	0.829	-4.595	-1.347
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-4.144	0.474	-5.074	-3.215
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-1.792	0.636	-3.038	-0.545
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-2.557	0.819	-4.162	-0.952
Number of hours worked couples with resident children 0-5					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-6.388	0.660	-7.683	-5.094
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-4.313	0.846	-5.971	-2.654
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-2.985	0.879	-4.708	-1.263
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-8.719	0.694	-10.079	-7.359
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-5.457	0.914	-7.247	-3.666
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-5.612	1.197	-7.957	-3.266
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-8.333	0.750	-9.802	-6.863
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-4.721	0.929	-6.542	-2.899
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-4.527	1.283	-7.041	-2.013
Number of hours worked couples with resident children 6-14					
Income	Origin	Contrast	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-5.465	0.793	-7.018	-3.912
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	EU	-3.626	0.956	-5.500	-1.752
60000-85000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-3.604	0.960	-5.485	-1.723
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	Swiss	-7.279	0.816	-8.877	-5.680
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	EU	-9.500	1.112	-11.679	-7.322
85000-115000 vs 0-60000	non-EU	-4.820	1.294	-7.357	-2.284
115000+ vs 0-60000	Swiss	-7.850	0.835	-9.487	-6.212
115000+ vs 0-60000	EU	-6.159	1.121	-8.356	-3.963
115000+ vs 0-60000	non-EU	-6.862	1.310	-9.429	-4.294

4. A Life Course Approach to Immigrants' Relocation: Linking Long- and Short-distance Mobility Sequences¹⁷

Julie Lacroix (U. of Geneva)

Jonathan Zufferey (U. of Geneva)

This paper integrates life course principles to investigate interdependencies between residential, family and professional trajectories following an international migration, and enhance the more classic microeconomic explanations of foreign-born internal migration. Using retrospective data from the Swiss Household Panel survey, we follow foreign-born residents for a six-year period and analyse long- and short-distance mobility outcomes. By considering repeated migration in a multilevel framework, we tackle the question of whether successive migration is due to a short-term adjustment process or rather to a long-term phenomenon for a hypermobile segment of the population. The results corroborate important synchronicities between marriage, employment transitions and spatial outcomes, but fail to confirm the simultaneous process of childbirth and residential relocation. We conclude that successive long-distance and successive short-distance migration are confined to a selected segment of the population with high latent mobility propensity, while a long-short migration sequence rather results from a process of housing adjustment.

Keywords: residential mobility; internal migration; repeated migration; unobserved heterogeneity; life course; Switzerland.

4.1 Introduction

In Switzerland and other immigration countries, the foreign-born population was proven more geographically mobile than the native population, especially in the first

¹⁷ Authors contributions: JL and JZ designed the study. JZ did the statistical analysis. JL wrote the paper. Acknowledgements: This research has received economic support from the project: NCCR On the Move (The Migration-Mobility Nexus). Subprojects: Inventory of Individual Statistical Data on Migration to, from, and within Switzerland in a Post-Census World and; Mapping the Demographics of the New Forms of Mobility and Measuring their Socioeconomic Impact. Funded by the National Center of Competence in Research (Switzerland). Period: 2014-2017. This study was realized using data collected by the SHP, which is based at the Swiss Centre of Expertise in the Social Sciences FORS and financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

years after arrival (Charton & Wanner, 2001; Lerch, 2012b). Critical transitions in the life course, such as getting married or divorced, having a child or entering full-time employment are among the most significant predictors of residential mobility (Feijten & Van Ham, 2007, 2010; Jang, Casterline, & Snyder, 2014; Kulu, 2008; Michielin & Mulder, 2008; Morris 2017; Warner & Sharp, 2016). However, despite the ubiquitous focus placed on the life course framework to analyse internal migration patterns for native populations, life course literature has paid little attention to international migrants' relocation (De Jong & Graefe, 2008). Research tends to emphasise human and social capital or economic factors as primary determinants of mobility following immigration into the host country (Reher & Silvestre, 2009). Besides these key determinants, relevant explanations for increased mobility of recently arrived immigrants include the joint age-profile of international migration and other life events tied to residential mobility (life cycle); the synchronization of events around the migration project (e.g. family reunification or labour migration); and the need for housing and employment adjustment following a major relocation. More importantly, international migrants are a selected population of movers who may have latent propensity to initiate repeated migration.

This paper integrates life course principles to investigate interdependencies between three parallel careers, following an international migration. It aims to explain the mobility behaviours of recent immigrants by distinguishing immobile individuals from those whose mobility is linked to family life, professional events, or a change of residence (i.e. the effect of one migration on another). We know from previous studies that international migration impacts family, employment and residential trajectories; this study provides insights on how multiple transitions interact and depend on one another. Moving to a new country is a critical life event, disrupting the sequence of transitions related to family, residential and professional lives, and altering the continuity of biographies. For recent immigrants, residential relocation decision-making may occur under conditions of extreme uncertainty and limited information (Nogle 1996). Uncertainty surrounding these events before and after moving to a new country is likely to diminish the capabilities one has to simultaneously orchestrate a series of parallel life course transitions. One could have to “re-frame” his/her life course if social structures and institutions which previously guaranteed successions and duration of life stages differ in the destination country (Wingens, de Valk, Windzio, & Aybek, 2011).

Consequently, based on previous and current living contexts, international migration has the potential to modify the way life course trajectories are constructed vis-a-vis residential changes in the host country.

Exploring the ways in which mobility sequences are embedded in the complexity of the life course decisions using the case of Switzerland, we pursue two objectives. First, we assess the timing and sequencing of family and professional events around residential changes. By focusing on the first years of residence, we highlight how immigrants simultaneously structure multiple transitions as part of their integration process in the destination country. Second, we address the nature of the connection between mobility events (i.e. the linkages between international and internal migration, but also the relation between successive migrations within Switzerland) by considering the ways present migration decisions depend on past migration behaviours. Specifically, we investigate the role of the housing adjustment and the frequent-mover hypotheses to explain mobility sequences. While the housing adjustment hypothesis accounts for the short-term short-distance relocation after a long-distance mobility, the frequent-mover hypothesis states that mobile-prone individuals — a selected segment of the population — exert high mobility rates in the long run. We formally test the two hypotheses disentangling the short-term effect of one migration on another (the housing adjustment hypothesis) from that of a long-term, or *permanent*, propensity to mobility behaviours (the frequent-mover hypothesis). In order to capture time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity linked to different levels of mobility, we include an individual random effect in a multilevel model of internal migration, where episodes of mobility are nested within individuals. The international migration serves as a common starting point for the analysis of housing trajectories within Switzerland. From their arrival, we follow new foreign-born residents for a six-year period and analyse the odds of long- (between cantons) and short-distance (within cantons) relocation.

This paper contributes to the existing literature in two ways. First, we adopt a life course approach to expand previous findings regarding the determinants of foreign-born internal migration and residential mobility. We address the influence of childbirth, marriage, and professional transitions on residential behaviours following immigration — a major turning point in the life course. Most international migrations occur in the individuals' twenties, a critical stage for other age-related transitions in the life course. As pointed out by Clark (2013) there may have been an overly strong emphasis on age

and family status in the residential mobility models. According to Clark, these components are merely acting as proxies for life course events, which occur in the aging process. This focus is even more obvious for immigrants, whose mobility is mostly conceived within the human capital framework, i.e. with a focus on age rather than on life course transitions. By focusing on the first settlement years of young adults, we consider three important (cumulative and overlapping) predictors of mobility: age, the time since immigration and life events tied to the transition to adulthood. Second, we provide insights into the selective nature of internal migration by considering the role of the migration history and that of latent characteristics (i.e. the individual variance in the propensity to migrate) to explain the linkages between long- and short-distance mobility sequences.

4.2 Long- and short-distance migration in a life course framework

There are different postulates around the two, often separated, domains of research which are residential mobility (short-distance relocation) and migration (long-distance relocation). The underlying assumption from classical theory of mobility states that the distance of the migration depends on the reason for that move (Coulter & Scott, 2015; Niedomysl, 2011), although according to Clark and Withers (2008), this dichotomous pattern may be eroding. It has been shown that housing considerations (i.e. cost, size, location, tenure) mostly drive mobility over short-distances, and employment motives mainly intervene in decisions to undergo longer-distance relocations (Clark & Huang, 2003). This association between reason for migration and distances has also been reported in Switzerland: employment-related motivations are the primary reasons to move between cantons. On the contrary, the most cited reasons for moving within cantons include access to homeownership and family-related considerations (Charton & Wanner, 2001).

Rossi (1955) has long argued that changes in family composition alter the need and satisfaction regarding one's housing and living environment. In this respect, residential mobility is a response to the disequilibrium created by a shift in the family composition, driving decisions about where and when to move. Recent studies challenge this unidirectional perspective and rather emphasise the interdependency between mobility and family dynamics (Mulder, 2013; Wagner & Mulder, 2015). Indeed, methodological innovations over the last forty years allow for a more comprehensive approach to spatial mobility and the life course. Courgeau's (1990)

pioneer work addresses the effects of pre- and post-migration events and shows how family, migration and professional trajectories are interdependent. On the one hand, migration is tied to meaningful transitions or stages in the life course such as completing a degree, buying a home, getting married or divorced, retiring, etc. On the other hand, residential transitions (for instance, rural to urban migration) change the context for family- and employment-related decision-making (Courgeau, 1990). In a far-reaching study on the connection between migration and marriage, Mulder and Wagner (1993) squarely address the respective roles of events and status. By considering a time interval around marriage, they allowed time ordering (the sequence of marriage and migration) to differ from causal ordering and concluded that the transition (the shift from one status to another) has much more influence than the status in itself. More recently, Clark and Withers (2009) looked at the synchronicity of fertility, labour force participation and mobility behaviours. They constructed windows of observation surrounding these events (from six months prior to the event until 18 months after) and analysed conditional outcomes — the occurrence of mobility conditional on fertility, and fertility conditional on mobility. The results show that fertility involves mobility (37% of the time) more often than mobility involves fertility (4.5% of the time) (Clark & Withers, 2009). Warner and Sharp (2016) identify a temporality in the effect of life events on mobility across time by considering three measurements: a short-term effect, an average long-term effect, and the “grow or decay over time in the average long-term effect”. They contend the transition to adulthood triggers mobility in the short-term, but results in long-term residential stability. While some events — such as access to homeownership — are directly stabilising, others — like marriage — maintain the likelihood of mobility above the average and only stabilise progressively over time (Warner & Sharp, 2016).

Other empirical research supports a short-term effect of childbirth (or pregnancy) on residential mobility and a long-term stabilising effect for households with school-age children (Kulu, 2008; Michielin & Mulder, 2008). Kulu and Steele (2013) further our understanding of the interrelationship between childbearing decisions and housing transitions. Using Finish register data and multilevel event history models, they simultaneously estimate the hazard of the two events. They find a positive effect of fertility on mobility and vice versa, with common latent characteristics which simultaneously drive fertility and mobility behaviours. In other words, women who are

more prone to have a child are also more inclined to migrate. Moreover, researchers have acknowledged substantial differences in fertility behaviours between native and foreign-born populations, particularly in the first years following immigration. For instance, Andersson (2004), Milewski (2007), and Mussino and Strozza (2012) find higher birth rates among recently arrived immigrants than their native counterparts in Sweden, Germany, and Italy respectively. Guarin and Bernardi (2015) show, in the case of Switzerland, that immigrants become parents earlier and more often than natives. However, no previous research has investigated if international migration alters the reciprocal links between fertility and residential relocation in the first settlement years. Re-migrating shortly after arrival might be challenging, especially in Switzerland's tight housing market. It is likely that future parents will tend to accommodate with the first location until they acquire enough country-specific human capital and economic resources to facilitate relocation. In a different mechanism, individuals who anticipate having a new born child the first year might settle in larger dwellings from the beginning. De Jong and Graefe (2008) confirm a positive association between childbirth and interstate migration among the foreign-born population in the US, although the authors do not specifically address the case of recent immigrants, nor do they consider short-distance relocations.

Looking at the interrelations between marriage and migration, research shows that this life event is likely to generate immediate or anticipated relocation for at least one partner, or even for the two if they relocate in a common dwelling. Some researchers also suggest the reverse relation whereby one can find different opportunities to meet a suitable partner following a move. For instance, Jang, Casterline and Snyder (2014) analyse the joint process of migration and marriage and find a positive, but short-term effect of marriage on relocation. However, they do not find any proof of the reversed relation. Other studies highlight the importance of distinguishing between the short- and long-term effects of marriage, as well as between short- and long-distance relocation (Wagner & Mulder, 2015). For instance, the synchronised effect of marriage on mobility was shown to mainly operate over short-distance and to follow a gendered pattern, with women being more mobile than men at the time of the marriage (Mulder & Wagner, 1993).

Employment transition is yet another factor closely tied to spatial outcomes. The intersection of the two events either occurs following a job acquisition in another region,

or in a reverse process, in anticipation of more favourable employment opportunities at destination. In a recent contribution, Kim (2014) shows that transitions in employment have a large positive impact on residential mobility. The reserve relation is observable but weaker and context-sensitive. Looking only at one side of the relation, Warner and Sharp (2016) find a short-term positive effect of entering full-time employment or becoming unemployed on residential relocation. The odds of mobility decrease with unemployment duration but remain positive for employed individuals. Huinink Vidal and Kley (2014) further our knowledge regarding the common selectivity of spatially-mobile and job-mobile individuals. In a study conducted in Germany, the authors find that an 'individual's openness to migrate' simultaneously drives the decision to change employment and location; even when migration does not take place, employment transition increases. Family migration also received extensive attention in the literature, especially in the context of increased dual-earner households. Research finds a negative — sometimes temporary — effect of long-distance migration on women's participation in the workforce and earnings (Boyle, Feng, & Gayle, 2009; Clark & Withers, 2002; Cooke, 2008).

From Chiswick's (1978) perspective, employment transitions are part of the migration experience: international migrants first experience professional downgrades followed by upward professional mobility as one acquires country-specific human capital. It is widely argued that immigrants have partial information on the labour market at destination. Mismatch between individuals' skills and specific labour demands in the area of residence may push job seekers to extend their job search radius to other labour markets and generate further relocation (Boman, 2011). Indeed, the literature suggests that relocations within host countries are more often related to economic factors and employment motives for immigrants than for native counterparts (Gurak & Kritz, 2000; Schündeln, 2014; see also Lerch, 2012a for Switzerland). According to the study of Viry, Kaufmann and Widmer (2009) on employment-related mobility practices in Switzerland, Swiss nationals opt more often for long-distance commuting, whereas foreign residents are more likely to change residence. Indeed, natives have more work- and leisure-oriented insider advantages, which make them less prone to leave their place of residence (Fischer et al. 2000).

Although family and employment trajectories and their interaction with spatial outcomes have been extensively documented, the migration trajectory is rarely

considered as a determinant for further relocation. For long, migration has been considered as a one-time event. Doing so is problematic as it tends to overlook how a movement can be the reason for further relocation (Pais, 2014). Studies on the connected nature of long- and short-distance migration state that people often undergo a process of housing adjustment, in the form of additional local movements, following a major relocation. Part of this migration behaviour is attributed to the difficulties of acquiring precise information about housing, neighbourhoods or employment markets at destination (Roseman, 1971). Moreover, long-distance migrants can be uncertain about their financial resources and the dwellings they can afford. Once individuals acquire local knowledge or secure employment, they obtain additional opportunities to better adjust their housing situation to their needs (Clark & Withers, 2009). Relocation often occurs locally — in the same agglomeration — in order to reduce the cost associated with migration and avoid further uncertainty.

Sequential trajectories of repeated long-distance migration underlie different assumptions. Success and failure are regarded as important triggers for successive long-distance relocations (or corrective moves). DaVanzo (1983) and DaVanzo and Morrison (1981) investigate the potential selectivity of return and onward movers in the US. They find that prompt return-migrants were more likely to be less educated and to have experienced an episode of unemployment. By contrast, onward migration occurs rapidly for more educated individuals. Clark and Huang (2004) find that long-distance movers are more likely to relocate over long-distance the subsequent year, which the authors claim suggests a failed migration. Although the literature offers theoretical explanations for the linkages between mobility events beginning with long-distance relocations, it provides less clarity for mobility sequences starting with short-distance moves (Clark & Whithers, 2008).

An alternative hypothesis for repeated migration behaviours (for both short and long distance) goes as far back as to Goodman's (1976, 1982) frequent-mover hypothesis. He qualifies mobile-prone individuals as “individuals whose mobility history, life cycle stage, and other demographic characteristics are associated with high mobility propensity” (Goodman, 1982, p. 209). In a study conducted in Spain, Silvestre and Reher (2014) compare the characteristics of one-time movers with that of multiple-time movers. They find that repeat movers are more likely to be young, male, highly educated, unemployed and renters. As these situational factors change

slowly over time, the factors which previously triggered mobility are likely to operate again and generate repeated moves (Gordon & Molho, 1995). Another way to conceptualize this hypothesis operates through the assumption that some individuals have an unobserved and permanent pre-disposition to 'mover' or 'stayer' behaviours (Blumen, 1955). Following this view, international migrants are a selective group of either movers or multiple movers, with specific latent attributes (e.g. less attached to a specific location, willing to take risks) which make them more inclined to relocate. However, as pointed out by Spilerman (1972), instead of postulating homogeneous sub-groups of movers and stayers, the models should integrate a continuous range of individual heterogeneity in the rates of movement. In the next section, we explain how we use this strategy in order to capture latent mobility behaviours. It is worth noting that the frequent-mover and housing adjustment hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, as the latter explains part of the former. Clark and Huang (2004) support this claim in their studies on the linkages of long- and short-distance moves in the UK. However, they find the frequent-mover hypothesis to better conceptualise the connection between these two forms of mobility. Their results demonstrate not only that households which migrate are more mobile the subsequent year (adjustment), but also that households following this classic adjustment pattern are far from settling down (frequent-mover).

4.3 Analytical strategy

4.3.1 Data

The data comes from the biographical component of the Swiss Household Panel survey. It contains a collection of event histories from a representative sample of 6088 individuals who joined the panel in 2013. All transitions which pertain to family (marriage, divorce, childbirth), employment (transition in and out of full-time or part-time employment) and residential trajectories (residential changes within and between cantons) are reported on a life calendar. The selection of cases is based on two criteria. First, we restrain the dataset to young immigrants — those who have immigrated in Switzerland between ages 18 and 34. This allows us to focus on triggers tied to the transition to adulthood. Second, given our interest in the international migration as a turning point in the life course, we only consider the experience of the first years after arrival: we restrict the length of observation to the first six years of residence. In order to avoid duplicated cases, we remove household members who share the same

residential trajectory. We also exclude trajectories that count at least one residential episode outside of Switzerland. Overall, 623 individuals fulfil these requirements. The main limitation of this study lies in a rather small sample and potential lack of statistical power (type II error). Fortunately, transitions are very common among the targeted population of young immigrants, with the least frequent event – migration between cantons – being experimented by more than 150 individuals (25% of the sample) and other events by more than half of immigrants in the sample (Table 1). Nevertheless, this limitation should be kept in mind while interpreting the results.

4.3.2 Modelling strategy

As mentioned above, residential mobility evolves with the life cycle and life events encountered, and so do the type of migration and the distance covered. We therefore distinguished two dependent variables: (1) residential changes within cantons (the 26 Swiss federal states) — qualified as a short-distance relocation and (2), residential changes between cantons — qualified as a long-distance relocation. As for many studies, we are forced to use administrative borders as a proxy for the distance of the migration. However, even when moving between cantons implies short geographic distances, it has important lifestyle implications. Switzerland is a decentralised federal state with important variations between cantons regarding political outcomes, social benefits, fiscal rules, infrastructures, cultural identities, languages, and employment and housing opportunities (Viry, Kaufmann, & Widmer, 2008).

We organise the data file in a long format (i.e. person-year) allowing for repeated events of residential relocation. Individuals are at risk set of changing residence from their arrival to Switzerland to a first mobility, or from the previous movement to any new relocation. In order to model the relative risk of experiencing internal migrations, we first perform two separate binomial logistic models for discrete time data, one for long-distance migration, and another for short-distance residential mobility. Second, in order to control for time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity linked to mobility behaviours, we take advantage of the repeated nature of migration, and move to a multilevel setting. As the episodes of mobility are clustered within individuals (Davies, 1993; Kulu 2008), an individual random effect has been included in both long and short distance models. Given that logistic models are nested within multilevel logistic models, we compare the effect of one migration on another, before and after consideration for unobserved

determinants of migration, with a likelihood ratio test and the Akaike information criterion (AIC). This allows for an analysis of the connected nature of mobility events by disentangling a short-term adjustment migratory sequence (the effect of one migration on another) from repeated migration made by a hypermobile segment of the population (see hypotheses 2 and 3 below).

Interactions between life events and mobility are not only sensitive to geographic scales but also to duration. The specificity of the modelling strategy lies in taking into account the occurrence and the timing of previous life course events. All status and transitions are time-varying, with three possible measurements for each indicator. The first measurement aims at capturing the simultaneous occurrence of two transitions — a change of residence combined to another transition, e.g. getting married. We qualify two events that occur the same year as a synchronised effect (recorded as $t0$ in Table 2). Synchronised variables are coded «1» in the year interval where the event occurs, and «0» for all years surrounding this event. The second measurement identifies the short-term effect of life events on mobility with a one-year lag variable (recorded as $t-1$). It is coded «1» when the event occurs the year before the observation, and «0» otherwise. The third measurement is a status effect (or a long-term effect) coded «0» before the occurrence of the event, and «1» thereafter.

Family indicators include marital and parental status, and their transition, i.e. getting married and having a child. Professional trajectories consist of dummy variables for the employment status, and the transitions in and out of full-time and part-time employment. Synchronised and lag transition effects for migration are particularly important in our modelling strategy because they allow identifying the connections between a migration episode and another, and assessing the short-term effect of any residential change on the odds of a relocation. In order to better understand how previous migration experience influences current migration decisions, two variables were also included: the time since immigration to Switzerland (in years), and the number of migration before arriving to Switzerland.

The role of human capital, social capital and economic factors on migration decisions are not the focus of this study. However, to avoid confusion and isolate individual life course effects, we control for a set of covariates that are known to trigger residential mobility. We include demographic characteristics such as gender, age at immigration to Switzerland, and birthplace. The literature shows that foreign-born men

are more internally mobile than comparative women (Nogle, 1994; Silvestre & Reher, 2014). Given the different patterns related to family and employment transitions around international migration, interactions between gender and other covariates have been tested. We find no statistical support for conducting separate analyses for men and women. Given that the economic return of migration reduces with age, the relation should be negative. A recent study also notes that international migrants to Switzerland experience a differentiated access to the housing market based on the country of origin (Raumdaten GmbH, 2013). Based on a geographic partition which reflects historical migration flows to Switzerland, we distinguish four regions of origin in order to account for a potential origin effect in housing opportunities and behaviours: Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and all other world regions grouped together. Additionally, we include the level of education separated in three categories: secondary I, secondary II and tertiary education. Highly educated individuals are more likely to undertake internal migration, given that they are part of a broader labour market with more job opportunities and better chance for positive economic return at destination (Ishikawa & Liaw, 2009).

Some data limitations are worth mentioning. First, the survey lacks important predictors of mobility, notably educational transitions and information on homeownership. However, Switzerland is a country with low homeownership rates, especially in the population of recent immigrants. According to the Swiss statistical office, only 14% of immigrant households owned their dwelling in 2016 (Office fédéral de la statistique, 2016). Second, information related to family, professional and residential changes were registered on a yearly basis in the life calendar. This implies that some events recorded with a one-year interval might occur within a shorter time scale than two events occurring the same calendar year.

4.3.3 Working hypotheses

In order to clearly assess the respective influences of employment, family and migration trajectories on long- and short-distance mobility outcomes among a population of recent immigrants, we derive three hypotheses from the theoretical framework.

H1) The role of life events: Transitions in the life course have differentiated effects on the distance of relocations. We expect family events to mainly influence residential

mobility within cantons (short-distance) and professional events to primarily impact residential mobility between cantons (long-distance).

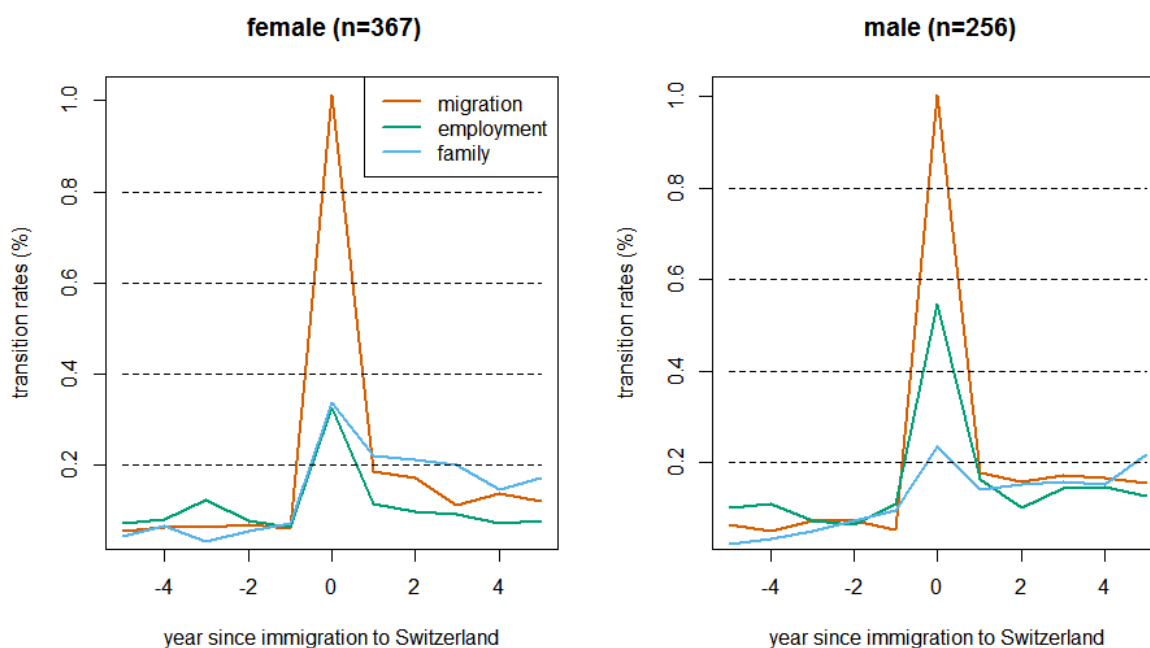
H2) The housing adjustment hypothesis: The classic mobility sequence of adjustment is that of a long-distance migration shortly followed by a short-distance one. First, we expect international migration to generate increased short-distance residential mobility in the first two years of residence in Switzerland. Second, we assume that immigrants who experience a long-distance internal mobility are more likely to relocate over short-distance the subsequent year.

H3) The frequent-mover hypothesis: Repeated migration results from a selected segment of the population with high mobility propensity, rather than a real linkage between mobility events. We test this hypothesis using two indicators of long-term behaviours of increased mobility. First, we expect a positive association between the number of migration prior to arrival in Switzerland and the odds of relocation within Switzerland, both within and between cantons. Second, we capture time-invariant heterogeneity in migration behaviours using an individual random effect on the propensity to migrate. To do so, we compare the effect of a migration on another in the logistic and multilevel logistic frameworks. We expect a reduced effect of a migration on another (i.e. the effect of relocation at $t-1$ on the odds of relocation at $t0$) after taking into account individual unobserved propensity of mobility in the multilevel model.

4.4 Descriptive findings

Figure 1 gives an overview of the rates (the relative number of events among the population under study) of residential, professional and family transitions five years before and after immigration to Switzerland. It demonstrates that international migration (time 0) has a disruptive effect on the life course: employment and family-related transition rates increase at the time of immigration to Switzerland. While international migration is strongly associated with employment transitions among men (rate of 0.56), it accounts equally for family and employment changes among women (rate of 0.33). More importantly, an international migration implies a shift in the frequency of life events. The transition rates are sustainably higher during the five years after arrival, than during the five years before. Confounding factors, notably age, are parts of this dynamic. Nevertheless, it suggests that the first years spent in Switzerland are the most significant for family and professional lives.

Figure 1: Transition rates (%) for migration, family and employment five years before and after an international migration to Switzerland, women and men



Source: Swiss Household Panel survey

Table 1 provides the attributes of the sample and sub-samples of stayers, short-distance movers and long-distance movers. Short-distance movers include individuals who have moved only within cantons. Long-distance movers consist of those who have migrated at least once between cantons, regardless of whether they have also moved within cantons or not. Overall, respondents have mentioned 314 residential changes within cantons and 156 relocations between cantons during the first six years in Switzerland. Half of the respondents did not move, 30% moved exclusively within the canton of first settlement, and 20% changed cantons of residence at least once.

The chi-squared independent measure tests the difference in the distribution of the independent variables between sub-samples. There are no differences in the repartition of socio-demographic characteristics across sub-samples. However, differences appear for the number of family events and employment transitions experienced in each cluster. There is an increased number of childbirths among short-distance movers ($p < 0.05$): on average, seven individuals out of ten who moved within a canton had a child (207 births for 310 migrants), compared with two thirds for stayers and one half for long-distance movers. By contrast, marriage occurs evenly across

migration categories. Coherently with the theoretical framework, long-distance movers are more likely to experience transitions in employment ($p < 0,001$): they entered a new employment 1.3 times on average, compared with 1.04 and 0.78 for short-distance movers and stayers respectively.

Table 1: Sample characteristics and repartition across sub-samples of stayers, short distance movers and long-distance movers

	Sample		Stayer		Migration(s) within canton		Migration(s) between cantons		Chi-squared test †
	(n=623)		(n=310)		(n=188)		(n=125)		p-value
	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	
Sex									0,42
Men	256	0,41	130	0,42	81	0,43	45	0,36	
Women	367	0,59	180	0,58	107	0,57	80	0,64	
Age at arrival									0,95
18-24	322	0,52	162	0,52	99	0,53	61	0,49	
25-29	178	0,29	86	0,28	53	0,28	39	0,31	
30 and more	123	0,2	62	0,2	36	0,19	25	0,2	
Marital status at arrival									0,31
Married	108	0,17	53	0,17	38	0,2	17	0,14	
Not Married	515	0,83	257	0,83	150	0,8	108	0,86	
Number of children at arrival									0,54
Childless	505	0,81	252	0,81	148	0,79	105	0,84	
1	69	0,11	34	0,11	24	0,13	11	0,09	
2+	49	0,08	24	0,08	16	0,09	9	0,07	
Country of birth									0,072
Western Europe	205	0,33	90	0,29	64	0,34	51	0,41	
Southern Europe	141	0,23	77	0,25	45	0,24	19	0,15	
Eastern Europe	141	0,23	75	0,24	44	0,23	22	0,18	
Africa-America-Asia	136	0,22	68	0,22	35	0,19	33	0,26	
Education									0,12
Secondary I	210	0,34	114	0,37	65	0,35	31	0,25	
Secondary II	203	0,33	101	0,33	55	0,29	47	0,38	
Tertiary	210	0,34	95	0,31	68	0,36	47	0,38	
Number of events									
Mariage	323	0,52	150	0,48	107	0,57	66	0,53	0,4
Birth of a child	405	0,65	207	0,67	135	0,72	63	0,5	0,044
New job	601	0,96	242	0,78	196	1,04	163	1,3	0
Migration within canton	314	0,5	0	0	264	1,4	50	0,4	-
Migration between cantons	156	0,25	0	0	0	0	156	1,25	-

Source: Swiss Household Panel survey † Between sub-sample differences

Socio-demographic attributes are not associated with a particular residential trajectory. Women are overrepresented in the sample (59%). About half of young adults who moved to Switzerland were aged 18 to 25 (52%). Consequently, the vast majority of immigrants are childless (81%) and not married (83%) upon arrival.

Respondents are equally distributed across educational levels, with no variation between sub-samples. Finally, the distribution of immigrants is fairly even across birth regions. The chi-squared indicates a marginal overrepresentation of immigrants originating from “Western Europe” and “Africa, America and Asia” in the subsample of long-distance movers.

4.5 Multivariate results

Multivariate results emphasise the effect and timing of life course transitions that either occur within mobility intervals ($t0$), the year before ($t-1$), or years before (status variable). In the following lines, we define the three measurements as synchronous, short- and long-term effects. Table 2 presents the odds ratio for migration within and between cantons (models 1 and 2) and for its two nested logistic and multilevel logistic models (models a and b). The odds of relocation are fairly similar between the logistic and multilevel logistic models for employment and family trajectories — we will therefore only comment odds ratio from multilevel modelling —, but they contrast importantly for the migratory trajectories. These differences will be addressed when commenting the results on the linkages between mobility events. Coherently with the descriptive findings, there is only a weak association between socio-demographic characteristics and mobility within and between cantons. No significant difference emerges in the odds of migration by level of education, birthplace, nor gender. However, the position in the life cycle — the age at arrival in Switzerland — has a weak negative association with short-distance migration: immigrants who arrived in Switzerland at older ages (from 30 to 35), compared with the youngest group (from 18 to 25), display lower odds of relocation within cantons (O.R.=0.64 $p<0.1$).

Table 2: Logistic and multilevel logistic models for internal migration within and between cantons, odds ratio

	Within canton		Between cantons	
	Logistic M1a	Multilevel logistic M1b	Logistic M2a	Multilevel logistic M2b
Sex (ref, men)				
Women	0,8 .	0,78	1,3	1,38
Age at arrival (ref, [18,25))				
[25,30)	0,82	0,77	0,99	1,03
[30,35)	0,68 .	0,64 .	1,04	1,16
Country of birth (ref, Western Europe)				
Southern Europe	0,95	0,94	1,06	0,84
Eastern Europe	0,81	0,79	0,81	0,75
Africa-America-Asia	0,78	0,76	1,06	0,99
Education (ref, secondary I)				
Secondary II	0,96	0,93	1,49 .	1,35
Tertiary	1,03	1,05	1,08	0,86
Employment trajectory				
Employment status (ref, not employed)				
Employed	1,23	1,32	1,32	1,23
New job t0	2,17 ***	2,24 ***	4,76 ***	5,89 ***
New job t – 1	0,81	0,77	0,75	0,79
Lost job t0	2,56 **	2,8 **	4,21 **	4,9 **
Lost job t – 1	0,42	0,41	2,42 .	2,62 .
Family trajectory				
Parental status (ref, no children)				
Children	1,3	1,3	0,8	0,69
Childbirth t0	0,96	0,98	1,02	1,02
Childbirth t – 1	1,09	1,13	0,27 *	0,28
Marital status (ref, not married)				
Married	0,84	0,88	0,7	0,66
Marriage t0	2,93 ***	3,13 ***	2,4 **	2,78 **
Marriage t – 1	0,57 *	0,55 *	0,36 *	0,36 *
Migration trajectory				
Years since immigration (ref, 6)				
1	0,02 ***	0,02 ***	0,02 ***	0,01 ***
2	1,92 **	1,91 **	1,23	0,95
3	1,23	1,31	1,39	1,28
4	0,93	0,95	0,99	0,95
5	0,95	0,97	1,36	1,24
Nb. of migration before arrival (ref, 0)				
1	0,99	0,98	1,79 *	2,02 *
2+	1,36 .	1,42 .	1,74 *	1,91 *
Migration within canton t0			0,12 ***	0,07 ***
Migration within canton t – 1	2,14 ***	0,99	0,56	0,44 .
Migration between canton t0	0,11 ***	0,09 ***		
Migration between canton t – 1	1,74 .	1,74 .	3,5 ***	1,2
Constant	0,09 ***	0,06 ***	0,02 ***	0,02 ***
AIC	1982	1966	1141	1132
Likelihood ratio test		18.3(1df) ***		11.3(1df) ***
Var (theta)		0,96		1,65

Source: Swiss Household Panel survey

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05; .p<0.1

Starting with the employment trajectory, Table 2 shows that employment entry and employment exit have the strongest impact on the odds of relocation for recent immigrants to Switzerland. Coherently with the theoretical framework and hypothesis (H1), the simultaneous process of employment transition and residential relocation appears stronger for long-distance than short-distance movers. Indeed, while the transitions in and out of employment doubled the odds of relocation within canton (O.R.=2.24 $p<0.001$; O.R.=2.80 $p<0.01$ respectively), it multiplies the odds of mobility between cantons by a factor of about five (O.R.=5.89 $p<0.001$; O.R.=4.90 $p<0.01$ respectively). Although only marginally significant at the statistical level of 10%, the short-term odds ratio for employment exit shows increased likelihood of relocation between cantons. However, the status effect of being employed or unemployed does not affect relocation in a significant manner in the long run.

The results also corroborate the synchronised process of marriage and residential mobility. However, there is no evidence that this event primarily involves short-distance relocation: the odds of relocation within and between cantons are about three times higher during the year when respondents get married (OR=3.11 $p<0.001$; OR=2.64 $p<0.01$ respectively). One year after this transition, the likelihood of relocation drops immediately: the odds are cut in half the subsequent year for short-distance migration, and by two thirds for long-distance migration (OR=0.55 $p<0.05$; OR=0.36 $p<0.05$). This is not surprising given that marriage adjustment moves mostly occur synchronised, as seen above, or in anticipation, as many couples cohabit before getting married. Similarly, it was expected that childbirth is closely interrelated with local residential mobility. Interestingly, models show neither short-term nor synchronous effect between childbirth and migration; some interpretations are proposed in the discussion section. If we now look at the effect of parenthood and marital status on residential relocation, we cannot confirm any long-term inhibiting effects, as shown in previous studies for native populations. Immigrants can be both married and parents when they arrive in Switzerland without having their partner or children living with them. It is reasonable to think that married immigrants behave similarly to single immigrants when their family remains in the origin country.

The set of variables that pertain to the migratory trajectory emphasises the connection between international and internal migration on the one hand, and on the linkages between successive migrations within Switzerland on the other hand. We

assess the nature of the links for four mobility sequences (*short-short / short-long / long-short / long-long*) using three approaches to test housing adjustment (H2) and frequent-mover behaviours (H3). First, we found a non-monotonic relation between the years since immigration and the likelihood of a relocation within the country: compared to the last year of observation, the odds of a short-distance mobility are very low the first year (OR=0.02 $p<0.001$), almost doubled the second year (OR=1.91 $p<0.01$), after which it tends to stabilise. However, this pattern differs from long-distance mobility outcomes: with the exception of the first year, the likelihood of relocation is fairly similar from year to year. This trend supports the housing adjustment hypothesis (H2) which predicts elevated local relocation following a long-distance or international migration. Among young international migrants, geographic adjustment often takes place in the form of local movement the second year. Second, we use the number of migration prior to arrival in Switzerland as an indicator for long-term behaviour of mobility (H3). The odds of migration between cantons doubles for individuals with past migration experience (OR=2.02 $p<0.05$ for one-time movers and; OR=1.91 $p<0.05$ for multiple-time movers), compared to those who have not been mobile before their immigration. The likelihood of relocation within canton is also positive for multiple-time movers, although with less statistical certainty (OR=1.42 $p<0.1$).

Third, we investigate the short-term connection between migration events within Switzerland — i.e. the effect of previous residential mobility ($t-1$) on the odds of relocation at time t . Accounting for unobserved propensity of multiple migration, models 1b and 2b provide better goodness of fit (smaller AIC) than models 1a and 2a, which indicates that some individuals are prone to experience multiple spatial mobility. Besides, the two sets of models — without and with individual heterogeneity in the propensity to migrate — draw different conclusions regarding the relations between mobility events. Model 1a suggests a chain of two short-distance migration: the odds of relocation within cantons double following another move within cantons (O.R. for migration within canton at $t-1 = 2.14$ $p>0.001$). This relation also appears for the connection between two long-distance moves in Model 2a: the odds ratio for migration between cantons is multiplied by more than three after having done a long-distance migration (OR for migration between cantons at $t-1=3.50$ $p<0.001$). As hypothesised (H3), adjusting for individual unobserved determinants of migration in models 1b and 2b has an attenuating effect on these variables which are no longer statistically

significant (OR=0.99 $p>0.1$; OR=1.20 $p>0.1$ respectively). Therefore, one should interpret the two mobility sequences (*short-short* and *long-long*) as a function of a frequent-mover propensity, rather than an effect of previous moves *per se*. Short-distance migration does not trigger successive short-distance moves. Instead, multiple short-distance moves made by frequent-movers are likely to be followed by additional short-distance relocations (Goodman, 1982, cited in Clark & Huang, 2004). Conversely, the classic adjustment sequence (H2) of a short-distance relocation following a long-distance migration is maintained after controlling for individual short-distance random effect in model 1b, although it only reaches the statistical significance level of 10% (OR=1.74 $p. >0.1$). To sum up, the results support that *long-long* and *short-short* migration sequences are confined to a selected segment of the population with high latent mobility propensity (H3), while a *long-short* migration sequence rather results from a process of housing adjustment (H2).

4.6 Summary and discussion

This paper integrates the concept of linked life events to analyse residential behaviours following an international migration and enhance the more classic micro-economic explanations of foreign-born internal migration. Using the SHP data, we focus on cohorts of young immigrants living in Switzerland and search for regularities in the way that mobility sequences are intertwined with major life course transitions. Unsurprisingly, life course transitions prove to be accelerated by, or intensified at the time of, the international migration (Figure 1). Immigrants experience rapid social changes when they make the transition from one country to another (De Valk, Windzio, Wingens, & Aybek, 2011); they need to manage their lives in a new societal and institutional context. Therefore, immigrants often engage in multiple transitions and experimental moves as part of their integration in the new society. Besides, given the age profile of international migrants, these changes often coincide with other critical life course transitions, such as the transition to adulthood, which in turn intensify the incentives for more mobility. Following Clark's (2013) assertion on the respective role of age and life events, we find age to merely trigger mobility, and family and employment transitions to be closely tied to residential behaviours. A noteworthy exception, however, is the effect of childbirth on local residential adjustment which is not statistically significant. Switzerland has a tight housing market which implies the necessity of planning a change of residence well in advance. Unlike natives, recent

immigrants have less opportunities to coordinate and adapt their housing situation to a change in family composition, especially when childbirth occurs a short time after the international migration. They might also not have the resources or knowledge of the housing market to find another dwelling and continue to live in the same household with their new-born child. An alternative explanation points to an anticipation effect: immigrants might have organized these two transitions simultaneously, before their arrival to Switzerland. If immigrants immediately settle in a dwelling that can accommodate additional family members, this will reduce the likelihood of further adjustment moves. Nevertheless, the rate of overcrowding which is considerably above that of the native population suggests that at least some of the immigrants experience difficulties in gaining additional space¹⁸.

Contrarily to the first hypothesis (H1), we do not find a clear-cut division between migration distances and synchronised family or employment life course events. The co-occurrence of marriage and relocation is confirmed by these analyses, but it seems as important for the short- and long-distance mobility outcomes. Furthermore, although employment transitions tend to primarily involve long-distance relocations, short-distance moves are also frequent. The simultaneous occurrence of employment transitions and short-distance relocations might be linked with a guaranty for more income and geographic stability resulting from a better position in the labour market. It is however impossible to test for this with the dataset, which does not include information regarding salaries.

Another important contribution of this paper lies in the model specifications which explicitly consider individual random effect in the propensity to migrate and its role in explaining different mobility sequences. International and internal migration are selective processes bonded to specific life course stages. Movers and stayers are thought to possess different characteristics: not everyone has the same taste for migration nor has the same ability to overcome the barriers to migrate. In this sense, immigrants are a unique group, given that they have already demonstrated an inclination to move across long-distance; they have proven that migration is an available, potential behaviour (Nogle, 1994). Nevertheless, migration behaviours are complex, and dividing the population between movers and stayers would be an

¹⁸ In 2015, 10% of the foreign-born and 2% of the native-born were living in an overcrowded dwelling in Switzerland (OECD/European Union, 2015).

oversimplification. Previous research pointed out that “while movement is usually confined to a minority of the population, there are a disproportionate number of repeat movers” (Gordon & Molho, 1995, p. 1). By considering repeated migration in a multilevel framework, we tackle the question of whether successive migration is due to a short-term adjustment process or rather a long-term phenomenon for a hypermobile segment of the population. The results show that the connection between successive migrations is sometimes explained by a process of housing adjustment (H2) and sometimes induced by the high mobility propensity for a subpopulation of frequent-movers (H3). These results reinforce Clark and Huang (2004)’s conclusion that the adjustment and frequent-mover hypotheses are rather complementary than substitutes. We find time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity to mediate the link between repeated long- and repeated short-distance mobility sequences (H3), while the housing adjustment hypothesis better explains the short-term connection between long- and short- distance relocation (H2). Unobserved heterogeneity is not limited to permanent personality traits (e.g. geographical flexibility); there are unmeasured circumstances that might also lead to a higher level of mobility in the long run. Situational factors such as the type of employment might also put some professionals on a long trajectory of residential instability. However, one could argue that it is precisely because individuals are (geographically) flexible that they selected this type of work in the first place. Nevertheless, the inclusion of an individual random effect in the multilevel models offers a more comprehensive insight into the selected nature of migration and the connection between mobility events. Overall, the adjustment process is not confined to a selected segment of the population, as are other forms of frequent-mover behaviours.

Further research should investigate the disruptive role of the international migration on parallel life course careers, as well as the way family and professional transitions in host countries are intertwined with residential trajectories. Failure or success to adjust one’s housing in relation to changes in family composition or employment location could serve as an alternative indicator of integration and provide a better understanding of immigrants’ residential behaviours.

4.7 References

- Andersson, G. (2004). "Childbearing after Migration: Fertility Patterns of Foreign-born Women in Sweden". *International Migration Review*, 38(2), 747–774.
- Blumen, I. (1955). *The industrial mobility of labor as a probability process*. Cornell University.
- Boman, A. (2011). "The mobility of immigrants and natives: evidence from internal migration following job displacement". *Regional Studies*, 45(3), 283–297.
- Boyle, P., Feng, Z., & Gayle, V. (2009). "A new look at family migration and women's employment status". *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(2), 417–431.
- Charton, L., & Wanner, P. (2001). *Migration internes et changements familiaux en Suisse. Analyse du module "mobilité de l'enquête suisse sur la population active de 1998* (p. 96). Neuchâtel: Office fédéral de la statistique.
- Chiswick, B. R. (1978). "The effect of Americanization on the earnings of foreign-born men". *The Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 897.
- Clark, W.A.V. (2013). Life course events and residential change: Unpacking age effects on the probability of moving. *Journal of Population Research* 30(4): 319–334. doi:10.1007/s12546-013-9116-y.
- Clark, R. L., Glick, J. E., & Bures, R. M. (2009). "Immigrant Families Over the Life Course Research Directions and Needs". *Journal of Family Issues*, 30(6), 852–872. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X09332162>
- Clark, W. A.V, & Huang, Y. (2003). "The life course and residential mobility in British housing markets". *Environment and Planning A*, 35(2), 323–340.
- Clark, W. A.V, & Huang, Y. (2004). "Linking migration and mobility: individual and contextual effects in housing markets in the UK". *Regional Studies*, 38(6), 617–628.
- Clark, W. A.V, & Whithers, S. (2008). "Family migration and mobility sequences in the United States: Spatial mobility in the context of the life course". *Demographic Research*, 17(20), 591–622.
- Clark, W. A.V, & Withers, S. D. (2002). "Disentangling the interaction of migration, mobility, and labor-force participation". *Environment and Planning A*, 34(5), 923–945.
- Cooke, T. J. (2008). "Gender role beliefs and family migration". *Population, Space and Place*, 14(3), 163–175.
- Coulter, R., & Scott, J. (2015). "What Motivates Residential Mobility? Re-examining Self-Reported Reasons for Desiring and Making Residential Moves". *Population, Space and Place*, 21(4), 354–371.
- Courseau, D. (1990). Migration, family, and career: A life course approach. In P. B. Baltes, D. L. Featherman, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Life-span development and behavior*, 219–255, Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- DaVanzo, J. (1983). "Repeat migration in the United States: who moves back and who moves on"? *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 552–559.

- DaVanzo, J. S., & Morrison, P. A. (1981). "Return and other sequences of migration in the United States". *Demography*, 18(1), 85–101.
- Davies, R. B. (1993). "Nonparametric control for residual heterogeneity in modelling recurrent behaviour". *Computational Statistics & Data Analysis*, 16(2), 143–160.
- De Jong, G. F., & Graefe, D. R. (2008). "Immigrant redistribution and life course trigger events: Evidence from US interstate migration". *Migration Letters*, 5(2), 123.
- De Valk, H. A., Windzio, M., Wingens, M., & Aybek, C. (2011). Immigrant settlement and the life course: An exchange of research perspectives and outlook for the future. In M. Wingens, H. A. De Valk, & Aybek (Eds.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration* (pp. 283–297). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Feijten, P., & Van Ham, M. (2007). "Residential mobility and migration of the divorced and separated". *Demographic Research*, 17, 623–653.
- Feijten, P., & Van Ham, M. (2010). "The impact of splitting up and divorce on housing careers in the UK". *Housing Studies*, 25(4), 483–507.
- Fischer, P. A., Holm, E., Malmberg, G., & Straubhaar, T. (2000). *Why do people stay? Insider advantages and immobility*. HWWA discussion paper. Retrieved from <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/19439>
- Goodman, J. L. (1982). Linking local mobility rates to migration rates: repeat movers and place effects. In W. A. V. Clark (Ed.), *Modelling Housing Market Search* (pp. 209–223). London: Croom Helm.
- Goodman Jr, J. L. (1976). "Housing consumption disequilibrium and local residential mobility". *Environment and Planning A*, 8(8), 855–874.
- Gordon, I. R., & Molho, I. (1995). "Duration dependence in migration behaviour: cumulative inertia versus stochastic change". *Environment and Planning A*, 27(12), 1961–1975.
- Guarin, A., & Bernardi, L. (2015). First child among immigrants and their descendants in Switzerland. *Country-Specific Case Studies on Fertility among the Descendants of Immigrants*, 150.
- Guarin, A., & Bernardi, L. (2015). First child among immigrants and their descendants in Switzerland. In H. Kulu *et al.* (Ed.), *Country specific case studies on fertility among the descendants of immigrants* (pp. 150–171). Families And Societies Working Paper 39.
- Gurak, D. T., & Kritz, M. M. (2000). "The interstate migration of US immigrants: Individual and contextual determinants". *Social Forces*, 78(3), 1017–1039.
- Huinink, J., Vidal, S., & Kley, S. (2014). "Individuals' openness to migrate and job mobility". *Social Science Research*, 44, 1–14.
- Ishikawa, Y., & Liaw, K.-L. (2009). "The 1995–2000 interprefectural migration of foreign residents of Japan: salient features and multivariate explanation". *Population, Space and Place*, 15(5), 401–428.
- Jang, B. J., Casterline, J. B., & Snyder, A. R. (2014). "Migration and marriage: Modeling the joint process". *Demographic Research*, 30, 1339.
- Kim, J. H. (2014). "Residential and job mobility: Interregional variation and their interplay in US metropolitan areas". *Urban Studies*, 0042098013514496.

- Kulu, H. (2008). "Fertility and Spatial Mobility in the Life Course: Evidence from Austria". *Environment and Planning A*, 40(3), 632–652. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a3914>
- Kulu, H., & Steele, F. (2013). "Interrelationships between childbearing and housing transitions in the family life course". *Demography*, 50(5), 1687–1714.
- Lerch, M. (2012a). La mobilité des étrangers sur le territoire suisse. In P. Wanner (Ed.), *La démographie des étrangers en Suisse*. Zurich: Seismo.
- Lerch, M. (2012b). Les comportements de mobilité des primo-migrants et de leurs enfants. In P. Wanner (Ed.), *La démographie des étrangers en Suisse* (pp. 120–140). Zurich: Seismo.
- Michielin, F., & Mulder, C. H. (2008). "Family events and the residential mobility of couples". *Environment and Planning A*, 40(11), 2770–2790.
- Milewski, N. (2007). "First child of immigrant workers and their descendants in West Germany: Interrelation of events, disruption, or adaptation"? *Demographic Research*, 17, 859.
- Morris, T. (2017). Examining the influence of major life events as drivers of residential mobility and neighbourhood transitions. *Demographic Research*, 36, 1015–1038.
- Mulder, C. H. (2013). "Family dynamics and housing: Conceptual issues and empirical findings". *Demographic Research*, 29, 355.
- Mulder, C. H., & Wagner, M. (1993). "Migration and marriage in the life course: a method for studying synchronized events". *European Journal of Population/Revue Européenne de Démographie*, 9(1), 55–76.
- Mussino, E., & Strozza, S. (2012). "The fertility of immigrants after arrival: The Italian case". *Demographic Research*, 26, 1.
- Niedomysl, T. (2011). "How Migration Motives Change over Migration Distance: Evidence on Variation across Socio-economic and Demographic Groups". *Regional Studies*, 45(6), 843–855. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343401003614266>
- Nogle, J. M. (1994). "Internal migration for recent immigrants to Canada". *International Migration Review*, 31–48.
- OECD/European Union. (2015). *Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Office fédéral de la statistique. (2016). *Portrait de la Suisse: Résultats tirés des recensements de la population 2010–2014* (No. 1646–1400). Neuchâtel.
- Pais, J. (2014). "Individual and US County Determinants of Repeat Migration: a Comparison of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics". *Population, Space and Place*, 20(6), 512–527.
- Raumdaten GmbH. (2013). *Libre circulation des personnes et marché du logement. Caractérisation de la demande en logements en fonction de la provenance de la population* (p. 13). Granges: Office fédéral du logement.

- Reher, D. S., & Silvestre, J. (2009). "Internal Migration Patterns of Foreign-Born Immigrants in a Country of Recent Mass Immigration: Evidence from New Micro Data for Spain¹". *International Migration Review*, 43(4), 815–849.
- Roseman, C. C. (1971). "Migration as a spatial and temporal process". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61(3), 589–598.
- Rossi, P. H. (1955). *Why families move: A study in the social psychology of urban residential mobility*. Free Press.
- Schündeln, M. (2014). "Are immigrants more mobile than natives? Evidence from Germany". *Journal of Regional Science*, 54(1), 70–95.
- Silvestre, J., & Reher, D. S. (2014). "The Internal Migration of Immigrants: Differences between One-Time and Multiple Movers in Spain". *Population, Space and Place*, 20(1), 50–65.
- Spilerman, S. (1972). "Extensions of the mover-stayer model". *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(3), 599–626.
- Viry, G., Kaufmann, V., & Widmer, D. (2009). "La grande mobilité géographique pour des raisons professionnelles en suisse: une étape de vie préparentale"? *Recherches Familiales*, (1), 67–80.
- Viry, G., Kaufmann, V., & Widmer, E. D. (2008). Mobility in Switzerland: A stage of life issue. In G. Meil & N. Schneider (Eds.), *Mobile living across Europe I: Relevance and diversity of job-related spatial mobility in six European countries*. Leverkusen: Barbara Budrich Publishers.
- Wagner, M., & Mulder, C. H. (2015). "Spatial Mobility, Family Dynamics, and Housing Transitions". *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie*, 67(1), 111–135. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-015-0327-4>
- Warner, C., & Sharp, G. (2016). "The short- and long-term effects of life events on residential mobility". *Advances in Life Course Research*, 27, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2015.09.002>
- William AV Clark, & Withers, S. D. (2009). "Fertility, mobility and labour-force participation: A study of synchronicity". *Population, Space and Place*, 15(4), 305–321.
- Wingens, M., de Valk, H., Windzio, M., & Aybek, C. (2011). The sociological life course approach and research on migration and integration. In M. Wingens, H. de Valk, & C. Aybek (Eds.), *A life-course perspective on migration and integration* (pp. 1–26). Springer, Dordrecht.

5. Family-level sources of internal migration for natives and immigrants: Evidence from Swiss administrative data¹⁹

Julie Lacroix (U. of Geneva)

Alain Gagnon (U. of Montréal and U of Strasbourg)

Philippe Wanner (U. of Geneva)

5.1 Introduction

Much of the literature on immigrant relocation has focussed on human and social capital and has often ignored the role of family events, such as marriage or childbirth, as triggers of internal migrations (De Jong and Graefe 2008). This is unfortunate given that changes in family composition account for a large part of (short-distance) residential mobility, and that immigrants experience increased transition rates in the family domain following immigration (Lacroix and Zufferey 2019). By contrast, research on native-born populations have identified important regularities in the way life course trajectories unfold in time and influence one another. These studies repeatedly showed that residential mobility increases in response to a change in the composition of the family and that housing careers are embedded in past and future family decisions (see for instance Kulu and Milewski 2007; Mulder 2013; Wagner and Mulder 2015; Clark 2013).

This paper addresses the influence of family transitions on residential mobility in immigrant²⁰ and native populations living in Switzerland. It draws on recently linked administrative registers that contain exhaustive information on residential mobility and family transitions. More precisely, we track the timing of family events in relation to residential changes (within and between municipalities), taking into consideration how

¹⁹ Author contributions: JL designed the study, did the statistical analysis, and wrote the paper. AG and PW provided substantive feedbacks.

²⁰ Immigrants and foreign-born refer to individuals born outside of Switzerland. Natives and Swiss-born are individuals born in Switzerland, regardless of nationality.

life course trajectories are intertwined. To study these parallel processes, we use a measure of synchronicity (two events that occur within the same time interval are synchronous), acknowledging that migration can both anticipate and respond to family transitions. The primary objective is to assess whether mobility increases with changes in family composition and whether this process differs by nativity. As such, we highlight different patterns of housing adjustment at the time of childbirth, marriage and divorce, and investigate which characteristics explain the differences between foreign- and native-born groups.

Linking life-course events to mobility outcomes and housing careers while carefully tracking the timing of these events provides a dynamic basis to better understand the factors enabling or constraining choices and opportunities on the housing market (Özüekren and van Kempen 2002). This issue is critical and of special relevance in the Swiss context, where housing vacancies are particularly low and where, therefore, many segments of the population do not succeed in translating plans to move into actual moves. For Clark and Drever (2000) the inability to adjust one's housing situation in anticipation or in response to family events might signal a housing-market disadvantage. Such difficulties in housing adjustment may be especially acute at the time of childbirth, when households often aim at improving from the current dwelling conditions with respect to size, tenure and localization. To the authors' knowledge, this paper is a first attempt to consider family events and transitions as triggers of internal migration²¹ for both the native- and foreign-born populations. We know that life course transitions are closely tied to residential relocation but the extent to which they might explain differential mobility patterns among immigrants and natives is still largely unknown.

5.2 The Swiss Context

5.2.1 Migrants and immigration to Switzerland

With 29 per cent of the resident population being foreign-born, Switzerland ranks second among OECD countries for the largest share of immigrants in the population, after Luxembourg (OECD/EU 2018a). Although the Swiss economy

²¹ Note that we do not make a distinction between moves within municipalities (characterized as residential mobility in the literature) and moves between municipalities (characterized as internal migration). Accordingly, we use the terms "residential mobility" and "internal migration" interchangeably.

continues to integrate low-skilled workers from the outside, most newcomers now have tertiary education, allowing many of them to enter some of the country's most prestigious and rewarding economic sectors. In 2002, Switzerland ratified a bilateral agreement with the European Union (EU thereafter) granting free movement and labour market access to EU and EFTA (European Free Trade Association) nationals. Nowadays, about two thirds of migratory flows are composed of citizens from EU and EFTA countries, with neighboring countries (Germany, Italy and France) being the primary contributors. Kosovo and Russia are the most represented groups among third country nationals (SFSSO, statweb 2018).

In terms of education, the foreign-born population is more represented at the bottom and top of the educational hierarchy: 29 per cent (15 per cent for the Swiss) have completed compulsory education at best, and 36 per cent (34 per cent for the Swiss) have a tertiary degree (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, ESPA 2017). In a recent study of the impact of immigration on the Swiss labour market, Wanner, Zufferey and Fioretta (2016) concluded that the impact of the migration balance is the highest among managers and sales workers. On the contrary, mid-level positions in the services sector and the public service are mostly fulfilled by the Swiss population (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, Structural survey 2010–2014). Labour migration is the core motive for migration towards Switzerland among EU immigrants (58 per cent), followed by family reunion (30 per cent), and education (30 per cent)²². This picture contrasts with that of the non-EU population, whose requirements to enter and settle in the country are strongly regulated. Only 12 per cent of them entered for employment-related (administrative) motives, 42 per cent for family reunification, 30 per cent to pursue training and 14 per cent as asylum seekers (State Secretariat for Migration, SYMIC register 2011-2015).

5.2.2 Housing market and internal migration

Switzerland has the lowest homeownership rate among OECD countries: the share of owners in the country is 45 per cent among Swiss national households and only 14 per cent among non-Swiss national households (SFSSO 2016; OECD/EU 2018b). Therefore, Swiss and foreign residents strongly rely on the rental segment of

²² Administrative motives overestimate migration for educational purposes. According to the Migration-Mobility Survey (2016) educational reasons concern less than 10% of the immigrants (D'Amato et al., 2019).

the housing market, which is characterised by a low vacancy rate, in particular in large cities where most immigrants settle. According to the Swiss federal statistical office, in 2016, the dwelling vacancy rate was 1.3 per cent for Switzerland, 0.45 per cent for the municipality of Geneva and 0.78 per cent for Zurich. Although housing projects are numerous²³, they fail to meet the increasing demand for housing (Fries et al. 2015) brought by a constant population growth in urban centers (Rérat 2006) and a diminution of household size. This leads to a gradual increase in housing prices and depletion of affordable dwellings in urban centers (Wanner 2017).

Therefore, an important question is whether the structure of the housing market affects the mobility outcomes and housing conditions of the population. Recent research conducted in the country found a differential access to decent housing for the most precarious groups, meaning lower-income (OFL 2016) and immigrant households (Heye, Fuchs, and Blarer 2013). In a recent assessment of residential mobility in Switzerland, Wanner (2017) found a relative immobility for lower income households, which he attributes to their exclusion from a (more expensive) segment of the housing market. Wanner noted that the significant increase of housing prices in the last years is beneficial to long-time stayers, who may benefit from lower rents. Conversely, housing changes often imply a significant increase in rent, which could hamper the mobility of households with limited financial resources.

Other measures of disadvantage and mechanisms of exclusion have been identified in the Swiss housing market, such as the level of overcrowding, which is consistently higher among the foreign-born population (9 per cent) compared to the native population (2 per cent) (OECD/EU 2018a). Moreover, according to Baranzini and colleagues (2008), immigrants, and especially the least educated ones, pay on average slightly more than Swiss nationals for comparable dwellings. In a recent assessment of discrimination against ethnic minorities in the Swiss housing market, Auer and colleagues (2019) used a large-scale field experiment to show that Swiss residents with foreign-sounding names seeking a new apartment are less likely invited for a visit, even with a high-level occupation. This means that ethnic minorities need to make extra effort in their housing search process.

²³ In 2015, six new housing units per 1000 inhabitants were built (SFSO 2018).

Nevertheless, internal migration and residential mobility remain important in the country: 41 per cent of the population aged 20 to 45 changed residence at least once between 2010 and 2014 (Table 1). Both long- and short-distance relocations are common among young adults. Indeed, 28 per cent migrated across municipalities at least once and the remaining 13 per cent of movers relocated locally -within municipalities- only. Swiss-natives and immigrants born in one of the European member states account for a larger share of movers, especially among the long-distance movers. In contrast, immigrants born outside of the EU are slightly less mobile, and when they move, they are disproportionately more likely to relocate over short distances. In fact, Non-EU/EFTA citizens face some administrative restrictions to change canton of residence (e.g., if unemployed) and need the approval of the cantonal authority. This may impede long-distance moves for this group.

Table 1: Share of movers (weighted), within and between municipalities in Switzerland, 2010-2014, population aged 20 to 45

	Swiss	EU/EFTA immigrants	Non-EU immigrants	Total
Stayers	58,7	57,2	61,4	58,9
Short-distance movers	11,6	14,9	16,5	13,0
Long-distance movers	29,7	28,0	22,0	28,2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: Short-distance movers relocated within municipalities only. Long-distance movers moved at least once between municipalities, regardless of whether they also moved within municipalities.

Source: SFSO – STATPOP / SFSO – RS

5.3 Previous research on migration and the life course

This section reviews the vast body of research that documents the occurrence and timing of migration and residential mobility with respect to family events, such as childbirth, marriage and divorce. Although these studies did not explicitly address implications for international migrants, they provide some guidance for the analysis of heterogeneous mobility responses to family changes by national sub-groups.

A long tradition of research documents how migration decreases with age and intensifies with higher income and education (Lee 1966 ; Gurak and Kritz 2000 ; W. A. V. Clark 2013 ; W. A. V. Clark and Dieleman 1996). Human capital theory offers a microeconomic explanation for migration behaviours and the selectivity of internal

movers. According to that theory, the expected benefits of a move need to outweigh its costs for a migration to take place (Gurak and Kritz 2000). Given that the return on investment from migration depends on human capital endowment, movers and stayers differ importantly with regard to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. These attributes also bring opportunities and resources that households can mobilise to overcome the obstacles to migration (Özüekren and van Kempen 2002). The highly educated are more inclined to migrate over long distances given that they are more competitive in the labor market. Wealthier households have more housing opportunities, as well as the financial resources to afford the cost of moving. As such, the human capital model relies on the assumption that households seek the best location to answer their family needs, optimise occupational success and improve their socioeconomic status (Mincer 1978).

Other research pointed out that households do not continuously evaluate their housing options; there needs to be a trigger for an intention to move to be actualised (Mulder 1996). The life-course approach, focusing on parallel careers and emphasizing the timing and sequencing of life events helps understanding the decision-making process of residential mobility. Short-term (family) transitions are embedded in long-term (residential) trajectories, and more broadly in social structures and regional contexts that give them distinctive forms and meanings (Elder Jr 1985). In a housing equilibrium model of migration, it is the shift in family composition that alters housing needs and preferences, and triggers relocation.

It has been known for a long time that married individuals are less likely to migrate than singles, and that increasing family size is associated with less migration (Courgeau 1985; Sandefur and Scott 1981; White, Moreno, and Guo 1995), especially for households with school-age children (Long 1972). As pointed out by these authors, not only does the cost of migration grow with the addition of new family members, but so does the probability of family ties to be severed if migration occurs. Longitudinal data now allows for a temporal assessment of how life events affect the chance of migration and reciprocally. We know from previous studies that family formation is associated with short-term residential mobility and long-term residential stability (Warner and Sharp 2016). Childbirth, marriage, and divorce induce specific regimes of mobility: following the initial residential change, marriage has a strong stabilizing effect; divorce, by contrast, marks the onset of a period of residential instability, which may

persist for several years (Bonvalet and Lelièvre 1991; Courgeau and Lelièvre 2006). These dynamics justify adopting a methodological approach that evaluates both the effect of change (the transition from one status to another) and the family status itself (Mulder and Wagner 1993).

Research on fertility and residential mobility often acknowledges the “adjustment” perspective whereby fertility affects the demand for housing and leads to residential mobility. In this context, residential mobility is an instrumental behaviour (i.e., an action performed to reach a goal) allowing for the improvement of the housing conditions in terms of size, tenure and location. For instance, adjustment moves at the time of childbirth are known to occur over short distances or towards suburban or rural regions, during pregnancy and shortly after childbirth (Kulu and Steele 2013; Kulu 2008; William AV Clark 2013; Feijten and Mulder 2002; Rabe and Taylor 2010; Charton et Wanner 1998). In a study conducted in the US, Clark and Withers (2009) found migration propensity to almost double in the six months prior to the birth of a child and to decrease gradually thereafter. Transitions to parenthood and homeownership are also tightly knit in the European and North American contexts, and sometimes, the latter is even considered as a condition for the former (Withers 1998; Öst 2012; Mulder and Wagner 1998). However, the possibility to adjust one’s housing situation to a change in family size depends on (economic) resources, (housing) opportunities and constraints encountered during the housing search process. The ability to move upward in the housing ladder strongly depends on the financial resources of the household, as lower-income households are less likely to be able to afford such an adjustment. Financial constraints are even higher in housing markets where mortgages and apartment leases are especially expensive or where there is a housing shortage (Wagner and Mulder 2015). In a study conducted in the UK, Clark and Huang (2003) found an increased mobility rate at the time of childbirth in the national model, but not in the city of London. Kulu and Steele (2013) also found some interesting contextual effects: in larger settlements, residential changes occur more often during pregnancy and shortly after birth, whereas in smaller settlements, couples often move first and then have children. According to these authors, higher prices and housing market tightness make it more difficult to secure appropriate housing before starting a family, if the adjustment is possible at all.

Marriage affects relocation propensities for both non-cohabiting and cohabiting couples. In the first case, newlyweds either settle together in a new place or one partner moves in with the other (Speare and Goldscheider 1987). In the second case, marriage does not imply a shift in household composition, but may bring new housing aspirations as the couple enters a new phase in the relationship, with a more serious commitment, and possibly the intention of becoming parents (Feijten and Mulder 2002; Manting 1994). Once again, this situation can be referred to as “adjustment moves.” Studies have highlighted recurrent patterns in terms of timing and distance for marriage-related migration. Empirical analyses find a positive short-term effect of marriage on relocation (see for instance Coulter and Scott 2015; Morris 2017), with short-distance relocation being more common (Mulder and Wagner 1993). In a study conducted in the Netherlands, Michielin and Mulder (2008) concluded that residential mobility is likely to occur in a short period preceding marriage, which indicates that migration is made in anticipation to these events, thus, acknowledging the importance of anticipation effects in life course research.

Union disruptions have similar short-term effects on mobility since they usually imply that at least one spouse or partner will have to relocate, or even the two, if for instance neither can afford the joint dwelling. Feijten and Van Ham (2007) noticed a long-lasting effect of divorce on mobility, putting divorced individuals on a long trajectory of residential instability. By distinguishing moves due to separation from moves of separated people, Mikolai and Kulu (2018a) reaffirmed this pattern: mobility increases sharply in the first four months following separation and remains above the mobility level of married individuals even three or more years after separation. In another study, the same authors (2018b) analysed tenure changes to homeownership, private and social renting following separation in England and Wales. They found that separated women and men are almost twice as likely to experience a tenure change as partnered individuals. Private renting is the most common transition, with women being more likely than men to transit to social renting. The urgent need to relocate, the diminution of the economic resources and the uncertainty about future partnerships and who they might want to live with in the future often cause a downgrade in the housing ladder (Feijten 2005). Subsequent moves are therefore needed to meet previous housing standards, which in turn triggers an increase in mobility over a long period.

Immigrant populations have received much less attention from the above life course perspective on housing transitions than the native-born. We could identify only two studies that look at the specific experience of immigrants in this regard. One of these studies was conducted in the US by De Jong and Graefe (2008) and found a positive effect of childbirth, marriage and divorce on the odds of interstate migration. As for many studies on internal migration in immigrants, the outcome of interest was long-distance (interstate) relocation rather than local residential mobility. Most moves related to family events were therefore not measured in this study, since these moves are usually local. For recent immigrants to Switzerland, Lacroix and Zufferey (2019) found that the odds of migration increased within a one-year interval surrounding the event of marriage but failed to confirm the simultaneous processes of childbirth and relocation. Note, however, that the two studies focussed solely on the immigrant population and did not explicitly account for the difference with natives.

5.4 Hypotheses

Based on previous research on native-born populations and the specificities of the Swiss foreign-born population and housing market, we propose the following working hypotheses. For starters, we expect mobility to increase during the year interval where a family transition occurs, for both native and immigrant populations (**H1-elevated mobility hypothesis**). However, we expect the strength of this effect to differ according to the person's origin (**H2-differentiated mobility hypothesis**).

Theoretically, there are good reasons to expect profound differences in life course patterns across immigrant groups (Kleinepier 2016). Mobility responses to changes in family composition are expected to be modulated by a different set of opportunities, constraints, resources and preferences in immigrant and native households. Most research shows that immigrants and ethnic minorities are at a disadvantage in the housing market (Kleinepier, van Ham, and Nieuwenhuis 2018; Charles 2003; Rebhun 2009). In Switzerland, individuals with foreign-sounding names have been shown to experience discrimination in their housing search process (Auer et al. 2019), thus resulting in lower housing opportunities. What could be called as the “migrant or ethnic penalty” on the housing market could be particularly acute in the events of a childbirth or marriage when households tend to adapt and improve their housing conditions. This disadvantage may also be exacerbated in a context of intense competition for decent and affordable housing in urban centers, as is the case in

Switzerland. As a result, we expect “adjustment moves”, that is, residential moves aimed at improving one’s housing situation (or achieving a better fit), to be more difficult for immigrants. This include situations where households have a newborn child or where cohabiting partners get married.

There is also evidence in the literature that ideas about the appropriate timing and sequencing of family-life transitions differ across immigrant groups (Valk and Liefbroer 2007), which in turn might affect the timing of residential mobility in response to (or in anticipation of) family transitions. Different studies find that some immigrants are less prone to cohabit (Pailhé 2015; Kulu and González-Ferrer 2014) compared to inhabitants from European countries where cohabitation is often a way of starting a family (Hiekel, Liefbroer, and Poortman 2014). Therefore, we expect a higher synchronization effect of marriage and residential mobility for immigrants, especially for non-EU immigrants, mainly because of different pre-marital cohabitation habits. If so, differences between groups in mobility propensity at the time of marriage should be reduced once pre-marital cohabitation status is accounted for.

The event of divorce, by contrast, can occur at different points in time - even years - after a separation. Therefore, making sense of this event in a longitudinal framework is not the most straightforward methodological option. For this reason, we explore instead the possibility of a differentiating *status* effect by origin. Being divorced serves as a marker of residential instability. Divorced individuals are likely to be more flexible and to accept any alternatives or temporary accommodation, such as moving into parents' or friends' homes, even if this means accepting lower living standards (Mikolai and Kulu 2018a). Individuals who experience downgrades in housing and struggle to find an appropriate dwelling are expected to remain residentially mobile over a longer period. Again, we expect immigrants to encounter more difficulties to find an appropriate dwelling, thus resulting in persisting mobility following a divorce.

5.5 Data and Method

5.5.1 Databases

The analyses are carried out using individual-level information from Swiss administrative registers and a nationally representative survey. In 2010, Switzerland underwent an important reorganisation of its data collection system (Steiner and Wanner 2015). The country switched from traditional census data collection to a

harmonized system of surveys and administrative registers. Thanks to a personal identification number that allows tracking individuals across different data sources, we were able to build a dataset serving our purposes.

First, we pooled four years of cross-sectional data from the Structural Survey (SFSO – RS 2010-2013) as a base sample for this study. This nationally representative survey, which replaced the census in 2010, is conducted on a yearly basis on a random sample of at least 200,000 residents²⁴ aged 15 or over and gathers information on the socio-economic and socio-cultural structure of the population. After restricting inclusion to respondents aged between 20 and 45 years, we obtained a sample of 241,809 Swiss-born residents, 61,673 residents born in one of the EU/EFTA member states, and 56,543 individuals born in non-EU member states. In all models and descriptive statistics that follow, we used the sample weight of the structural survey to account for the inclusion probability of the respondents.

Second, we combined the Structural Survey with the population and household register (SFSO – STATPOP 2011-2014) to complement the data with residential and family trajectories. The population register includes a wealth of information on migration to, from and within the country. In case of international or internal migration (change of housing), the inhabitant is invited to inform the register. Even if it was never scientifically assessed, the reliability of the declaration is considered as relatively good as both occupants and real estate agencies are required to notify communal authorities of their departure and arrival. Moreover, communal authorities may be informed of the move by other means (for instance through electricity services or the tax administration) and request notification when it has not been submitted. However, Swiss residents may not always immediately declare their changes of residence, which may affect the temporal accuracy of the information. Contrarily to most studies on internal migration that only capture migration across administrative borders (municipal borders at best), geocodes introduced as part of the housing register, allow for the identification of all changes of residence at the building level. Since most housing-related migrations occur over short distances, this level of geographic precision is a clear advantage.

²⁴ The permanent resident population comprises all individuals holding a residence permit of at least one year and temporary residents present in Switzerland for more than a year.

We further extracted information on family transitions (childbirth, marriage, divorce) from this register. One drawback of using administrative data is that we can only observe legal records (i.e., divorce, but not separation; marriage, but not couple formation). Yet, although we cannot assess the timing of couple formation and dissolution, we can at least identify the links between household members and therefore, unmarried cohabiting partners²⁵.

Furthermore, we merged information on professional income using the data provided by the Central Compensation Office (CCO – CI 2011-2014). This office is in charge of the Security System and collects information on all wages paid on Swiss territory. We summed up annual incomes for all household members and converted it to the equivalent of a one-person household²⁶. Finally, municipal-level information was retrieved from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office website.

5.5.2 Analytical strategy

Event history techniques were applied to account for the timing and sequencing of family events and residential mobility. Since most family-related relocations occur within short distances, we considered that all changes of housing (within and between municipalities) fall under our definition of mobility, our dependent variable. Based on these specifications, we ran discrete-time logistic models. The temporal unit is a year-to-year transition given that geocode references, which allow for identifying residential changes within cities, are available only once a year.

As such, the data file was rearranged in a person-year format covering the 2011-2014 period. Individuals start being "at risk" of changing residence from the participation in the Structural survey (either in December 2010, 2011, 2012 or 2013) to

²⁵ Links between family members were retrieved from the Structural Survey, which means that this information is only available at one point in time (i.e., at the beginning of the observation). As such, we cannot identify changes in cohabitation status nor tell whether marriage took place with the person previously identified as pre-marital cohabiting partner. However, sensitivity analyses where the sample is restricted to the first year of observation provide the same results.

²⁶ We use the equivalence scale proposed by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office. Each individual is assigned a weight based on the size and age of household members: 1 for the first adult, 0.5 for members aged 14 and older, and 0.3 for younger household members. We then divide the total income by this value.

their first change of residence, emigration to another country²⁷ or the end of 2014. The beginning of the individuals' time in the risk set varies as it depends on when the individual has been surveyed. This is necessary in order to properly order the variables contained in the Structural survey (only available once) with respect to residential changes. This is especially obvious for the housing characteristics, which reflect conditions before the move rather than the outcome of the move. For the same reason, it was not possible to analyse repeated migration with the data at hand. Therefore, the maximum contribution to the risk set is four years, i.e., for those who were surveyed in December 2010 and who were right-censored in 2014 or moved during that year. The minimum contribution is one year, for instance, for individual participating in the Structural survey in December 2011 and who moved within Switzerland before December 2012.

5.5.3 Variables

The main explanatory variables — childbirth²⁸, marriage and divorce — are time-varying and they are coded "1" in the year interval where they occur and "0" otherwise. This codification allows us to capture the effect of a change in these statuses on mobility, considering that residential relocation can be both anticipatory and responsive. We considered as “synchronized” any two events that occurred within the same year. Additionally, by including interaction terms between family transitions and birthplace, we can measure the difference between immigrants and natives in the extent of the synchronization of family events and residential change (Mulder and Wagner 1993).

Of primary concern in all models is the person's country of birth. We distinguished between individuals born in Switzerland, those born in one of the European member states (including EFTA citizens) and those born outside of the EU. Since Switzerland joined the Schengen area, entry rules for EU and non-EU citizens

²⁷ Emigration is treated as an instance of right-censoring rather than as an event. If it is true that some individuals relocate to another country when having children or getting married, say in one of the neighboring countries while continuing to commute and work in Switzerland, we would be wrong to conclude that anticipation moves, meaning migrations to another country that occur right before experiencing these events, are not family-related.

²⁸ Family records retrieved from STATPOP do not include information on the links between household members. Therefore, we attribute newborn children to all household members rather than to the parents only.

have strongly differed. As a result, the two groups of immigrants differ markedly regarding education, labor, and their very reasons for migration (SFSSO, Statweb 2018).

In order to investigate differences between immigrants and natives in the synchronicity of childbirth, marriage, and residential mobility, we include a set of variables known to trigger relocation. Except otherwise mentioned, covariates are fixed and measured when individuals enter the study. Sociodemographic variables include age, sex, marital and parental statuses (time-varying), cohabitation status, presence of parents in the household, partner's origin, level of education, employment status, and income (time-varying). For immigrants, we also consider the number of years since immigration in Switzerland. Housing attributes include homeownership status and whether the dwelling is overcrowded²⁹. Finally, we control for three important municipality characteristics, namely the share of foreign nationals, population size, and the percentage of vacant dwellings.

5.6 Sample Characteristics

Table 2 provides descriptive information on individual, housing and municipality characteristics separately for Swiss-born, European immigrants and non-EU immigrants. These characteristics are not evenly distributed across birthplaces, which could account for the differences between the three groups in the propensity to migrate. In particular, the Swiss population is more represented in the youngest age group (20 to 24 years old), when migration propensity peaks. Age also correlates with life course stages and transitions that trigger residential mobility.

²⁹ This variable captures whether the addition of a household member leads to housing disequilibrium (or room stress) based on the SFSSO's definition of space needs: two rooms for the first two adults, one additional room for each additional adult, and one additional room for each two additional children.

Table 2: Sample characteristics (weighted) for Swiss, EU/EFTA and non-EU immigrants, aged 20 to 45

	Swiss	EU/EFTA	Non-EU
	66.6	17.1	16.3
Age (20-24)	17.8	8.3	12.8
25-29	18.0	17.4	19.0
30-34	18.3	23.7	22.6
35-39	20.9	23.6	23.3
40-44	25.0	27.0	22.4
Sex (Women)	49.8	50.1	44.6
Men	50.2	49.9	55.4
Maritalstatus (Single)	48.2	37.8	17.8
Married	46.1	55.6	74.8
Divorced	5.4	6.4	6.9
Widowed	0.2	0.2	0.6
Cohabitation status (No)	82.7	83.4	94.5
Yes	17.3	16.6	5.5
Swiss partner (No)	48.8	76.6	65.0
(Yes)	51.2	23.4	35.0
Parent in household (No)	86.8	96.5	94.0
(Yes)	13.2	3.5	6.0
Child in household (No)	54.3	47.3	33.9
Yes	45.7	52.7	66.1
Childbirth (No)	89.0	83.5	82.7
Yes	11.0	16.5	17.3
Marriage (No)	95.0	96.1	96.5
Yes	5.0	3.9	3.5
Divorce (No)	99.2	99.4	98.6
Yes	0.8	0.6	1.4
Education (Secondary I)	5.9	23.0	40.2
Secondary II	58.4	33.2	34.9
Tertiary	35.7	43.8	24.8
Employed (No)	13.1	14.3	27.3
Yes	86.9	85.7	72.7
Income (mean)	74 625	79 489	55 790
Year since immigration (>7 years)	100.0	44.7	65.7
3 to 7 years	0.0	20.4	14.5
< 3 years	0.0	34.9	19.8
Homeowner (No)	65.0	80.7	84.5
Yes	35.0	19.3	15.5
Room stress (no)	85.1	70.2	52.9
Yes	14.9	29.8	47.1
Housing vacancy rate (%)	1.1	0.9	1.0
Foreigner in municipality (%)	21.9	27.9	28.7
Population in municipality	38 328	61 257	65 470
N (not weighted)	241 809	61 673	56 543

Note: all variables are measured at the beginning of the observation with the exception of the transitions under study (childbirth, marriage and divorce) for which we present the share of individuals who experience the transition at least once during the observation period (over a maximum of four years).

Source: SFSO – STATPOP / CCO – CI / SFSO – RS / SFFO – Regional portraits

Household structures also differ across groups: immigrants are less likely to live at their parents' house and conversely, they are more likely to have at least a child in the household. Regarding nuptiality, while the proportion of married individuals is higher among immigrants and especially non-EU immigrants (75%), the share of single individuals is higher in the Swiss-born population (48%). Unmarried cohabitation occurs more often among natives and EU immigrants, than among non-EU immigrants, who are rarely to be found in this household configuration. As one might expect, despite having the highest share of singles, Swiss natives are more likely to have a Swiss partner. Nevertheless, 23 per cent of the EU group and 35 per cent of the non-EU group have a Swiss partner.

Fertility is also higher among immigrants (17 per cent experience childbirth during the observation period compared to 11 per cent for the native-born), whereas marriage occurs slightly more often in the Swiss group during the observation period (five per cent compared to less than four per cent for the two immigrant groups). Divorce is the least frequent transition (about one per cent), with the non-EU immigrant group being the most likely to experience this transition.

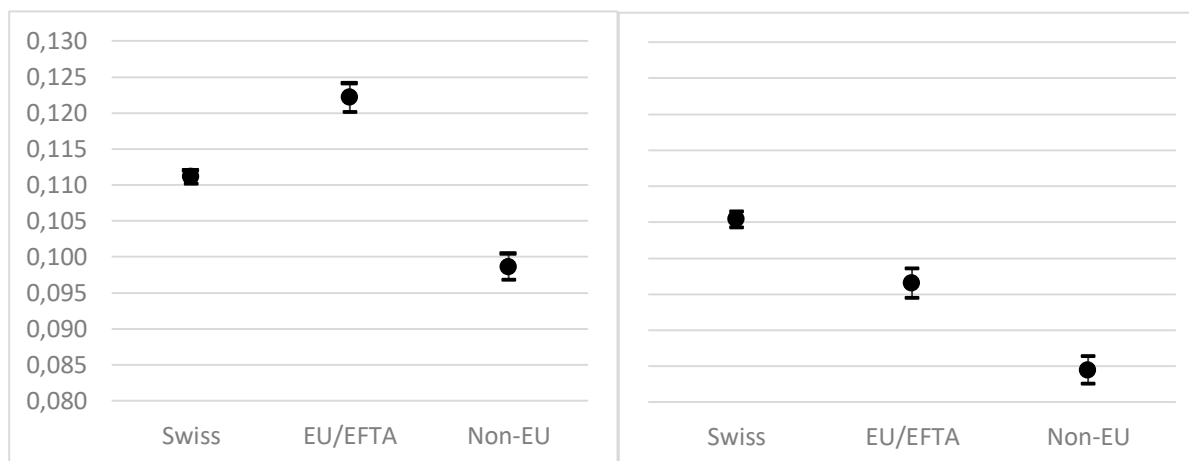
Education facilitates migration by bringing resources and opportunities, and EU immigrants have the highest share of individuals holding a university degree, followed by the Swiss-born and non-EU immigrants. Contrarily to immigrants, Swiss natives are only marginally represented in the basic education category. Regarding the employment status, the groups of Swiss and EU immigrants account for a higher share of employed individuals (86 per cent) compared to non-EU immigrants (73 per cent). Moreover, there is a significant variation in income across birthplaces, with EU immigrants receiving the highest, followed by the Swiss and non-EU groups. The duration of stay in Switzerland also varies between immigrant groups: Table 2 shows a larger share of recently arrived immigrants among the EU group, and on the contrary, a larger share of long-time stayers among non-EU immigrants.

Housing and municipality characteristics play important roles in the migration process. Homeownership inhibits migration and, with 35% of homeowners, the Swiss population is overrepresented in this tenure type. Living in a crowded dwelling accentuates the need for migration and immigrants face this situation more often. Lastly, immigrants tend to live in larger cities with low housing vacancy rates, and therefore, lower housing opportunities.

5.7 Family-level determinants for residential mobility

The results come from a series of nested logistic models (Table A.1. in Appendix) of residential relocation within Switzerland with a special focus on family structures and transitions, including interaction terms addressing these effects on mobility separately for natives and immigrants. As seen from Table 2, immigrants and natives differ with respect to their age structure, a variable that strongly conditions family events (Clark 2013). As such, all of the following models control for this variable. In addition, because nativity interacts with family statuses and events, we synthesize the main effects and interaction effects in the form of predicted probabilities in the following figures.

Figure 1: Predicted probabilities of residential mobility by birthplace



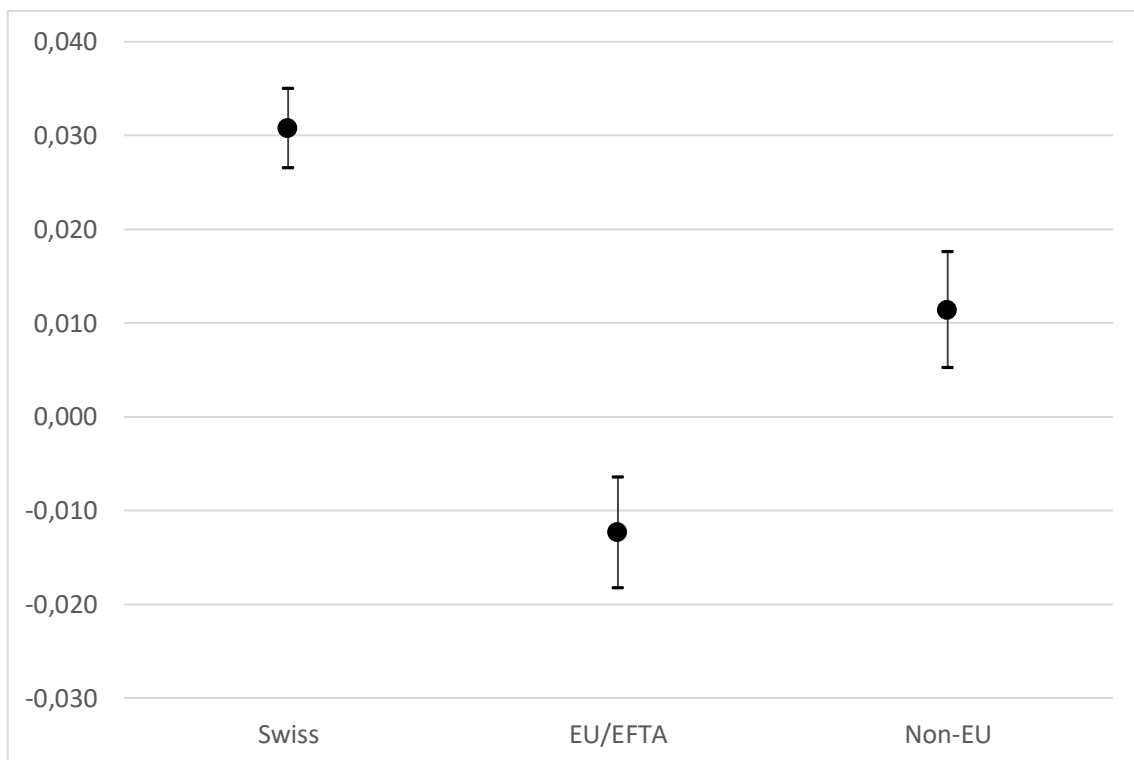
Note: Predicted probabilities are computed at the mean values of other covariates, meaning that the probabilities are only generalizable to individuals having those attributes. Predicted probabilities on the left-hand side come from Model 1 of Table A.1. in the appendix, which only includes age and birthplace as covariates. Predicted probabilities on the right-hand side account for demographic, socioeconomic, housing and contextual attributes (Model 7 from Table A.1. in appendix).

Starting with the baseline probability for residential mobility in Figure 1 (on the left-hand side), we can already see some differences across birthplaces. The yearly probability for residential mobility is about 11 per cent for the Swiss-born population, which is one per cent lower compared to the EU group (12%) and one per cent higher than the non-EU group (10%). However, following the inclusion of a set of covariates (in particular the inclusion of the time since immigration in Model 4), the EU group appears less residentially mobile (on the right-hand side). Indeed, a large share of EU immigrants recently arrived on the Swiss territory, a situation that often necessitates housing adjustment. As such, all other things being equal, the most residentially mobile

group is the Swiss-born, followed by the EU and non-EU groups, although the differences are relatively small.

In line with the elevated mobility hypothesis, the models confirm a higher mobility propensity for the Swiss-born population at the time of childbirth: the yearly probability is positive and almost stable across logistic models, with and without control for other predictors of residential mobility (Model 2 to Model 7 in Table A.1.). The transition to parenthood, regardless of birth parity, comes with a 3 per cent change in the probability of relocation in the Swiss-born population (Figure 2). As expected, the results show evidence of an immigrant status effect: childbirth increased the one-year probability of residential mobility of non-EU immigrants by only one per cent and even decreased that probability among the EU immigrants by one per cent.

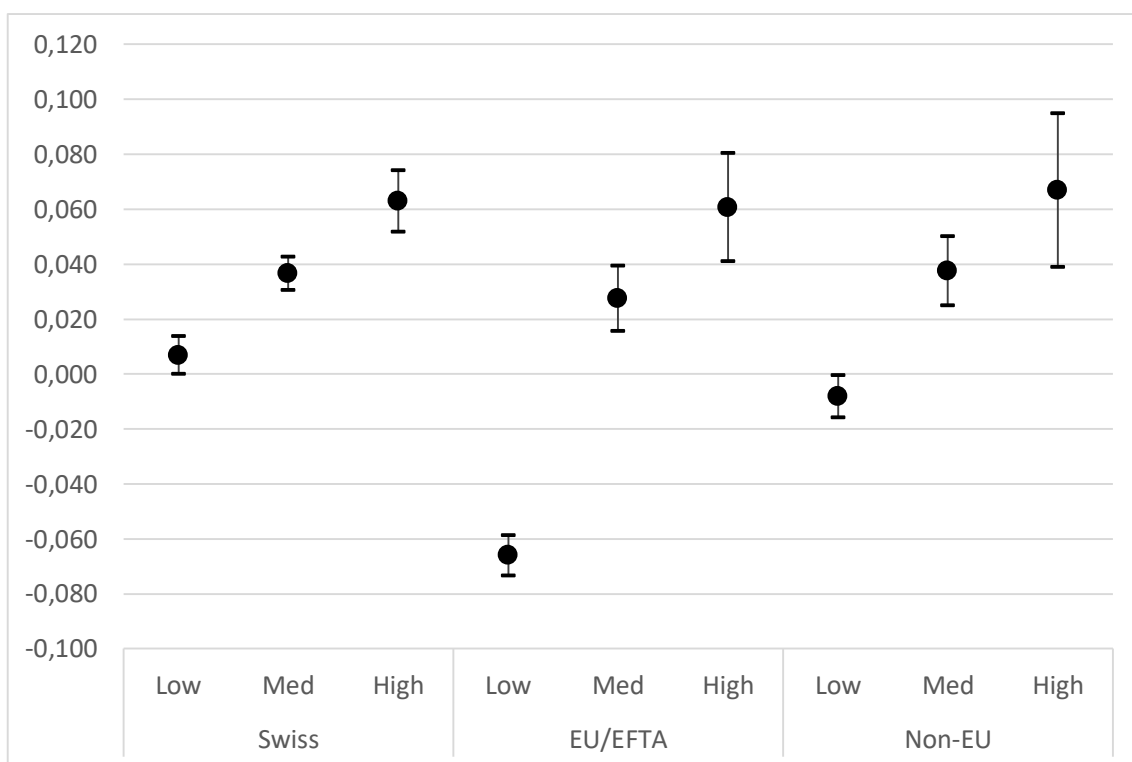
Figure 2: Change in the probability of residential mobility at the time of childbirth, by birthplace



Note: We used the contrast postestimation command from Stata 14 to jointly test for the effect of childbirth across birthplaces following Model 7. Lecture note: The difference in the probability to change residence between a Swiss having a newborn child (13%) and a Swiss who did not (10%) is 3%. This effect is statistically different from the non-EU group whose change in probability between individuals who have a child (9%) and those who do not (8%) is only 1%.

Persisting differences in the synchronicity of childbirth and residential relocation after control for important predictors of residential mobility calls for a closer look at multiplicative (interaction) effects. Doing so, we found specific mobility patterns for immigrants and natives at different levels of income – an important determinant of housing opportunities. Figure 3 presents the change in the probabilities of residential mobility – by birthplace and income level – between individuals having a newborn child and individual who did not experience this transition.

Figure 3: Change in the probability of residential mobility at the time of childbirth, by birthplace and household income

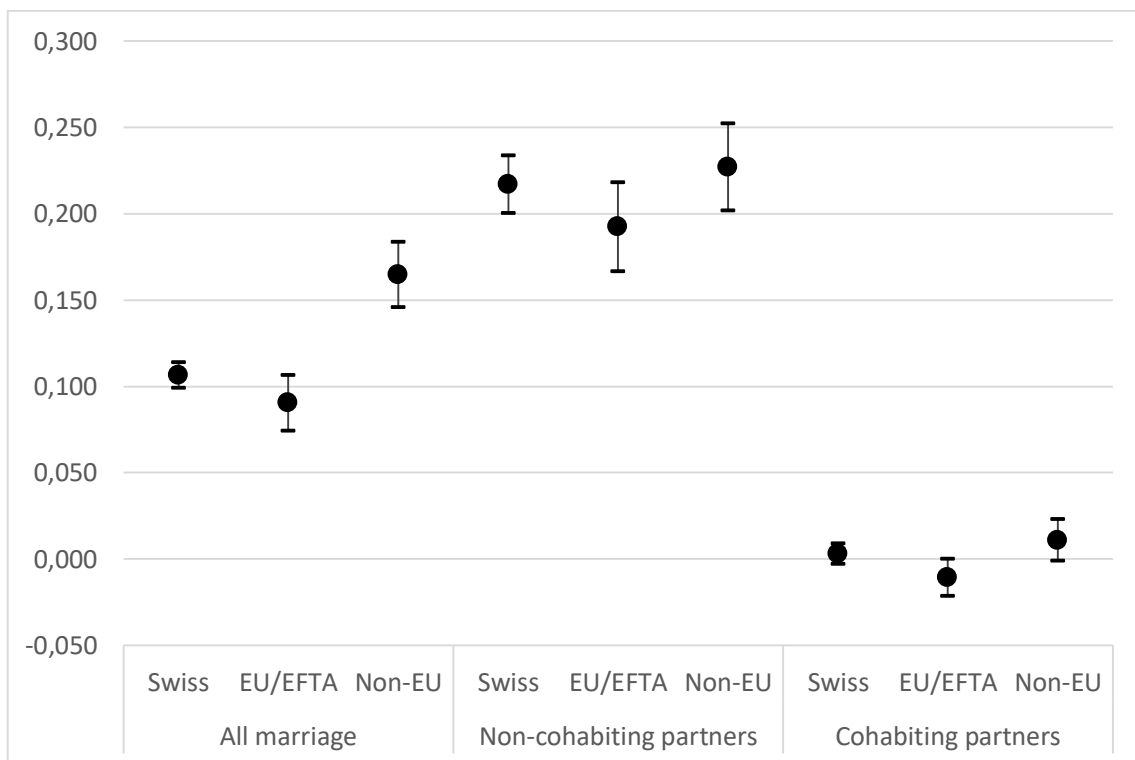


Unsurprisingly, housing adjustment at the time of childbirth is more likely when household economic resources are higher. Although this is true for all groups, this effect is more pronounced for the two immigrant groups (positive interaction effect, model available upon request). For the native-born, the mobility propensity with childbirth remains stable among the low-income category and increases by 4 and 6 per cent, respectively, among medium- and high-income categories. For immigrants, the gap between income categories is greater, especially for EU immigrants. In fact, the immigrant status effect only stands for the low-income category: medium- and high-income groups are very similar in their mobility behaviours. Conversely, all low-income groups (immigrants and natives) have the lowest mobility at the time of childbirth, but

with a clear distinction for the EU groups whose propensity for residential mobility reduced by 7 per cent.

The results also confirm the simultaneity in the processes of marriage and residential mobility. When considering all marriages (without consideration for pre-marital cohabitation status), migration propensity steeply rises in the year interval where a transition from unmarried to married takes place. As expected, this effect is stronger among non-EU immigrants, whose probability of residential mobility increases by 16 per cent during marrying intervals (left hand side of Figure 4). In comparison, the probability only increases by about 7 per cent for natives and EU immigrants, supporting the differentiated mobility hypothesis.

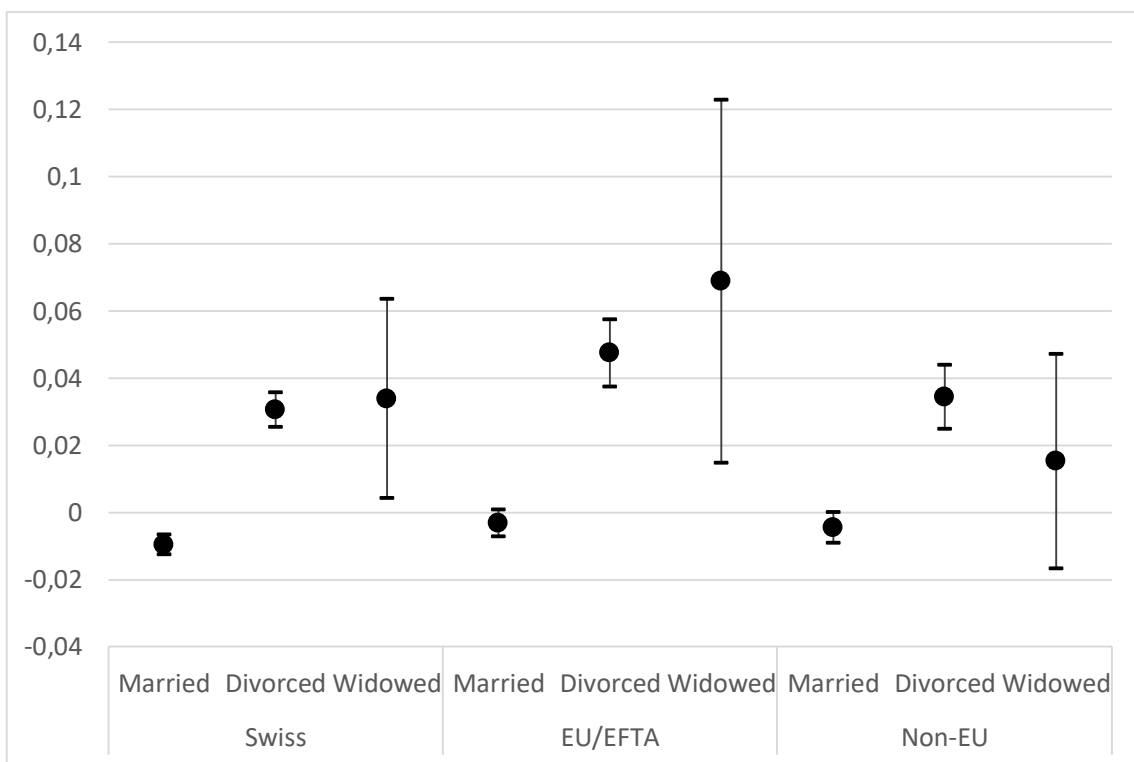
Figure 4: Change in the probability of residential mobility at the time of marriage, by cohabitation status and birthplace



However, moves related to marriage events have different implications depending on whether or not couples were already cohabiting before getting married. Following the inclusion of the cohabitation status in Model 3, we account for specific mobility patterns by origin (interaction between birthplace and marriage) and by cohabitation status (interaction between cohabitation status and marriage). Unsurprisingly, newlyweds are more mobile if they were not cohabiting before getting married (middle panel of Figure 4), regardless of their origin. In this situation, couples

have a 20% increase in the probability to change residence in the given year. For cohabiting partners (right-hand side of Figure 4), by contrast, we found no evidence of housing adjustment: changes in probability are close to zero among all origin groups. In sum, the results confirm that the higher mobility for the non-EU group is due to a difference in pre-marital cohabitation behaviours: EU immigrants are less likely to be living with an unmarried partner at the time of marriage and residential relocation is more likely among non-cohabiting partners.

Figure 5: Change in the probability of residential mobility by birthplace and marital status (Ref: singles)



As mentioned above, the impact of divorce on mobility is not as direct as for other family transitions, and may imply sizeable delays. Nevertheless, the effect size of this variable is fairly large: the occurrence of divorce increases the probability of relocation by about 10 per cent for all groups (not shown). As expected, the long-term *status* implications of divorce for mobility are important, as residential mobility remains elevated for a long period of time after the occurrence of a divorce in all three groups (elevated mobility hypothesis), especially among EU immigrants, supporting the differentiated mobility hypothesis. Compared to their single counterparts, divorced Swiss-native are 3 per cent more likely to change residence each year, whereas EU and non-EU immigrants show respectively about 5 and 4 per cent change in the

probability of relocation. By contrast, married Swiss-born displayed a slight negative change in mobility propensity whereas all immigrants maintain the same level of mobility compared to their single counterparts.

5.8 Discussion

This study on the heterogeneous mobility responses or anticipations to family transitions by sub-groups of national origins enhances our understanding of why and when immigrant households relocate. Using rich longitudinal administrative data from Switzerland, we have followed native and immigrant populations over a four-year period and analyzed the simultaneous construction of two parallel trajectories: family and residential pathways.

It was recently pointed out by De Valk and her colleagues (2011) that although international migration constitutes a turning point in the life course that has profound consequences, a fuller reflection of the life course approach for the studies of immigrants' incorporation is still missing. This paper complements previous research by including family transitions in models of residential mobility. Following the life course approach, we explicitly took into account the interplay between micro- (e.g. agency) and macro-structural factors (e.g. institutional constraints imposed by the housing market) in a decision model of migration. By considering all residential changes, including moves within cities, we believe to have provided a rich life course account of what differentiates immigrants and the native-born in their opportunities for relocation in the wake of family transitions.

The main model confirms the “elevated mobility” hypothesis, meaning a higher probability of changing residence within the year interval when people have a child, marry or divorce. This finding is in line with recent research on the residential mobility of native-born populations in different countries (e.g. Morris 2017; W. A. V. Clark 2013). Housing adjustment patterns also prove to differ between immigrants and natives, which supports the “differentiated mobility” hypothesis. Some exceptions and specific mobility behaviours are, however, worth mentioning and require further discussion.

One notable exception to the elevated mobility hypothesis is the mobility behaviour of the EU population, whose risk of relocation decreases when they have a newborn child. EU immigrants are a very heterogeneous group in terms of human capital, with many either located at the bottom or the top of the occupational hierarchy.

Looking at the simultaneous process of childbirth and residential mobility more closely, we found that while low-income EU immigrants are very unlikely to move at the time of childbirth, they show similar housing adjustment patterns to the native population when they have at least a medium income. As such, the elevated mobility hypothesis at the time of childbirth is confirmed but only for middle- and high-income households, regardless of nativity. Nevertheless, EU immigrants seem more penalized than natives by a disadvantageous income situation, which points to multiplicative disadvantages and supports the differentiated mobility hypothesis for this group.

Following previous research, we found marriage to often trigger residential relocation. In fact, we evidenced a clear difference in mobility between non-cohabiting and cohabiting partners. As one might expect, moves to another residence are very likely in situations where couples are not cohabiting before getting married. By contrast, we found no evidence of housing adjustment among cohabiting partners in any of the nativity groups. Although a marriage does not conduct to a residential change in this living arrangement, it is often associated with the search for a more comfortable and lasting home. Nevertheless, we do not find support for such a hypothesis. One may argue that couples often cohabit over a long period before getting married; this provides them with sufficient time to adjust their place of residence before or after marriage. Indeed, one may avoid dealing with two stressful events simultaneously if the two transitions can be anticipated. However, we lack data tracing the dates of couple formation or the duration of cohabitation that would help understand this adjustment process.

Also, and according to our expectation, we found the over-mobility of immigrants at the time of marriage to be explained by different pre-marital cohabitation statuses. Indeed, non-EU immigrants are less prone to cohabit before getting married: at the time of marriage, only 38 per cent of the non-EU were already cohabiting, compared to 77 per cent of the Swiss and 69 per cent of the EU immigrants. The synchronicity of marriage and residential relocation for non-EU immigrants is in line with the socialisation hypothesis, which states that union formation patterns at destination should reflect the practices in the origin (socialisation) country (Pailhé 2015). Indeed, this group of immigrants display a more traditional path to adulthood, with less cohabitation, and a closer timing in the events of marriage and residential relocation.

Another plausible explanation for differentiated mobility behaviours between immigrants and natives – regarding all triggering events – is the emigration process. As mentioned in the method section, we treated out-migration as an instance of right censoring. This is justified by the fact that the two events, residential mobility and emigration, imply completely distinct mobility logics and migration strategies. However, these questions are beyond the scope of this study, which aims at understanding residential mobility as it pertains to housing adjustment. Nevertheless, the processes by which life course events, divorce for instance, might be tied to emigration would justify further investigation.

A notable limitation of this study is the discrete nature of the dependent variable: residential mobility in response to, or in anticipation of, family transitions are considered related only when the two events (e.g., childbirth and housing change) occur within the same year. Therefore, the magnitude of these effects are likely to be underestimated.

In sum, although differences in married-related moves between immigrants and natives are simply explained by a difference in cohabitation behaviours, we found evidence for differential mobility patterns by nativity at the time of childbirth and among the divorced. Immigrants prove to be less residentially mobile around childbirth, an event inherently linked to housing improvement, and on the contrary, more mobile following a divorce, a status associated with housing downgrading and residential instability. Even though the differences in mobility propensity between immigrants and natives are not very large, they point in the direction of a disadvantage for the immigrant population. As such, we argue that linking life course events to residential mobility can serve as an alternative and dynamic indicator of residential integration and housing disadvantage.

5.9 References

- Auer, D., Lacroix, J., Ruedin, D., and Zschirnt, E. (2019). *Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt*. Grenchen: Bundesamt für Wohnungswesen.
- Baranzini, A., Schaerer, C., Ramirez, J.V., and Thalman, P. (2008). Do foreigners pay higher rents for the same quality of housing in Geneva and Zurich? *Swiss journal of economics and statistics* 144(4):703–730.
- Bonvalet, C. and Lelièvre, E. (1991). Nuptialité et mobilité. *La nuptialité: Evolution récente en France et dans les pays développés: Actes du IXe colloque National de Démographie, Paris:237–253*.
- Charles, C.Z. (2003). The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology* 29(1):167–207. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100002.
- Charton, L., & Wanner, P. (2001). Migration internes et changements familiaux en Suisse. Analyse du module "mobilité de l'enquête suisse sur la population active de 1998". Neuchâtel: Office fédéral de la statistique.
- Clark, W.A. and Drever, A.I. (2000). Residential mobility in a constrained housing market: implications for ethnic populations in Germany. *Environment and Planning A* 32(5):833–846.
- Clark, W.A.V. and Huang, Y. (2003). The life course and residential mobility in British housing markets. *Environment and Planning A* 35(2):323–340.
- Clark, W.A.V. (2013). Life course events and residential change: unpacking age effects on the probability of moving. *Journal of Population Research* 30(4):319–334.
- Clark, W.A.V. and Dieleman, F. (1996). *Households and Housing: Choice and Outcomes in the Housing Market*. Rutgers. NJ: State University, Center for Urban policy Research.
- Clark, W.A.V. and Withers, S.D. (2009) 'Fertility, Mobility and Labour-Force Participation: A Study of Synchronicity'. *Population, Space and Place* 15 (4): 305–321.
- Coulter, R. and Scott, J. (2015). What motivates residential mobility? Re-examining self-reported reasons for desiring and making residential moves. *Population, Space and Place* 21(4):354–371.
- Courgeau, D. (1985). Interaction between spatial mobility, family and career life-cycle: A French survey. *European Sociological Review* 1(2):139–162.
- Courgeau, D. and Lelièvre, E. (2006). Individual and Social Motivations for Migration. In: Caselli, G. Vallin, J. Wunsch, G. (eds.). *Demography: analysis and synthesis*. London: Academic Press: 345–357
- D'Amato, G. Wanner, P. Steiner, I. (2019) Today's Migration-Mobility Nexus in Switzerland. In: Steiner I., Wanner P. (eds) *Migrants and Expats: The Swiss Migration and Mobility Nexus*. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer.

- De Jong, G.F. and Fawcett, J.T. (1981). Motivations for migration: an assessment and a value-expectancy research model. In: De Jong, G. F. and Gardner, R. (eds) *Migration Decision Making. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries*. New York: Pergamon Press 13–58.
- De Valk, H.A., Windzio, M., Wingers, M., and Aybek, C. (2011). Immigrant settlement and the life course: An exchange of research perspectives and outlook for the future. In: *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*. 283–297.
- Elder Jr, G.H. (1985). *Life Course Dynamics: Trajectories and Transitions 1968-1980*. Cornell University Press. Ithaca and London.
- Feijten, P. (2005). Union dissolution, unemployment and moving out of homeownership. *European Sociological Review* 21(1):59–71.
- Feijten, P. and Mulder, C.H. (2002). The timing of household events and housing events in the Netherlands: A longitudinal perspective. *Housing studies* 17(5):773–792.
- Feijten, P. and Van Ham, M. (2007). Residential mobility and migration of the divorced and separated. *Demographic Research* 17:623–653.
- Fries, D., Hasenmaile, F., Kaufmann, P., Fraft, C., Leissner, S., Rieder, T., Steffen, D., and Waltert, F. (2015). *Marché Immobilier 2015. Structures et Perspectives*. Crédit Suisse. Economic research.
- Gurak, D.T. and Kritiz, M.M. (2000). The interstate migration of US immigrants: Individual and contextual determinants. *Social Forces* 78(3): 1017–1039.
- Heye, C., Fuchs, S., and Blarer, D. (2013). *Libre Circulation Des Personnes et Marché Du Logement. Caractérisation de La Demande En Logements En Fonction de La Provenance de La Population*. Granges: Raumdaten GmbH. Office fédéral du logement.
- Hiekel, N., Liefbroer, A.C., and Poortman, A.-R. (2014). Understanding Diversity in the Meaning of Cohabitation Across Europe. *European Journal of Population* 30(4):391–410. doi:10.1007/s10680-014-9321-1.
- Kleinepier, T. (2016). *Life Courses of Immigrants and Their Descendants* [PhD thesis]. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Kleinepier, T. Maarten, V. H. and Jaap, N. (2018). Ethnic Differences in Timing and Duration of Exposure to Neighborhood Disadvantage during Childhood. *Advances in Life Course Research* 36 (June): 92–104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2018.04.003>.
- Jang, B.J., Casterline, J.B., and Snyder, A.R. (2014). Migration and marriage: Modeling the joint process. *Demographic Research* 30:1339.
- Kulu, H. (2008). Fertility and Spatial Mobility in the Life Course: Evidence from Austria. *Environment and Planning A* 40(3):632–652. doi:10.1068/a3914.

- Kulu, H. and González-Ferrer, A. (2014). Family Dynamics Among Immigrants and Their Descendants in Europe: Current Research and Opportunities. *European Journal of Population* 30(4):411–435. doi:10.1007/s10680-014-9322-0.
- Kulu, H. and Milewski, N. (2007). Family change and migration in the life course: An introduction. *Demographic Research* S6(19):567–590. doi:10.4054/DemRes.2007.17.19.
- Kulu, H. and Steele, F. (2013). Interrelationships between childbearing and housing transitions in the family life course. *Demography* 50(5):1687–1714.
- Lacroix, J. and Zufferey, J. (2019). A Life Course Approach to Immigrants' Relocation: Linking Long- and Short-distance Mobility Sequences. *Migration Letters* 16(2):283–300. doi:10.33182/ml.v16i2.683.
- Lee, E.S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography* 3(1):47–57.
- Long, L.H. (1972). The influence of number and ages of children on residential mobility. *Demography* 9(3):371–382.
- Manting, D. (1994). Dynamics in marriage and cohabitation: an inter-temporal life course analysis of first union formation and dissolution. .
- Michielin, F. and Mulder, C.H. (2008). Family events and the residential mobility of couples. *Environment and Planning A* 40(11):2770–2790.
- Mikolai, J. and Kulu, H. (2018a). Divorce, Separation, and Housing Changes: A Multiprocess Analysis of Longitudinal Data from England and Wales. *Demography* 55(1):83–106.
- Mikolai, J. and Kulu, H. (2018b). Short-and long-term effects of divorce and separation on housing tenure in England and Wales. *Population studies* 72(1):17–39.
- Mincer, J. (1978). Family Migration Decisions. *Journal of Political Economy* 86(5):749–773.
- Morris, T. (2017). Examining the influence of major life events as drivers of residential mobility and neighbourhood transitions. *Demographic Research* 36:1015–1038.
- Mulder, C.H. (1996). Housing choice: Assumptions and approaches. *Journal of housing and the built environment* 11(3):209–232.
- Mulder, C.H. (2013). Family dynamics and housing: Conceptual issues and empirical findings. *Demographic Research* 29:355.
- Mulder, C.H. and Wagner, M. (1993). Migration and marriage in the life course: a method for studying synchronized events. *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie* 9(1):55–76.
- Mulder, C.H. and Wagner, M. (1998). First-time home-ownership in the family life course: A West German-Dutch comparison. *Urban studies* 35(4):687–713.
- OECD/EU (2018a), Settling In 2018: Indicators of Immigrant Integration. Paris/European Union, Brussels: OECD Publishing.
- OECD/EU (2018b), Affordable housing database [electronic resources]. <http://www.oecd.org/social/affordable-housing-database.htm>

- OFL (2016). *Aperçu Du Marché Du Logement*. Granges: Office fédéral du logement.
- Öst, C.E. (2012). Housing and children: simultaneous decisions?—a cohort study of young adults' housing and family formation decision. *Journal of Population Economics* 25(1):349–366.
- Özüekren, A.S. and van Kempen, R. (2002). Housing careers of minority ethnic groups: Experiences, explanations and prospects. *Housing studies* 17(3):365–379.
- Pailhé, A. (2015). Partnership dynamics across generations of immigration in France: Structural vs. cultural factors. *Demographic Research* 33:451–498. doi:10.4054/DemRes.2015.33.16.
- Rabe, B. and Taylor, M. (2010). Residential mobility, quality of neighbourhood and life course events. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society)* 173(3):531–555.
- Rebhun, U. (2009). Immigration, ethnicity, and housing—Success hierarchies in Israel. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 27(4):219–243. doi:10.1016/j.rssm.2009.09.002.
- Rérat, P. (2006). Mutations urbaines, mutations démographiques. Contribution à l'explication de la déprise démographique des villes-centres. *Revue d'Économie Régionale & Urbaine*(5):725–750.
- Sandefur, G.D. and Scott, W.J. (1981). A dynamic analysis of migration: an assessment of the effects of age, family and career variables. *Demography* 18(3):355–368.
- Speare, A. and Goldscheider, F.K. (1987). Effects of Marital Status Change on Residential Mobility. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 49(2):455–464. doi:10.2307/352314.
- nccr – on the move, Migration-Mobility Indicators (2019a). For what reason are migrants admitted in Switzerland? [electronic ressources]. Neuchâtel: nccr – on the move <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/for-what-administrative-reason-are-migrants-admitted-in-switzerland>
- nccr – on the move, Migration-Mobility Indicators (2019b). How many migrants settle in Switzerland? [electronic ressources]. Neuchâtel: nccr – on the move <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/how-many-migrants-settle-in-switzerland>
- nccr – on the move, Migration-Mobility Indicators (2017). In which sectors of the economy do most of the migrants work? [electronic ressources]. Neuchâtel: nccr – on the move <https://indicators.nccr-onthemove.ch/in-which-sectors-of-the-economy-do-most-of-the-migrants-work>
- SFSO (2018). Portraits régionaux 2018: chiffres-clés de toutes les communes. [electronic ressources]. Neuchâtel : Swiss Federal Statistical Office <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/regional-statistics/regional-portraits-key-figures/communes.assetdetail.4662818.html>

- SFSO (2017) Distribution des statuts migratoires dans la population résidante permanente âgée de 15 ans ou plus selon diverses caractéristiques socio-démographiques, [electronic ressources]. Neuchâtel: Swiss Federal Statistical Office. <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/selon-statut-migratoire.html>
- SFSO (2016). Portrait de la Suisse: Résultats tirés des recensements de la population 2010–2014. Neuchâtel: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (No. 1646–1400)
- Steiner, I. and Wanner, P. (2015). *Towards a New Data Set for The Analysis of Migration and Integration in Switzerland*. nccr-On the move.
- Valk, H.A.G.D. and Liefbroer, A.C. (2007). Timing Preferences for Women’s Family-Life Transitions: Intergenerational Transmission Among Migrants and Dutch. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69(1):190–206. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00353.x.
- Wagner, M. and Mulder, C.H. (2015). Spatial Mobility, Family Dynamics, and Housing Transitions. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 67(1):111–135. doi:10.1007/s11577-015-0327-4.
- Wanner, P. (2017). *Quitter Son Lieu de Vie Pour Des Raisons Économiques ? Une Analyse de La Mobilité Résidentielle Au Sein de Six Agglomérations*. Granges: Office fédéral du logement.
- Wanner, P., Zufferey, J., and Fioretta, J. (2016). The impact of migratory flows on the Swiss labour market. A comparison between in-and outflows. *Migration Letters* 13(3):411.
- Warner, C. and Sharp, G. (2016). The short- and long-term effects of life events on residential mobility. *Advances in Life Course Research* 27:1–15. doi:10.1016/j.alcr.2015.09.002.
- White, M.J., Moreno, L., and Guo, S. (1995). The interrelation of fertility and geographic mobility in Peru: a hazards model analysis. *International Migration Review*:492–514.
- Withers, S.D. (1998). Linking household transitions and housing transitions: a longitudinal analysis of renters. *Environment and Planning A* 30(4):615–630.

APPENDIX

Table A.1 : Odds of residential mobility (weighted) for immigrants and natives, aged 20 to 45 years, 2010-2014, Switzerland

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Age (20-25)							
25-30	0.875***	0.919***	0.847***	0.846***	0.815***	0.792***	0.793***
30-35	0.579***	0.647***	0.601***	0.604***	0.575***	0.593***	0.596***
35-40	0.357***	0.415***	0.388***	0.395***	0.375***	0.428***	0.431***
40-45	0.243***	0.283***	0.262***	0.269***	0.257***	0.319***	0.321***
Birthplace (Switzerland)							
EU countries	1.113***	1.090***	1.063***	0.898***	0.896***	0.862***	0.891***
Non-EU countries	0.875***	0.828***	0.854***	0.793***	0.836***	0.740***	0.765***
Marital status (Single)							
Married		0.668***	0.734***	0.788***	0.780***	0.903***	0.898***
Divorced		1.303***	1.343***	1.329***	1.366***	1.349***	1.342***
Widowed		0.945	1.037	1.019	1.091	1.401**	1.381*
Marital status (Single) * birthplace (Switzerland)							
Married * EU		1.207***	1.227***	1.227***	1.249***	1.089***	1.077**
Divorced * EU		1.057	1.078	1.161**	1.177***	1.149**	1.138**
Widowed * EU		1.555	1.540	1.692*	1.749*	1.300	1.292
Married * Non-EU		1.286***	1.243***	1.181***	1.234***	1.067*	1.056
Divorced * Non-EU		0.995	0.959	0.986	1.019	1.048	1.056
Widowed * Non-EU		1.020	0.953	0.963	1.024	0.854	0.856

**Table A.1 : Odds of residential mobility (weighted) for immigrants and natives, aged 20 to 45 years, 2010-2014, Switzerland
(Continued)**

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Have a child (all)		1.356***	1.547***	1.546***	1.517***	1.354***	1.357***
Have a child (all) * birthplace (Switzerland)							
have a child (all) *EU		0.609***	0.612***	0.581***	0.589***	0.642***	0.643***
have a child (all) * non-EU		0.809***	0.775***	0.741***	0.750***	0.834***	0.838***
Get married		2.266***	5.117***	4.791***	4.753***	4.183***	4.206***
Get married* birthplace (Switzerland)							
get married *EU		0.849**	0.744***	0.747***	0.744***	0.845*	0.848*
get married * non-EU		1.476***	0.901	0.956	0.934	1.094	1.102
Get divorce		2.133***	2.130***	2.187***	2.181***	2.291***	2.290***
Get divorced * birthplace (Switzerland)							
get divorced *EU		1.014	1.021	1.036	1.033	1.044	1.040
get divorced * non-EU		0.995	0.986	0.949	0.963	0.917	0.919
Cohabit			0.956***	1.036*	1.009	0.918***	0.908***
Cohabit * get married			0.247***	0.248***	0.247***	0.248***	0.247***
Children in household			0.781***	0.793***	0.846***	0.939***	0.937***
Parent in household			0.784***	0.794***	0.824***	1.057***	1.046**

**Table A.1 : Odds of residential mobility (weighted) for immigrants and natives, aged 20 to 45 years, 2010-2014, Switzerland
(Continued)**

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
Years since immigration (more than 7 years)							
3 to 7 years				1.178***	1.184***	1.154***	1.154***
less than 3 years				1.286***	1.280***	1.225***	1.223***
Men				0.979**	1.000	1.022**	1.025**
Swiss partner				0.897***	0.875***	1.018	1.003
Educational level (basic)							
Secondary					1.099***	1.193***	1.183***
Higher					1.203***	1.319***	1.338***
Employed					1.212***	1.178***	1.166***
Income (low)							
med					1.123***	1.195***	1.191***
high					1.198***	1.358***	1.365***
Homeownership						0.326***	0.317***
Room stress						1.256***	1.288***
Housing vacancy rate (<0,45%)							
>= 0,45%							1.121***
Share of foreigners in the municipality (%)							0.994***
Townsize (<10000)							
10000-30000							1.019
>30000							1.003
N	795574	795574	795574	795574	795574	795574	795574

Source: SFSO – STATPOP / CCO – CI / SFSO – RS / SFSO – Regional portrait

6. Ethnic discrimination in the Swiss housing market

Indicators of disadvantage for ethnic minorities in the housing market are numerous, ranging from concentration in deprived neighbourhoods to poorer housing quality, higher rate of crowding, residency in overpriced dwellings, and greater commuter distance to the workplace (Auspurg, Hinz, & Schmid, 2017; Charles, 2003; Liu & Painter, 2012; Rebhun, 2009). In Switzerland, the progressive increase of housing prices and the depletion of affordable dwellings in urban centres have brought attention to the population's housing conditions and residential mobility (Wanner, 2017). Recent studies have shown that some precarious groups have more difficulties in accessing adequate housing, especially lower-income households and foreign-born populations (OFL, 2016; OFS & OFL, 2015; Raumdaten GmbH, 2013). According to Baranzini et al. (2008), foreigners on average pay (slightly) more than Swiss nationals for an equivalent dwelling, especially the least educated ones. Although such studies reveal important information on the housing situation of disadvantaged populations, they provide limited insight on the mechanisms leading to the allocation of housing, especially on the role played by landlords and rental agencies, who act as gatekeepers in the process.

Evidence of ethnic discrimination in the housing market started to emerge in the last decades. Field experiments, i.e., studies sending fictitious inquiries to landlords or professional agencies for visiting apartments (and subsequently applying to rent the object), almost always find a lower call-back rate among minority groups (see Acolin, Bostic, & Painter, 2016 for France; Auspurg et al., 2017 for Germany and; Carlsson & Eriksson, 2014 for Sweden). Switzerland is no exception when it comes to ethnic discrimination on the housing market. Previous evidence from a field experiment conducted by Jang (2014) showed that applicants with foreign-sounding names (e.g., Serbo-Croatian, Arabic, Tamil, Albanian or Eritrean names) had a lower chance of getting invited to a viewing compared to similar applicants mentioning a Swiss name. This study was, however, limited to a sample of 1000 landlords and to the German-speaking part of the country.

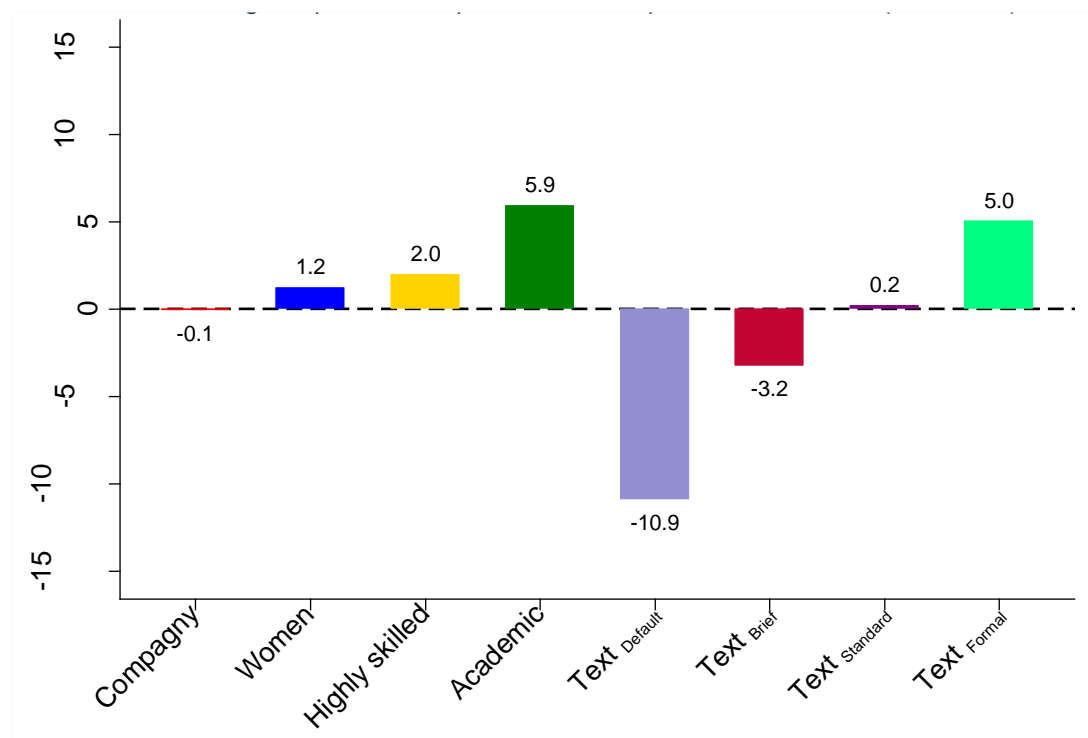
With the financial support of the Federal Office for Housing (OFL) and the NCCR-On the move, I conducted, together with my colleagues Daniel Auer, Didier Ruedin and Eva Zschirnt, a nationwide field experiment uncovering French-, German- and Italian-speaking regions as well as both rural and urban areas. In total, we sent 11 460 paired e-mail inquiries to 5 730 rental properties, one with a foreign-sounding name (Kosovar, Turkish or German/French/Italian) and one with a Swiss-sounding name (see section 6.2.3 for more methodological details). In order to isolate a potential ethnic penalty from accompanying individual attributes, messages vary in a number of characteristics (occupation, gender, age, residence permit, household characteristics), each of which is randomly assigned. Moreover, the content of the messages varies in quality, politeness and amount of information provided.

Based on this large-scale field experiment, we assess the prevalence and mechanisms of discrimination against ethnic minority applicants for rental housing property on a national level in Switzerland. The applicant's name serves as a marker of ethnicity for fictitious and comparable profiles and discrimination is based on the variation in call-back rates (i.e. invitation to a visit) between ethnic groups. Thanks to the randomization procedure, we first estimate which individuals (e.g., foreign vs Swiss candidates; women vs men; highly qualified vs lower-qualified workers) are offered the opportunity to visit the apartment. Although this test does not answer the question of who obtains the apartment, it still makes it possible to know which candidates overcome the first barrier (i.e., the invitation to an onsite visit) and thus, fundamentally have a chance of being awarded the apartment. These results were first produced and published in the form of a research report entitled "Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt" for the Federal Office for Housing. I summarize in section 6.1 the main findings from this study, co-authored with Daniel Auer, Didier Ruedin and Eva Zschirnt. In the second part of the chapter (section 6.2) and with the same contributors, I assess whether geographical context matters in the allocation of housing for ethnic minorities. The nationwide coverage of adverts allows identifying geographical variation in call-back rates and to characterize the context in which landlords operate by using contextual and political data at the municipality level. Whether discrimination varies according to context matters as it could lead to geographical sorting of ethnic minorities to certain areas.

6.1 Results from the field experiment

On the national level, landlords and agencies invited 72% of the fictive candidates for a visit. However, a closer evaluation of the responses reveals important variation in the probability of being invited for an onsite visit according to the candidates' profile (Figure 1). Indeed, different characteristics matter in the housing allocation process.

Figure 1 Change in positive response rate compared to the mean (M= 72 %)



Note: Linear models for binary outcome (1=positive answer; 0=negative and no answer) with standard errors clustered at the rental object level to take the experiment's paired design into account. Lecture note: A candidate mentioning a highly qualified occupation is on average 2% more likely to receive a positive answer to the e-mail inquiry compared to the mean.

Source: Daniel Auer, Julie Lacroix, Didier Ruedin, Eva Zschirnt, 2019, Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt, Bericht an das Bundesamt für Wohnungswesen (BWO).

In line with similar research, we found that women are slightly more likely (+1.2%) than men to receive a positive reply from landlords. Occupation is also important. To assess this, we randomly assigned to the email inquiries 10 different jobs that were typically considered as high-skilled or low-skilled positions (see Table A.1, panel B in the Appendix). The occupations were also selected based on their commonality in either urban or rural regions of the entire country. The results show that applicants mentioning a highly skilled profession were two per cent more likely to

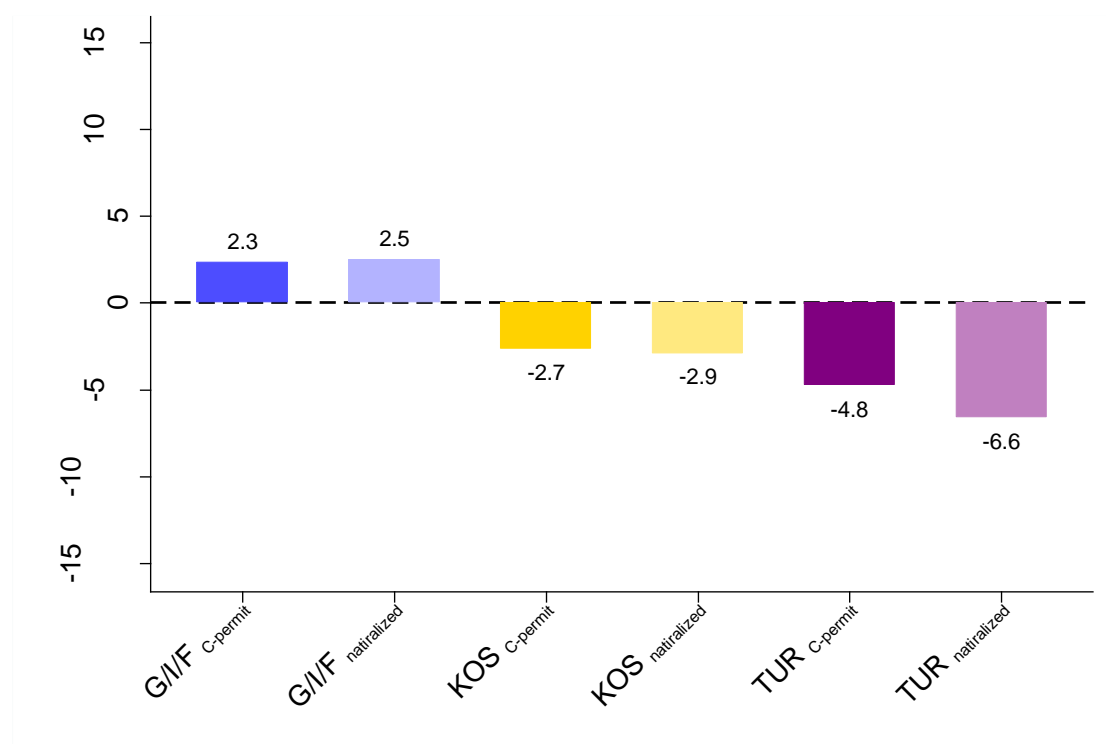
receive an invitation to a viewing. Interestingly, adding a doctoral title to the name has the second largest impact on the probability of getting a positive answer (+5,9%).

We also find a strong influence of text quality: the more information provided by the candidate in the e-mail inquiry, and the more polite, the higher the probability of being invited. Fictitious candidates sending formal inquiries were five per cent more likely to receive a positive response. By contrast, applicants sending default messages (i.e., standard text from the online platform) were strongly penalized (-10,9%).

Contrarily to similar studies in other countries, there is on average no difference in call-back rate between different types of landlords: commercial companies and private landlords display almost identical response rates (0.1% difference). However, based on the information from the online platform, we could not differentiate owners from current tenants looking for new tenants. Such a differentiation would be enlightening since these two groups have different relationships to the rental property and future tenants, and thus different incentives to sort requests.

We now turn our attention to the main concern of this experiment: the influence of the candidates' name in the housing allocation process. We further distinguish this effect according to whether candidates mention holding the Swiss nationality or a C-permit (i.e., the permanent residency).

Figure 2 shows the change in positive response rate for candidates mentioning a foreign-sounding name (separately for permanent residents and Swiss nationals) compared to Swiss candidates, whose positive response rate is 74%. The results confirm that names associated with Turkish (purple bars) or Kosovar (yellow bars) origins are penalized compared to Swiss candidates (-6.6% and -2,7%, respectively). By contrast, minority groups from neighbouring countries, on average, are even favoured compared to Swiss applicants when inquiring for rental objects (+2.3% when mentioning a C-permit and +2.5% for those holding the Swiss passport). One might be concerned that landlords mistook German, French or Italian names for Swiss names. However, the positive effect for close minorities holds when mentioning a C-permit, a clear sign of a foreign background.

Figure 2 Change in positive response rate compared to the Swiss (CH= 74 %)

Lecture note: Candidates mentioning a Turkish name and a C-permit are 4.8% less likely to receive a positive answer to the e-mail inquiry, compared to candidates mentioning a Swiss name.

Source: Daniel Auer, Julie Lacroix, Didier Ruedin, Eva Zschirnt, 2019, Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt, Bericht an das Bundesamt für Wohnungswesen (BWO).

Contrarily to our expectation, we found no evidence of a positive effect of holding the Swiss nationality compared to applicants mentioning a C-permit. Even more surprising is the negative effect of holding the Swiss nationality for candidates mentioning a Turkish name.

The first section of this chapter confirms that ethnic minorities receive unequal treatments from landlords and professional agencies when seeking rental objects in Switzerland. The prevalence of discrimination, measured for the first step of the housing search process (the visit), is similar to other European research. It is likely, however, that discrimination also occurs at other stages of the housing attribution process. Moreover, the results are in line with the existing literature on the ethnic distance of foreigners (e.g. Auer et al. 2018; Ebner and Helbling, 2016) with individuals perceived more distant to the Swiss majorities receiving the worst treatment (here, Turkish and Kosovar candidates).

Nevertheless, while field experiments are well designed to capture and quantify discrimination, the underlying mechanisms are often left to speculation. The second section of this chapter attempts at closing this gap. It investigates whether discrimination varies by local context and asks how conservatism and xenophobia shape ethnic discrimination.

6.2 Conservatism or Xenophobia? Ethnic Discrimination in Context³⁰

Daniel Auer (WZB)

Julie Lacroix (U. of Geneva)

Didier Ruedin (U. of the Witwatersrand, U. of Neuchâtel)

Eva Zschirnt (EUI)

We examine how discrimination of people with foreign names depends on the local context by conducting a field experiment in the Swiss housing market, sending N=11,460 queries for viewings from fictitious persons who vary by name to signal ethnic origin. Contrary to previous correspondence studies of this type, we cover the entire country rather than focusing on specific cities or areas. The widespread use of referendums and popular initiatives in Switzerland allows us to characterise the context in which landlords operate. Notably, we can differentiate between conservatism and xenophobia – two aspects the literature struggles to distinguish empirically at the contextual level. The level of discrimination is higher in municipalities where the population supported xenophobic referendums and popular initiatives. However, once we account for conservatism in the multiple regression analysis, the coefficients for xenophobic contexts are drastically reduced. We conclude that discrimination (behaviour) in the Swiss housing market occurs more often because of the prevalence of conservatism.

Keywords: discrimination, housing, conservatism, xenophobia, field experiment, context

6.2.1 Introduction

Discrimination against ethnic minorities is a well-documented phenomenon. An extensive body of evidence – particularly from field experiments – shows that discrimination occurs in almost every kind of human interaction: in the labour market (Neumark, 2018; Rich, 2014; Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016), the housing market (Auspurg,

³⁰ Authors are listed alphabetically. Authors contributions: DA, JL, DR, EZ designed the study, JL did the statistical analysis, DA, JL, DR, EZ wrote the paper.

Acknowledgements: The research leading to these results was financially supported by the Swiss Office for Housing (BWO), the NCCR on the move, and the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS). We would like to thank Claire El Attar-Robinson, Maud Rouvinez, Olivia Gasser, and Julie Manchini for excellent research assistance in the preparation, piloting, and field phase.

Schneck, & Hinz, 2018; Flage, 2018), in elections (Portmann & Stojanović, 2019), in naturalisation decisions (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013), in contact with public officials (Costa, 2017), or in access to mental health care (Shin, Smith, Welch, & Ezeofor, 2016). While we cannot reasonably dispute that ethnic minorities face systematic discrimination, empirical evidence usually cannot tell us *why* discrimination occurs.

Many explanations have been proposed: the most prominent economic theories focus on taste-based (Becker, 1957) versus statistical discrimination (Aigner & Cain, 1977; Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972), or human capital theory (Becker, 1964; Mincer, 1958). By contrast, social psychology approaches discuss the emergence of stereotypes and prejudices (Fiske, 1998; Lee & Fiske, 2006), unconscious stereotypes and implicit biases (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), or social distance and social dominance (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar, & Levin, 2004). In political science, the role of xenophobic attitudes and their possible association with more generic conservatism are debated (Kitschelt & McGann, 1997; Norris, 2005). A common thread is the assumption that discriminatory behaviour requires negative attitudes to minorities. To what extent and under which circumstances attitudes and behaviour relate to one another, however, remains unclear.

In this article, we investigate how local contexts influence discriminatory behaviour (e.g. Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017). We combine data of a nation-wide correspondence test on ethnic discrimination in the Swiss rental housing market with results from referendums and popular initiatives. While the correspondence test enables us to measure the extent of discrimination experienced by prospective tenants with different foreign names, the referendums and popular initiatives provide information about the collective attitudes or ideological climate at the municipality level. In Switzerland, referendums and popular initiatives take place two to five times a year and cover many different political issues. The results of these votes on the level of the smallest political administration, in Switzerland the municipality, allow us to capture collective attitudes in a fine-grained manner, and to differentiate between conservatism and xenophobia: two dimensions the empirical literature struggles to differentiate. We show that prospective tenants with foreign sounding names are less likely to be invited to view apartment in municipalities with more xenophobic attitudes (as revealed by popular votes). However, once we control for conservative attitudes, the coefficients

for xenophobia are reduced in size and importance. We conclude that discrimination (behaviour) in the Swiss housing market occurs more often because of the prevalence of conservatism.

6.2.2 Theory: Attitudes, Discrimination, and Context

Discrimination describes an unfavourable treatment of a member of a (minority) group based on an irrelevant criterion. For instance, for property owners, the skin colour or the name of a prospective tenant as such does not affect the likelihood of the tenant paying rent or taking care of the property. Landlords or employers who discriminate against members of minority groups may not pick the ideal tenant or employee, which in the long term should put them at an economic disadvantage compared to those who do not discriminate. In this sense, the persistence of discrimination is puzzling to economists, in addition to being unjust (Blank, 2005). While Becker (1957) has introduced the by now classic distinction between taste-based and statistical discrimination to bring discriminatory behaviour into an economist framework, a detailed understanding of discriminatory behaviour remains elusive because we typically cannot observe discrimination directly or cannot differentiate different reasons for discrimination when we can observe it. In particular, we know little how attitudes relate to discrimination (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014).

Researchers on discrimination typically assume intuitively that discriminatory behaviour requires negative attitudes to minorities: attitudes as a necessary condition for behaviour. Since the classic study by LaPiere (1934), however, the extent of this association between attitudes and behaviour remains an empirical puzzle – attitudes are not a sufficient condition. With strong norms against discrimination affecting the measurement of relevant attitudes, establishing a relationship between attitudes and behaviour is challenging (Blank et al., 2004; Blinder, Ford, & Ivarsflaten, 2013; Kunstman, Plant, Zielaskowski, & LaCosse, 2013). Psychologists in the lab suggest that implicit attitudes may relate more closely to discriminatory behaviour than explicitly stated attitudes (Rooth, 2010), but moving these findings into the field has proved difficult. Earlier research directly surveyed people (LaPiere, 1934; Pager & Quillian, 2005), while some recent work combines results of correspondence tests with aggregated attitudes in different regions (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017; Carlsson & Rooth, 2012). Discriminatory behaviour does not need to be conscious, which is why

recent studies increasingly draw on field experiments (Butler & Broockman, 2011; Jackson & Cox, 2013).

An extensive literature on attitudes to immigrants has established that many factors influence these attitudes. Negative attitudes may stem from unwanted competition in the labour market (Kunovich, 2013; Pecoraro & Ruedin, 2019), worries over tax burdens if immigrants draw on social benefits (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014), from racial prejudice (Pettigrew, 2016), or individual personality or genetic influences (Gallego & Pardos-Prado, 2014; Hatemi & McDermott, 2016; Pettigrew, 2016). While early contributions have looked at authoritarianism, recent research draws on more established frameworks of personality (Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Schwartz, 2012). In a quest to move towards behavioural responses, studies have started to use experimental designs (Bansak, Hainmueller, & Hangartner, 2016; Butler & Broockman, 2011; Chen, Pan, & Xu, 2016; Cutts, Ford, & Goodwin, 2011; Forrest & Dunn, 2010; Gaikwad & Nellis, 2016; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Hemker & Rink, 2017; Malhotra, Margalit, & Mo, 2013; Pérez, 2015; Reibel, 2000). While this is laudable, these studies have tended to focus on decisions that are not relevant to people's everyday life, like deciding whom to naturalize or whether to send a message to a politician.

A different strand of the literature explores how attitudes to immigrants and ethnic minority groups are influenced by external shocks and context more generally. The influence of context can be established in priming experiments that study the impact of media portrayal on attitudes. For instance, liberal and conservative participants in lab experiments may react differently to media messages on immigration (Lahav & Courtemanche, 2012). Out of the lab, the influence of context on attitudes has been demonstrated using the example of recent refugee flows into Europe. Hangartner, Dinas, Marbach, Matakos, and Xefteris (2018) have studied the impact of local refugee flows on Greek islands to demonstrate that the presence of a large number of refugees who did not constitute economic competition because they moved on to the Greek mainland can influence attitudes (see also Getmansky, Sinmazdemir, & Zeitzoff, 2018). Enos (2016) demonstrated the importance of context by examining how the demolition of public housing – and with that the removal of many Black neighbours – affected racial attitudes in the US. From a quite different angle Pardos-Prado and Xena (2019) show that differences in labour-market policies can shape attitudes: in this case, possible competition with immigrants plays a role.

Particularly from studies on party politics we have the argument that there is something distinctively xenophobic among radical right-wing parties (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2012). In this reading, negative policies against immigrants and immigration differ from merely being conservative. Conservatism refers to preferences of the status quo, but also a view that naturally there exist different groups and a hierarchy. Xenophobic positions may draw on such views, but regard foreigners and their potential influence as negative. Put differently, conceptually xenophobic positions can be differentiated from conservative positions. With a view on discrimination, however, both conservative and xenophobic contexts are conducive to more discrimination. Individuals with xenophobic attitudes may feel encouraged to discriminate because their behaviour may be implicitly sanctioned. Empirically, however, the picture is more complicated. On the one hand we have reports of more negative attitudes in more conservative contexts (Sarrasin et al., 2012), on the other hand views at the right end of the political spectrum seem to mix up conservatism and xenophobia (Daenekindt, de Koster, & van der Waal, 2017). A review by Wilkes, Guppy, and Farris (2008) casts doubt, whether conservatism is really necessary for xenophobia to develop: While some studies find a clear association between conservative position and anti-immigrant positions, others do not.

Here we draw on results from referendums and popular initiatives to differentiate xenophobic from conservative positions at the level of municipalities. By linking these to a national correspondence test on the housing market, we can establish a link between attitudes and behaviour in a situation that is familiar and relevant to most members of the public. We overcome limits of survey research that can measure stated attitudes (conservatism, xenophobia), but not real-life discrimination, and pure experiments that capture discrimination without being able to link it to attitudes at a reasonably small unit of analysis. Drawing on two recent meta studies on discrimination in the housing market (Auspurg et al., 2018; Flage, 2018), our baseline expectation is that queries sent from prospective tenants with foreign-sounding names receive fewer responses than queries from people with 'native' names. We also expect more discrimination for people with non-Western names. With a focus on context, we can outline two expectations:

Expectation 1: The call-back rate is lower for people with foreign-sounding names (i.e. more discrimination) in more xenophobic municipalities

Expectation 2: The call-back rate is lower for people with foreign-sounding names (i.e. more discrimination) in more conservative municipalities.

Since xenophobic and conservative attitudes vary to some extent, we can test the assumption that there is something distinctive about xenophobic attitudes.

Expectation 3: Once we account for conservative attitudes, discrimination in more xenophobic municipalities is reduced.

In the context of a regression analysis, these expectations mean that we expect negative coefficients for the probability to be contacted by the landlord for conservatism and xenophobic attitudes at the municipal level. Further, we expect a negative effect of xenophobia, even after accounting for conservatism.

6.2.3 Experimental Design and Identification

To estimate the effect of compositional differences among public preferences on discriminatory behaviour, we need to combine the two into a single framework. On the one hand, measuring discrimination poses an empirical challenge itself: it is difficult to disentangle the systematically differential treatment of members of a specific group from a plethora of confounding factors, such as human- and social capital. Research has amplified efforts to provide experimental evidence, in particular based on audit- or correspondence tests (e.g. Bertrand & Duflo, 2017; Neumark, 2018). With regard to the rental housing market, too, several studies investigate its functioning by sending inquiries of fictitious prospective tenants to landlords or professional agencies advertising vacant apartments, today usually via online platforms (e.g. Gaddis & Ghoshal, 2015; Hanson, Hawley, & Taylor, 2011). Employing a paired design, we follow the standard approach and use the name of a fictitious applicant as an ethnicity marker for otherwise comparable profiles.

The second challenge consists of accurately measuring public preferences towards different ethnic minority groups and immigration. While some indication exists that attitudes expressed in surveys correspond to actual discrimination (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017), survey data often suffers from potential social desirability bias. Even if an unbiased measure of individual attitudes exists, survey data usually lack the spatial coverage to accurately capture local variation in public preferences. To measure public preferences at the municipality level, we take advantage of referendums and popular initiatives in Switzerland. National referendums are required for all proposed constitutional amendments by the federal parliament. Proposals may

also come directly from the people by means of popular initiatives, which give citizens the right to suggest an amendment or an addition to the federal constitution, though typically political parties or large organisations launch popular initiatives. Since 1972, the Swiss people have been called to vote on 8.5 constitutional issues a year on average. We exploit that national votes deal with a variety of topics which may relate to conservative or xenophobic positions and use variation in voting results across municipalities to measure public attitudes at the level of municipalities.

Our experimental design has several advantages, starting with a nationwide coverage of advertised rental housing objects that allows us to estimate the effect of public preferences across 1,298 municipalities comprising a large variation in local contexts. To each quasi-randomly sampled object advertised on one of the largest online platforms, which aggregates entries from other housing platforms³¹, we sent two inquiries from fictitious prospective tenants: one with a typical Swiss sounding name, and one with one of three randomly assigned minority names. We used stimulus sampling to reduce the impact of specific names. The minority names consist of a typical first and last name from Turkey, Kosovo, or a neighbouring country of Switzerland (Germany, Italy, France)³². The choice of neighbouring country names depended on the language of the original advertisement, because Switzerland consists of three major language regions with clear-cut borders. By tying the name to the language of the advertisement, we ensure that the indication of a culturally close minority candidate is not distorted by the strong within-country variation due to different languages spoken. Immigrants from Turkey and Kosovo can be found in relatively large numbers across the country. This ensures that landlords are somehow familiar with the names we used, and interpret the ethnic signal behind the name in a correct manner (in a pre-test, 242 respondents mostly assigned the nationality to our names correctly). In addition, some members of the majority population resent immigrants from Kosovo and Turkey. Kosovo and Turkey represent traditional sending countries to Switzerland after World War II. Particularly Kosovo was the source of many refugees in the wake of the wars in Yugoslavia (Ruedin, Alberti, & D'Amato, 2015). Due to the

³¹ Rental housing objects were approached one-by-one from an unfiltered and unsorted list on the online-platform. Every property needed to be (i) an apartment/flat for rent, (ii) in Switzerland, (iii) with 1 to 6 rooms, and (iv) available within three months. Additionally, we excluded (v) commercial space and holiday apartments and (vi) made sure that only one inquiry was sent to the same landlord (except for agencies where different contact persons could be addressed directly.)

³² The complete list of names for each group is provided in the Appendix, Table A.1.

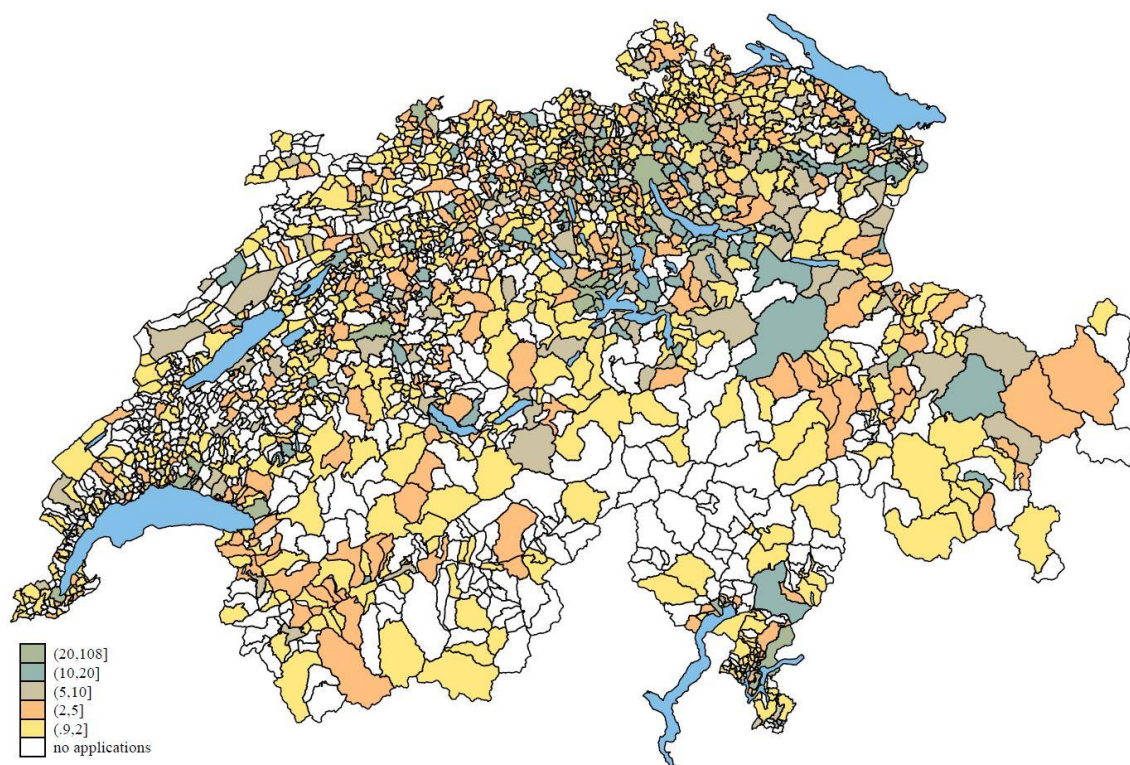
intensifying debate on the role of Islam in Europe, Turkish nationals as the largest Muslim group in Switzerland have been exposed to anti-immigrant sentiments as reflected in a national referendum to prohibit the construction of minarets. In 2017, Turkish nationals constituted the seventh largest immigrant group in Switzerland in 2017 (3.2% of the foreign resident population, BFS 2018), surpassed by Kosovars (5.2%), and French (6.2%), while Italians (14.9%) and Germans (14.3%) represented the two largest immigrant groups.

Another methodological advantage of our experimental design is the randomisation of all information provided by the fictitious prospective tenants. Messages do not only differ by names, but in a number of characteristics (occupation, gender, age, residence permit, household characteristics), each of which was randomly assigned (see Table A.2 in the Appendix for details). The messages to landlords also varied in quality, politeness and amount of information provided, and we extensively pre-tested the messages with a group of landlords for their realism. Advertisements for rental housing property were retrieved from one of the largest real estate portals in Switzerland, combing advertisements from several different online platforms. Eventually, the sampling of advertised apartments and municipalities has been as good as random, too, because at different days and different hours of a day, inquiries were sent sequentially to a list of apartments only filtered by the date of their appearance.

In sum, we implement a nationwide field experiment with inquiries sent to landlords located throughout Switzerland. Between March and October 2018, 11,460 paired inquiries were sent to 5,730 landlords and professional agencies via email or online form (see Figure 1). Each landlord or representatives of professional agencies was only contacted once during the field experiment. We sent inquiries to rental housing objects in 1,298 different municipalities, approximately 60% of all municipalities in the country. These municipalities cover 80% of the total population of 8.41 million people in 2017. While the sample of rental housing objects has been as good as random in the first phase of the experiment to resemble a representative picture of the country's housing market across regions, we oversampled not yet covered municipalities in the last month of the experiment to increase spatial coverage. Within this oversampling, the selection of properties was also as good as random. The remaining municipalities without inquiries are usually smaller in terms of population size, and most of them lacked vacant rental objects during our observation period. We

cannot rule out completely that some regions tend to use different online platforms or refrain from online advertisements. However, we checked for spatial patterns, and the non-coverage seems to be random. The white areas in Figure 1 may be misleading because of the large size of sparsely populated mountainous municipalities in the south of Switzerland. In terms of politics, the average vote shares on referendums among our quasi-random sample of municipalities closely resembles the national results, which provides further indication that non-coverage is not decisively biased.

Figure 1: Municipality coverage



The unconditional call-back rates shown in Table 1 indicate that the invitation probability is approximately 70% for a tentative request to view a rental property. We coded non-responses as a negative outcome. Interestingly, foreign-sounding names from countries that are expected to be (socio-culturally) close to the Swiss majority population, that is, German, French, and Italian, are, on average, preferred over Swiss candidates, with a substantively marginal but statistically significant difference. For Turkish and Kosovar sounding names, the unconditional difference shows a penalty amounting to 1.2 and 1.7 percentage points, respectively. The baseline results therefore indicate that even viewing requests for apartments, an arguably mild intervention compared to job interviews, impose a hurdle for some minority groups. The heterogeneity in call-back probabilities further highlights that

landlords do not follow a binary distinction between ‘natives’ and ‘immigrants’, but rather apply a more fine-grained reflection of group-specific cultural or ethnic ‘distance’ from the host society (see for instance Fossett, 2006; Hagendoorn, 1995).

Table 1: Unconditional invitation probabilities

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Swiss name	D/F/I name	Kosovar name	Turkish name
Invitation	0.725 (0.006)	0.743 (0.010)	0.692 (0.010)	0.689 (0.011)
Applications	5722	1919	1950	1860
		(2) – (1)	(3) – (1)	(4) – (1)
Group difference ¹		0.018* (0.010)	-0.017*** (0.005)	-0.012*** (0.004)
Applications		7641	7672	7582

Note: ¹ OLS coefficients. Robust SE clustered at the rental object level. Non-responses are coded as negative outcome.

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Next, we link the responses to the inquiries with spatial information on public preferences in the municipality in which a given rental housing object is located. Here we approximate attitudes towards immigrants with results on past referendums to rule out social desirability bias and to cover every location in the country where we had sent inquiries.

We built on recent scientific development on policy ideology to construct the two dimensions of interest, meaning conservatism and xenophobia. In a recent contribution, Caughey and colleagues (2019) identified three domains of political conflicts and related conservatism dimensions: the economic dimension (or the left-right divide), the social dimension, which includes postmaterial and cultural issues (e.g., gender equality, gay rights, abortion, and environmental protection) and the immigration dimension. Different scholars (see for instance Heath et al., 1999 ; Kitschelt and Rehm 2014) argued that the recent emergence of issues of national identity and immigration has become a new (distinct) dimension of political conflict.

Based on Caughey and colleagues' typology, we infer public opinion from national referendum at the municipal level since 1999 (SFSO 2019) and construct an indicator of (social) conservatism and xenophobia. For the xenophobic dimension, we

select immigration-related issues including themes such as naturalization and asylum laws, foreigners' rights and migration quotas. On the other hand, votes related conservatism are defined as referendums and initiatives in resistance to (constitutional) changes and support for traditional institutions, ranging from the preservation of the military system and nuclear energy to the upholding of traditional gender values and family structure. Therefore, following Caughey and colleagues' typology, our conservatism dimension is one of social conservatism. To test the robustness of our selection, we also included a number of referendums that did neither relate to conservatism nor to immigration attitudes.

In a second step, we confirm our theoretical assumptions about an underlying conservative or xenophobic pattern across the referendums using Principal Component Analysis. The sample of referendums shown in Table 2 clearly load on either of the two concepts ($X_{1...7}$ for xenophobia-related referendums, and $C_{1...6}$ for conservatism-related ones, respectively), with a cut-off at 0.25, while the placebo referendums do neither load on conservatism nor on xenophobia. Note that we dropped some referendums that plausibly related to the two concepts, but which did not load on either of them in the PCA. The list of plausibly related-but-excluded referendums is shown in the Appendix, Table A.3.). This is the case for family-related issues such as same-sex marriage, abortion or medically assisted reproduction, which loaded on a distinct component.

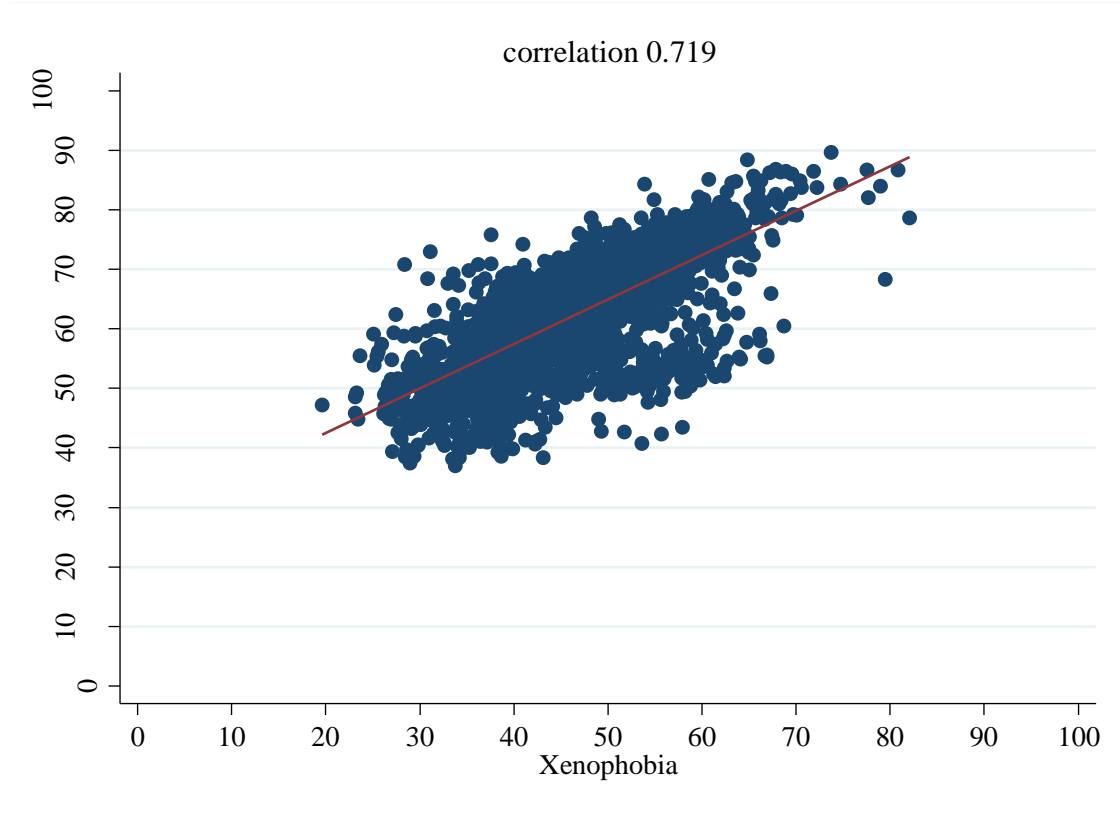
Table 2: Principal component analysis

	Xeno- phobia	Conser- vatism	Placebo
C1: Vote in favour of compulsory military service ^a	0,047	0,368	0,066
C2: Vote against saving in the military and the general defence ^a	-0,123	0,482	-0,061
C3: Vote against an update of the federal constitution ^a	0,045	0,314	-0,114
C4: Vote against a fair representation of women in the federal authorities ^a	-0,033	0,395	0,082
C5: Vote against the orderly phase-out of nuclear energy ^a	0,066	0,332	0,12
C6: Vote against the Federal decree on family policies ^a	0,002	0,391	-0,103
X1: Vote against the construction of minarets	0,287	0,115	-0,016
X2: Vote in favour of the effective expulsion of criminal foreigners	0,424	-0,045	0,085
X3: Vote in favour of the deportation of foreign criminals	0,314	0,095	-0,006
X4: Vote to stop over-population – Save our natural resources	0,382	-0,052	-0,1
X5: Vote against mass immigration	0,378	0,014	0,006
X6: Vote against the amendment to the asylum act ^a	0,445	-0,12	0,051
X7: Vote against simplified naturalization of 3rd-gen foreigners ^a	0,269	0,148	-0,024
P1: Vote in favour of the establishment of a national roads- and urban transport-fund	-0,141	0,11	0,467
P2: Vote in favour of fiscal measures to strengthen the competitiveness of the Swiss workplace	0,1	-0,09	0,522
P3: Vote in favour of the Federal Act on the Intelligence Service	-0,104	0,132	0,444
P4: Vote against tax privileges for millionaires	-0,139	0,131	-0,489
Eigenvalue	9,74	2,81	1,71
Total variance explained	0,57	0,17	0,1
Scale reliability Cronbach's alpha	0,98	0,96	0,83

^a Original formulation reversed ^b We standardized referendum results by subtracting the mean and dividing by the standard deviation. C = Conservatism items, X = Xenophobia items, P = Placebo items (neither related to xenophobia nor to conservatism).

The stark contrast in factor loading reveals another insight: that conservatism does not seem to be a necessary condition for xenophobia. Both are undoubtedly correlated positively, as shown in Figure 2, where we plot the average of referendums' approval rates for each dimension. However, variation around the fit indicates that some municipalities have voted in support of xenophobic attitudes without expressing particularly high levels of conservatism, and vice versa.

Figure 2: Average support for conservatism and xenophobic related referendums by municipality



6.2.4 Conservatism Drives Discrimination

We estimate the extent of ethnic discrimination using linear mixed-effect models. The outcome of interest is an invitation to a viewing; negative answers and non-responses are considered as negative outcomes. These models include both fixed effects and random intercepts (RI) in order to account for the hierarchical structure of the error terms.

Formally, we compute the probability of being invited to an onsite visit Y , as a function of \mathbf{B}'_{irm} the candidate's ethnic background, \mathbf{X}'_m the level of xenophobia in the municipality where the apartment is located, and \mathbf{C}'_m the level of conservatism in the given municipality. In order to test whether the ethnic penalty is larger (i.e., more discrimination) in more xenophobic or conservative ideological climate, we include interaction terms between the candidate's ethnic background and the level of conservatism and xenophobia as follow:

$$Y_{irm} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \mathbf{B}'_{irm} + \beta_2 \mathbf{X}'_m + \beta_3 (\mathbf{B}'_{irm} * \mathbf{X}'_m) + \beta_4 \mathbf{C}'_m + \beta_5 (\mathbf{B}'_{irm} * \mathbf{C}'_m) + \mu_m + \alpha_{rm} + \varepsilon_{irm}$$

With $i=1,2, \dots, 11,460$ applications (level 1) for $r=1, 2, \dots, 5,730$ rental objects (level 2) located in $m=1, 2, \dots, 1,298$ municipalities (level 3). Note that in a mixed-effect model with two random intercepts, the error term has three components: μ_m is the part attributable to the municipality level, α_{rm} relates to the rental object level and ε_{irm} is the residual error, where:

$$\varepsilon_{ijk} \sim N(0, \sigma_\varepsilon^2) \text{ and } \alpha_{jk} \sim N(0, \sigma_\alpha^2) \text{ and } \mu_k \sim N(0, \sigma_\mu^2)$$

The regression coefficients β_3 and β_5 serve to test for our hypotheses. They indicate whether public attitudes on conservatism or xenophobic related issues in the municipality where the apartment is advertised affect the level of discrimination, measured as the difference in the probability of getting invited to a viewing between candidates with Swiss- and foreign-sounding names.

Column 1 of Table 4 depicts the baseline probability of being invited to an onsite visit according to the applicant's ethnic background. Similar to other research on discrimination in Switzerland (see e.g. Zschirnt, 2019 for discrimination on the labour market), the results confirm a significant gradient in treatment for ethnic minorities on the Swiss territory. Applicants with Kosovar and Turkish-sounding names have a lower probability of being invited to an onsite visit compared to their counterparts with Swiss-sounding names. However, the results for the baseline specification do not show evidence of discriminatory behaviour against close minority applicants; the probability of a positive reply for this group does not differ statistically from Swiss applicants.

Now, the question is whether municipalities with collectively higher level of xenophobic and conservative attitudes, as proxied by popular votes, lead to more discriminatory behaviour. We estimate the effect of the applicant's ethnic background and allow for variation by levels of xenophobic (Column 2) and conservative (Column 3) ideological climate in the municipality where the apartment is advertised. We estimate interaction effects separately in a first step.

Column 2 introduces an interaction term between the prospective tenant's name and the level of xenophobia in the municipality. The coefficient for Turkish names is negative and statistically significant, indicating that applicants mentioning a Turkish-sounding name are more discriminated against when applying for rental objects

located in municipalities with more exacerbated xenophobic ideology. This effect adds on the negative baseline effect for this group.

Following the same logic, Column 3 presents the results for the variation of discriminatory behaviour by the prevalence of conservatism ideology in the municipality. As expected, applicants with Turkish- and Kosovar-sounding names receive lower call-back in more conservative ideological climates.

One challenge of identification is the correlation of the xenophobic and conservative dimensions, both of which also correlate (as confirmed by the results) with discriminatory behaviours. Column 4 accounts for the two dimensions simultaneously and presents a more thorough disentanglement of these effects. This model shows that the negative interaction coefficients for the candidate's ethnic background and level of conservatism in the municipality is unaffected by the inclusion of the xenophobic dimension: the ethnic penalty is still larger for candidates with Kosovar- and Turkish-sounding names seeking rental objects in more conservative municipalities. The effect of xenophobia is, however, mitigated: when conservatism is accounted for, the coefficient for xenophobia is diminished in size and no longer statistically significant for applicants with Turkish-sounding names. By contrast, xenophobia affects the call-back probability for close minorities, even after controlling for conservatism.

Table 4: Probability of a positive response (mixed effect models)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Names (ref, Swiss)							
Close minority	0,012	0,012	0,012	0,012	0,012	0,012	0,012
Kosovar	-0,025 **	-0,025 **	-0,025 **	-0,025 **	-0,025 **	-0,025 **	-0,025 **
Turkish	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***	-0,039 ***
Xenophobia		0,009 ***		0,002		0,001	0,001
Xenophobia * Close minority		-0,005		-0,010 *		-0,010 *	-0,010 *
Xenophobia * Kosovar		-0,006		0,008		0,009	0,008
Xenophobia * Turkish		-0,015 ***		-0,002		0,003	-0,002
Conservatism			0,012 ***	0,011 *		0,011 *	0,016 ***
Conservatism * Close minority			-0,001	0,007		0,007	0,007
Conservatism * Kosovar			-0,015 ***	-0,021 ***		-0,022 ***	-0,021 ***
Conservatism * Turkish			-0,019 ***	-0,018 ***		-0,017 ***	-0,018 ***
Placebo					-0,005	0,003	
Placebo * Close minority					0,000	0,001	
Placebo * Kosovar					0,006	0,005	
Placebo * Turkish					-0,004	-0,005	

Table 4: Probability of a positive response (mixed effect models) (Continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Municipality characteristics							
Settlement							-0,055
Travel distance to city center							-0,001 *
Vacant apartment (%)							0,350
Foreign-national (%)							0,195 **
Employment rate							0,032
Constant	0,720 ***	0,719 ***	0,718 ***	0,718 ***	0,720 ***	0,718 ***	0,692 ***
Municipality variance	0,007	0,006	0,006	0,006	0,007	0,006	0,006
Rental object variance	0,105	0,105	0,105	0,105	0,105	0,105	0,105
Residual variance	0,091	0,091	0,091	0,091	0,091	0,091	0,091
Observation	11451	11451	11451	11451	11451	11451	11451

6.2.5 Robustness check

As a falsification test, we compute the placebo effect in Column 6, that is, a component that neither correlates with conservative nor xenophobic ideology. As expected, this component does not predict discriminatory behaviours. Also, as a check for experimental robustness we control for municipality characteristics in column 7. The stable coefficients indicate that randomization worked well.

6.2.6 Conclusion

Based on a large-scale nationwide correspondence test on ethnic discrimination in the Swiss rental housing market, we show that prospective tenants with foreign sounding names encounter discrimination in the search for apartments, unless they come from a neighbouring country. While these findings show that discrimination occurs in the Swiss rental housing market, they cannot answer the question *why* landlords resort to discriminatory behaviour. To address this question about the mechanisms underlying ethnic discrimination, we combine the results of the field experiment with information on the local context, specifically information on the prevalence of conservative and xenophobic attitudes in Swiss municipalities. Making use of the rich data provided by referendums and popular initiatives in Switzerland, we ask how conservatism and xenophobia shape ethnic discrimination.

We argue that using the results of these votes is less susceptible to social desirability bias than previously used attitude surveys (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2017; Carlsson & Rooth, 2012), because votes are cast in secret and do not only measure an intention to behave a certain way, but they actual voting decision. We use these results to differentiate whether ethnic discrimination is driven by xenophobia or conservatism and our results show that most of the local variation in discrimination as measured by the field experiment can be explained by conservatism rather than by xenophobia. Discrimination appears to be driven by the desire to uphold the status quo, rather than a fear or dislike of foreigners.

These findings have important implications for policy. Currently many political campaigns target xenophobia and racial prejudice and research shows that contact with foreigners affects the prejudices held against them (e.g. Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, these approaches are unlikely to affect conservatism, which is normally regarded as legitimate position.

Table A.1: Names¹ and occupations

Female first name					
Swiss	German	French	Italian	Kosovar	Turkish
Andrea	Anne	Ana	Sofia	Drita	Aliyah
Claudia	Christina	Céline	Aurora	Ganimete	Amina
Daniela	Julia	Maria	Alice	Lumnije	Amira
Manuela	Katharina	Sarah	Emma	Merita	Elif
Nicole	Kathrin	Stéphanie	Greta	Shqipe	Leyla
Sandra	Stefanie	Sophie	Guilia	Teuta	Nur
Male first name					
Swiss	German	French	Italian	Kosovar	Turkish
David	Alexander	Alexandre	Lorenzo	Arben	Ali
Marco	Benjamin	Christophe	Mattia	Arsim	Can
Martin	Florian	David	Gabriele	Bekim	Ilyas
Patrick	Philipp	Julien	Alessandro	Blerim	Malik
Pascal	Sebastian	Nicolas	Leonardo	Gazmend	Muhammed
Simon	Tobias	Sébastien		Naim	Yusuf
Given name					
Swiss	German	French	Italian	Kosovar	Turkish
Aebischer	Becker	Aubry	Ferrari	Bajrami	Çelik
Alder	Hoffmann	Chatagny	Rossi	Berisha	Demir
Gerber	Koch	Favre	Bianchi	Gashi	Kaya
Inauen	Schäfer	Gaillard	Russo	Krasniqi	Şahin
Kälin	Schulz	Jeanneret	Romano	Morina	Yildiz
Steiner	Wagner	Rochat	Gallo	Shala	Yilmaz
Low-skill occupation			High-skill occupation		
Boulangier/ boulangère			Pharmacien(ne)		
Électricien(ne)			Ingénieur(e)		
Vendeur/ vendeuse			Vétérinaire		
Sanitaire			Travailleur/travailleuse sociale		
Verkäufer/in			Comptable		

¹ The names of the applicants are a random combination of first- and given name.

Table A.2: Application texts (examples)

Bonjour,

Est-ce que l'appartement est toujours disponible ? Ma femme et moi aimerions le visiter aussi vite que possible.

Nous avons rapidement besoin d'un nouvel appartement pour nous et notre enfant.

Merci de répondre !

Arben Berisha

Madame, Monsieur,

Je m'appelle Lumnije Morina, j'ai 42 ans, mariée avec un enfant, je suis à la recherche d'un appartement dans votre localité pour moi et ma famille. Je travaille comme peintre, j'ai un revenu régulier et je détiens un permis C. L'appartement que vous annoncez correspond parfaitement à nos critères.

Nous aimerions le visiter aussi vite que possible, à une date et heure qui vous conviendra.

Cordialement,

Lumnije Morina

Madame, Monsieur,

C'est avec grand intérêt que j'ai lu votre annonce d'appartement. Ce dernier semble parfaitement correspondre à mes critères de recherche.

Mon nom est Nur Şahin, j'ai 42 ans, mariée avec un enfant et je détiens un permis C. J'ai récemment débuté un emploi comme vétérinaire dans la région, où je cherche désormais un contrat locatif de longue durée pour ma famille et moi. Nous sommes non-fumeurs et ne possédons aucun animal.

Mon époux et moi aimerions visiter votre appartement si cela est toujours possible. En temps voulu, nous serons à même de fournir les documents attestant de nos salaires respectifs, en plus d'attestations de non-poursuite. J'apprécierais que vous nous proposiez des dates et heures de visite qui vous conviennent.

Avec mes meilleures salutations,

Nur Şahin

Table A.3: List of referendums and popular initiatives included in the analysis

Referendum or popular initiative	Year	Status	Result	Yes-votes share
Cons 1: For the abolishment of compulsory military service				
<i>Content:</i> The initiative wants to change the constitution to abolish compulsory military service and to make civilian service voluntary.	2013	PI	Rejected	26.79%
Cons 2: Save in the military and the general defence budget				
<i>Content:</i> The Confederation shall gradually reduce the expenses for national defence until the expenditure for national defence is reduced to half of the 1987 accounts at the latest ten years after the adoption of this transitional provision. Inflation will be offset.	2000	PI	Rejected	37,60%
Cons 3: Federal Decree for an update of the Federal Constitution				
<i>Content:</i> Total Revision of the Swiss Federal Constitution	1999	OR	Accepted	59.16%
Cons 4: For a fair representation of women in the federal authorities				
<i>Content:</i> In all federal authorities, namely in the National Council, the Council of States, the Federal Council and the Federal Supreme Court, adequate representation of women is guaranteed, taking into account the respective characteristics of each authority. The Act shall ensure a balanced representation of women in the administrations, in particular in the general federal administration, in the government offices and at the universities.	2000	PI	Rejected	17.97%
Cons 5: For the orderly phase-out of nuclear energy				
<i>Content:</i> The initiative aims to prohibit the construction of new nuclear power plants in Switzerland and to limit the lifetime of existing nuclear power plants to 45 years. The initiative would thus bring about the gradual shutdown of nuclear power stations by 2029.	2016	PI	Rejected	45.8%
Cons 6: Federal decree on family policies				
<i>Content:</i> The Confederation and the cantons encourage measures to balance work and family life. In particular, they provide for appropriate provision of day-care support.	2013	OR	Accepted	54.35%
Xen 1: Against the construction of minarets				
<i>Content:</i> The initiative wants to ban the construction of minarets in Switzerland.	2009	PI	Accepted	57,50%
Xen 2: For the effective expulsion of criminal foreigners				
<i>Content:</i> Implement a previously approved initiative. Foreigners guilty of committing a crime shall automatically be expelled from Switzerland.	2016	PI	Rejected	41.15%

Xen 3: For the deportation of foreign criminals (Deportation Initiative)

Content: If the initiative is accepted, foreigners lose their right of residence and all legal rights to stay in Switzerland if they commit one of the following offences: intentional murder, rape or other serious sexual offence, robbery, trafficking in human beings, drug trafficking or burglary. The perpetrators must have been convicted by the court for these offences - one charge alone is not enough. Similarly, the misuse of social security or social assistance benefits leads to a loss of the right of residence. If a foreigner has been convicted of one of these offences, he is deported from Switzerland and subject to an entry ban of 5-15 years. In the event of a repeat offence, the ban lasts 20 years. Persons who violate the entry ban and enter Switzerland illegally are liable to prosecution.

2010 PI Accepted 52.91%

Xen 4: Stop over-population – Save our natural resources

Content: The initiative aims to limit annual net immigration to 0.2 percent of the total population. This would allow a maximum of 16,000 net immigrants per year (based on 2014 numbers). In order to halt population growth in developing countries, ten percent of existing development cooperation expenditure should also be used to promote voluntary family planning.

2014 PI Rejected 25.90%

Xen 5: Against mass immigration

Content: Switzerland manages the immigration of foreign nationals independently. The number of permits for the stay of foreign nationals in Switzerland is limited by annual maximum numbers and quotas. The maximum numbers apply to all permits under aliens law, including the asylum system. The entitlement to permanent residence, family reunification and social benefits may be limited. The annual maximum numbers and quotas for employed foreign nationals must be geared to Switzerland's overall economic interests, taking into account priority for Swiss nationals; cross-border commuters must be included. Decisive criteria for the granting of residence permits are, in particular, the application of an employer, the ability to integrate and a sufficient, independent basis of existence. No international treaties may be concluded which violate this Article.

2014 PI Accepted 50.33%

Xen 6: Amendment to the asylum act

Content: The aim of the revision of the Asylum Act is to speed up asylum procedures.

2016 FR Accepted 62.42%

Xen 7: For simplified naturalization of 3rd-generation foreigners

Content: Facilitate the naturalization of immigrants of the third generation: Young foreigners whose families have lived in Switzerland for generations and who are well integrated in Switzerland should be able to naturalise more easily. This parliamentary decision requires an amendment to the Federal Constitution.

2017 OR Accepted 60.41%

Plac 1: For the establishment of a national roads- and urban transport-fund

Content: The proposal aims to secure the financing of national roads and agglomeration projects and to create a fund for this purpose for an indefinite period of time. The aim is to eliminate bottlenecks on national roads, secure operation and maintenance and co-finance agglomeration projects.

2017 OR Accepted 61.95%

Plac 2: For fiscal measures to strengthen the competitiveness of the Swiss workplace (Corporate Tax Reform III)

Content: The Corporate Tax Reform III abolishes the reduced taxation of holding, domicile and mixed companies. With new measures, it strengthens Switzerland's competitiveness and gives the cantons room for manoeuvre in financial policy.

2017 FR Rejected 40.93%

Plac 3: Federal Act on the Intelligence Service (Intelligence Service Act, ISA)

Content: The new Intelligence Act is intended to comprehensively regulate all intelligence activities and replace the existing laws in this domain.

2016 FR Accepted 65.50%

Plac 4: Put an end to tax privileges for millionaires (abolition of flat-rate taxation)

Content: The initiative wants to change the constitution as follows: "Tax privileges for natural persons are inadmissible. Taxation according to expenditure is prohibited."

2014 PI Rejected 40.80%

OR = Obligatory Referendum, FR = Facultative Referendum, PI = Popular Initiative

Cons=Conservative items, Xen=Xenophobic items, Plac=Placebo: items not related to xenophobia not conservatism

Referendum results retrieved from: https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/pxweb/fr/px-x-1703030000_101/px-x-1703030000_101/px-x-1703030000_101.px

Information obtained from <https://www.bk.admin.ch/bk/de/home/politische-rechte.html>, <https://www.admin.ch/gov/de/start/dokumentation/abstimmungen.html> and www.politnetz.ch

Table A.4: List of referendums and popular initiatives that are not included in the final selection

Referendum or popular initiative	Year
Federal popular initiative "For Marriage and Family - Against the Marriage Penalty"	2016
Federal popular initiative "Strengthen families! Tax-free child and education allowances"	2015
Federal popular initiative "Financing abortion is a private matter - relief for health insurance by removing abortion costs from compulsory basic insurance"	2014
Popular initiative « For mother and child - for the protection of the unborn child and for the help of his mother in distress	2002
Change of the federal law on medically assisted procreation (Reproductive Medicine Act, FMedG)	2016
Federal law on registered same-sex couples partnership (Partnership act)	2005
Federal Decree on the Acquisition of Citizenship Rights by Third Generation Foreign Nationals	2004
Popular initiative « For democratic naturalizations »	2008
Federal decree on the regular naturalization and the facilitated naturalization of second-generation young foreigners. (2004)	2004
Federal decree on the acquisition of nationality by third-generation foreigners.	2004
Change of the law on asylum (asylum act)	2006
Popular initiative « Against abuses of asylum right	2002
Popular initiative « Pedophiles should not be allowed to work with children »	2014
Popular initiative on « Lifetime internment for sex offenders or violent offenders considered very dangerous and not untreatable	2004
Change of the Federal Law on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances	2008

6.2.7 References

- Acolin, A., Bostic, R., & Painter, G. (2016). A field study of rental market discrimination across origins in France. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 95, 49-63. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2016.07.003>
- Aigner, D. J., & Cain, G. G. (1977). Statistical theories of discrimination in labor markets. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 175-187.
- Arrow, K. J. (1973). The Theory of Discrimination. In O. Ashonfelter & A. Rees (Eds.), *Discrimination in Labor Markets* (pp. 15-42). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Daniel Auer, Julie Lacroix, Didier Ruedin, Eva Zschirnt, 2019, *Ethnische Diskriminierung auf dem Schweizer Wohnungsmarkt, Bericht an das Bundesamt für Wohnungswesen (BWO)*.
- Auer, Daniel, Giuliano Bonoli, Flavia Fossati, et Fabienne Liechti (2019). The Matching Hierarchies Model: Evidence from a Survey Experiment on Employers' Hiring Intent Regarding Immigrant Applicants . *International Migration Review* 53, (1), 90-121.
- Auspurg, K., Schneck, A., & Hinz, T. (2018). Closed doors everywhere? A meta-analysis of field experiments on ethnic discrimination in rental housing markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-20.
- Auspurg, K., Hinz, T., & Schmid, L. (2017). Contexts and conditions of ethnic discrimination: Evidence from a field experiment in a German housing market. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 35, 26-36. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhe.2017.01.003>
- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2016). How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science*, 354(6309), 217-222.
- Baranzini, A., Schaerer, C., Ramirez, J. V., & Thalmann, P. (2008). Do foreigners pay higher rents for the same quality of housing in Geneva and Zurich? *Swiss journal of economics and statistics*, 144(4), 703–730.
- Becker, G. (1957). *The Economics of Discrimination* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Becker, G. (1964). *Human Capital: a Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bertrand, M., & Duflo, E. (2017). Field Experiments on Discrimination *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments* (Vol. 1, pp. 309-393): Elsevier.
- Blank, R. M. (2005). Tracing the economic impact of cumulative discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 95(2), 99-103.
- Blank, R. M., Dabady, M., & Citro, C. F. (2004). *Measuring racial discrimination*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

- Blinder, S., Ford, R., & Ivarsflaten, E. (2013). The better angels of our nature: How the antiprejudice norm affects policy and party preferences in Great Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 841-857.
- Butler, D. M., & Broockman, D. E. (2011). Do politicians racially discriminate against constituents? A field experiment on state legislators. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(3), 463-477.
- Carlsson, M., & Eriksson, S. (2017). Do attitudes expressed in surveys predict ethnic discrimination? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(10), 1739-1757.
- Carlsson, M., & Eriksson, S. (2014). Discrimination in the rental market for apartments. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 23, 41-54. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jhe.2013.11.004>
- Carlsson, M., & Rooth, D.-O. (2012). Revealing taste-based discrimination in hiring: a correspondence testing experiment with geographic variation. *Applied Economics Letters*, 19(18), 1861-1864. doi:10.1080/13504851.2012.667537
- Caughey, D., O'Grady, T., & Warshaw, C. (2019). Policy ideology in european mass publics, 1981-2016. *American Political Science Review*, 113 (3), 674-693.
- Charles, C. Z. (2003). The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29(1), 167-207. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100002>.
- Chen, J., Pan, J., & Xu, Y. (2016). Sources of authoritarian responsiveness: A field experiment in China. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(2), 383-400.
- Costa, M. (2017). How responsive are political elites? A meta-analysis of experiments on public officials. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 4(3), 241-254.
- Cutts, D., Ford, R., & Goodwin, M. J. (2011). Anti-immigrant, politically disaffected or still racist after all? Examining the attitudinal drivers of extreme right support in Britain in the 2009 European elections. *European Journal of Political Research*, 50(3), 418-440.
- Daenekindt, S., de Koster, W., & van der Waal, J. (2017). How people organise cultural attitudes: cultural belief systems and the populist radical right. *West European Politics*, 40(4), 791-811.
- Enos, R. D. (2016). What the demolition of public housing teaches us about the impact of racial threat on political behavior. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 123-142.
- Fiske, S. T. (1998). Stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. *The handbook of social psychology*, 2, 357-411.
- Flage, A. (2018). Ethnic and gender discrimination in the rental housing market: Evidence from a meta-analysis of correspondence tests, 2006–2017. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 41, 251-273.

- Forrest, J., & Dunn, K. (2010). Attitudes to multicultural values in diverse spaces in Australia's immigrant cities, Sydney and Melbourne. *Space and polity*, 14(1), 81-102.
- Fossett, M. (2006). Ethnic preferences, social distance dynamics, and residential segregation: Theoretical explorations using simulation analysis*. *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 30(3-4), 185-273.
- Gaddis, S. M., & Ghoshal, R. (2015). Arab American housing discrimination, ethnic competition, and the contact hypothesis. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 660(1), 282-299.
- Gaikwad, N., & Nellis, G. (2016). Do Politicians Discriminate Against Internal Migrants? Evidence from Nationwide Field Experiments in India. Retrieved from
- Gallego, A., & Pardos-Prado, S. (2014). The big five personality traits and attitudes towards immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(1), 79-99.
- Getmansky, A., Sinmazdemir, T., & Zeitzoff, T. (2018). Refugees, xenophobia, and domestic conflict: Evidence from a survey experiment in Turkey. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(4), 491-507.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological review*, 102(1), 4.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: the implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1464.
- Hagendoorn, L. (1995). Intergroup biases in multiple group systems: The perception of ethnic hierarchies. *European review of social psychology*, 6(1), 199-228.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2013). Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination. *American Political Science Review*, 107(01), 159-187.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 225-249.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2015). The hidden American immigration consensus: A conjoint analysis of attitudes toward immigrants. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 529-548.
- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K., & Xefteris, D. (2018). Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile? *American Political Science Review*, 1-14.
- Hanson, A., Hawley, Z., & Taylor, A. (2011). Subtle discrimination in the rental housing market: Evidence from e-mail correspondence with landlords. *Journal of Housing Economics*, 20(4), 276-284.
- Hatemi, P. K., & McDermott, R. (2016). Give me attitudes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 331-350.
- Heath, A., Taylor, B., Brook, L., & and Park, A., (1999). British National Sentiment, *British Journal of Political Science* 29 (1): 155–75.

- Hemker, J., & Rink, A. (2017). Multiple dimensions of bureaucratic discrimination: Evidence from German welfare offices. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(4), 786-803.
- Jackson, M., & Cox, D. R. (2013). The Principles of Experimental Design and Their Application in Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39(1), 27-49. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145443
- Jann, B. (2014). Diskriminierung auf dem Wohnungsmarkt: Untersuchungsergebnisse und Empfehlungen: Gewählte Stimme, National Coalition Building Institute Schweiz.
- Kitschelt, H., & McGann, A. J. (1997). *The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis*: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, H., & Rehm, P., (2014). Occupations as a Site of Political Preference Formation. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1670-706.
- Kunovich, R. M. (2013). Labor Market Competition and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: Occupations as Contexts. *International migration review*, 47(3), 643-685.
- Kunstman, J. W., Plant, E. A., Zielaskowski, K., & LaCrosse, J. (2013). Feeling in with the outgroup: Outgroup acceptance and the internalization of the motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 105(3), 443.
- Lahav, G., & Courtemanche, M. (2012). The ideological effects of framing threat on immigration and civil liberties. *Political Behavior*, 34(3), 477-505.
- LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. Actions. *Social Forces*, 13(2), 230-237. doi:10.2307/2570339
- Lee, T. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the stereotype content model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 751-768.
- Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (1999). Social dominance and social identity in the United States and Israel: Ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation? *Political Psychology*, 20(1), 99-126.
- Liu, C. Y., & Painter, G. (2012). Immigrant settlement and employment suburbanisation in the US: Is there a spatial mismatch? *Urban Studies*, 49(5), 979–1002.
- Malhotra, N., Margalit, Y., & Mo, C. H. (2013). Economic explanations for opposition to immigration: Distinguishing between prevalence and conditional impact. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(2), 391-410.
- Mincer, J. (1958). Investment in human capital and personal income distribution. *Journal of political economy*, 66(4), 281-302.
- Mulder, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2012). *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or corrective for democracy?* : Cambridge University Press.
- Neumark, D. (2018). Experimental research on labor market discrimination. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 56(3), 799-866.

- Norris, P. (2005). *Radical right: Voters and parties in the electoral market*: Cambridge University Press.
- OFL. (2016). *Aperçu du marché du logement* (p. 4). Granges: Office fédéral du logement.
- OFS, & OFL. (2015). *Wohnversorgung in der Schweiz. Bestandsaufnahme über Haushalte von Menschen in Armut und in prekären Lebenslagen* (No. 15/15) (p. 91). Bern: OFAS.
- Pager, D., & Quillian, L. (2005). Walking the talk? What employers say versus what they do. *American Sociological Review*, 70(3), 355-380.
- Pardos-Prado, S., & Xena, C. (2019). Skill Specificity and Attitudes toward Immigration. *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(2), 286-304.
- Pecoraro, M., & Ruedin, D. (2019). Occupational exposure to foreigners and attitudes towards equal opportunities. *Migration Studies*.
- Pérez, E. O. (2015). Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 549-564.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (2016). In pursuit of three theories: Authoritarianism, relative deprivation, and intergroup contact. *Annual review of psychology*, 67, 1-21.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751-783.
- Phelps, E. S. (1972). The statistical theory of racism and sexism. *The American Economic Review*, 62(4), 659-661.
- Portmann, L., & Stojanović, N. (2019). Electoral Discrimination Against Immigrant-Origin Candidates. *Political Behavior*, 41(1), 105-134.
- Raumdaten GmbH. (2013). *Libre circulation des personnes et marché du logement. Caractérisation de la demande en logements en fonction de la provenance de la population* (p. 13). Granges: Office fédéral du logement.
- Rebhun, U. (2009). Immigration, ethnicity, and housing—Success hierarchies in Israel. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 27(4), 219-243.
- Reibel, M. (2000). Geographic variation in mortgage discrimination: Evidence from Los Angeles. *Urban Geography*, 21(1), 45-60.
- Rich, J. (2014). What Do Field Experiments of Discrimination in Markets Tell Us? A Meta Analysis of Studies Conducted since 2000. IZA Discussion Paper Series, No. 8584.
- Rooth, D.-O. (2010). Automatic associations and discrimination in hiring: Real world evidence. *Labor economics*, 17, 523-534.
- Ruedin, D., Alberti, C., & D'Amato, G. (2015). Immigration and integration policy in Switzerland, 1848 to 2014. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 21(1), 5-22.
- Sarrasin, O., Green, E. G., Fasel, N., Christ, O., Staerklé, C., & Clémence, A. (2012). Opposition to antiracism laws across Swiss municipalities: A multilevel analysis. *Political Psychology*, 33(5), 659-681.

- Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1), 11.
- Shin, R. Q., Smith, L. C., Welch, J. C., & Ezeofor, I. (2016). Is Allison more likely than Lakisha to receive a callback from counseling professionals? A racism audit study. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 44(8), 1187-1211.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Van Laar, C., & Levin, S. (2004). Social dominance theory: Its agenda and method. *Political Psychology*, 25(6), 845-880.
- Swiss federal statistical office (2019). Stat-Tab- interactive tables (FSO). Statistiques des votations et des élections. Retrived from: https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/pxweb/en/px-x-1703030000_101/px-x-1703030000_101/px-x-1703030000_101.px/table/tableViewLayout2/?rxid=035fa9c7-bbc5-4e1c-9053-0bb2186dc7f3
- Wanner, P. (2017). *Quitter son lieu de vie pour des raisons économiques ? Une analyse de la mobilité résidentielle au sein de six agglomérations* (p. 107). Granges: Office fédéral du logement.
- Wilkes, R., Guppy, N., & Farris, L. (2008). "No Thanks, We're Full": Individual Characteristics, National Context, and Changing Attitudes toward Immigration. *International migration review*, 42(2), 302-329.
- Zschirnt, E. (2019). Evidence of Hiring Discrimination Against the Second Generation: Results from a Correspondence Test in the Swiss Labour Market. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, Online first. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00664-1>
- Zschirnt, E., & Ruedin, D. (2016). Ethnic Discrimination in Hiring Decisions: A Meta-Analysis of Correspondence Tests 1990–2015. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(7), 1115-1134. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2015.1133279

7. Conclusion

L'objectif de cette thèse était de mettre en lumière les multiples interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles et d'en appréhender les différences en fonction du statut migratoire. En alliant données d'enquêtes (Enquête suisse sur la population active, Relevé structurel) biographiques (Panel suisse des ménages) et données administratives (Statistique de la population et du logement) pour les années 2010 à 2014, cette thèse s'est attelée à l'analyse des trajectoires individuelles d'installation des populations immigrées en Suisse par des mesures de l'intensité et de la temporalité des événements du parcours de vie. En outre, elle a cherché à creuser un peu plus la question des opportunités d'accès au logement chez les individus d'origine étrangère par une analyse de la discrimination dans le marché du logement.

Le paradigme du parcours de vie nous a permis de cerner la façon dont les trajectoires individuelles d'installation (au niveau micro) se construisent et s'expliquent par l'enchaînement et l'accumulation d'événements au fil de la vie. Ces événements prennent eux-mêmes leur sens et s'expliquent, d'une part, par la prévalence de certaines attaches personnelles et liens sociaux (au niveau méso) et d'autre part, par le contexte social et institutionnel dans lesquels ils s'inscrivent (au niveau macro). En début de manuscrit, nous avons émis l'hypothèse que la réciprocité des trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles était altérée par des divergences de ressources, de préférences (culturelles), de contraintes et d'opportunités entre populations immigrées et natives. Dans cette logique, les objectifs personnels et la capacité qu'ont les individus à les réaliser en sont affectés. Les trajectoires des immigrés et leurs interdépendances sont ainsi analysées à la lumière des multiples niveaux (social, relationnel, individuel) dans lesquelles elles sont imbriquées.

Au fil de ce manuscrit, nous apportons des réponses aux questions suivantes : (1) dans quelle mesure les trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles s'expliquent l'une l'autre ? (2) l'occurrence et la temporalité de ces événements diffèrent-elles entre immigrés et natifs, et entre immigrés de différentes origines géographiques ? (3) Quel est le rôle des ressources individuelles et des structures institutionnelles (marché de l'emploi et du logement) ou culturelles (dans le pays d'origine et de destination) sur ces dynamiques ?

Afin d'élucider ces questions, cette thèse s'est appuyée sur un large éventail de données quantitatives de diverses natures (transversales, biographiques, administratives et expérimentales), offrant tour à tour un regard complémentaire sur le parcours de vies des immigrés et leur situation vis-à-vis de leur société d'accueil. La section qui suit (section 7.1.) présente une synthèse, chapitre par chapitre, des résultats de la thèse. Nous y rappelons aussi certaines limites méthodologiques inhérentes aux différents modes de collectes de données qui doivent être prises en compte afin de bien mesurer la portée des résultats présentés. En guise de conclusion (section 7.2.), nous remettons de l'avant le rôle du processus migratoire, des ressources individuelles et des contraintes associées aux marchés du logement et de l'emploi pour expliquer les spécificités des parcours de vie des immigrés en Suisse.

7.1 Synthèse des résultats

Le chapitre 3 prend en compte les spécificités de la structure du marché du travail suisse, notamment la forte prévalence du travail à temps partiel chez les femmes, pour analyser les interrelations entre parcours professionnels et familiaux en fonction du statut migratoire.

L'Enquête suisse sur la population active, mobilisée pour ce chapitre, détaille avec précision la situation d'emploi pour un échantillon d'environ 120 000 répondants annuellement, en plus de documenter les caractéristiques (statut d'activité, salaire, éducation) des membres du ménage. Un suréchantillonnage des immigrés permet en outre d'analyser les différences d'insertion en emploi pour différentes régions de naissance. D'importantes limites sont toutefois attachées à la nature transversale de ces données qui ne permettent ni d'établir le séquençage des naissances et des changements sur le marché du travail, ni d'identifier l'endogénéité des décisions qui précèdent ces événements. De ce fait, l'analyse des interrelations entre parcours professionnels et familiaux ne prétend pas établir de liens de cause à effet entre les trajectoires ; elle dresse plutôt un portrait de la présence en emploi des femmes, immigrées ou non, dans plusieurs situations familiales et circonstances économiques.

Les analyses confirment d'importantes similitudes entre natives et femmes immigrées célibataires. Au contraire, elles font ressortir davantage d'hétérogénéité entre mères d'origine suisse et d'origines étrangères. En effet, la prévalence du travail à temps partiel observée chez les Suissesses ayant de jeunes enfants dans le ménage

CONCLUSION

n'est pas confirmée pour les femmes d'origine européenne et extra-européenne. Alors que les Européennes se maintiennent en emploi et sont actives sur le marché du travail pour un nombre d'heures plus élevé chaque semaine, peu importe leur statut matrimonial et leur situation familiale, une plus grande part des extra-Européennes est exclue du marché de l'emploi, mais lorsqu'elles y sont, le nombre d'heures travaillées dépasse celui des Suissesses. Par ailleurs, l'effet positif de l'éducation et l'effet négatif du revenu du ménage sur la présence en emploi et le nombre d'heures travaillées se voient renforcés chez les femmes (sans égard au statut migratoire) ayant de jeune(s) enfant(s). Chez les suissesses, on constate un plus grand écart de participation entre niveaux d'éducation, alors que chez les immigrées, c'est plutôt le revenu du ménage qui marque les différences d'insertion en emploi.

Le Chapitre 4 s'appuie sur le volet biographique du Panel Suisse des Ménages pour documenter les interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles dans une perspective longitudinale. L'un des avantages de ce type d'enquêtes rétrospectives est la possibilité d'y documenter les événements précédant la migration vers la Suisse. Les comportements pré-migratoires, comme le nombre de migrations dans le pays d'origine, ont ainsi été utilisés comme déterminants des trajectoires d'installation. Hormis cet apport original, le calendrier de vie permet de dater l'occurrence d'événements dans différentes sphères de la vie, soient-elles professionnelles, résidentielles ou familiales et d'en analyser les liens sous-jacents. Notre observation sur ces parcours souffre toutefois d'un biais de sélection dû à l'émigration. En effet, les individus qui ont quitté le pays (au moment de l'enquête ou avant) ont fort probablement connu des parcours particuliers, mais n'y sont pas répertoriés. D'autres limites, comme la non-réponse de certains groupes moins accessibles (notamment les personnes les plus mobiles) et les problèmes liés à la mémoire, en particulier pour des événements lointains, peuvent affecter, quoi que modérément, les résultats présentés.

Pour expliquer l'ajustement résidentiel de jeunes cohortes immigrées en Suisse, nous considérons des effets de courtes durées, c'est-à-dire l'effet d'événements survenant l'année précédente et des effets simultanés survenant la même année qu'un changement résidentiel. L'originalité de ce chapitre tient notamment à la prise en compte des migrations passées pour expliquer les comportements résidentiels du moment. En modélisant la récurrence des changements résidentiels, nous avons

évalué le rôle de l'hétérogénéité non observée dans l'explication de l'enchaînement de certains mouvements migratoires. A ce titre, nous documentons un effet inhibiteur de la migration internationale sur la propension à se relocaliser en Suisse dans l'année suivant l'immigration, mais aussi, un effet de courte durée d'une migration longue (entre cantons) sur la propension à déménager localement l'année suivante (opérationnalisée comme une migration d'ajustement). En revanche, d'autres formes d'enchaînements résidentiels (deux migrations de longues distances successives ; deux migrations de courtes distances successives) ne s'observent que pour une faible portion de la population, dite « hyper-mobile ».

Au terme des analyses, nous concluons à d'importantes simultanités dans l'occurrence d'événements professionnels (prise et perte d'emploi) et résidentiels, en plus de confirmer l'effet positif d'un mariage sur la propension à déménager en Suisse. En revanche, ces résultats ne confirment aucun changement dans la propension à déménager au moment de la naissance d'un enfant pour ce petit échantillon de migrants récemment arrivés en Suisse.

En alliant données d'enquête et données administratives pour un échantillon considérablement plus étoffé, le Chapitre 5 modélise avec finesse les interactions entre ajustement résidentiel, événements familiaux (naissance d'enfant, mariage, divorce) et statut matrimonial. Les données du registre des habitants, du logement et de la caisse de compensation, mises à disposition par l'Office fédéral de la statistique, regroupent un ensemble d'enregistrements administratifs (changements d'adresse et de statut matrimonial, naissances, décès, naturalisations, revenus salariés) pour l'ensemble de la population. Bien qu'*a priori* ces données ne soient pas destinées à la recherche, un numéro d'identification personnel, présent d'année en année et dans chacun des registres, permet d'arrimer les informations de diverses sources et d'en faire un usage longitudinal. Ces données sont particulièrement adaptées à l'étude de la temporalité et du séquençement des transitions démographiques. Bien que quasi-exhaustifs, les enregistrements administratifs sous-estiment la mobilité résidentielle de certains. C'est le cas des personnes les plus mobiles et qui changeraient de résidence plus d'une fois au courant d'une même année et au sein de la même commune. En effet, le numéro d'immeubles, utilisé pour identifier les mouvements résidentiels, n'est

CONCLUSION

disponible qu'annuellement, pour le lieu de résidence au 31 décembre³³. C'est aussi le cas des changements de logements au sein d'un même bâtiment, puisque ceux-ci n'impliquent pas de modification de l'identifiant d'immeuble. Sont aussi exclus des analyses les changements résidentiels non déclarés à l'office des habitants. Cette dernière situation peut être particulièrement problématique pour identifier la mobilité des étudiants qui maintiennent souvent leur adresse officielle chez leurs parents, mais sans doute moins problématique pour la mobilité des individus nouvellement parents ou qui connaissent un changement de statut matrimonial.

Les résultats de ce chapitre corroborent le faible effet de la naissance d'un enfant sur la propension à ajuster son logement chez les immigrés, mais aussi dans la population native. Le revenu intervient une fois de plus comme catalyseur des différences entre immigrés et natifs, et fait ressortir en contrepartie le rôle de la mobilité résidentielle – ou son absence – comme marqueur potentiel d'iniquités : alors que les migrants européens semblent désavantagés lorsqu'ils ont de faibles revenus, leurs comportements résidentiels s'approchent de celui des natifs lorsqu'ils ont des revenus moyens ou élevés. Les résultats soutiennent aussi l'hypothèse d'une mobilité résidentielle plus élevée au moment du mariage. Cette conclusion doit toutefois être tempérée, voire invalidée, après distinction de ces effets selon le statut de cohabitation prémarital. Au moment de s'unir par le mariage, la mobilité résidentielle se révèle en effet bien plus mitigée chez les couples cohabitants. Cette nuance est importante puisque la notion d'ajustement résidentiel au moment du mariage laisse entendre que les couples s'installent dans des logements plus grands et confortables, alors qu'il s'agirait plutôt d'un simple passage du statut de non-cohabitant à celui de cohabitant au moment du mariage.

Par ailleurs, la mobilité résidentielle est utilisée comme marqueur d'un désavantage sur le marché du logement. Bien que les différences de mobilité résidentielle entre immigrés et natifs soient relativement petites, nous y avançons l'hypothèse d'un désavantage pour les immigrés en raison de la plus faible mobilité au moment de la naissance d'un enfant – un événement lié à l'ajustement résidentiel – et d'une légère sur-mobilité des divorcés – un statut lié à l'instabilité résidentielle.

³³ Les migrations entre deux communes peuvent quant à elles être retracées à tout moment de l'année grâce aux fichier « mouvements » du registre de la population et des ménages.

La question de contraintes additionnelles pour les immigrés dans l'accès au logement est explorée formellement dans le Chapitre 6. À l'aide de données expérimentales collectées par nos soins nous analysons la prévalence de la discrimination au niveau national et ses mécanismes sous-jacents au niveau local. L'avantage de la méthode expérimentale est le contrôle qu'ont les chercheurs sur les paramètres à l'étude. Dans le cadre de cette étude, nous avons assigné aléatoirement nombre de caractéristiques censées influencer les chances de se voir offrir une visite d'appartement (p. ex., l'âge, le genre, l'occupation) afin d'isoler l'effet net de la composante *ethnique* (telle qu'indiquée par le nom du candidat). Les résultats confirment des traitements inégaux pour des candidats fictifs mentionnant des noms à consonance turque ou kosovare. Ces derniers ont en effet un taux de réponse positive inférieur aux candidats mentionnant un nom à consonance suisse au moment d'une requête écrite pour visiter un appartement. Les étapes intermédiaires aux processus d'octroi du logement (par ex., la visite, l'évaluation du dossier), et ultimement son attribution, n'ont pu être analysées dans le cadre de cette collecte de données et nous ne pouvons donc exclure que d'autres barrières se dressent encore au fil de ce processus.

La prévalence de la discrimination se révèle par ailleurs plus importante dans les municipalités où la prévalence d'idéologies conservatrices et xénophobes est exacerbée. Les résultats confirment en effet une corrélation entre climat idéologique xénophobe et conservateur (mesurés au niveau municipal par le biais de votations populaires) d'une part et pratiques discriminatoires d'autre part. En dissociant ces deux dimensions et en les considérant simultanément dans un même modèle, nous concluons que les pratiques discriminatoires au niveau local s'expliquent principalement par le niveau de conservatisme, c'est-à-dire par une résistance au changement, plutôt que par la xénophobie, qui elle, cible explicitement les minorités nationales ou ethniques.

7.2 Les parcours de vie des immigrés diffèrent-ils de ceux des natifs?

Au terme des analyses, nous pouvons conclure à de fortes interdépendances entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles chez les immigrés en Suisse. Nos résultats confirment ainsi ce qui a déjà été démontré pour diverses populations au niveau national, sans égard toutefois aux spécificités des immigrés ; il s'agit là de la principale contribution de cette thèse. Chapitre après chapitre, mobilisant

chaque fois des méthodes et données diverses, les résultats soutiennent un effet du statut migratoire sur les parcours de vie. Les immigrés se dissocient non seulement des natifs en matière d'insertion en emploi, de mobilité résidentielle et de comportements familiaux, mais aussi, par la façon dont ces trajectoires se développent au fil de la vie et s'influencent l'une l'autre.

La seule identification de différences entre immigrés et natifs ne saurait toutefois suffire à la démarche scientifique. En considérant les spécificités induites par le processus migratoire d'une part, et en liant les parcours de vie des immigrés dans leur temporalité, leur intensité et leur séquençement (au niveau micro) aux dynamiques sociales et institutionnelles (au niveau macro) d'autre part (Wingens et al., 2011), nous proposons un cadre scientifique rigoureux, basé sur les différents principes théoriques et méthodologiques du paradigme du parcours de vie, pour l'analyse et l'explication des différences de parcours entre immigrés et natifs.

7.2.1 Le rôle du processus migratoire

Le processus migratoire – son caractère sélectif, l'adaptation qu'il nécessite, ses motivations, son *timing* – joue un rôle crucial dans l'insertion des immigrés à la société d'accueil (Bernhardt et al. 2007). Mesurer un effet *net* ou *direct* de la migration internationale sur les parcours de vie n'est toutefois pas chose triviale.

Qu'auraient été les parcours de vie de ces individus s'ils n'avaient pas migré vers la Suisse ? Ce résonnement contrefactuel est extrêmement difficile à établir. Il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de groupes témoins permettant une comparaison crédible : comparer les parcours des immigrés à ceux des natifs en Suisse ou de leurs compatriotes non-migrants dans le pays d'origine (hormis les difficultés de collecte de données que cela impose) ne représente pas une solution satisfaisante. En effet, ces deux groupes diffèrent fondamentalement l'un de l'autre : pour diverses raisons, l'un a entrepris une migration vers la Suisse et l'autre est resté sur place.

Bien que cette thèse n'ambitionne pas la mesure d'un tel effet, l'influence de la migration internationale sur le développement des parcours de vie n'en demeure pas moins perceptible et, nous l'espérons, utilement mise en lumière dans cette thèse. D'abord, nous l'avons mentionné, la migration internationale est un processus fortement sélectif. Entreprendre une migration de longue distance requiert un ensemble de ressources (capital humain, capital social) et de dispositions

psychologiques (motivation, ouverture) dont les non-migrants ne disposent pas nécessairement. Ces ressources sont bien entendu mobilisées au-delà du projet migratoire, c'est-à-dire dans la poursuite d'objectifs comme l'emploi, la constitution de la famille et l'accès au logement.

Tour à tour Kulu et Steele (2013), Jang et al. (2014) et Huinink et al. (2014), ont conclu à des caractéristiques latentes communes dans la propension à migrer, avoir un enfant, se marier et changer d'emploi. En d'autres mots, les individus ayant une plus forte propension à migrer sont aussi plus enclins à connaître des transitions familiales et professionnelles. Si nous transposons cette logique à la migration internationale, nous pouvons émettre l'hypothèse que les immigrants diffèrent des natifs et de leurs compatriotes non-migrants quant à la propension à connaître ces transitions au fil de leur vie. Le Chapitre 4 contribue à l'avancement des connaissances en matière de modélisation de l'hétérogénéité non-observée comme prédicteur des comportements résidentiels. Nous y dissociions des effets de courtes et de longues durées les mouvements migratoires passés sur la propension à se relocaliser à l'intérieur de la Suisse. Alors que les effets de courtes durées sont théorisés comme des migrations d'ajustement, nous interprétons les effets de longues durées comme l'influence de traits de personnalité latents et qui indiquent -pour chaque individu- une certaine propension *durable* à migrer. Bien que cela n'ait pas été analysé directement dans cette thèse, nous pouvons imaginer qu'une partie du lien entre mobilité résidentielle et d'autres transitions (familiales, professionnelles) résulte de ces traits de personnalité latents qui influencent simultanément ces transitions, sans pour autant qu'il n'y ait de relation causale entre elles.

Une autre particularité du processus migratoire est l'adaptation qu'elle nécessite. Certaines transitions d'ajustement sont en effet inhérentes à la migration internationale. Le marqueur d'adaptation le plus souvent mobilisé dans les études sur les immigrants est la durée de résidence dans le pays d'accueil. Si une période d'adaptation est effectivement nécessaire, on s'attendra à observer un rythme de transitions plus important, ou des différences plus marquées, dans les premières années suivant l'immigration. La question est donc de savoir si les différences entre immigrants et natifs sont transitoires, puisque partie prenante d'un processus d'intégration qui se déroule sur la durée, ou au contraire, durables, en tant que reflet d'une diversité culturelle et le marqueur d'une segmentation socio-économique.

CONCLUSION

Les chapitres 3, 4 et 5 supportent ces deux hypothèses. D'une part, la durée de séjour se pose comme marqueur de différences entre groupe de nativité, et d'autre part, à durée de séjour égale, les immigrés demeurent un groupe aux parcours distincts. Hormis la première année de résidence qui marque une interruption de la mobilité (résultat extrait du chapitre 4), les immigrés récemment arrivés en Suisse (c.-à-d., au cours des huit dernières années) sont plus mobiles sur le territoire que les individus nés dans le pays (résultat extrait du chapitre 5). La participation au marché du travail et le nombre d'heures travaillées diffèrent aussi selon la durée de séjour en Suisse, tel que vu au chapitre 3. Cet effet est d'ailleurs opposé selon la structure familiale : alors que la durée de séjour joue un rôle positif sur l'insertion en emploi des immigrées ayant un conjoint ou des enfants, son effet est négatif chez les célibataires.

Le niveau de présence en emploi et le nombre d'heures travaillées sont en outre le reflet de stratégies migratoires et de conditions spécifiques à l'admission pour chacun des groupes. Pour beaucoup de femmes célibataires, l'admission en Suisse est astreinte à l'occupation d'un emploi. Un certain niveau d'intégration professionnel est donc assuré, dès l'arrivée, pour ce groupe de population. Dans d'autres cas, la trajectoire migratoire s'inscrit dans une stratégie temporaire, où la Suisse représente une opportunité de travailler plus, d'accumuler des ressources financières, avant de retourner au pays d'origine. Dans ces cas, les premières années de résidence seront marquées par une forte présence en emploi.

La dynamique d'ajustement prend plutôt son sens chez les personnes admises pour d'autres motifs administratif (c.-à-d., par regroupement familial ou à titre de réfugié), ce qui est plus souvent le cas pour les femmes en couple avec enfants. Dans cette configuration familiale, nous constatons effectivement un effet positif du temps passé au pays sur l'insertion économique. Pour les personnes admises en Suisse au bénéfice d'un contrat de travail, l'ajustement professionnel pourrait se mesurer selon d'autres facteurs de la qualité de l'emploi comme le salaire, le rang hiérarchique occupé ou encore la correspondance avec le niveau d'éducation. Ces indicateurs n'ont toutefois pas fait l'objet d'une investigation particulière dans cette thèse.

7.2.2 Entre agentivité et contraintes

Les individus sont, dans une certaine mesure, maîtres des décisions et actions conduites au fil de leur vie. L'agentivité réfère dans ce contexte à la capacité qu'ont les

individus à agir – sous diverses contraintes – et à atteindre leurs objectifs grâce à un ensemble de ressources personnelles. Immigrés et natifs se distinguent par des ressources inégales à bien des égards, soient-elles matérielles ou immatérielles. Il y a donc lieu de se demander si les différences de parcours observées ne sont pas simplement dues à des déséquilibres de ressources entre immigrants et natifs.

Les modèles multivariés permettent de répondre à cette question, à condition toutefois de posséder suffisamment d'informations sur les individus. Au terme des analyses, nous ne pouvons que donner une réponse (négative) partielle à cette question. En effet, une partie des différences observées en matière de parcours professionnels et résidentiels s'expliquent par des écarts de ressources, mais cette composante ne suffit pas à expliquer la persistance des disparités entre immigrants et natifs. Après avoir intégré un ensemble de variables liées au capital humain (p. ex., niveau d'éducation et salaire) dans les modèles multivariés, des différences subsistent entre immigrants et natifs et entre immigrants de différentes origines quant au niveau d'insertion professionnelle ou de mobilité résidentielle. Bien qu'il soit possible que ces variables échappent des parts non négligeables de la variation se rapportant au statut socioéconomique et au capital humain, nous ne pouvons rejeter non plus le rôle éventuel de variable non-observées, comme certains traits de personnalité, ou encore la connaissance du contexte local (marché du logement et de l'emploi).

Une explication alternative au déséquilibre des ressources est celle d'effets multiplicatifs. Nous avons en effet émis l'hypothèse que certaines caractéristiques (revenu du ménage, niveau d'éducation) soient plus déterminantes pour un groupe que pour l'autre. Nous savons par exemple que les immigrants reçoivent, en moyenne, un plus faible retour pour leur niveau d'éducation, que ce soit en raison de problèmes de reconnaissances des acquis scolaires ou encore de la qualité de certains diplômes. Si tel était le cas dans notre population, l'éducation aurait un moindre effet sur l'insertion professionnelle des immigrants. C'est ce que confirment les analyses du Chapitre 3 où l'on observe une importance accrue du niveau d'éducation sur l'insertion en emploi pour les natifs, sans toutefois que cet effet positif ne soit avéré avec autant d'intensité chez les immigrants.

En revanche, le revenu du ménage s'avère plus déterminant pour les immigrants que pour les natifs, tant pour l'insertion en emploi des femmes que pour la mobilité résidentielle. Alors que les natifs déménagent avec plus ou moins la même intensité

CONCLUSION

quel que soit le niveau de revenu du ménage, les immigrés semblent fortement influencés par le niveau des ressources financières. Nous devons toutefois considérer la possibilité que le revenu du ménage, tel que mesuré dans nos modèles, soit différent du revenu disponible, en particulier pour les immigrés transférant une part de leur revenu à des proches restés au pays d'origine³⁴. Ces transferts de fonds contribuent sans doute à limiter les opportunités (de logement) chez les immigrés. A ceci s'ajoute, pour un certain nombre de migrants, la volonté d'économiser pour favoriser le retour et la réinstallation dans le pays d'origine. Dans ces cas, une part moins importante du revenu sera consacrée pour le logement. Quant à la présence en emploi et au nombre d'heures travaillées, nous constatons une plus faible participation, pour toutes les femmes mais en particulier chez les immigrées, lorsque le revenu du conjoint est plus élevé.

Une hypothèse centrale guide l'interprétation de ces résultats : plus les ressources disponibles sont importantes et plus les choix ou les comportements correspondent aux préférences individuelles. Ainsi, une plus faible mobilité résidentielle au moment de la naissance d'un enfant peut résulter d'une préférence pour l'immobilité à ce moment de la vie. Cependant, une plus faible mobilité qui serait uniquement observée chez les ménages avec peu de ressources financières est interprétée comme une forme de désavantage. Un revenu élevé confère aussi une plus grande liberté de choix dans le temps alloué aux sphères professionnelles et familiales. Ainsi, une plus faible intégration professionnelle parmi les ménages immigrés à revenu élevé est interprétée comme le reflet de certaines préférences culturelles.

Néanmoins, à préférences similaires et ressources égales, les individus demeurent inégaux quant aux opportunités qui s'offrent à eux. Dans cette thèse, nous avons discuté de deux éléments clés régissant les opportunités de logements des immigrés : le lieu d'installation et la discrimination dans l'accès aux logements. La disponibilité et le coût du logement sont fort variables d'un lieu d'habitation à l'autre, nous l'avons vu au Chapitre 2 et 5, avec des indicateurs défavorables dans les grandes agglomérations où les immigrés tendent à s'installer.

³⁴ En 2017, ces transferts de fonds étaient évalués à environ sept milliard de francs suisses (OFS 2018).

A ces opportunités de logements réduites s'ajoutent des mécanismes d'exclusion, par les propriétaires et les agences immobilières, de certains segments du marché du logement locatif³⁵. A ce titre, le Chapitre 6 fait état de traitements inégaux des candidats mentionnant un nom à consonance étrangère. A profil égal, les minorités ethniques (telles que signalées par le nom du candidat) ont moins de chances de se voir inviter pour visiter un appartement que les candidats suisses. Les opportunités de mobilité sont ainsi réduites pour ces individus qui doivent se résigner à candidater pour des logements souvent moins attractifs, à investir plus de temps dans la recherche d'un logement ou encore rester sur place.

En ce qui a trait aux opportunités d'emploi, nous avons pu voir au chapitre 2, une répartition inégale des immigrés et des natifs dans les différents secteurs d'activités. Ainsi, une concentration accrue des immigrés dans des secteurs moins prestigieux – et souvent moins flexibles quant aux horaires de travail – contribue certainement à réduire les opportunités de conciliation travail-famille. Par ailleurs, le système migratoire suisse favorise les permis de séjour pour les personnes embauchées à temps plein, en particulier pour les migrants extra-européens pour qui les permis de travail sont soumis à contingentement. Enfin, des comportements discriminatoires à l'égard des immigrés (ou minorités ethniques) au moment de l'embauche ont aussi été documentés récemment pour la Suisse (Zschirnt 2018), contribuant à détériorer les indicateurs d'insertion économique chez les immigrés.

Pour conclure, cette thèse a donc su démontrer l'importance des interactions entre facteurs individuels et contextuels, inhibant ou favorisant les interrelations entre trajectoires résidentielles, familiales et professionnelles en fonction du statut migratoire. La migration internationale demeurera, dans les prochaines années, l'un des principaux phénomènes de croissance et de changements démographiques en Europe. Les défis liés à l'intégration des immigrés ne seront que mieux appréhendés par une connaissance approfondie des mécanismes à l'origine des spécificités de leur parcours de vie. En matière de politiques publiques, il est primordial de dissocier des différences de parcours qui seraient dues à des préférences individuelles de celles qui

³⁵ La littérature scientifique fait aussi état de discriminations dans l'accès au crédit pour de futurs propriétaires de logements (voir par exemple Barwick 2010 pour les Etats-Unis).

CONCLUSION

découleraient de contraintes additionnelles ou de difficultés accrues pour les immigrants à intégrer certains secteurs de la société.

7.3 Références

- Barwick, C. (2010). Patterns of Discrimination against Blacks and Hispanics in the US Mortgage Market. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25(1), 117–124.
- Huinink, J., Vidal, S., & Kley, S. (2014). Individuals' openness to migrate and job mobility. *Social science research*, 44, 1–14.
- Jang, B. J., Casterline, J. B., & Snyder, A. R. (2014). Migration and marriage: Modeling the joint process. *Demographic Research*, 30, 1339.
- Kulu, H., & Steele, F. (2013). " Interrelationships between childbearing and housing transitions in the family life course". *Demography*, 50(5), 1687–1714.
- Office fédéral de la statistique (2018), MONET – Fonds envoyés par des migrants, <https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/developpement-durable/monet/dimension-globale/influence-flux/fonds-envoyes-migrants.html>, (récupéré le 27 août 2019).
- Zschirnt, Eva. « Ethnic discrimination in the Swiss labour market-Ethnic hierarchies in correspondence test results ». PhD Thesis, Université de Neuchâtel, 2018.
- Wingens, Matthias, Helga de Valk, Michael Windzio, and Can Aybek. 'The Sociological Life Course Approach and Research on Migration and Integration'. In *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration*, edited by Matthias Wingens, Helga de Valk, and Can Aybek, 1–26. Springer, Dordrecht, 2011.

