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A social psychological approach to citizenship acquisition: Naturalized minority and national majority perspectives

Politi Emanuele

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FACULTE DE SCIENCES SOCIALES ET POLITIQUES

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A social psychological approach to citizenship acquisition: Naturalized minority and national majority perspectives

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pur l'obtention du grade de
Docteur en psychologie sociale

par
Emanuele Politi

Directeur de thèse
Prof. Christian Staerklé

Jury
Prof. Eva Green
Prof. Fabio Lorenzi-Cioldi
Prof. Laurent Licata

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UNIL | Université de Lausanne
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autorise, sans se prononcer sur les opinions du candidat, l'impression de la thèse de Monsieur Emanuele POLITI, intitulée :

« A social psychological approach to citizenship acquisition: Naturalized minority and national majority perspectives »

Jean-Philippe LERESCHE
Doyen

Lausanne, le 24 avril 2019

ABSTRACT

Naturalization, the ritual of transition from the migrant outgroup to the national ingroup, is a crucial step in the acculturation process of immigrants. In four empirical chapters, our goal is to approach, from the national majority and the naturalized minority perspective, social psychological dynamics related to citizenship acquisition. First, we study social representations of citizenship conveyed within Swiss society. Results contrast inclusive representations grounded on birthright and cultural similarity, and exclusive representations grounded on lack of assimilation and individual deservingness. Second, we study acculturation expectations endorsed by national majority members. Results show that heritage culture maintenance by naturalization applicants from devalued countries is negatively evaluated. Lack of perceived national attachment and individual deservingness mediate this effect. Third, we study naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion reported by naturalized people. Results show that belongingness and political participation motives are related to greater feelings of inclusion in the national community, while instrumentality is related to lower feelings of inclusion. Moreover, naturalized citizens from devalued countries feel less included than those from valued countries. Fourth, we study anti-immigration sentiment endorsed by naturalized minority members. Results show two pathways of political incorporation. Whereas the former strategy stems from belongingness motives and is positively related to anti-immigration sentiment, the latter stems from instrumental motives and is negatively related to anti-immigration sentiment. Altogether, the present thesis highlights an assimilation pressure directed towards naturalized citizens. Although assimilation is related to greater inclusion to the national community, it is simultaneously connected to forms of exclusion of immigrant minorities.

Rituel de passage de l'exogroupe migrant à l'endogroupe national, la naturalisation constitue une étape cruciale dans le processus d'acculturation des personnes immigrées. A travers quatre chapitres empiriques, notre objectif est d'aborder, à partir d'une perspective majoritaire et minoritaire, les problématiques liées à l'acquisition de la nationalité. Premièrement, nous étudions les représentations sociales de la citoyenneté véhiculées au sein de la société suisse. Les résultats montrent une différence entre les représentations inclusives, fondées sur le droit de naissance et la similitude culturelle, et celles exclusives, fondées sur le manque d'assimilation et le mérite individuel. Deuxièmement, nous étudions la question des attentes d'acculturation de la part des membres de la majorité nationale. Les résultats montrent que le maintien culturel de la part des candidats à la naturalisation provenant de pays dévalorisés est évalué négativement. Le manque d'attachement national perçu et de mérite médiatise cet effet. Troisièmement, nous étudions les différents sentiments d'inclusion et motivations liées à la naturalisation chez les personnes naturalisées. Les résultats montrent que la volonté d'appartenance et de participation politique prédisent un plus grand sentiment d'inclusion à la communauté nationale, alors que l'instrumentalité prédise un sentiment d'inclusion plus faible. De plus, les personnes provenant de pays dévalorisés se sentent moins incluses que celles provenant de pays valorisés. Quatrièmement, nous étudions le sentiment anti-immigration reporté par les membres de minorités naturalisées. Les résultats montrent deux stratégies d'incorporation politique différentes. Alors que la première stratégie découle de la volonté d'appartenance et est positivement liée au sentiment anti-immigration, la seconde s'ancre dans des considérations instrumentales et est négativement liée au sentiment anti-immigration. Dans l'ensemble, la présente thèse met en évidence une pression d'assimilation dirigée vers les citoyen·e·s naturalisé·e·s. Même si l'assimilation est associée à une plus grande inclusion au sein de la communauté nationale, celle-ci est simultanément liée à des formes d'exclusion des minorités immigrantes.

Acknowledgments

Back in time, almost six years ago, I packed my luggage, jumped on a train from Milano, and got off in Geneva after for hours ride. I couldn't tell at that time whether it was a foolish choice or a smart move. Yet, I remember these moments lucidly, rainy cold days of winter, me roaming around the city center in search of a free Wi-Fi. Stranger in a foreign city, with foreign rules and foreign language. I have never felt a foreigner within the social psychology unit at the University of Geneva though. My name was already written outside the office door at my arrival, as if I have always belonged to there. I want to start by thanking all the people who made me feeling home, welcomed and included in Geneva all along my short but intense stay there. First of all, Fabio Lorenzi-Cioldi, who put his faith in a complete stranger, and included me in his research group. I want to give warm thanks to Willem Doise, who was the first person in Geneva inviting me to come by for dinner. Also, I thank Anna Liguori and Marie-Pierre Fayant, from the very first day true friends and confidants, as well as Afrodite, Caroline, Dimitra, Fanny, Lucie, Marcello, Natasha, Jacques, Klea, Reni and Vincenzo, my first Swiss family.

At that time, I considered Geneva my end point; But I was wrong. It seems like just yesterday that I was interviewed in Lausanne by Christian Staerklé. Barely able to express myself in French, I promised him I was able to teach in French. I have never asked Christian whether he believed my very optimistic estimation or not, but yet he trusted me. He guided me through the many challenges of being a researcher, never imposing himself, nor restraining my freedom to do research "in my own way". But he was there to advise me when I asked it; to reassure me when I needed it. Also, I want to thank Eva Green sincerely. As much as Christian, Eva was my closest mentor, and I have learnt a lot from her. She treated me as an equal, and I truly enjoyed teaching together. I am sure students benevolently laughed back at our foreign accents, while listening us teaching about challenges and opportunities related to cultural diversity. A warm thanks goes also to Laurent Licata, who accepted to become part of my jury, and provided meaningful insights all along a painful, frustrating, annoying, never-ending, but yet very formative review process.

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Migration was for me something more than just the topic of investigation of my thesis; It was also a personal life experience, and the main reason of my current activism. These three components fostered each other and merged into the person I am today. In this regard, I thank Marion Chipeaux and Sindhuja Sankaran for our shared values, and the intrinsic motivation to do research with the people for the people. Together we volunteered in a refugee camp in Lesvos; a turning point in our lives that I will personally never forget. For what it's worth, I dedicate this thesis and send my sincere blessing to all the people that are still stuck in Moria, or in any other refugee camp around the world. Also, a warm thanks goes to the Collectif R and its theater group. From a thorny issue to be solved, our magic spells transformed migration into a creative energy to instill into people. Special thanks go to Claudia & Sandra, whiteout whom the theater project would have lasted no more than two weeks. Brave and restless women, their artistic engagement is a bright example for many others. A huge hug to Alicia, Aurelie, Aziz, Biniam who introduced me to the group, Boubacar, Dominique, Emilie, Enok, my theater wife Florine, Gìgì, Hamadou, Jad "the Catan King", José, Keerthi, Kuru, Lucia, Luma, Manuela, Margot, Marion "the Hitchhiker", Meganne, Michele, Michili, Mohammed, The "Lion King" Nelson, Sheila, Teka, Thais the coolest globe fish living in Atlantis, Yonas, and Zaid.

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OVERVIEW

Today the world is more connected than ever before, making it easier for people to move in search of jobs, education and better quality of life. At the same time conflict, poverty and increased inequality compel people to leave their homes in quest of better opportunities for them and their offspring abroad. Accordingly, the number of international migrants worldwide has grown rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010, and 173 million in 2000 (IOM, 2017). As a result, immigration policies and incorporation of immigrant communities within receiving societies are increasing in importance in the political agenda of many Western societies. As one of the most pressing social and political issues, migration and acculturation have become central objects of investigation in social sciences. Social psychology is no exception, considering the increased attention dedicated by the discipline to the topic (Esses, Medianu, Hamilton, & Lapshina, 2015; Green & Staerklé, 2013).

The present thesis focuses on a phenomenon related to migration and acculturation that has been overlooked in the social psychological research, namely citizenship acquisition (for a similar argument, see Condor, 2011; Verkuyten, 2018). The transition of naturalized citizens from the immigrant minority to the national majority group (i.e., naturalization process), we argue, is emblematic of the regulated permeability of intergroup boundaries (Ellemers, 1993; Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Iacoviello, 2015; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Citizenship acquisition increases diversity *within* national majority and separation *between* immigrant minority groups. Accordingly, identity considerations are at the heart of the naturalization experience of individuals "in the middle", who are neither completely recognized as nationals, nor considered as immigrants anymore (Barreto & Ellemers, 2003;

Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). As a result, both intra-majority dynamics (i.e., acceptance and feelings of inclusion within the national community) and inter-minority dynamics (i.e., support or derogation towards immigrants) are at play during the naturalization process, and regulate intergroup power relations between national majority and immigrant minority groups.

Surprisingly, up to now very little social psychological research on migration and acculturation have approached citizenship acquisition (Condor, 2011; Verkuyten, 2018). Conversely, literature on normative conceptions of citizenship derived from political theory abounds (Brubaker, 1992; Howard, 2009; Joppke, 2010a; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). This lack of attention of social and psychological dimensions of citizenship acquisition is problematic. Indeed, naturalization poses a number of concerns for both the individual with immigration background (e.g., feelings of inclusion into the national community, and identity dynamics following the naturalization experience) as well as the society as a whole (e.g., diversification of cultural habits within the national community, and incorporation of individuals with immigrant background in the body politics; Politi & Staerklé, 2017).

To fill this gap, the present thesis proposes a social psychological framework of citizenship acquisition, where naturalization is considered from the point of view of national majority and naturalized minority members. Because a systematic investigation of citizenship acquisition was missing, we developed our model from a broad spectrum of research paradigms, such as self-categorization and social identity perspectives (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Kulich et al., 2015; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), acculturation research (e.g., Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014), and social representations theory (e.g., Andreouli, Kadianaki, & Xenitidou,

2016; Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011; Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1984). These research traditions rely on different epistemologies, so that their reconciliation in a unique framework is not immediately evident. Yet, we argue, they cross *different* "levels of analysis" in the study of *the same* social phenomenon (Doise, 1976, 1982). By layering, instead of *a priori* contrasting, explanations ranging from the intra-psychological (i.e., social identity dynamics), the positional (i.e., acculturation expectations and strategies), and the societal levels (i.e., social representations of citizenship and conceptions of nationhood), social psychology can effectively contribute to the ongoing debate of citizenship acquisition in contemporary societies.

Accordingly, four empirical chapters articulate three complementary strands of research. The first strand focuses on social representations of citizenship, and the way normative conceptions filter into common-sense and structure public opinion on citizenship acquisition (chapter two). In this respect, a socio-dynamic approach to social representations highlights multiple systems of meaning associated to citizenship acquisition, thereby dividing public opinion in the support of inclusive or exclusive naturalization policies. The second strand focuses more closely on the relation between nationals and naturalized citizens, and the way the two sides either evaluate or experience inclusion within the national community (chapter three and four). In this respect, we investigate the *intra-majority dynamics* involved in acculturation expectations directed towards new ingroup members, and the subsequent feelings of inclusion experienced by naturalized citizens. The third strand finally focuses on the relation between naturalized citizens and immigrants, and the way alternative processes of political incorporation relate to anti-immigration sentiment (chapter five). In this respect, we investigate the *inter-minority dynamics* involved in the process of individual mobility of naturalized citizens, and whether mobility results in support to inclusive or exclusive immigration policies.

Overall, we observe that assimilation is at the heart of citizenship acquisition, whereby differentiation from the immigrant minority becomes mandatory for individuals who wish to be included in the national community. Interestingly, expectations of both similarity to the national ingroup and difference from the immigrant outgroup are united under the original combination of neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship. Accordingly, communitarian care of a culturally grounded national community, merged with neoliberal emphasis on the individual responsibility to achieve membership of that community, advocate for the distinction between "good" and "bad" naturalization applicants. Whereas assimilation strategies endorsed by naturalization applicants predict inclusion within the national community, they also elicit anti-immigration sentiment. Disengagement towards the immigrant minority is thus the price naturalized citizens have to pay in order to be included within the national majority group.

In light of our findings, we argue that social inclusion should not be taken for granted when it comes to incorporate immigrants within the receiving society, but it rather comes with a number of downsides. Although assimilation strategies might be helpful for those immigrants who want to be included into the national community, they perpetuate structural disadvantages and reinforce the divide between insiders and outsiders (Kulich et al., 2015; Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995; Politi & Staerklé, 2017; see also Politi, Gale, & Staerklé, 2017). By stressing the dialectic articulation of acceptance and reject, that we named "exclusionary inclusion", the present thesis therefore highlights the complex implications of naturalization in terms of stability and social change in contemporary culturally diverse societies.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

The term and concept of "citizenship" dates back to ancient Athens, in which a citizen was considered as "one who both rules and is ruled" (Aristotele, as cited by Joppke, 2010a, p. 6), and citizenship equated with membership in a political community and participation in public affairs. Classic conceptions of citizenship were highly exclusive, as only male chiefs of family households could be considered equal members of the *polis*. Much closer to our contemporary, liberal definition is the Roman understanding of citizenship as "legal status, carrying with it rights to certain things" (Brubaker, 1992; Joppke, 2018). Yet, the modern institution of citizenship was born with the French Revolution, whereby the restrained idea of political community was replaced by the broader concept of nation state (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2010a). As soon as pre-modern corporate privileges bestowed upon a limited number of individuals were replaced by a unitarian national system based on equal rights, citizenship created its opposite: "By inventing the national citizen and the legally homogenous national citizenry, the Revolution simultaneously invented the foreigner" (Brubaker, 1992, p. 46). In his seminal work, Rogers Brubaker (1992) articulated the peculiar duality of modern citizenship as both *internally inclusive*—a nationhood sharing equal membership status within society—and *externally exclusive*—a denial of such membership to all those who do not belong to the nation by birthright (Brubaker, 1992; see also Joppke, 2010a).

Along the two centuries that followed, the growing number of individuals with immigration background living in foreign countries, together with the rise of globalization and transnationalism, produced two major changes in the organizing principles of

citizenship allocation: 1) A first shift happened in the late nineteenth century, from citizenship as a life-long inherited 'allegiance' to an elective (but still exclusive) status. 2) A second shift happened in the late twentieth century, from exclusive to hyphenated national membership (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2003). Whereas the first transition—from inherited to acquirable citizenship—was partially due to French colonialism and republican rhetoric of anti-racist egalitarianism (Dubois, 2000; Jugé & Perez, 2006), the second transition—from exclusive to multiple citizenship—was mainly due to international human rights Conventions and feminist egalitarian movements (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Weil, 2011).

The gradual opening of citizenship to foreigners, and the right to multiple national memberships, necessitated naturalization procedures to incorporate symbolic dimensions, through official ceremonies and oath taking, in order to validate the new alliance between the individual and the nation (Fassin & Mazouz, 2009; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011; Ossipow & Felder, 2015). Relatedly, questions arose regarding the criteria defining belongingness to the national community, and the general question about "who we are" and "who belongs to us" (Gibson, 2009; Helbling, 2008). Comparative research has found a direct relation between contemporary citizenship regimes and specific conceptions of the nation, rooted in shared narratives of nation-building promoted by the nation state (Baubock, 2010; Brubaker, 1992). Nowadays, the combination of three main dimensions organizes naturalization regimes: *ethnic* (i.e., only those who have ancestors from the dominant ethnic group are regarded as citizens), *cultural* (i.e., anyone who adopts the national culture, and helps to preserve it is regarded as a citizen), and *civic* ones (i.e., all those who respect societal rules and laws, and integrate in society are regarded as citizens; Joppke, 2017; Koopmans et al., 2005; Reijerse et al., 2013; Wright, 2011).

1.1.1. The evolution of Swiss naturalization policies over time

From the 16th century, Switzerland has been characterized by political neutrality, economic and social stability, linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as a unique combination of direct democracy and federalism (D'Amato, 2008). Accordingly, each town was responsible for taking care of their own people, and only citizens recognized by the municipality were allowed to participate in local elections. Each community had therefore the interest to limit access to local citizenship and to send beggars and other people in need back to their hometowns. Conversely, the Swiss Confederation had no competence for establishing citizenship regulations until 1874, naturalization criteria differing drastically from one municipality to another (Helbling, 2008). With the revision of the Constitution in 1874, jurisdiction on the matter of naturalization has been conferred to the federal state; the principle of *ius sanguinis*—a principle of nationality law by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth but by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state—was introduced, and naturalization started to be regulated at three institutional levels: federal, cantonal and communal (Wanner & Steiner, 2012).

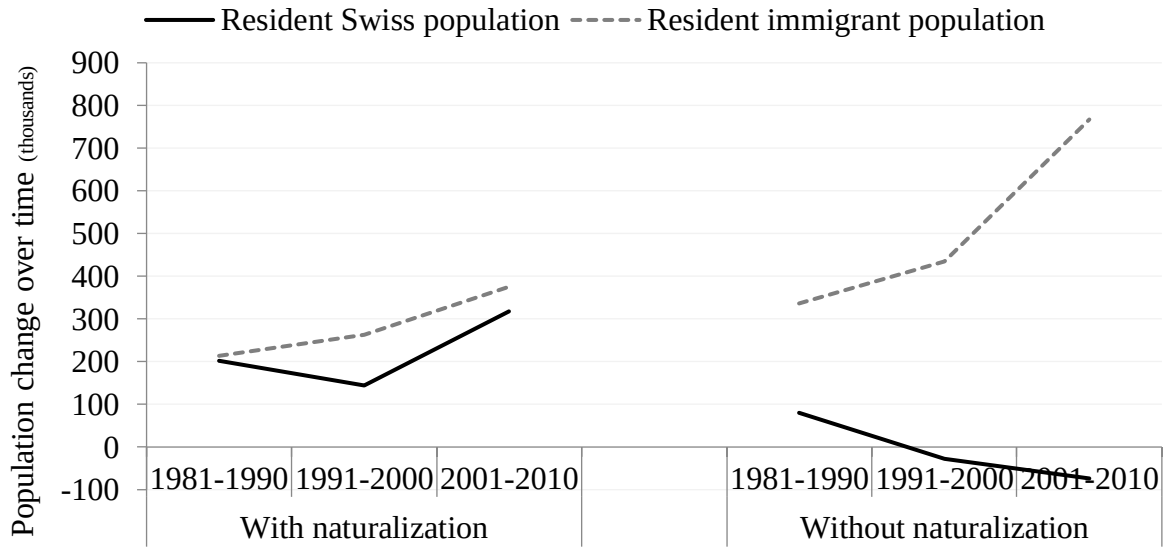
Although the legislative structure was already drawn and implemented, Switzerland became a country of immigration only from the beginning of the 20th century. In 1914, the number of foreigners reached a peak of 600,000 people, representing 15% of the total population (Swiss Railway and Transport Association, 2016). Consequently, in 1931 a federal law regarding the residence and establishment of foreigners entered into force. This first regimentation of migration was aimed at protecting moral and economic interests of Switzerland, and limited "over-foreignization" of the labor market supply (D'Amato, 2008). Various types of residence permits were created, whereby access and establishment in the country were regulated. Such immigration policy was known as "the rotation of guest-workers," whose goal was to prevent the long-term settlement of the foreign labor force

(Fibbi, Wanner, Topgül, & Ugrina, 2015). As affirmed by Bolzman (2002), Swiss migratory policy at that time was considered first and foremost a labor policy. Foreign migrants were treated as temporary rather than as permanent residents in Switzerland. In other words, only foreign workers who had proved their worth and utility for the country could settle in. By contrast, enduring precariousness of the legal status bestowed upon immigrants was strategically used as a buffer against economic downturns.

Twenty years later, in 1952, the law on the acquisition and loss of the Swiss nationality (Nationality Law, LN) was introduced, and distinguished three modes of naturalization: ordinary naturalization, facilitated naturalization and reintegration. The ordinary naturalization procedure—the most common among the three procedures—assigned to a large extent competence and responsibility to the municipalities (Helbling, 2008; Wanner & Steiner, 2012). Whereas the decisions of the Confederation and the cantons constituted rather formal and administrative procedures, the municipalities made mainly political decisions, and used two main types of regimes to vote on naturalization applications: Direct democracy, whereby citizens voted on the applications using referendums, and representative democracy, where a naturalization commission composed of local politicians voted on the applications in the municipality council (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019). In July 2003, the Swiss Federal Court acknowledged that popular votes by ballot were biased, contracted naturalization rates by at least the half, and discriminated against marginalized immigrant groups from culturally distant countries (for an empirical investigation of rejection rates in municipalities using referenda, see Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019; Helbling, 2010). Thereafter, all municipalities were pushed to change their decision-making process from direct to representative democracy. Yet, they maintained their prerogative to participate directly in the selection of naturalization applicants, thus keeping the decision process at the local level, and ensuring the Swiss naturalization regime to stand out from all the others.

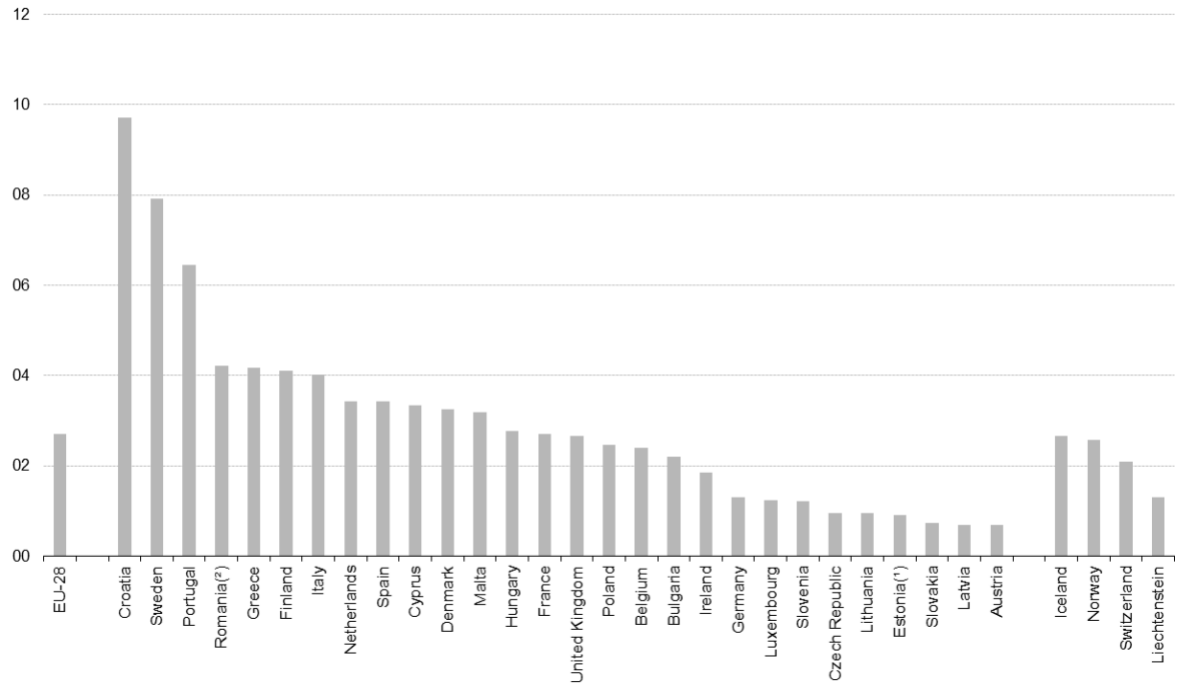
With a third of its population having foreign roots and a quarter of it born outside the country, Switzerland counts nowadays the largest immigrant proportion in Europe after Luxembourg (Piguet, 2017). By reason of the large share of immigrant population and relatively low birthrates among the native population, naturalization contributes substantially in maintaining a demographic balance between the Swiss and foreign population (Figure 1). Without considering naturalized citizens, the resident population of Swiss nationality would have decreased by nearly 74,000 units between 2001 and 2010. Conversely, it increased by a total of 318,000. In turn, naturalization slowed the growth of the foreign population. Between 2001 and 2010, the increase in the foreign population in Switzerland would have reached 767,000 people in the absence of naturalizations, whereas it was finally assessed around 376,000. Wanner and Steiner (2012) estimated in their last report that without naturalization the proportion of foreigners in Switzerland would have exceeded 30% by the end of 2010.

Figure 1: Resident Swiss and immigrant population change from 1981 to 2010 with or without considering naturalization. Retrieved from Wanner and Steiner (2012).



Nonetheless, the restrictive and demanding naturalization procedures allow only a limited number of immigrants every year to be granted citizenship. Although the total number of foreign residents is comparatively higher than in any other European country (excluding Luxembourg), Swiss naturalization rate (i.e., the ratio of the total number of citizenships granted over the stock of non-national population in a country at the beginning of the year) is generally lower than in many other EU countries. In fact, in the EU-28 as a whole, 2.7% non-national citizens were granted citizenship in 2016. The country with the highest naturalization rate was Croatia (9.7%), followed by Sweden (7.9%) and Portugal (6.5%). The lowest naturalization rates were found in Austria, Latvia and Slovakia (0.7%). Switzerland only ranked 20th, with a naturalization rate of 2.1% (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Naturalization rate (acquisition of citizenship per 100 resident foreigners) in 2016. Retrieved from Eurostat (2016)



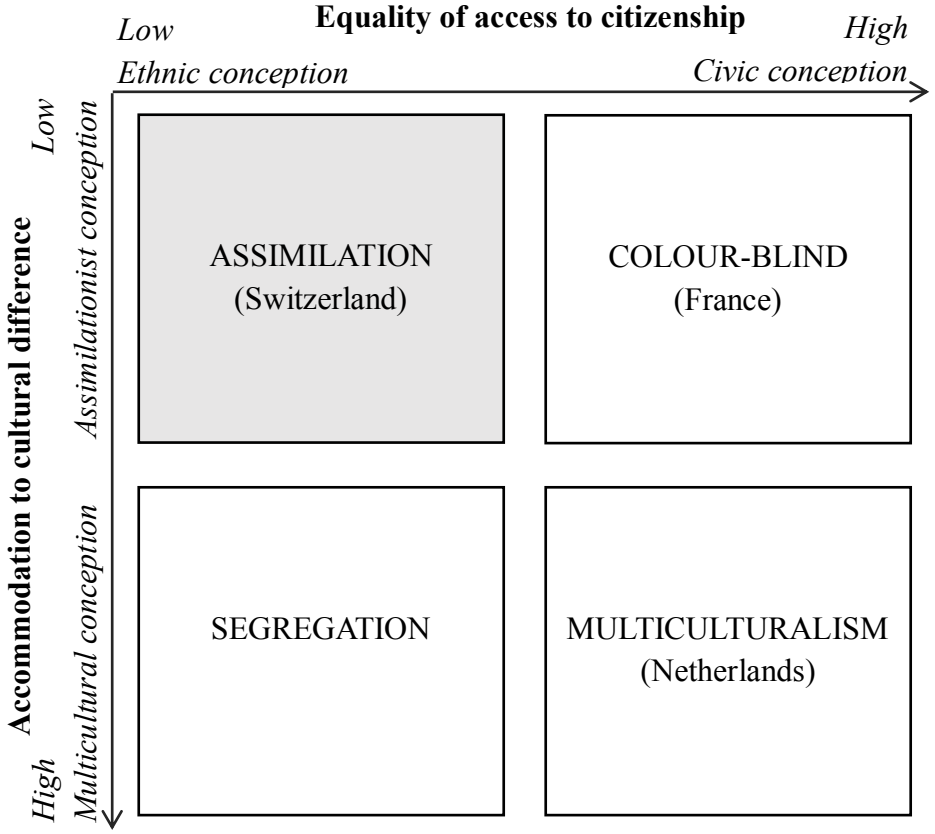
Note: Data on the number of non-national residents refer to 1st January 2016. Non-EU members are reported on the right-side. ([1]) = Break in series; ([2]) = Estimation.

High institutional, economic and cultural barriers to naturalization make access to citizenship in Switzerland very difficult for (certain categories of) immigrants. In this regard, the selection process tends to advantage naturalization applicants from Western countries with high socio-economic status, while it discouraged low status and culturally distant immigrant groups (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019; Wanner & D'Amato, 2003). Among the forty thousand people per year on average who naturalize, more than half come from European countries, with high shares of Italian, Portuguese, Kosovar and Serbians (Federal Statistical Office, 2018). The current Swiss ordinary procedure—that came into force starting from January 2018—costs around two thousand Swiss francs, and requires the applicant: to have resided in Switzerland for at least 10 years; to hold a permanent residence permit (C permit); to be able to communicate on a daily basis in a national language; to have no criminal records, pending taxes or statements of insolvency; to respect the values of the Swiss constitution; to be currently employed or undergoing a vocational training; to receive no social security benefits; to prove sufficient knowledge about Swiss geography, history, institutional system and politics; to participate actively in the social and cultural life of Switzerland; to have substantial contacts with Swiss nationals (State Secretariat for Migration, 2019).

According to the seminal taxonomy proposed by Koopmans, Stratham, Giugni, and Passy (2005), the Swiss naturalization system scores poorly on both equality of access to citizenship and accommodation to cultural difference and group rights (Figure 3). Compared to the liberal and (formerly) multicultural regime of the Netherlands, for instance, Switzerland is characterized by more ethnic and assimilationist conceptions of the nation. Accordingly, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (Huddleston, Bilgili, Joki, & Vankova, 2015) evaluates Swiss naturalization policies as among the most unfavorable in Europe, in terms of eligibility conditions, requirements and status security. Likewise, the Multiculturalism policy index, developed by Banting and Kymlicka (2003) and validated by Berry et colleagues (Berry,

Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), evaluates Switzerland between 0 and 1, on a scale ranging from 0 (extremely weak multicultural policies) to 8 (extremely strong multicultural policies).

Figure 3: Two-dimensional configurations of citizenship and reference countries. Retrieved from Koopmans et al., 2005.



1.1.2. NEOLIBERAL COMMUNITARIAN REPRESENTATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP

In recent years, citizenship regimes are generally moving away from ethnic conceptions of the nation, whereby the national ingroup is defined as a community of people of common descent, and citizenship is determined on the basis of blood ties with the dominant ethnic group (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Reijerse et al., 2013). The de-ethnicization of citizenship, together with increased transnationalism and free movement agreements between countries, open up access to state membership to a broad range of immigrant groups previously excluded from civic and political rights (Joppke, 2003). Accordingly, contemporary naturalization regimes are organized around a liberal principle: All naturalization applicants should be able to acquire the characteristics required to be granted

citizenship, no matter how culturally distant they are and without renouncing their cultural heritage (Joppke, 2017; Kymlicka, 2001; Licata, Sanchez-Mazas, & Green, 2011). This liberal trend is reflected in the gradual openness of nation state to dual nationality (i.e., legal authorization to keep previous citizenship-s, while simultaneously acquiring the new one, Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2010b; Vink & de Groot, 2010).

Nevertheless, the role that cultural diversity plays in contemporary diverse societies is still matter of debate, and scholars disagree about whether current integration and naturalization policies are compatible with multiculturalism (Banting, 2014; Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Joppke, 2004; Verkuyten, 2011). In the Netherlands, for instance, an initially economy-focused policy of making immigrants "self-sufficient" and independent of welfare mutated into a culture-focused policy of making them adapt to 'Dutch norms and values', which is guided by the nationalist credo of 'one cannot study to be Dutch, one has to feel Dutch' (quoted by Orgad, 2015; see also Joppke, 2017). A related example can be found in Switzerland, where, in 2018, the municipality of Lausanne denied citizenship to a Muslim couple who refused to shake hands with their opposite sex naturalization officials (Tribune de Genève, 2018).

These examples raise questions about the substantial difference between *knowing* and *respecting* national rules, on the one hand, and *endorsing* and *identifying with* national values, on the other hand. The two dimensions are indeed different aspects of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2015; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Whereas the former is compatible with multiculturalism, the second may raise a number of problems. The combination of neoliberal principles of autonomy and individual responsibility with communitarian principles of cultural uniformity seems thus associated to new interventionist forms of assimilation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt, Suvarierol, & Schinkel, 2011). Accordingly, the gradual converging of neoliberalism and communitarianism gives

rise to verification procedures testing immigrants' cultural conformity and individual allegiance to national norms and values (Brubaker, 2001; Grillo, 2007; Joppke & Morawska, 2003; Wieviorka, 2005). Moreover, the strategic mobilization of Western liberal values of autonomy and individual freedom as culturally grounded excludes non-Western naturalization applicants coming from distant cultural backgrounds, by reason of their alleged lack of civilization (Brubaker, 2017). Cultural differences are essentialized and immigrant groups from devalued origins are—once again—subjected to more demanding expectations and harsher evaluations (Andreouli, 2013; Andreouli & Howarth, 2013).

1.2. TOP-DOWN AND BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES TO CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION

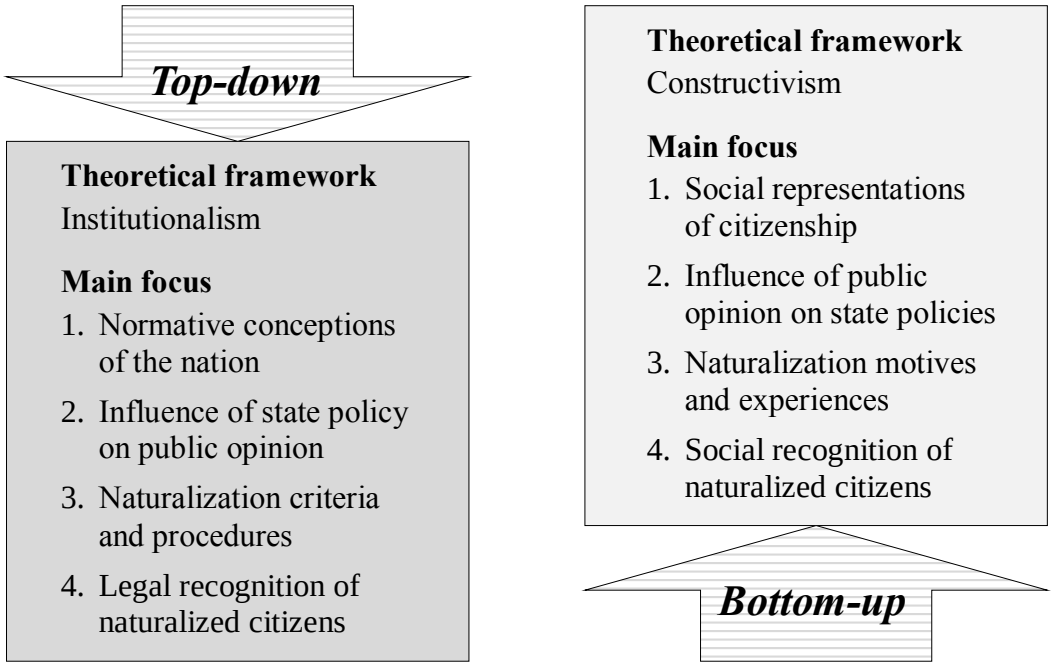
So far, analytical frameworks derived from political science and political theory dominated research on citizenship acquisition (Brubaker, 1992; Howard, 2009; Joppke, 2010; Koopmans et al., 2005). Accordingly, the existing literature mainly consisted of '*top-down'* analyses of policy and legal changes, normative conceptions of citizenship, and comparative statistical studies of naturalization outcomes (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; OECD, 2011). Conversely, the way general principles and policy regulations are interpreted, elaborated, or eventually challenged from the bottom-up by the people directly involved received so far only scant scholarly attention. Whether from the viewpoint of normative state theory (e.g., what are the moral foundations regulating naturalization policies?) or governance studies (e.g., which effect occurs when specific naturalization policies are implemented?), institutions descend directly upon individual psychology. Political actions are regarded as directing social psychological processes unidirectionally: "Politics, understood as the conscious design of political institutions, is not something to be explained by the surrounding society; it has its own explanatory power. The design given to political institutions governs the notions of morality and justice prevailing in society" (Rothstein, 1998, p. 217).

The subjective perspective of social actors involved in the practice of citizenship is often left out by institutional approaches (Andreouli et al., 2016; Knott, 2018). Yet, people are active meaning-makers, who invest efforts into reflecting on the values and beliefs they endorse. Rather than simply conforming to what they are taught and expected to do by institutions, they deliberate, transform and create meaning from the "*bottom-up*", thereby setting the stage for social life to take place (Kay Deaux & Philogène, 2001; Elcheroth et al., 2011; Moscovici, 1984). Regarding our specific topic of investigation—citizenship acquisition—a number of social psychological dimensions can be readily identified (Figure 4): 1) The symbolic and legal boundaries of the nation may not correspond to each other, so that legal and social recognition of immigrants as members of the national community do not overlap entirely (Bail, 2008; Licata et al., 2011). 2) State policies may constrain the definition of citizenship mobilized in the public debate, but citizens themselves can share different meanings and understandings, thereby engaging in a political struggle to modify naturalization laws accordingly (Howarth, 2006; Howarth et al., 2013). 3) Multiculturalism may not be hindered by naturalization policies directly, and yet be opposed by national majority members, calling for proof of attachment and loyalty to national values (Kunst & Sam, 2014). 4) Personal motivations and inclusion goals endorsed by naturalization applicants may vary as a function of their individual migration trajectory, so that institutional prescriptions do not constrain their inner reasons to acquire citizenship (Knott, 2018).

In order to answer these and other pressing questions, a number of scholars from different disciplines have stressed the need for constructivist investigations of citizenship. Recently, empirical papers (e.g., Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Reijerse et al., 2013), special issues (Condor, 2011; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Stevenson, Hopkins, Luyt, & Dixon, 2015) and edited volumes (Borgida, Federico, & Sullivan, 2009), called for a social psychological redefinition of citizenship, that is, the way subjective understanding of citizenship mediate the

effect of the social structure on individual cognition and behavior. Our work flows into the same line of thinking, and investigate the subjective perspective of national majority members and immigrants who are granted access to the national community, and their own phenomenology of citizenship.

Figure 4: Articulation between top-down and bottom-up approaches to citizenship acquisition.



1.2.1. The benefits of studying citizenship acquisition for social psychology

1.2.1.1. Citizenship acquisition explained by social representations theory

So far, psychological research on citizenship was sparse and fragmented (for a similar argument, see Condor, 2011; Verkuyten, 2018). Some scholars defined it in a broad and mundane fashion, namely the many practices embedded in everyday social life (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011; Hopkins, Reicher, & van Rijswijk, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2015). Recently, a growing number of studies have connected social representations of citizenship and migration (e.g., Andreouli, 2013; Andreouli & Howarth, 2013; Andreouli et al., 2016; Sanchez-Mazas, Van Humskerken, & Casini, 2003). Kadianaki and Androuli (2017), for

instance, demonstrated that Greek citizens, as compared to immigrants, share essentialist representations of the nation based on ethnic and cultural criteria, which justify the exclusion of migrants who fail to assimilate completely to the national culture. Other researchers did not explicitly refer to a social representations approach, yet defined citizenship in terms of shared conceptions of the nation and systems of meanings endorsed by national majority members (e.g., Ariely, 2013; Bail, 2008; Green, 2009; Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010; M. Wright, 2011). Reijerse and colleagues (2013), for instance, demonstrated that public debate about immigrants and citizenship is fragmented and organized around ethnic, cultural and civic conceptions. Cultural and ethnic dimensions being closely connected to one another, they both predicted anti-immigration attitudes among nationals across six European countries.

Social representations theory is probably the most appropriate theoretical framework to study complex and multiple systems of meanings associated to citizenship acquisition. Social representations are systems of lay knowledge, which enable people to construct meaningful explanation about the social world and position themselves within (Moscovici, 1984). Importantly, they are dynamic and socially elaborated in conditions of diversity, where various, and often competing perspectives on the issue at hand coexist (Clémence, 2001; Doise, 1986; Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993; Palmonari & Emiliani, 2016). Opposing Durkheim's homeostatic and consensual notion of "collective representations" (1898), the seminal work of Serge Moscovici (1976a) on the reception of psychoanalytic ideas in France, reframed social representations to better tackle their fragmented and polymorph nature. Moscovici's analysis of psychoanalysis described how three segments of French society in the 1950s responded to the challenge of psychoanalytic ideas. Indeed, the Urban-liberal, the Catholic, and the Communist milieus cultivated different representations of psychoanalysis, and opposed communication strategies to influence the public opinion in accordance with their own view (see also Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). According to social

representations theory, then, people do have multiple representations of citizenship, depending on their personal background (e.g., their own migration history), or beliefs (e.g., political orientation), and use them to defend a particular construction of reality, in which immigrants can be either included or excluded.

1.2.1.2.CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION EXPLAINED BY ACCULTURATION RESEARCH

Besides these recent advances in the study of social representations of citizenship, social psychology has historically approached migration from other theoretical perspectives (e.g., Esses et al., 2015; Green & Staerklé, 2013; Verkuyten, 2018; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). In this respect, acculturation processes have been considered among the most critical factors that nationals mobilize in order to behave towards immigrant persons (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt Sr., 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Ostfeld, 2017; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The study of acculturation appeared in social and political sciences starting from the beginning of the 20th century, in connection with growing migration in Western Europe and United States. The origins of modern approaches to acculturation are often credited to Redfield et colleagues (1936), according to which "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). A number of scholars distinguished between two orthogonal dimensions underlying both immigrants' acculturation strategies and national majorities' expectations (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010): 1) willingness to maintain connections with one's own community of origin and heritage culture, namely *heritage culture maintenance*; 2) willingness to enter in contact with national majority members and adopt the host culture, namely *host culture adoption*. The combination of these two dimensions results in the four well-known acculturation strategies already

identified by Berry and colleagues over twenty years ago (Berry, 1997): *integration*, when both heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption are high; *assimilation*, when host culture adoption is high but heritage culture maintenance is low; s*eparation*, when host culture adoption is low but heritage culture maintenance is high; and *marginalization* when both host culture adoption and heritage culture maintenance are low.

Although acculturation research increased exponentially in recent years—to date the original model proposed by Berry (1997) has been cited more than fifteen thousand times—the process by which national majority and immigrant minority members mutually adapt to one another was mainly framed as a dyadic intergroup relation, whereby acculturation strategies endorsed by immigrant minorities have to fit the expectations expressed by the national majority: Harmonious intergroup relations and optimal social psychological adjustment are observed in case of "good fit" between strategies and expectations, whereas tension and conflict raise in case of substantial differences between the two (Bourhis, Barrette, et al., 2009; Bourhis, Montreuil, et al., 2009; Gharaei, Phalet, & Fleischmann, 2019; Navas et al., 2005; Navas, Rojas, García, & Pumares, 2007). Undeniably, acculturation research brought important advances in understanding migration from the perspective of both immigrant minority and national majority members. Yet, we argue, it tends to reflect a dualist view of society, thereby running the risk of reifying social groups by opposing categories as allegedly stable ingroups and outgroups (for a similar point, see Caricati, 2018; Kerr, Durrheim, & Dixon, 2017).

In our opinion, acculturation research would benefit from studying citizenship acquisition, and should investigate more closely the dynamics associated to the transition of naturalized citizens from the immigrant minority to the national majority group. Through the procedure of naturalization, immigrants at the late stage of acculturation undertake a process of individual mobility aimed at being legally, politically and socially recognized as members

of the host national community (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Kulich et al., 2015). This rite of passage challenges the "binary representation" of intergroup relations, redefines the boundaries between ingroup and outgroup, and highlights multiple separations *within* social groups (Fassin & Mazouz, 2009; Politi & Staerklé, 2017): Among immigrants, the naturalization procedure distinguishes between those who are accepted as members of the national community, and those who are not. Within the national community, the incorporation of new ingroup members makes salient the differentiation between "core" and "marginal" citizens. In such moments of transition and change the many tensions within the social field come to light and the power dynamics between social actors resonate more clearly (Kurt Lewin, as cited in Tolman, 1996, p. 31).

In order to fully understand intra- and inter-group dynamics involved in citizenship acquisition, different levels of analyses and complementary theoretical perspectives must be integrated (Doise, 1976, 1982). To reach this goal, in the present thesis we articulate three main theoretical traditions, namely social representations, acculturation, and social identity. Social representations theory is used to highlight collectively defined systems of meaning associated to citizenship (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017). Acculturation research is mobilized to point out the acculturative expectations directed towards immigrants who wish to obtain national citizenship (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Social identity research is mobilized to pinpoint the change in self-definition occurring among naturalized citizens during their transition from the immigrant minority to the national majority group (Barreto & Ellemers, 2009; Kulich et al., 2015; Phinney, 1990; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). The underlying rationale is therefore that social representations of citizenship conveyed within society shape acculturation expectations directed towards naturalization applicants, which in turn have to regulate their identity accordingly.

1.2.1.3.CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION EXPLAINED BY SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Not only citizenship acquisition implies the transition from a legal status to another, but it also involves an identity adjustment (Andreouli, 2013; Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Fassin & Mazouz, 2009). Social identity dynamics are therefore at heart of the naturalization experience. In Tajfel's terms, social identity can be framed as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Social identity theory is grounded on two key assumptions: One the one hand, people prefer to belong to positively valued groups or social categories, whose membership provides meaning, support, agency, and psychological wellbeing (Jetten et al., 2017; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Accordingly, those at the bottom of the social ladder tend to engage in individual strategies in order to join positively valued groups (Ellemers, 2001; Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993). In this view, naturalization can be considered a specific case of upward mobility, applicants "passing" from a devalued social category—immigrants—to a valued one—nationals—through citizenship acquisition (Kulich et al., 2015). On the other hand, individuals derive a sense of positive social identity from cues that indicate they are "central, included, valued, and respected within the group" (Wiesenfeld, Raghuram, & Garud, 2001, p. 218; Smith & Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Blader, 2001, 2003). Ingroup marginality and exclusion by ingroup members are thus potential sources of distress (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; Wesselmann & Williams, 2017; Wirth & Williams, 2009), especially when commitment to the group is high (Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006; Wirth, Bernstein, Wesselmann, & Leroy, 2017).

Identity dynamics are therefore bidirectional, and comprise as much citizenship representations from the national community, as the individual construction of particular

identity positions in relation to these representations. Using Duveen's words, "before it becomes thematized as a struggle for the individual, an identity is first a social location, a space made available within the representational structures of the social world" (Duveen, 2001, p. 258; see also Breakwell, 2001; Lorenzi-Cioldi & Clémence, 2001). Exploratory work recently conducted in Switzerland highlights that national majority members frame naturalized citizens as individuals who assimilate to the dominant culture, and turn against immigrants as a sign of loyalty towards the nation (Politi & Staerklé, 2017; see also Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Andreouli et al., 2016a). Supposedly, the identity content associated to naturalized citizens implies a specific acculturative strategy—assimilation—whereby over-identification with Switzerland is merged with clear distancing from previous markers of cultural identity. As new marginal ingroup members, naturalized citizens are sensitive to the expectations directed towards them (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Levine & Moreland, 1994; Turner, 1985). Because of the contractual obligation they may perceive when joining the national majority group, they are likely to experience inner identity conflict and status inconsistency (Chipeaux, Kulich, Iacoviello, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2017; Kulich et al., 2015). As individuals "in-between" two opposed social groups—nationals and immigrants—they therefore feel social pressure to choose their side. Referring to it as "social identity threat", Branscombe and colleagues distinguished between two dynamics —intergroup and intragroup, respectively—that apply to "people in-between", such as naturalized citizens (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999).

1) *Acceptance threat:* Those who are marginal members of a social group are likely to experience an intrapsychic need to clarify to others and to themselves they actually belong to it. Cheryan and Monin (2005) demonstrated for instance that when Asian Americans are reminded of their peripheral membership to the national group, they react by enhancing loyalty and engagement to American practices (see also Derks, Van

Laar, Ellemers, & Raghoe, 2015; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sleebos, Ellemers, & Gilder, 2006). Accordingly, naturalized citizens may inflate their bonds and commitments with the national culture, in order to make clear to others and themselves they belong now to the national community.

2) *Categorization threat:* Those who lack an internal sense of commitment to a social group they are affiliated with are likely to distance themselves from that group. Chipeaux and colleagues (Chipeaux, Kulich, Iacoviello, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2017) demonstrated for instance that, compared to non-mobile individuals, French people working in Switzerland, or even participants who just anticipated such upward mobility, showed lower concern for other French fellow members, and were less willing to participate in actions aimed at improving the situation in France (see also Derks et al., 2015; Faniko, Ellemers, & Derks, 2016). Accordingly, naturalized citizens may show anti-immigration sentiment, in order to appear as much distinct from the immigrant group as possible.

Moreover, the two dimensions are related, such that discrediting and derogating a lower-status group can facilitate the incorporation into a higher-status group (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Ellemers, Van Dyck, Hinkle, & Jacobs, 2000; Steinel et al., 2010). Noel, Wann and Branscombe (1995) demonstrated for instance that, compared to members of a fraternity and sorority with a central, secure position in their group, individuals with a marginal, insecure status were more likely to engage in derogation of outgroup same-sex organizations and to approach outgroups in a competitive way (see also Kleef, Steinel, Knippenberg, Hogg, & Svensson, 2007). That is to say, naturalized citizens may be pushed by identity considerations (i.e., identity performance, Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007) to distance themselves from the immigrant group. Consequently, they may derogate its members in order to avoid any mis-categorization with the immigrant

minority outgroup, and assure a better position within the national majority ingroup (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Politi & Staerklé, 2017).

1.2.2. Developing an integrative theoretical framework of citizenship acquisition

The aim of the present thesis is to build up a social psychological framework where citizenship acquisition is positioned at the crossroads of intragroup and intergroup dynamics, embedded in a given socio-political context (for a graphical representation of the model, see Figure 5). This framework was inspired by the work of Bourhis and colleagues (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2010), who investigated for the first time the interplay between state immigration and integration policies, national majority members expectations and immigrant acculturation strategies (for a similar analysis of triadic intergroup power relations, see Mugny, 1982; Politi et al., 2017; Subašić et al., 2008). Our model of citizenship acquisition maintains the same integrative rationale developed by Bourhis and colleagues, but we make it more complex by adding naturalized citizens as a group "in-between" nationals and immigrants. In doing so, we wish to advance the theoretical debate, and enrich social-psychological literature on migration and acculturation with new insights.

1) A first dimension of our framework highlights the *circular relation* occurring between state naturalization policies and representations of citizenship shared within society. Whereas current theoretical models mainly analyze the way the institutional context influences attitudes and behaviors of individuals living within it, we argue that the reverse process is equally important. In other words, we study how members of the national community—with or without immigration background—challenge the social and political context in which they are embedded, thereby laying the foundations for amending state naturalization policies in line with their representations (Elcheroth et al., 2011; Howarth, Caroline, Andreouli, Eleni, & Kessi, 2014).

2) The second dimension concerns the *intragroup reframing* of migration and acculturation. Whereas current theoretical models tend to treat acculturation as a purely intergroup phenomenon, we analyze the relation between nationals and naturalized citizens. By shifting the focus from intergroup relations between nationals and immigrants to the transition of naturalized citizens from one group to the other, we highlight the intragroup dynamics involved in acculturation and inclusion of new marginal members into the national community (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; see also, Levine & Moreland, 1994; Moreland, 1985).

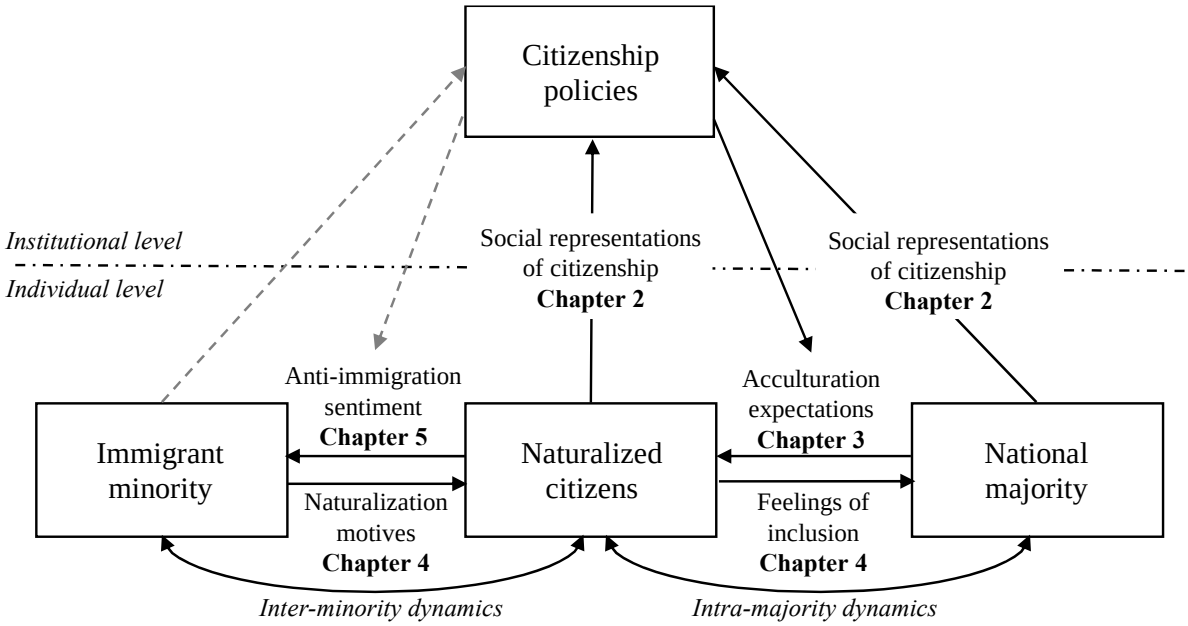
3) The third dimension implies the *redefinition of intergroup boundaries,* and the subsequent fragmentation of the immigrant groups into sub-categories. Whereas current theoretical models tend to treat immigration as a rather homogenous phenomenon (but see Asbrock, Lemmer, Becker, Koller, & Wagner, 2014; Craig & Richeson, 2012; Hagendoorn, 1995; Lee & Fiske, 2006), we highlight the inter-minority dynamics involved in the process of upward mobility, and the way naturalized citizens relate to the immigrant group they have voluntarily left (Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Noel et al., 1995).

Four empirical chapters divided in two sections articulate normative conceptions of citizenship derived from political theory and social psychological processes involved in the transition of naturalized citizens from the immigrant minority to the national majority group (Figure 5). The first two empirical chapters (chapter two and three) form the *first section of the thesis* and examine the perspective of the receiving society on citizenship acquisition. In particular, we assess how members of the national community define citizenship, and reshape naturalization policies, but also distinguish between "good" and "bad" naturalization applicants as a function of the political environment in which their evaluations are embedded. **Chapter 2** is grounded on social representations theory and investigates the relation occurring between members of the national community with or without immigration background and state naturalization policies. Most research in political science leans towards unidirectional

top-down explanations that descend from policies to individual psychology. Conversely, we analyze the opposite process, whereby national citizens become subject of policies, mobilize specific representations of citizenship, and orient naturalization procedures. **Chapter 3** builds on existing acculturation literature and examines the expectations national majority members direct towards naturalized citizens, thereby investigating when and why willingness to maintain their heritage culture become detrimental for immigrants who wish to obtain national citizenship.

The last two empirical chapters (chapters four and five) form the *second section of the thesis* and examine the perspective of the naturalized minority. In particular, we assess why naturalized citizens decide to undergo the naturalization procedure, if they feel included into the national community, and whether they use their acquired political rights to support or derogate the immigrant minority. **Chapter 4** starts from the ongoing debate in political theory about practices of citizenship in contemporary societies, proposes a taxonomy of the main motivational drivers underlying the subjective decision to naturalize, and articulates naturalization motives with subsequent feelings of inclusion experienced by naturalized citizens. **Chapter 5** discusses identity strategies among minority group members in a process of upward mobility, develops a two-pathways model of political incorporation, and studies inter-minority relations resulting from citizenship acquisition, thereby investigating naturalized citizens' opinions towards immigration policies as a function of different processes of political incorporation.

Figure 5: Integrative theoretical framework of citizenship acquisition



Note: Solid arrows indicate research questions investigated empirically in the present thesis with indication of the corresponding chapter. Dashed arrows indicate complementary research questions that are not covered in the thesis.

1.3. SECTION 1: CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE HOST SOCIETY

1.3.1. FROM STATE POLICIES TO INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY AND BACK

Whereas state-centered political approaches overlooked the subjective perspective of social actors engaged in the practice of citizenship, social psychology has dedicated limited attention to the political context in which individual action is embedded. Yet, the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) of Bourhis and colleagues (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2010) first proposed that state policies have a decisive impact on the relation between national majority and immigrant minority members. The underlying assumption of the IAM was that individual acculturation strategies and expectations do not emerge in a social and political vacuum, but are rather influenced by migration and integration policies adopted by the state. Policies and procedures generate cultural norms and ideologies, that in turn affect attitudes and behavior of both national majority and immigrant minority group members.

In recent years, an increasing amount of work in social psychology has been done to consider the effects of the socio-political environment in which people are embedded on their attitudes and behaviors. It's no coincidence that inclusive vs. exclusive environments were conceptualized in two alternative manners (for a discussion, see Fasel, 2013; Van Assche, Roets, De Keersmaecker, & Van Hiel, 2017): 1) On the one hand, *top-down* approaches assessed the socio-political environment from immigration or naturalization policies into force at a given unit of analysis, such as municipality, region, or country levels. Multi-level methods (Schlueter, Meuleman, & Davidov, 2013; Visintin, Green, & Sarrasin, 2018), and cross-national experimental studies (Guimond et al., 2013; Oliveira, Dambrun, & Guimond, 2008; see also chapter three of the present thesis) were mainly used. Findings are mixed and stress the importance of considering an intermediate factor, namely the "ideological climate", mediating the effect of state policy on individual cognition and behavior (Guimond et al., 2014).

2) On the other hand, *bottom-up* approaches inferred the so-called ideological climate directly from values, beliefs and norms shared by a segment of society. Aggregate scores of individual responses (Fischer, 2009; Van Assche et al., 2017), and prior referenda results (Fasel, Green, & Sarrasin, 2013; Green, Visintin, & Sarrasin, 2018; Sarrasin et al., 2012) were mainly used. Findings shows that normative beliefs endorsed by the majority of society affect not only respondents who endorse them, but also those who do not personally agree with the values transmitted by the climate (Christ et al., 2014; Elcheroth et al., 2013).

Such a circular explanation (i.e., institutionalized norms reduce the scope of action of the individual, who in turn generates norms during social interactions) is symptomatic of two deep-rooted traditions in social psychology, whereby the definition of the normative environment differed substantially. The former top-down analysis of normative climates dates back to Kurt Lewin pioneering work on political atmospheres. The latter bottom-up analysis

dates back to Muzafer Sherif and Solomon Asch experiments on group dynamics of norms convergence. On the one hand, Kurt Lewin and colleagues (Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939; for a discussion, see Lezaun & Calvillo, 2014) demonstrated that democratic, autocratic, and *laissez-faire* atmospheres created in an experimental setting shape the aggression of participants and direct their behavior. Such top-down manifestation of normative climates evokes the idea that political order has its own explanatory power (Rothstein, 1998). On the other hand, Muzafer Şerif (1936) and Solomon Asch (1951) both demonstrated experimentally the organic quality of social norms, which emerge from the gradual convergence of group members towards a common normative reference. Such bottom-up manifestation of normative climates evokes the idea that people adapt their behavior on the basis of what the other people do, and inspired a considerable amount of research on social conformism and majority influence (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Feldman, 1984; Turner, 1991).

1.3.1.1.BRIDGING THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE POLITICAL IN THE CONTEXT OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Whether from a top-down or a bottom-up perspective, classic work on the impact of normative climates on individual psychology assumes that only powerful majorities and political elites are able to impose their point of view and lay the foundations of prevailing ideas in society, thereby accounting much more for stability than social change (Moscovici, 1976b; Moscovici, Mucchi-Faina, & Maass, 1994; Mugny & Pérez, 1998; Nemeth, 2009).

Conversely, from a social representations framework, social norms are conceived as common-sense knowledge, that is communicated, endorsed, but also resisted by social actors engaged in ongoing political struggle (Howarth, et al., 2014; Howarth, 2006). Through this lenses, the psychological and the political levels are bridged, and knowledge construction is analyzed within a particular political and ideological context (Elcheroth et al., 2011; Staerklé, Clémence, & Spini, 2011). Citizenship, in particular, can be considered a “living ideology”,

which is debated, reaffirmed, and transformed from the bottom-up by people holding rival conceptions and opposed political projects (Andreouli et al., 2016; Hampshire, 2011; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017). The result is that state policies are treated as both source and target of influence, naturalization policies being influenced from the bottom-up by the dynamic dialectic between opposing social representations of the national community (Howarth, Caroline et al., 2014; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). From this theoretical point of view, then, state policies and public opinion influence each other: Transitions from one procedure to another disrupt hegemonic representations, thereby paving the way for a renegotiation of the meanings and boundaries of citizenship, on which new policies are subsequently built up (Andreouli et al., 2016).

The active role played by public opinion is particularly relevant in direct democracy settings, where citizens decide on policy through open ballots, such as referenda and popular initiatives. Accordingly, the role of meaningful deliberation of the citizenry is central, because the legitimacy of the decisions depends, among other things, on their democratic ground (Colombo, 2018; Colombo & Kriesi, 2017). Swiss public opinion, for instance, converged over the years around restrictive understandings of citizenship, and refused to liberalize one of the most demanding naturalization procedures in Europe many times in the past (Helbling, 2010b; Politi & Staerklé, 2017). In 1983, people rejected the proposal for a simplified procedure for young foreigners who had grown up in Switzerland. In 1994, the referendum to facilitate naturalization of people born and raised in Switzerland failed again in the majority of cantons. The 2004 vote confirmed Swiss people's aversion to accord the "*ius soli*" for third-generation immigrants. At odds with previous results, in 2017 people voted in favor of simplifying the procedure for third-generation immigrants. Approved by the majority of cantons, the amendment of the new federal naturalization law entered into force on early 2018. Considering the prevailing conservative climate endorsed by Swiss voters over the

years, an important question arises about whether public opinion on the subject of citizenship acquisition moved away from ethnic and assimilationist conceptions of the nation or not.

1.3.1.2.SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN TIMES OF POLICY TRANSITION

The second chapter included in the present thesis is specifically meant to investigate the relation linking state naturalization policies and intergroup ideologies from the bottom-up. Instead of considering the way state naturalization policies construct ideological climates, we analyzed how Swiss voters with and without immigration background mobilize ideologies and representations of citizenship as justification in favor or against the amendment of the new federal naturalization law that was submitted to popular vote in 2017. We treat alternative conceptions of citizenship as legitimizing beliefs aimed at acting upon the world and supporting particular policies (Staerklé, 2013; Staerklé et al., 2011; see also Sidanius, Levin, Federico, & Pratto, 2001). By doing so, we postulate that social representations serve a pragmatic purpose, functioning as logical arguments suitable for demonstrating an assumption and persuading an interlocutor. In other words, our approach to social representations of citizenship in the context of policy transition not only seeks to answer "what" questions, but also "what for" questions (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017). Accordingly,, the political arena in which naturalization policies are submitted to popular vote become an ideological struggle where alternative representations of citizenship are imposed upon others by social actors occupying different social positioning in society (Elcheroth et al., 2011; Howarth, Caroline et al., 2014; Staerklé et al., 2011).

In order to investigate support for state naturalization policies as grounded into alternative representations of citizenship, we exploited a nationwide survey conducted few days after the 2017 referendum on a representative sample of Swiss voters, where respondents were asked to declare and justify their voting behavior. The nature of the data was particularly suitable for implementing a socio-dynamic approach to social representations (Doise, 1992;

Doise et al., 1993): We first outlined alternative clusters of content associated with representations of citizenship. Then, we anchored such conceptions to respondents' social and ideological positioning. Finally, we tested how they were related to policy support. By means of such methodology, we identified similarities and discrepancies between normative conceptions of citizenship and lay thinking, and tested boundary conditions under which ethnic vs. neoliberal communitarian conceptions were used to reject or support easier access to citizenship. Also, we highlighted the line of arguments used to differentiate between "good" and "bad" candidates, and unveiled the complexity of the term integration, often confounded with the concept of cultural assimilation (Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011).

1.3.2. Acculturation expectations towards naturalization applicants

Not only do national majority members shape state naturalization policies, but they also contribute to the social recognition and inclusion of immigrants who were granted citizenship. A second dimension of the present thesis is therefore concerned with *intragroup* redefinition of acculturation expectations. Consequently, the third chapter of the present thesis investigates which acculturation strategy are preferred by national majority members, and the way such preferences are anchored in neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship. To the best of our knowledge, acculturation expectations directed towards immigrants who wish to be granted citizenship have never been investigated, nor acculturation research was so far articulated to social representations of citizenship. Accordingly, no empirical evidence is available about intragroup dynamics involved in the acculturation of new ingroup members through citizenship acquisition (but for an early investigation of intra-group dynamics in small group settings, see Levine & Moreland, 1994; Moreland, 1985). Because acculturation occurs within (and not between) ingroup boundaries, we expect acculturation expectations directed towards naturalization applicants to be stricter and more demanding than those

directed towards other immigrant groups. Whereas contemporary naturalization regimes do not prescribe explicitly naturalization applicants to give up on their heritage culture (Joppke, 2017; Kymlicka, 2001; but see, Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011), national majority members may not be as open to heritage culture maintenance as state policies, when it comes to include immigrants into the national community (Politi & Staerklé, 2017).

Whereas acculturation literature has not carefully considered the different dynamics at play *within* and *between* groups, the social identity perspective moved already beyond its intergroup focus only, and included into its analytical framework intragroup processes as well (Hornsey, 2008). According to the refinements proposed by Turner and colleagues, identity operates at different levels of inclusiveness (Turner et al., 1987). Indeed, individuals can think of themselves as belonging to separate social group, which are defined against one another, but they can move to a more inclusive level of self-categorization, where sub-categories are reunited under the same superordinate identity. As a general cognitive process, a target person is categorized as an ingroup or outgroup member depending on his/her comparative fit with group prototypes (i.e., meta-contrast principle), namely the ratio of the average similarity of the individual to outgroup members over the average similarity of the individual to ingroup members (Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991; Turner, 1985; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Accordingly, when categorization into groups is salient, normative differentiation among members of the same category distinguishes prototypical and non-prototypical ingroup members, while categorical differentiation between members of different categories streotypizes ingroup and outgroup members as a function of their corresponding group prototypes (Politi et al., 2017; Staerklé, 2016; Staerklé, Delay, Gianettoni, & Roux, 2007). This rather automatic psychological mechanism simplifies the perception and subsequent interpretation of social environments in which people are embedded, ingroup and

outgroup members becoming more easily recognizable. From a self-categorization theory perspective, then, social norms of relevant ingroups are a crucial source of information, and prescribe appropriate ways to think, feel, and act. Through the process of depersonalization, ingroup members internalize ingroup norms and expect others to do the same (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, & Seôdio, 2001).

A recent model built upon self-categorization theory, namely the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) developed by Gaertner and Dovidio (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; see also Brown, 2000), appears particularly suitable for studying normative expectations directed by national majority members towards naturalized citizens. The underlying rationale of this theoretical model is based on the process of "recategorization", whereby members of different groups conceive of themselves as a single, more inclusive superordinate group. Proponents of the CIIM showed that emphasis on a one-group recategorization is associated with a cultural ideology of assimilation, such that minority group members are expected to give up their distinctive social identities in order to better adapt and be absorbed within the mainstream culture (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Dovidio et al., 2009; Scheepers, Saguy, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2014).

We expect citizenship acquisition to follow the same rationale: The symbolic transition of naturalized citizens from one social category (the immigrant minority) to another (the national majority) implies a recategorization process that modifies the differentiation criterion, from the intergroup to the intragroup level. The intergroup demarcation, in which differences between groups were accentuated, leaves room for incorporation at the intragroup level, in which differences within groups are now minimized (Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010; Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005). At this late stage of the adaptation process, similarity is expected, so that intergroup recognition of cultural diversity may be

reconstructed as intragroup deviance and lack of assimilation (Staerklé, 2016; Staerklé et al., 2007).

1.3.2.1. When and why cultural maintenance results in negative evaluations

The third chapter included in the present thesis investigates the relation linking heritage culture maintenance and evaluations directed by national majority members towards naturalization applicants. By doing so, we studied boundary conditions and underlying processes responsible for the backlash against cultural maintenance. The chapter is structured around three main research questions: 1) Considering that citizenship is ever more considered a "prize to be earned" through conformism to ingroup norms and values (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Gibson, 2009; Van Houdt et al., 2011), we analyzed whether heritage culture maintenance is perceived as incompatible with communitarian representations of citizenship. 2) Considering the preferential treatment granted to valued high status naturalization applicants from Western countries, over devalued low status immigrant groups from non-Western countries (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019; Turper, Iyengar, Aarts, & Gerven, 2015; Wanner & D'Amato, 2003), we analyzed whether heritage culture maintenance is tolerated for naturalization applicants from culturally close countries. 3) Considering that state policies and acculturation norms promoted in society influence individual attitudes and behavior (Bourhis et al., 2010; Guimond et al., 2013; Sarrasin et al., 2012), we analyzed whether heritage culture maintenance is tolerated when multiculturalism is promoted by state naturalization policies.

In order to investigate these three research questions, we conducted three experimental studies in which different profiles were presented to a sample of nationals. Different pieces of information were given to participants, so that naturalization applicants differed in terms of level of cultural maintenance and origin. The "vignette method" we employed constitutes the most common methods used in social and cross-cultural psychology to assess causality

between acculturation strategies and evaluations (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011; Verkuyten, Thijs, & Sierksma, 2014). Also, the ecological validity of this methodology is particularly evident in Switzerland, a country where until 2003 some municipalities used referenda with closed ballots to decide on naturalization requests. Before the Federal Court defined such practice as discriminatory, local voters received official voting leaflets explaining the pending naturalization request with a detailed description of each immigrant applicant (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019; Helbling, 2010a). The experimental material was created to mimic these official voting leaflets and provide good match with real-world situations (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Yamamoto, 2015).

1.4. SECTION 2: CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS

1.4.1. INTRA-MAJORITY DYNAMICS AS A RESULT OF CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION

Naturalization is something more than a mere administrative procedure, and shares with other ancestral rituals the idea of "passing" from a category usually deprived of certain civic rights to "full membership" within society (Fassin & Mazouz, 2009; Ossipow & Felder, 2015). New members have actively chosen to join the national community and need to own their rights, by proving that the decision to accept them was legitimate (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Gibson, 2009; Mazouz, 2012). Accordingly, their motivation must be consistent with the solemn promise of loyalty and belongingness they have made. Yet, political theorists observed a general transition in the institutionalized practice of citizenship, from "thick" considerations based on identity bonds and attachment with the national community, to "thin" considerations based on instrumentality, lacking in symbolic and emotional content (Harpaz, 2015; Joppke, 2018). Whereas naturalized citizens were supposed to undergo the naturalization procedure "from the heart" in the past (Brubaker, 1992; Shulman, 2002), with the gradual liberalization of citizenship (and allowance of multiple

nationalities) instrumental considerations are rising in importance (Bauböck, 2018; Finotelli, La Barbera, & Echeverría, 2018).

Although political theory abounded with analytical-normative models, little attention has been dedicated to the inner motives pushing immigrants to undergo the naturalization procedure. The few empirical studies available up to now employed exclusively qualitative methods. Also, they were based on specific populations, like international students (Robertson, 2008), ethno-national communities living outside the country (Knott, 2018; Pogonyi, 2019), and Muslim minorities (Diehl & Blohm, 2003). For instance, Robertson (2008) found that international students in Australia evoked four main motivations, namely 1) attachment to the country, 2) desire for security, 3) political participation, and 4) international mobility. Nevertheless, a clear taxonomy of naturalization motives reported by large samples of naturalization applicants is lacking and no multi-dimensional scales are available, so that we do not actually know if these same criteria generalize to a broader spectrum of migrant groups.

This lack of investigation highlights a gap within psychological perspectives on migration and acculturation, which paid little attention to motivations among immigrants at different stages of acculturation (but see Esses et al., 2015). Most of the available research focused only on determinants of the decision to migrate, and distinguished between: 1) personality factors facilitating pre-migration intentions, such as achievement, power, affiliation and neophilia (Boneva, Frieze, Ferligoj, Jarosova, & Pauknerova, 1998; Frieze et al., 2004); 2) family considerations, such as reunification, marriage and increased opportunities for children (Dahl & Sorenson, 2009; Kofman, 2004); 3) attachment to the country of origin as inhibition to migration (Gustafson, 2008; Li & Frieze, 2013). Conversely, motivations related to the naturalization intentions have neither been the focus of systematic psychological investigations, nor discussed in light of normative conceptions of citizenship

derived from political theory (for few exceptions, see Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Knott, 2018; Pogonyi, 2019; Robertson, 2008).

1.4.1.1.TOWARDS A SUBJECTIVE EXAMINATION OF NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

Albeit the demarcation between instrumentality and belongingness can be readily made from a normative perspective, the way social actors transformed abstract conceptions of citizenship into practice is far more complex. For example, Pogonyi (2018) analyzed fifty-one semi-structured interviews with naturalized Hungarian living outside EU, and found instrumental and identity motivations to overlap and reinforce one another. Also, justifications given by naturalized citizens may be influenced by the normative environment in which naturalization decisions are made, some motivations being more socially valuable and acceptable than others. Whereas contemporary "thin" models of legal citizenship are compatible with instrumental considerations (Bauböck, 2018; Joppke, 2018), social recognition by national majority members may be more closely bonded to symbolic attachment to the national community (Roblain, Azzi, & Licata, 2016; see also chapter three of the present thesis). Accordingly, belongingness may be a crucial motive that allows social inclusion by national majority members.

Whether or not naturalized citizens are willing to be recognized as fellow members is likely to depend on their level of attachment with and commitment to the national group, namely *individual inclusion goals* (for an extensive review of the concept, see Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Yet, both categorization and acceptance threat, as they were described by Branscombe and colleagues (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Jetten, Branscombe, & Spears, 2002; Turner, 2010), refers to external cues originating from the group, namely *group inclusion goals* (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Accordingly, research should disentangle the inner motivational drivers of the individual, on the one hand, and subsequent feelings of inclusion experienced by the individual as new member of the national majority group, on the other

hand (Figure 6). Yet, as far as we know, no previous research analyzed feelings of inclusion in relation to citizenship acquisition, and articulated them with the underlying motivations reported by naturalized citizens. This is particularly urgent considering that naturalization is explicitly meant to *include* immigrants in the national community (OECD, 2011). All together, these wide-open questions call for a bottom-up investigation of the inner motives driving the decision to naturalize, and the way immigrants feel socially recognized by the national community once they obtain the legal status of citizens (Licata et al., 2011).

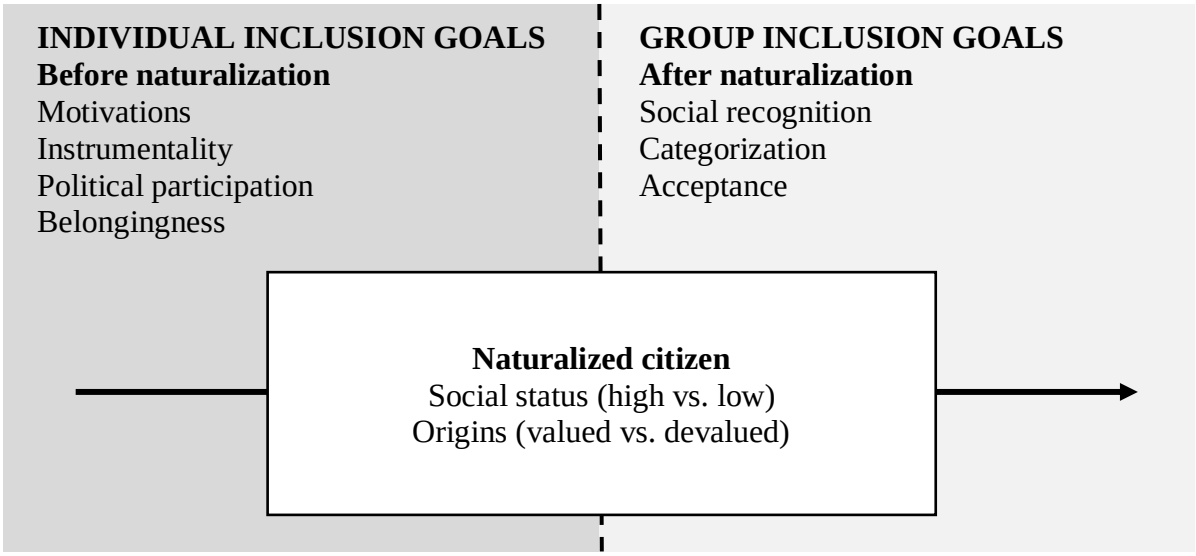
1.4.1.2.MOTIVATIONS AND FEELINGS OF INCLUSION REPORTED BY NATURALIZED CITIZENS

The fourth chapter included in the present thesis develops a taxonomy of naturalization motives, as organized around three underlying dimensions, namely instrumentality, political participation, and belongingness. Also, subjective feelings of inclusion into the national community reported by naturalized citizens are assessed. In other words, we center our analysis around two related dimensions: 1) the motivations underlying naturalized citizens' decision to join the national community, namely their *individual inclusion goals*; and 2) the subsequent feelings of inclusion reported by naturalized citizens once they joined the national community, namely their perception about *group inclusion goals* (Figure 6). By articulating motivational drivers, social positioning, and feelings of inclusion, we analyze whether naturalized citizens endorse naturalization motives as a function of their social status and origins, and report different levels of social inclusion. By differentiating between individual and group inclusion goals, we investigate when the two dimensions of inclusion overlap, and when they do not.

In order to get access to the experience of naturalized citizens, we established a collaboration with naturalization offices of the Cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Valais, so that we were able to administrate a survey on immigrants who had just completed the ordinary naturalization procedure. Because all participants met the strict requirements reviewed by the

naturalization offices during the naturalization procedure, a good level of homogeneity within the sample was guaranteed, and we avoided biases due to the multiplicity of trajectories characterizing individuals at different stages of the acculturation process (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a; Pietrantuono, 2016).

Figure 6: Individual and group inclusion goals as a function of naturalized citizen's social status and origins



1.4.2. INTER-MINORITY DYNAMICS AS A RESULT OF CITIZENSHIP ACQUISITION

Whilst citizenship acquisition redefines the relation between naturalized citizens and national majority members, it also reshapes the way naturalized citizens relate to immigrant minority members. Naturalization exemplifies the heterogeneity existing between immigrant sub-groups, and reinforces the divide between first- and second-class immigrant categories. Accordingly, a growing number of scholars argue that binary differentiation between national majority and immigrant minority should be replaced by a theoretical redefinition of societies as composed of multiple subgroups in constant adjustment and reciprocal interdependence (e.g., Caricati, 2018; Deaux, 2000; Richeson & Craig, 2011). Such "super diversity" is multi-dimensional, and comprises multiple legal and social statuses—other than ethnicities—such is the case for naturalized citizens vs. immigrants without the national citizenship (Meissner &

Vertovec, 2015; Vertovec, 2007). Relatedly, ever more studies interested in the study of anti-immigration sentiment included individuals with immigrant background in their survey studies (Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Sarrasin, Green, Bolzman, Visintin, & Politi, 2018; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018).

This change in perspective is driven mainly by a sociological—more than a social psychological—reappraisal. Indeed, the broad category of "immigrant" has little psychological meaning in itself, so that long-timer immigrants from Western European countries who obtained national citizens may not share any feeling of common destiny with newcomers from Developing countries. Yet, anti-immigration sentiment among naturalized citizens is important when it comes to analyze the power relation within society (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Richeson & Craig, 2011). Indeed, conformism to national majority norms and values endorsed by *elite* members of the immigrant minority legitimizes the status quo, and is reflective of majority group's interests rather than minority groups' vested interest (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Lukacs, 1971). The lack of common identity may therefore give the floor to material considerations based on perceived competition for limited resources among immigrant sub-groups sharing similar positions in the social hierarchy. Indeed, both realistic conflict (Olzac, 1992; Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) and relative deprivation theories (Runciman, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2002) demonstrated that prejudice and derogation is readily addressed towards minorities who appear to be competing for resources or are considered to be the cause of perceived impoverishment (see also Jetten, Mols, & Postmes, 2015).

Compared to nationals without immigration background, naturalized citizens tend to have lower status in society, thereby finding themselves in possible competition with other minorities. Yet, they are generally better-off as compared to immigrants without national citizenship. For instance, a number of empirical studies showed that naturalized citizens

report higher educational, employment levels and income compared to the rest of the immigrant population (OECD, 2011). Also, they occupy more high-skilled jobs than their non-naturalized counterparts (Liebig & Von Haaren, 2011; Steinhardt & Wedemeier, 2012). The higher human, social and political capital held by naturalized citizens may thus play a major role in reducing—or increasing—the power asymmetry between nationals and immigrants. The political incorporation of individuals with immigrant background into the body politic makes the interests of immigrant groups visible and represented within the democratic process (for a similar point, see Levin, 2013; Minnite, 2009). Accordingly, if naturalized citizens endorse egalitarian beliefs and support policies in favor of other immigrant groups, they would be effective in promoting social change (Bird, Saalfeld, & Wüst, 2011; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Nevertheless, the few empirical studies available reveal a different picture: Against predictions deriving from both realistic conflict and relative deprivation theories, immigrants without citizenship show more positive opinions towards immigration and immigration policies than natives (Berry, 2016; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Sarrasin et al., 2018), whereas naturalized citizens tend to align their political opinions and conform to the national majority group (Just & Anderson, 2015; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018). Referring to that phenomenon as "incorporation effect", Kolbe and Crepaz (2016) recently demonstrated that naturalized citizens were pushed by identity considerations to become as much reticent as natives to grant welfare benefits to immigrants (i.e., they reported the same level of welfare chauvinism).

1.4.2.1. ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS PROCESSES OF IMMIGRANT POLITICAL INCORPORATION

The incorporation of individuals with immigration background into the body politic can have very different meanings and implications (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2017; Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009). It is therefore important to study the effect of naturalization, not only in terms of political efficacy and general interest in politics

(Bevelander, 2011; Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015b; Pantoja & Gershon, 2006), but also regarding the process of political incorporation, and its consequences in terms of inter-minority relations. On the one hand, acquisition of political rights experienced by naturalized citizens expand the political system with new insights and a different point of view on crucial political issues (Hornsey, Grice, Jetten, Paulsen, & Callan, 2007; Hornsey & Imami, 2004; Packer, 2008). From this standpoint, political incorporation is an exogenous process of transformation, by reason of which naturalized citizens would support immigrant rights and challenge inequalities (Minnite, 2009; Varjonen, Nortio, Mähönen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2018). On the other hand, naturalized citizens have to show their loyalty to the nation and conform to mainstream political opinions to secure their status within the national majority group (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014; Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno, 2006; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). In this respect, political incorporation is an endogenous process of absorption, by reason of which naturalized citizens should oppose immigrant rights and legitimize inequalities (Minnite, 2009; Varjonen et al., 2018).

Whether naturalized citizens undergo an exogenous process of transformation or an endogenous process of absorption may depend on their inclusion goals within the receiving society, and the related acculturation orientations endorsed (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Hindriks et al., 2017). Indeed, individuals who are highly motivated to become core ingroup members may exhibit assimilation strategies, thereby derogating immigrants in order to avoid any possible association with them (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Noel et al., 1995; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018). Conversely, individuals who are moved by obtaining the legal status of citizen, while remaining marginal ingroup members, may exhibit integration strategies, thereby fraternizing with immigrants in order to maintain a common identity (Klandermans, van der Toorn, & Van Stekelenburg, 2008; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014; Subašić et al., 2008).

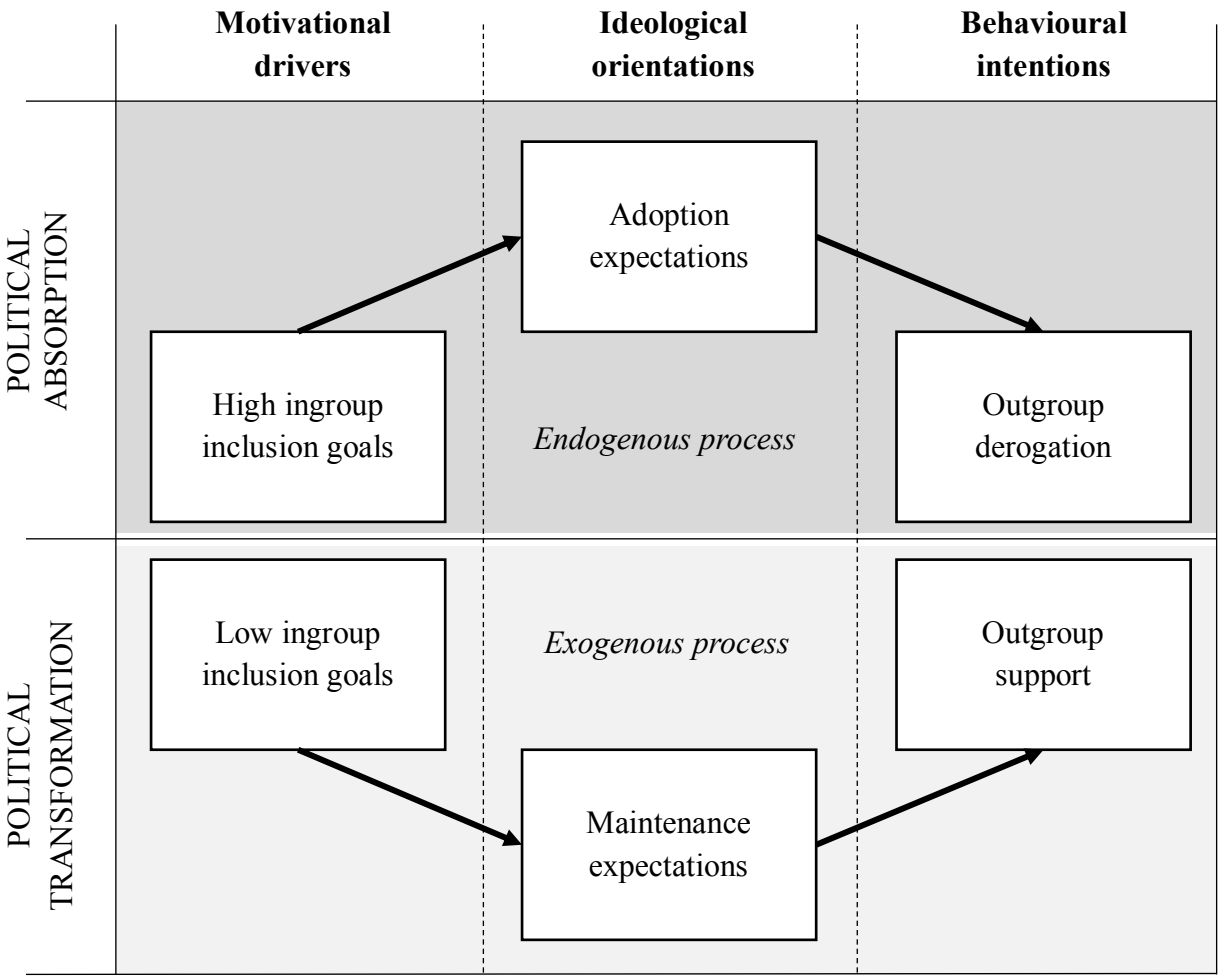
1.4.2.2.ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT AMONG NATURALIZED CITIZENS

On the basis of these theoretical considerations, in the fifth chapter of the present thesis we develop a two-pathway model of immigrant political incorporation (Figure 7). For each of the two processes of political incorporation three components are identified, namely motivational drivers, ideological orientations and behavioral intentions. 1) We define *motivational drivers* as the inner reasons why immigrants decided to undergo the naturalization process, and classify them into high and low inclusion goals. In our model they correspond to an intra-psychic motivational regulation, which sustain the process of political incorporation. 2) We define *ideological orientations* as the acculturation expectations endorsed by naturalized citizens. Depending on how much they are motivated to acquire a core position in the national majority group or not, naturalized citizens are expected to endorse acculturation expectations to a different extent. Because host culture adoption is the prototypical hierarchy-enhancing norm endorsed by national majority members, individuals moved by high inclusion goals should endorse it to a greater extent. Because heritage culture maintenance is the prototypical hierarchy-attenuating norm endorsed by immigrant minority members, individuals moved by low inclusion goals should endorse it to a greater extent. Finally, 3) we define *behavioral intentions* as the political opinions directed towards immigration policies. Because host culture adoption focuses on the duties required from immigrants, it should be related to hierarchy-enhancing political opinions (i.e., preference for strict and exclusionary immigration policies). Because heritage culture maintenance focuses on the rights granted to immigrants, it should be related to hierarchy-attenuating political opinions (i.e., preference for permissive and inclusionary immigration policies).

We tested this model by means of the same cross-sectional data collected among naturalized citizens. The taxonomy of naturalization motives previously identified was used to assess the motivational drivers at the heart of political incorporation. Also, we employed

questions related to real migration policies currently debated in Switzerland, in order to assure ecological validity to our study. Not only did we test the processes involved in the two-pathways of political incorporation, but we also compared mean levels of support for each of the components, thereby showing the prevalence of each process of political incorporation among naturalized citizens. By articulating motivational drivers, ideological orientations, and behavioral intentions in a unique model, we assume that intra-majority and inter-minority dynamics are connected. In fact, those immigrants who are highly motivated to cross the borders and acquire core positions within the national majority group are expected to behave as the most loyal gatekeepers of intergroup boundaries.

Figure 7: Two-pathway model of immigrant political incorporation.



1.5. METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Our research program is organized around four independent articles. Accordingly, the four empirical chapters that follow can be approached separately. Each of them answers specific research questions and is written according to the requirements of specific academic journals, ranging from social and political psychology to public opinion and migration research. A wide spectrum of methods is used, as a function of specific goals and theoretical frameworks. Each chapter describes its own methodology in line with current publication guidelines, and specifies samples and measures. Moreover, a number of appendixes are provided with supplementary analyses and detailed description of the items used in each study. Although heterogenous in the levels of analyses, the present thesis primarily draws on quantitative approaches, thereby reflecting mainstream social psychological standards. We present almost exclusively data collected by our own and original scales. Only the second chapter is based on secondary data retrieved from a free-access representative survey. All samples come from Switzerland, except one study included in the third chapter, in which the Swiss and the Belgian context are compared in a quasi-experimental design. Hereafter we provide a short overview of each study, together with the methodology employed. A summary can also be found in Table 1.

The **second chapter** of the present thesis relies on a nationwide survey representative of Swiss eligible voters (N = 998). Our main goal was to study representations of citizenship acquisition, and their interconnection with support to naturalization policies. Accordingly, the study investigated whether social representations of citizenship 1) were anchored in normative conceptions of the nation, 2) varied as a function of participants' social and ideological positioning, and 3) were associated to support or rejection of the popular vote aimed at simplifying the naturalization procedure. We used a stepwise lexicometric mixed-method approach (Marchand & Ratinaud, 2012; Simon & Xenos, 2004), where quantitative and

qualitative information was crossed in a within-subject embedded design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017), then completed with thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We firstly employed Hierarchical Ascending Classification, in order to identify clusters of arguments, and reduced the complexity of a large amount of qualitative material. Second, we employed Correspondence Factor Analysis, in order to display the main occurrences and the associated clusters in a two-dimensional graphical form. Third, we employed Thematic analysis on the qualitative material included in each cluster separately, in order to qualify and nuance the interpretation of the qualitative material. Finally, we employed a series of Chi-square independent tests, in order to grasp the interconnection between clusters and characteristics pertaining the participants, namely socio-economic variables, immigration background, opportunity for contact with immigrants, political beliefs, and ideological configurations. This combination of methods is ideal for studying social representations from a socio-dynamic approach. Indeed, we identified the content associated with conflicting representations of citizenship acquisition, organizing principles, social and ideological anchoring, and assessed the relation between representations and voting behavior (for a methodological overview of the socio-dynamic approach, see Clémence, 2001; Doise et al., 1993; Palmonari & Emiliani, 2016). Chapter two is based on the following manuscript:

Politi, E., Sarrasin, O., & Staerklé, C. (2019). When immigrants become nationals: Social representations of citizenship in time of policy transition. Manuscript in preparation.

The **third chapter** relies on three experimental studies, and focuses on national majority members (N_{tot}= 630). Our main goal was to study acculturation expectations directed towards naturalization applicants and the underlying processes. Three main research questions investigated whether heritage culture maintenance 1) was perceived as incompatible with neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship, 2) was tolerated for valued naturalization applicants, but not for devalued ones and 3) was tolerated when

multiculturalism was promoted by state naturalization policies. We employed Ordinary Least Square regression models to test mediation and moderation in experimental designs (Hayes, 2018; Hayes & Preacher, 2014). All three experimental studies used the vignette method, whereby participants were provided with profiles of target persons differing in a number of key variables. We manipulated naturalization applicants' profiles by varying 1) their level of heritage culture maintenance (studies one and two), and 2) national origin (studies two and three). The political environment was either manipulated experimentally (study 1), or inferred through cross-national comparisons (study 2), so that tolerance for cultural diversity and support for multiculturalism varied across conditions. This methodology is ideal to study acculturation expectations, and top-down effects of political environments on evaluations towards naturalization applicant (Guimond et al., 2013; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011; Verkuyten et al., 2014). Chapter three is based on the following manuscript:

Politi, E., Roblain, A., Gale, J., Licata, L. & Staerklé, C. (2019). The evaluation of naturalization applicants by national majorities: Neoliberal communitarianism as a new assimilationist ideology. Manuscript submitted for publication

The **fourth chapter** relies on a cross-sectional survey designed by our own, and focuses on freshly naturalized citizens (N = 566). Our main goal was to assess a multi-dimensional scale of naturalization motives, and to relate motivations to socio-economic status, origins and feelings of inclusion reported by participants. Accordingly, three main research questions investigated whether naturalization motives 1) were organized around three underlying dimensions, namely instrumental, political participation and belongingness motives, 2) varied as a function of participants' socio-economic status and origins, 3) predicted feelings of inclusion into the receiving society reported by naturalized citizens. Maximum Likelihood estimators with latent variables were used (Rosseel, 2012). We firstly employed Multi-group Confirmatory Factor Analysis, in order to assess measurement and

structural reliability of both the naturalization motives scale, and feelings of inclusions. Measurement, structure and latent means were estimated independently for subgroups of participants differing in their socio-economic status and origins. Second, we employed Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), in order to estimate the relation between naturalization motives, modeled as exogenous variables, and feelings of inclusion, modeled as the endogenous variable. This methodology assesses the psychometric characteristics of the naturalization motives scales, and its discriminant validity (Beaujean, 2014; Kline, 2015; Netemeyer, Bearden, & Sharma, 2003). Chapter four is based on the following manuscript:

Politi, E., Green, E., & Staerklé, C. (2019). Moving across group boundaries: Motivations and perceived inclusion among naturalized citizens. Manuscript submitted for publication.

The **fifth chapter** relies on the same cross-sectional survey used in chapter four, and focuses on naturalized citizens (N = 566). Our main goal was to identify two alternative processes of political incorporation, namely an endogenous process of absorption contrasted against an exogenous process of transformation. Accordingly, we investigated whether the two processes 1) were endorsed by naturalization applicants to a different extent, 2) were connected to alternative ideological orientations, 3) originated from specific motivational drivers. We employed Structural Equation Modeling with Latent Mean Comparisons in order to assess the paths linking naturalization motives, ideological orientations, and opinions towards immigration policies. This methodology is ideal to test both levels of endorsement of and processes related to alternative strategies of political incorporation (Kline, 2015; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Chapter five is based on the following manuscript:

Politi, E., Staerklé, C., Chipeaux, M., & Lorenzi-Cioldi, F. (2019). More royalist than the king? Opinions towards immigration policies among naturalized citizens. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Table 1: Summary of studies and analytical procedures organized by chapter

Chapter	Studies	Main research questions	Context	Sample	Data source	Main measures
N 2	1	1. Are social representations of citizenship (SRC) anchored to normative conceptions of the nation? 2. Do SRC vary as a function of participants' social and ideological positioning? 3. Are SRC associated to political opinions?	Swiss eligible voters	998	VOTO 2017	1. Reason of voting behavior 2. Socio-economic status 3. Opportunities for contact 4. Political beliefs 5. Ideological configurations
N 3	3	1. Is heritage culture maintenance (HCM) perceived as incompatible to communitarian representations of citizenship? 2. Is HCM more tolerated for naturalization applicants from culturally close countries? 3. Is HCM more tolerated when multiculturalism is promoted by state naturalization policies?	Swiss & Belgian university students	Study 1 293 Study 2 220 Study 3 117	Experimental studies	1. Levels of cultural maintenance (manip.) 2. Origins (manip.) 3. Institutional support to multiculturalism (manip.) 4. Perceived national attachment 5. Perceived effort to integrate 6. Application evaluations
N 4	1	1. Are naturalization motives (NM) organized around three underlying dimensions? 2. Do NM vary as a function of participants' socio-economic status and origins? 3. Are NM related to feelings of inclusion into the receiving society?	Naturalized citizens in Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Valais	566	Cross-sectional survey	1. Naturalization motives 2. Feelings of inclusion 3. Socio-economic status 4. Origins
N 5	1	1. Are processes of political incorporation (PPI) endorsed by naturalization applicants to a different extent? 2. Are PPI connected to alternative ideological orientations? 3. Do PPI originate from specific motivational drivers?	Naturalized citizens in Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Valais	566	Cross-sectional survey	1. Naturalization motives 2. Support for host culture adoption 3. Support for heritage culture maintenance 4. Opinions towards immigration policies

CHAPTER TWO

WHEN IMMIGRANTS BECOME NATIONALS:

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN TIME OF POLICY TRANSITION

Abstract

In recent years many European countries have implemented important changes in their naturalization policies. Whereas some political projects pushed towards more inclusive procedures to incorporate individuals with an immigrant background into the national community, others adopted a more restrictive approach. In February 2017, Swiss nationals voted in favor of a simplified naturalization procedure for third-generation immigrants. Lexicometric and content analyses were performed on data of a post-vote survey (VOTO, *N* = 998) to understand how people justified their own voting behavior through the mobilization of different representations of citizenship. Results showed that while normative models of citizenship based on ethnic, cultural, and civic conceptions of nationhood were mobilized by lay people, their usual meaning was disrupted. Support for inclusive naturalization policies was grounded in ascribed criteria generally associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants, namely essentialist representations based on ancestry and cultural similarity with the dominant ethnic group. Conversely, opposition to more inclusive policies was justified in the name of acquirable criteria based on individual deservingness and lack of assimilation. This "bottom-up" representational approach to citizenship suggests that people actively construct social and political realities, thereby redefining the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in their own way.

Many European countries have witnessed increasingly heated debates on citizenship acquisition (Helbling, 2010; Howard, 2009). By drawing a boundary between those who are considered members of the national community and those who are excluded from it, naturalization policies are mobilized by political representatives in order to define "who we are" and "who belongs to us" (Brubaker, 1992; Helbling, 2008). On the one hand, inclusive arguments supported by left-wing parties push towards a more permissive access to nationality, promoting achievable criteria (e.g., language proficiency, knowledge of institutions) based on principles of civic integration (Hampshire, 2011; Joppke, 2003). On the other hand, populist right-wing parties ask for a restricted access to nationality, thereby mobilizing voters against the alleged societal dangers for the dominant ethnic group due to increasing immigration (Givens, 2007; Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2008).

A long tradition of research in both political theory (Joppke, 2010a; Kymlicka, 2001) and social psychology (Bourhis et al., 1997; Guimond et al., 2014) understood the relation between state policies and individual psychology mainly as "top-down", whereby normative and institutionalized definitions of citizenship (i.e., social boundary-making, Bail, 2008) structure and organize intergroup relations (Gray & Griffin, 2014; Hampshire, 2011). Only recently scholars called for a more "bottom-up" approach to citizenship acquisition (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Andreouli et al., 2016; Duchesne, 2003; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011; Kadianaki, Andreouli, & Carretero, 2018; Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003; Staerklé, Roux, Delay, Gianettoni, & Perrin, 2003). Here, configurations of citizenship endorsed by social actors (i.e., symbolic boundary-making, Bail, 2008) are assumed to transform social arrangements and institutional regulations (Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011; Howarth, Andreouli, & Kessi, 2014). Within this theoretical framework, citizenship is considered as a bottom-up "living ideology" that is debated, reaffirmed and transformed by people engaged in

social interactions and embedded in a given socio-political context (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017).

In the present research we endorsed the latter approach, and examined how Swiss citizens justify their voting behavior regarding a simplified procedure for the naturalization of third-generation immigrants. All Swiss citizens were invited to vote on the topic in February 2017. We analyzed data from a survey conducted in the three weeks following the vote. Adopting a social representations perspective, we investigated the content of diverse and competing representations of citizenship, and the way they related to support or opposition to more permissive access to nationality. To do so, we assessed the organizing principles, and we articulated cognitive and social dynamics, by anchoring specific systems of meanings to respondents' social and ideological positioning (Clémence & Doise, 1995; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011). Innovatively, we demonstrated that social representations pave the way to antagonist political projects, and legitimize the voting decision (Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003; Sarrica, 2010).

2.1. SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF CITIZENSHIP AS POLITICAL PROJECTS

Lay conceptions of nationhood have been shown to be organized around three criteria: *Ethnic* criteria ground citizenship on ancestors from the dominant ethnic group and blood ties, *cultural* criteria ground citizenship on adoption of the national culture and attachment to the national community, and *civic* criteria ground citizenship on respect of societal rules and codes of conduct (Brubaker, 1992; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Kymlicka, 2001; Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010; Reijerse, Van Acker, Vanbeselaere, Phalet, & Duriez, 2013). Yet, different criteria can be combined and used simultaneously in order to reach a decision on who is considered a full member of the national community, and who is not (Bail, 2008; Brubaker, 2004). For instance, "neoliberal communitarian representations" articulate two principles in a unified view on citizenship (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011): On the

one hand, neoliberalism is based on a shared meritocratic value, framing the individual as an autonomous, responsible and self-regulating citizen (Joppke, 2017; Schwartz et al., 2010; Son Hing et al., 2011). On the other hand, communitarianism promotes relative uniformity between group members in their endorsement of a common ingroup identity (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). We may expect that these two dimensions are reflected in common-sense knowledge. What is more, conceptions of nationhood and citizenship criteria are not consensual, but rather contested matters of debate (Chryssochoou, 2003; Howarth et al., 2014). For instance, they vary as a function of political orientation and socio-economic factors (Helbling, 2010; Howard, 2010), as well as contact opportunity and experiences of cultural diversity reported by national majority members (Green et al., 2018; see also Lolliot et al., 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Because it is a direct democracy, Switzerland constitutes a privileged context to study the interconnection between naturalization polices and public opinion (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2019; Helbling, 2010b). Swiss citizens vote several times a year on new laws and constitutional modifications. The direct involvement of citizens in public affairs makes top-down vs. bottom-up mechanisms of political participation all the more apparent. Moreover, Swiss naturalization law is considered one of the most restrictive in Europe (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Huddleston et al., 2015). Koopmans and colleagues (Koopmans et al., 2005) indeed classified Swiss naturalization policies as rooted in both ethnic and cultural conceptions of nationhood. Also, the many projects over the years aimed to liberalize procedures failed to reach approval of Swiss citizenry (Helbling, 2008; Politi & Staerklé, 2017). The general opposition of citizenry to more permissive access to nationality raises questions about the underlying foundations of nationhood and social representations of citizenship supporting current political arrangements.

Until now third-generation immigrants (i.e., third-generation foreigners living in Switzerland whose grandparents emigrated to Switzerland and whose parents grew up in the country) had to fulfill the same criteria as any other immigrant person (e.g., twelve years of residence, language proficiency, and cultural knowledge test). In February 2017 a new amendment of the legislation was submitted to popular vote, calling for a simplified — but not automatic — procedure for third-generation immigrants to acquire Swiss citizenship. Although only forty thousand immigrants were concerned (out of a total of over two million foreigners living in the country, Federal Statistical Office, 2017), public and political debate polarized quickly. On the one side, supporters of simplified policies acknowledged the achieved integration of immigrants born and raised in Switzerland. On the other side, opponents of simplified policies warned against the danger of "mass naturalizations" of people from distant origins and cultures. The federal decree was finally approved with 60.4% of Swiss voters supporting the simplification of the naturalization procedure for third-generation immigrants.

2.1.1. A SOCIO-DYNAMIC APPROACH TO SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Grounded in this specific social and political context, our study investigates social representations of citizenship as generative principles underlying individual political standpoints, and anchored in specific social and ideological positioning (Doise, 1986; Elcheroth et al., 2011). To do so, we rely on a socio-dynamic approach to social representations (Clémence, 2001; Doise, 1992; Doise, Spini, & Clémence, 1999; Palmonari & Emiliani, 2016; Staerklé et al., 2011), whereby the representational field is analyzed at three interrelated steps (Clémence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2016; Doise et al., 1993). First, the analysis will focus on different lexical universes structuring the representational field. At this stage, the internal organization and semantic content associated with varying conceptions of nationhood will be outlined. Second, we will assess the underlying principles organizing the

overall meaning associated to citizenship. At this stage, our analysis will extract a limited number of latent dimensions maximizing the variability of the representational field explained. Third, we will investigate the role of social and ideological positioning in orienting the representational field. At this stage, we will examine the way different semantic configurations are anchored in individual characteristics, social groups, and systems of beliefs.

In order to do so, we employ data from a large survey study on eligible Swiss voters, who were explicitly asked about their voting behavior, and requested to explain their main reasons why they supported or rejected the federal decree under scrutiny. Because of the unique nature of the data, we are able to not only study the content, organizing principles, and anchoring — as in line with the three-steps approach to social representations — but also to investigate the subsequent political behavior associated with specific representations (Staerklé, 2009; Staerklé et al., 2007). To our knowledge, this is the first attempt to articulate a socio-dynamic representational approach with actual policy support.

2.2. METHOD

The present study relied on data from a national survey (N = 1512) that followed the Swiss vote on the simplified procedure for the naturalization of third-generation immigrants (VOTO: http://www.voto.swiss/). As is done for every vote, a survey was carried out among a representative sample of eligible Swiss voters within the three weeks that followed the vote. Participants were randomly selected from the federal register of the resident Swiss population, and stratified by education, age, gender, and linguistic region. A computed-assisted telephone interview (CATI) covered several points: general political opinions, political orientation and party affinities, voting behavior, and socio-demographic characteristics. Also, participants were asked to justify their vote and their answers were transcribed. The survey was therefore

suitable for multi-method techniques, where quantitative and qualitative information were crossed in a within-subject embedded design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017).

2.2.1. PARTICIPANTS

Among the 1512 eligible voters interviewed, we retained only those who reported having voted (n = 998, that is 66 % of the original sample). Interviews were conducted in the official language of the municipality of residency (i.e., German, French and Italian[1]). About half of the sample was male (N = 497) and participants ranged in age from 18 to 94 (M = 56.46, SD = 17.38). Of the final sample, 520 participants (53.1%) were German-speaking, 288 (29.4%) French speaking, and 167 (17.0%) Italian speaking. Although all participants were Swiss citizens at the moment of the survey, 170 (17.3%) were not Swiss at birth. Moreover, 702 (71.6%) reported both parents being born in Switzerland, whereas 125 (12.8%) and 151 (15.4%) reported one or two parents being born abroad, respectively. Finally, 729 (74.4%) voted in favor of simplifying the naturalization of third-generation immigrants, whereas 251 participants (25.6%) rejected the proposition. Official results indicated that 60.4% of the Swiss population supported the federal decree. Supporters of the federal decree were thus overrepresented in the VOTO sample.

2.2.2. ANALYTIC STRATEGY

In a first phase, variables (i.e., meta-data) relevant for anchoring participants' representations of citizenship were identified. We retained four categories of meta-data theoretically related to individuals' conception of nationhood (Green et al., 2018; Helbling, 2010b; Howard, 2010): a) socio-economic status; b) opportunity for contact with immigrants; c) political beliefs; d) ideological configurations. Missing values were imputed using a single

1For a few cases (n = 18) the language used to answer the open question differed from the expected language, suggesting that participant's mother tongue and linguistic region differed. To avoid inconsistent information, these participants were excluded from analyses.

regression imputation method, whereby the imputed value was predicted from a regression equation composed by all other variables. Multiple imputation techniques could not be used instead, because not supported by the other software involved in the data analysis. Results were robust and consistent when missing values were dropped out. Because only nominal variables can be used as meta-data, continuous measures were then recoded into multi-categorical scales. Additional logistic regression analyses evaluated the relationship between meta-data and voting behavior, and confirmed the choice of including these four dimensions in the evaluation of the representational field (see Appendix A.I). Data analysis for this stage was carried out with SPSS 24.

In a second phase, a lexicometric analysis was carried out with Iramuteq software (www.iramuteq.org) on the justifications provided by the participants to identify a limited number of clusters organizing the text corpus (i.e., lexical universes, Reinert, 1993). Each individual justification (N = 998) constituted the elementary unit of analysis. Treatment and interpretation of qualitative material implied multiple steps. First, we translated the whole corpus in French[2]. Then we reduced the number of active occurrences (i.e., single words that contribute to the structuring of the representational field) involved in the analysis through lemmatization. This standard procedure merged inflectional and derivational forms of words (e.g., to naturalize, naturalizing, naturalized, etc.) into common base forms (e.g., naturalization). After lemmatization, 23361 occurrences, and 2044 unique base forms composed the final text corpus. Words that appeared less than three times were excluded from analysis. In order to identify a limited number of clusters organizing the text corpus, we ran a Hierarchical Ascending Classification procedure (HAC). Based on the algorithm introduced by Reinert (1993), this technique calculated an index of similarity and dissimilarity between

2 French is the default language used by Iramuteq. Bilingual researchers translated arguments expressed in Italian and Swiss German into French. Linguistic region was used as meta-data to check for eventual differences due to translation. No effects were found for any cluster of words.

base forms, and grouped the most similar text segments within common clusters. Then, lemmas were organized into a multidimensional space by means of a Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA). This technique displayed the text corpus in a two-dimensional graphical form. Factors were used to identify the organizing principles underlying alternative representations of citizenship. Each cluster was then subjected to a separate thematic analysis, assisted with NVivo (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The coding strategy employed was theory-driven (Dany, 2016; Simon & Xenos, 2004): We evaluated whether normative conceptions of nationhood were reflected in the lexical universes identified by HAC and CFA.

In a third and last phase, meta-data and lexical universes were crossed in a contingency table. A series of Chi-square independence tests were then carried out. This default option provided by Iramuteq verified whether specific categories of participants, based on the number of meta-data retained in the analysis, were overrepresented in certain clusters of words. In other words, we examined whether diverging conceptions of nationhood were anchored in participants' social positioning, migration background, diversity experiences, political beliefs, and ideological configurations.

2.2.3. META-DATA

2.2.3.1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Household income. Gross monthly household income was measured on a 15-point scale ranging from less than 2.000 CHF to more than 15.000 CHF per month. Because 286 participants (14.6%) did not report this information, their responses were imputed before dividing the variable into three categories: *low income* included 342 participants with income levels up to 6.000 CHF per month (34.3%). *Medium income* included 361 participants with

income levels until 10.000 CHF per month (36.2%). *High income* included 295 participants with income levels until 15.000 CHF or more (29.6%)[3].

Material vulnerability. A question asked how well participants managed to live with their current income. The question was worded as follows: "It is well known that we must immediately spend part of our income, for example, on rent and insurance. With what you have left, would you say you are doing well?". Of the total sample, 757 participants (77.2%) declared to manage "well" their life expenditures on the basis of their income. Conversely, 223 participants declared to manage "more or less well" or "not to manage well" life expenditures on the basis of their income (22.8%).

Education. A question asked to indicate the highest level of education obtained on the basis of a 10-point scale ranging from *"incomplete compulsory school"* to *"PhD"*. We divided participants into four levels of education: *Obligatory education* included 82 participants from no education to compulsory secondary education background (8.4%). *Apprenticeship* included 399 participants who attended either general or vocational training school programs (40.7%). *High school* included 108 participants who completed post-secondary education programs (11.1%). *University* included 390 participants who attended university-level programs or higher levels of education (39.8%).

2.2.3.2. Opportunities for contact with immigrants

Household composition. Information about household composition obtained from register was available in VOTO. *Mixed household* included 76 participants living with at least one foreign person (7.7%). *Homogenous households* included 921 participants living with no foreign persons (92.3%).

3 Median household income in Switzerland is estimated to be around 6.500 CHF per month (https://www.rts.ch/info/suisse/9566774-le-salaire-median-en-suisse-a-atteint-6502-francs-bruts-en-2016.html)

Percentage of foreigners. The number of foreigners in the municipality of residence was also available in VOTO. Proportion of foreigners ranged from 1% to 60% of the total population in the respective municipalities (M = 23.00, SD = 10.68). We divided municipalities into four equal groups. *Low rate* (< 14% of foreigners) included 241 participants (24.6%). *Mid-low rate* (15% < > 22%) included 244 participants (24.9%). *Mid-high rate* (23% < > 29%) included 241 participants (24.6%). *High rate* (> 30%) included 252 participants (25.7%).

2.2.3.3. Political beliefs

Political orientation. A scale from 0 (*completely left-wing*) to 10 (*completely right-wing*) measured participants' political orientation (M = 5.08, SD = 1.97). Because 8% of participants (n = 78) did not report this information, their responses were imputed before dividing the variable into three categories: *Left-wingers* included 300 participants from extreme- to center-left orientation (30.6%). *Moderates* included 352 participants who placed themselves at the center of the scale (35.9%). *Right-wingers* included 328 participants from center- to extreme-right orientation (33.5%).

Party affiliation. Participants indicated the party they feel closer to. We divided participants into three categories: *Pro-decree* included 602 participants affiliated with political parties in favor of the federal decree (61.4%). *Anti-decree* included 170 participants affiliated with political parties opposed to the federal decree (17.0%). *No affiliation* included 208 participants without party affiliation (21.2%).

2.2.3.4. Ideological configurations

Attitudes towards foreign relations. One item on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 *(I agree strongly with the first statement)* to 6 *(I agree strongly with the second statement)* asked whether participants preferred Switzerland to be open to the outside world or whether it should rather turn in on itself (M = 2.51, SD = 1.40). Because 6.1% of participants (n = 60)

did not answer the question, their responses were imputed before dividing the variable into two categories: *Openness* comprised 775 participants who agreed with the first statement (79.1%). *Closeness* comprised 205 participants who agreed with the second statement (20.9%).

Attitudes towards equal opportunities. The same 6-point scale was used for a second item, asking whether participants preferred Switzerland to give equal chances to national and foreigners, or to give better chances to nationals over foreigners (M = 3.62, SD = 1.73). Because 5.1% of participants (n = 50) did not answer the question, their responses were imputed before dividing the variable into two categories: *Equality* comprised 451 participants who agreed with the first statement (46.0%). *Inequality* comprised 529 participants who agreed with the second statement (54.0%).

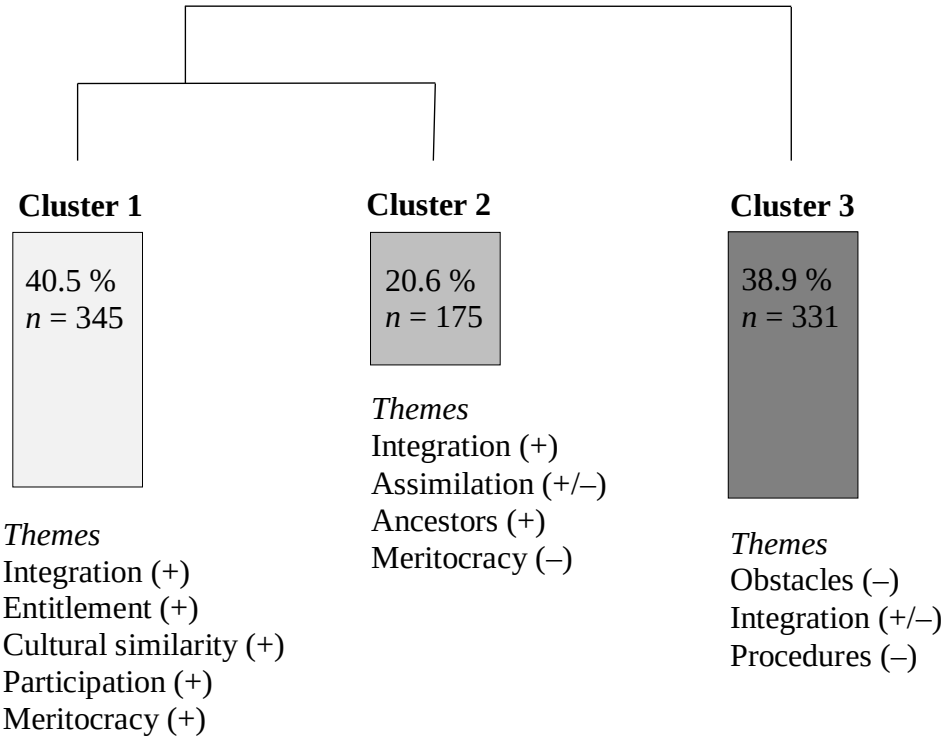
2.3. RESULTS

2.3.1. IDENTIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF TEXT UNIVERSES

Following the Hierarchical Ascending Classification procedure (HAC), we decided to retain three clusters that together organized 88.28% (n = 951) of the text corpus[4]. Clusters merged together at different points of aggregation in the hierarchical structure. Indeed, the first (40.5%, n = 345) and the second (20.6%, n = 175) clusters were more similar to each other (i.e., shared a more similar vocabulary), compared to the third one (38.9%, n = 331; see Figure 8).

4 Alternative combinations were tested by increasing the number of clusters created by the HAC. Whilst the text corpus was divided in smaller clusters, the total number of segments classified did not increase, neither changed the interpretation of the hierarchical structure. Therefore, we opted for the more parsimonious solution and retained three clusters of content.

Figure 8: Lexical classification of the text corpus into three clusters based on the HAC procedure.

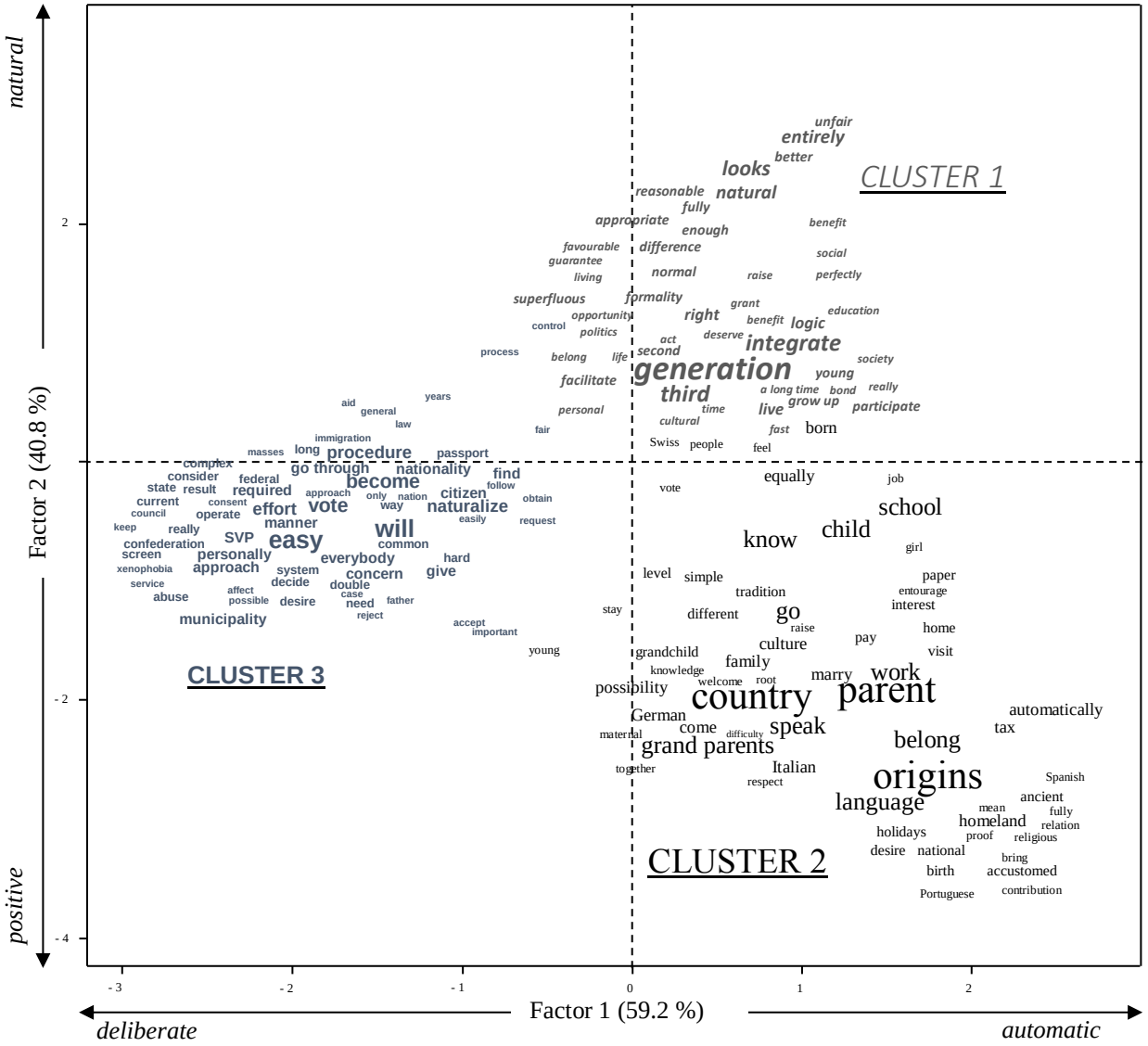


Note: The size of the dendrograms represents the percentage of text corpus classed into each cluster. Levels of aggregations are indicated by the tree diagram on the top. Associated themes and their valence are listed below each cluster. (+) refers to themes mainly associated to inclusive representations, (–) refers to themes mainly associated to exclusive representations of citizenship, whereas (+/–) refers to ambivalent representations of citizenship.

Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA) highlighted two underlying factors, the first of which explained 59.2% of the variance, and contrasted first and second clusters against the third one (Figure 9). Plotted on the horizontal axis of the multidimensional space, this first organizing principle distinguished *deliberate/acquirable* from *automatic/inherited* processes of acculturation, and opposed arguments referring to the need of active proof of effort and motivation required from third-generation immigrants to arguments referring to integration by default that would no longer need to be proven. The second factor explained the remaining 40.8% of variance and contrasted mainly the first cluster against the second one (Figure 9). Plotted on the vertical axis of the multidimensional space, this second organizing principle distinguished *natural/abstract* from *positive/concrete* rights, and opposed arguments referring

to self-evident universal birthrights to arguments referring to individual particular characteristics, like national belongingness, acculturation in society, and family history.

Figure 9: Correspondence Factor Analysis and projection of the text universes into a multidimensional space.



Note: Cluster 1 is reported in light grey Calibri font, italic style. Cluster 2 is reported in black Times New Roman font, normal style. Cluster 3 is reported in dark grey Helvetica font, bold style. Most prototypical lemmas show different sizes depending on their frequency. The total variance explained by each of the two factors is reported into brackets. Poles of the axes are named to fit the underlying organizing principle.

2.3.1.1. CLUSTER 1: BIRTHRIGHTS FOR THIRD-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

This text universe was connected to both automatic/inherited integration considered as a given (factor 1) and natural/abstract underlying principles (factor 2): Words such as "third-generation" (n = 371, 57.1% of the total occurrences), "integration" (n = 113, 62.1%), "right" (n = 53, 64.6%), "natural" (n = 10, 90.9%), "obvious" (n = 21, 70.0%), and "born" (n = 63, 54.3%) were all over-represented in cluster 1, all $p < .001$. The most prototypical text segment was worded as follows[5]:

> "Because the *third-generation* is already so *integrated* that it is even able to *participate* to the political debate. The gap with *naturalization* through marriage is excessive, [the former] is easier and requires fewer efforts than [the procedure] for children of the *third-generation*, who were *born* in Switzerland. It's *unfair"*
> (Female, Swiss German, naturalized, in favor of the federal decree).

A subsequent thematic analysis identified five themes connected to specific normative conceptions of nationhood. A first theme referred to achieved *integration* of third-generation immigrants. Accordingly, 217 participants evoked arguments like: "They lived here all their life", "they attended the school here", "they were born and raised here". Reference to school, length of residence and socialization are typical arguments invoked by proponents of civic conceptions of nationhood, that is the dominant integration policy in Western Europe (Joppke, 2017; Reijerse et al., 2013). Third-generation immigrants who have grown up in Switzerland, attended Swiss schools, and socialized with Swiss peers have inevitably become Swiss. To some extent, they faced an identity transformation that is beyond their control and that cannot be undone, thereby transforming their essence from immigrants to nationals through automatic adaptation to the Swiss way of life (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017).

The second theme referred to essentialist arguments based on natural and self-evident *entitlement* of third-generation immigrants to obtain a simplified naturalization procedure

5 Words associated with the category are indicated in italic (Chi-Square value of significance, $p < .05$). The prototypicality of a text segment is obtained by summing up the Chi-Squares of the single words composing the unit.

(Wagner, Holtz, & Kashima, 2009). Indeed, 136 participants evoked arguments such as “It’s logic”, “I think it’s a natural thing”, and “they are entitled”. Third-generation immigrants possess a Swiss essence that belongs to the natural order, although not legally recognized yet. Representations of third-generation immigrants as essentially Swiss thereby provide unambiguous legitimacy to their request of being fully recognized as Swiss citizens (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Knott, 2018). Although cross-cutting and consensual, this interpretative repertoire was more frequently evoked in this first cluster, compared to the second and third clusters (for a distinction between central and peripherical elements in social representations theory, see Abric, 2001; Rateau & Lo Monaco, 2016).

A third theme referred to *cultural similarity* between Swiss natives and third-generation immigrants. Sixty participants evoked arguments such as “There are no differences”, “they are already almost Swiss”, and “they already feel Swiss”. This dimension revealed elements referring to cultural representations of citizenship, grounded in belonging and attachment to the national community (Reijerse et al., 2013; Sarrica, 2010). Moreover, the cultural dimension was used to include third-generation immigrants, national culture being seen as open to those who were willing to commit themselves to it (Kymlicka, 2001). Cultural similarity arguments were assimilationist in nature and supported representations of citizenship based on ideas of ethno-cultural transformation (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017): Conversely, reference to cultural diversity and multiculturalism was completely absent from this line of argument, and never mentioned as a support for simplified naturalization procedures (for a similar argument, see Politi & Staerklé, 2017).

A fourth theme referred to promoting *participation* to the political and cultural life through simplified naturalization procedures. Thirty-four participants evoked arguments such as “good that young people can actively participate”, “encourage people to engage in politics” and “they have their word to say”. This republican conception stresses democratic-civic

grounds of national citizenship (Joppke, 2010; Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003), and underlines the catalyst role of citizenship in promoting social and political integration of third-generation immigrants (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015b).

Finally, a fifth theme referred to *meritocracy.* Twenty participants evoked arguments such as "They deserve the same rights", "there are people who deserve it", "the third-generation deserves the Swiss passport". Inclusion was granted here on the basis of the effort proven by third-generation immigrants all along their integration process (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Gibson, 2009). This line of arguments is in line with neoliberal discourses on citizenship acquisition, focusing on individual merit and deservingness in evaluating naturalization applicants (Van Houdt et al., 2011).

2.3.1.2. Cluster 2: No heritage culture maintenance and proofs of assimilation

This text universe was connected to both automatic/inherited integration considered as a given (factor 1) and positive/concrete criteria, such as national belongingness, acculturation to society and family history (factor 2): "Origin" (n = 28, 90.3% of the total occurrences), "Country" (n = 44, 64.7%), "Parents" (n = 32, 76.2%), "Language" (n = 22, 91.7%), "Belong" (n = 19, 86.4%), "Homeland" (n = 11, 100%) were all over-represented in cluster 2, all $p <$ .001. The most prototypical text segment was worded as follows:

> "They feel more at *home* here in *Switzerland* than in their *country* of *origin.* They *belong* to *Switzerland,* since they *grew up* here. They've been to *school* here, and they do not *know* their *language* of *origin* anymore."
> (Female, Swiss German, national, in favor of the federal decree).

Again, a thematic analysis identified five themes connected to alternative normative conceptions of nationhood. As for cluster 1, the first theme referred to achieved *integration* of third-generation immigrants. Accordingly, 103 participants evoked arguments such as "They have lived in Switzerland for long time", "they were educated in the country", and "they were born here". A second theme referred to *assimilation* into the Swiss society and problematic relations with heritage cultures. Compared to the first one, this second theme is more complex

and ambivalent. Indeed, 79 participants evoked arguments such as “They do not share any attachment to their home country”, “they do not know anything but Switzerland”, but also “they tend to get stuck within their ethnic communities”. These arguments emphasize exclusivity of membership (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017), in which cultural similarity is opposed to separation, and assimilation is used to distinguish between those who deserve citizenship and those who do not (Sarrica, 2010). Indeed, multiple national attachment was framed as a serious issue that compromises a person’s loyalty and commitment and sense of patriotism to the host country (Deaux, 2008; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011). Accordingly, naturalization applicants who wished to be included in the national community are not only required to adopt the host culture, but also to abandon their culture of origin (Politi & Staerklé, 2017; Reijerse et al., 2013).

A third theme referred to *ancestors* and previous generations already living in Switzerland for good. Forty-one participants evoked arguments like: “Grand-parents came when we needed manpower”, “their parents were already born in Switzerland”, but also “previous generations could have undergone the procedure for them”. Instead of being exclusivist (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Sapountzis & Xenitidou, 2018), ethnic criteria based on descendants and inheritance were used mainly to include third-generation immigrants. Indeed, people stressed the fact that past generations were raised and born in Switzerland and contributed to the country, thereby paving the way for full recognition of their offspring as ingroup members (for a similar argument, see Duchesne, 2003).

Finally, a fourth theme referred again to *meritocracy,* although this time mainly framed with negative connotations. It comprised 13 participants of the total subsample who put forward arguments like: “Naturalization must be earned”, “unmotivated people should not be able to naturalize easily”, but also “I think they deserve it”. Whereas in the first cluster

meritocracy was treated as a given, here it was used to make a distinction between deserving new citizens who have earned their right to citizenship, and underserving new citizens who have failed to earn their right to citizenship (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Staerklé, 2009). Accordingly, meritocracy worked both in inclusive and exclusive ways, suggesting that achievable criteria based on neoliberalism are not necessarily associated to more positive attitudes towards immigrants (Meeus et al., 2010; Reijerse et al., 2013; Van Houdt et al., 2011).

2.3.1.3. Cluster 3: Effort and further integration required from third-generation immigrants

The third cluster comprised words referring to the need for active proof of effort and deliberate motivation required from third-generation immigrants (factor 1): "Easy" (n = 33, 91.7%), "Will" (n = 50, 76.9%), "Become" (n = 38, 76.0%), "Naturalize" (n = 51, 64.6%), "Procedure" (n = 22, 78.6%), "Effort" (n = 13, 92.9%) were all over-represented in cluster 3, all $p < .001$. The most prototypical text segment was worded as follows:

> "If you *want* to *naturalize* it's *fair* to submit the application that should then not be simplified too much. If you *really want* to *naturalize* through a *longer procedure* it shows your *will* to acculturate and to *naturalize*. By using shortcuts, we risk someone to fill up the *application* without being truly convinced"
> (Male, Swiss Italian, naturalized, Against the federal decree).

A thematic analysis identified four themes connected to alternative normative conceptions of nationhood were identified. The first theme pointed out the simplicity of the actual procedure and the need of *obstacles* in order to screen the inner motivation to naturalize. Accordingly, 110 participants evoked arguments such as "It should not be too easy for someone to be included in the country", "the procedure is already pretty easy", "they have to submit their application in order to prove their motivation". Procedures are depicted here as morality safeguarding devices that serve to screen effort and motivations of naturalization applicants (Mazouz, 2012): Naturalization should be actively chosen. Third-generation

immigrants are not inheritably entitled to it, but they have to demonstrate the same agency and motivation as any other immigrant person (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007).

A second theme referred to controversial *integration* into the Swiss society, either achieved or put into question by participants. Reference to integration was here more complex and ambivalent than in the previous clusters. Indeed, 81 participants evoked arguments like: "They were born and educated in Switzerland", but also "we will grant citizenship to foreigners who are not integrated enough", and "they stick together and they do not acculturate". Whereas in the first two clusters integration mostly functioned in inclusive ways, here it was used as an argumentative tool to differentiate between "good" and "bad" candidates. Accordingly, achieved integration was framed in terms of assimilation into the Swiss society, whereas unsuccessful adaptation related to separation and ghettoization of naturalization applicants into immigrant communities (Bowskill et al., 2007; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011; Politi & Staerklé, 2017).

A third and final theme focused on the actual *procedures*, stressing the need to screen applications at the municipality level. Fifty-eight participants evoked arguments like: "Even so we have to check case by case individually", "municipalities are better able to evaluate the degree of integration of the applicant", and "no need to make the procedure automatic". This line of arguments reflects closely the anti-referendum propaganda promoted by the Swiss People's Party (Milic, Reiss, Lebert, & Lipps, 2017), who denounces "soft" immigration policy regulations that allegedly transform the host nation into a favorite destination for illegal undeserving immigrants (Figgou, 2016).

2.3.2. Evaluative connotation and anchoring of the text universes

By superposing meta-data over the three text universes, we profiled each cluster on the basis of multi-categorical variables associated to participants. Meta-data did not actively

contribute to the structure of the multidimensional space, but they provided information about the relative frequency of arguments as a function of participants' characteristics. A Chi-Square independence test was performed between each meta-data and the cluster participants were assigned to. Table 2 reports the relationship between meta-data and text universes.

Table 2: Chi-Square independent tests between meta-data and text universes.

	Clusters		
	1	**2**	**3**
Voting behavior	107.8 ***	17.8***	194.7***
Party affiliation	9.6**	5.4*	37.6***
Political orientation	8.1**	5.0*	15.9***
Attitudes foreign relations	6.7**	4.4*	18.8***
Attitudes equal opportunities	6.2*	n.s.	10.1**
Mixed household	6.6**	n.s.	n.s.
Education	6.3*	n.s.	3.6†
Percentage of foreigners	4.2*	n.s.	n.s.

*Note: Only meta-data that showed significant associations with at least one cluster are reported. n.s. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.*

People assigned to cluster 1 tended to support the federal decree. They tended to support parties in line with the proposition, and they showed a left-wing political orientation. Also, they endorsed open attitudes towards foreign relations and privileged equal treatment between immigrants and nationals. Their household tended to be mixed, they lived in municipalities with a high rate of foreigners, and they reported university levels of education. People assigned to cluster 2 tended to support the federal decree. They were not affiliated to any party. They showed a left-wing political orientation, and they endorsed open attitudes towards foreign relations. Confirming the hierarchical structure underlined by the HAC, cluster 1 and 2 shared similar relationships with the meta-data. Both text universes tended to

be associated with support for the federal decree, with left-wing orientation, and with open attitudes towards foreigner countries.

The main difference between cluster 1 and 2 was participants' party affiliation. Those who identify with parties in line with the proposition were overrepresented in cluster 1, and tended to validate their support for the federal decree on the basis of abstract principles based on natural entitlement. Conversely, people with no party affiliation were overrepresented in cluster 2, and tended to contrast support and opposition for the federal decree on the basis of concrete criteria based on belongingness and acculturation to society (see Table 2). This result echoes findings on partisan vs. policy-centered decision making, two routes to political decisions (e.g., voting behaviors) based on different levels of abstraction in the information processing (Kruglanski & Gigerenzer, 2011; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

In contrast, and in line with Correspondence Factor Analysis, the third cluster differed substantially from the previous two ones also in terms of association with meta-data. Indeed, people assigned to cluster 3 tended to reject the federal decree. They supported parties against the proposition, and they expressed a right-wing political orientation. Also, they endorsed closed attitudes towards foreign relations and privileged unequal treatment between immigrants and nationals. Apprentices were slightly over-represented in cluster 3[6].

Considering the strong relation found between lexical universes and meta-data, our results confirm the interdependence between representational field and social ideological positioning of participants (Clémence, 2001; Palmonari & Emiliani, 2016). In line with previous findings, the semantic space for all three clusters was mainly structured around political beliefs and ideological configurations, rather than socio-economic and contextual factors (Howard, 2010; Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003). Opportunities for contact and cultural

6 Only meta-data and socio-demographic variables that showed significant relationships with the clusters are reported. All others characteristics of participants were unrelated with the text universes. See also Appendix A.1 for more information about the relation between meta-data and voting behavior.

diversity experiences modulate representations of citizenship and boundary making to a very little extent (Green et al., 2018; Lolliot et al., 2013). Accordingly, right-wingers and supporters of political parties against the federal decree showed exclusive representations of citizenship, clustered around the rhetoric of "earning one's citizenship" through hard procedures and cultural assimilation (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014). Conversely, ideologies based on equality between social groups and permeable intergroup boundaries translated in inclusive representations of citizenship (Staerklé, 2009; see also, Staerklé et al., 2007) clustered around the rhetoric of "natural birthrights" and "automatic acculturation" based on ancestors who already proved their integration.

Importantly, not a single reference was made in the whole text corpus to multiculturalism as enriching the national community. Quite the opposite, arguments both in favor and against the federal decree were grounded on an assimilationist rhetoric. Third-generation immigrants were considered (or not) as Swiss on the basis of their perceived level of cultural similarity with Swiss natives. The scant reference to cultural diversity as enriching the national community may be due to assimilationist norms prevailing in Switzerland (Green & Staerklé, 2013; Koopmans et al., 2005). Alternatively, assimilation may be prescribed to new citizens as a result of a general recategorization process, so that naturalized citizens are expected to give up their distinctive social identities in order to be categorized as ingroup members (Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009; Scheepers et al., 2014). Future investigations should tease apart contextual specificities from general cognitive processes, in order to better understand acculturation expectations directed towards naturalization applicants.

2.4. CONCLUSION

In February 2017 the majority of Swiss voters accepted to simplify naturalization for third-generation immigrants. The corresponding legislative amendments entered into force in

February 2018. Mirroring official results, the present study showed that supporters of the federal decree were able to construct and convey inclusive representations, marginalizing alternative conceptions of nationhood (Howarth et al., 2014; Howarth, 2004). At the heart of the rhetoric against mass-naturalizations was a distinction between deserving and undeserving immigrants (Andreouli & Howarth, 2013; Mazouz, 2012), often associated to arguments about cultural incompatibility between some immigrant communities and core national values (Figgou, 2016; Politi & Staerklé, 2017). Ironically, the opposition to simplified procedures for third-generation immigrants was based on a liberal principle, whereby all naturalization applicants should be treated the same way, and are expected active demonstrations of acculturation and effort to integrate. Yet, little room was given to these exclusive representations of citizenship, confined to the supporters of right-wing parties that were openly opposed to simplified naturalizations.

The present findings show that normative models of citizenship and institutionalized representations become common-sense (Reijerse et al., 2013; Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003). Yet, people's understanding and mobilization of different conceptions of nationhood was contextual and depended on the political issue at stake. Focusing on a very particular target group (i.e., third-generation immigrants), we identified boundary conditions in which the meaning of arguments grounded in inherited and achievable representations are to some extent reversed. Indeed, inclusive political projects were grounded into arguments usually associated with negative attitudes towards immigrants, based on common ancestors and essentialism (Pehrson & Green, 2010; Wagner et al., 2009). Accordingly, reference to previous generations settled down in Switzerland and to a common Swiss essence linking Swiss natives and third-generation immigrants both supported simplified naturalization procedures. Conversely, reference to achievable criteria, such as attachment to the nation and individual merit, were used to make a distinction between "good" and "bad" applicants

(Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Mazouz, 2012). By acknowledging the need of one-by-one screening of individual profiles, people justified the existing naturalization procedures. When it came to third-generation immigrants, expectations of active proof of acculturation in the name of achievable criteria were not primarily related to inclusion and liberalization, but rather to exclusion and political conservatism.

Our analytic procedure was tailored to fit a socio-dynamic approach to social representations of citizenship (Doise et al., 1993; Ratinaud, 2016). The choice of computer-assisted lexicometric techniques was useful and efficient in identifying clusters of arguments and reduced the complexity of large amount of qualitative material (Marchand & Ratinaud, 2012; Simon & Xenos, 2004). Although very reliable, automatic text analyses fall short in terms of internal validity (Roy & Garon, 2013). For instance, similar words with opposite meanings are likely to be clustered under the same category (e.g., integration). Accordingly, a fine-grained thematic analysis on each text universe overcame some of the flaws associated with automatic techniques of words count, and thus showed the advantages of multi-method approaches to complex social issues (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017). For instance, reference to integration was observed in all three clusters, but its meaning and degree of inclusivity differed greatly from one another. Whereas in the first two clusters integration was considered achieved and unproblematic, in the third cluster it was not taken for granted but rather used as screening tool to filter out underserving from deserving applicants.

Yet, some limits need to be acknowledged: First, the translation of the qualitative material into French may have caused the loss of linguistic nuances and specific meanings associated to citizenship. This issue was partially overcome by using linguistic region as meta-data, in order to control for any variability in the semantic content due to linguistic reasons. Second, Swiss voters in favor of the federal decree were over-represented in the sample. It may well be that a number of opponents have refused to participate in the survey,

thereby reducing the representatively of arguments mobilized against simplified naturalizations. Third, the lexicometric analysis did not reveal any difference in the interpretative repertoire of Swiss voters as a function of their immigration background. Still, research has shown that naturalized citizens express a greater support for immigration policies than natives (Milic et al., 2017; Sarrasin et al., 2018). Future research should then implement other techniques and analytic procedures to investigate the question whether immigration backgrounds foster opinions towards immigration policies, in general, and naturalization procedures, in particular.

Above and beyond some limitations, we believe that our work contributes to understand citizenship acquisition, by implementing a "bottom-up" social-psychological perspective (Andreouli et al., 2016; Knott, 2018). Starting from a socio-dynamic approach to social representations (Doise, 1992; Doise et al., 1993), we identified alternative conceptions of nationhood grounded in specific political and ideological configurations, that in turn legitimized opposite political projects. By focusing on social actors and the way they mobilize strategic representations of citizenship in debating contested political issues, we showed that people can actively construct social and political realities, thereby redefining the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in their own way (Howarth et al., 2014; Howarth, 2004). Yet, we evidenced the primary role that cultural assimilation plays when it comes to integrate third-generation immigrants into the national community. At this stage of the acculturation process, cultural diversity is reconstructed as deviance and acquires negative connotations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVALUATION OF NATURALIZATION APPLICANTS BY NATIONAL MAJORITIES: NEOLIBERAL COMMUNITARIANISM AS A NEW ASSIMILATIONIST IDEOLOGY

Abstract

Citizenship acquisition is a crucial step in the acculturation process of immigrants, serving as a rite of passage from national outsider to insider. We hypothesized that heritage culture maintenance impairs evaluations of naturalization applicants by national majority members, because maintenance is perceived as incompatible with prescriptive expectations of national attachment and individual deservingness. Study 1 (N = 293) showed that devalued naturalization applicants who renounced their heritage culture were evaluated more positively than applicants who maintained their cultural heritage. Perceived national attachment and deservingness mediated this effect. Study 2 (N = 220) replicated these results across two national contexts, and revealed that negative evaluations towards heritage culture maintenance were relevant for devalued, but not for valued, naturalization applicants. Study 3 (N = 117) tested causality between attachment and deservingness, showing that deservingness mediated the effect of attachment on application evaluations. Overall, results unveil the normative pressure to assimilate for naturalization applicants.

"Imagine that one day the number of naturalized people endorsing distant religions and cultures becomes so important that our laws are modified according to their ideas, by means of the instruments of direct democracy. It would be too late then to call to safeguard our values and identity. The only way to prevent such an insidious threat to our homeland is by restricting naturalizations rather than extending them even further"

(A. Glarner, Swiss national Councilor, 18 January 2017. Our translation).

Globalization and increased migration have challenged the ability of receiving societies to incorporate immigrants from diverse origins (Benhabib, 2004; Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008). As a result, many European countries have adapted their citizenship regimes and naturalization procedures, and introduced integration programs screening the level of acculturation of immigrants who wish to obtain national citizenship (Fassin & Mazouz, 2009; Gibson & Hamilton, 2011; Ossipow & Felder, 2015; Schinkel, 2010). Although European countries used to be relatively open to cultural diversity (Favell, 2003; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005), such institutionalized practices imply interventionist forms of assimilation, evidenced with the implementation of verification procedures testing immigrants' cultural conformity and individual allegiance to national norms and values (Brubaker, 2001; Grillo, 2007; Joppke & Morawska, 2003; Wieviorka, 2005). Recent analyses of contemporary citizenship regimes indeed suggest that naturalization procedures have gradually embraced two historically incompatible normative systems of evaluation—neoliberal and communitarian ideologies—as a justification of these new assimilationist models of governance (Schinkel, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011).

In the present research, we adopt a social psychological perspective, and empirically evaluate how this new assimilationist ideology of neoliberal communitarianism shapes majority members' evaluations of naturalization applicants. By reframing acculturation from the intergroup to the intragroup level, we contribute to the growing—but still sparse and

fragmented—social psychological literature on citizenship (e.g., Bail, 2008; Condor, 2011; Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Reijerse et al., 2013; Stevenson et al., 2015; M. Wright, 2011), thereby complementing well-established normative frameworks derived from political science and political theory (e.g., Brubaker, 1992; Howard, 2009; Joppke, 2010a; Koopmans et al., 2005; Kymlicka, 2001). Our empirical analysis thus examines how the "assimilationist turn" in naturalization regimes and normative conceptions of nationhood (Brubaker, 2001; Joppke, 2017; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010) plays out at the level of majority members' expectations towards naturalization applicants.

In the following pages, we first consider the current state of acculturation literature, in particular majority members' acculturation expectations towards heritage culture maintenance. We then explain how neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship may account for these expectations. In three experimental studies, we finally test the general hypothesis that national majority members negatively evaluate naturalization applicants who wish to maintain ties with their heritage culture, because they are seen as violating both the communitarian principle of attachment to the nation and the neoliberal principle of individual deservingness. Boundary conditions under which the negative effect of heritage culture maintenance should no longer be observed are also identified.

3.1. ACCULTURATION EXPECTATIONS AMONG NATIONAL MAJORITY MEMBERS

Acculturation expectations have been shown to play a key role in shaping attitudes by national majority members towards immigrants (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009; Esses, Medianu, Hamilton, & Lapshina, 2015; Ostfeld, 2017). In particular, host society expectations are grounded in two dimensions: *Host culture adoption*, that is, the degree to which an immigrant endorses the host majority culture, and *heritage culture maintenance*,

that is, the degree to which an immigrant preserves his/her culture of origin (Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Host culture adoption, in particular, is generally considered the crucial condition for acceptance by the national majority group (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Roblain et al., 2016). Heritage culture maintenance, conversely, is associated with ambivalent reactions. While some authors have found that maintenance is positively evaluated when coexisting with host culture adoption (Abu-Rayya & White, 2010; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009), others have found a preference for adoption in the absence of maintenance (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Indeed, national majority members tend to be skeptical about the compatibility between "distant religions and cultures" and mainstream society (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004; Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008).

Most research has analyzed acculturation expectations in terms of *intergroup* relations between nationals and immigrants (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Zagefka & Brown, 2002), while the *intragroup* dynamics at play during the naturalization process have not yet attracted much attention. Nevertheless, it is plausible to expect that immigrants who wish to be included in the national community must "deserve" their rights as norm-conforming individuals (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Gibson, 2009). Our contribution focuses specifically on the effect of heritage culture maintenance on naturalization evaluations, considering that host culture adoption is a necessary prerequisite formally assessed during the naturalization procedure (see Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Vink & de Groot, 2010). In this respect, we argue that heritage culture maintenance is likely to have detrimental effects on the evaluation of naturalization applicants (for a similar argument, see Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014; Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Mazouz, 2012).

The damaging effect of heritage culture maintenance on the evaluation of naturalization applicants can be explained in the light of the Common Ingroup Identity Model

(Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Applying this model to the naturalization process, intergroup differentiation between culturally distinct immigrant minority and national majority groups gives gradually way to a superordinate identity defined by differentiation within the national group between norm-conforming and norm-threatening individuals (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007, 2009; Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010; see also Staerklé, 2013). Accordingly, national majority members are prone to think of their country as a common ingroup defined by national core features, thereby expecting naturalization applicants to assimilate to the group's prototypical values, and shunning those suspected to jeopardize homogeneity and cohesion (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004). We therefore expect high levels of heritage culture maintenance shown by naturalization applicants to impair evaluations by national majority members.

3.1.1. Combining neoliberal and communitarian representations of citizenship

To the best of our knowledge, no research has investigated empirically why heritage culture maintenance elicits unfavorable evaluations of naturalization applicants. We argue that this process is best understood as reflecting new conceptions of citizenship acquisition that combine "de-individualizing" (communitarian) and "individualizing" (neoliberal) norms, giving rise to increased assimilation pressure (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011). On the one hand, de-individualizing norms are based on a *communitarian* ideology (Davies, 2012; Delanty, 2002) that prescribes cultural uniformity and cohesion between group members in their endorsement of a common ingroup identity, thus implying attachment to the national community. On the other hand, individualizing norms are based on a *neoliberal* ideology (Dean, 1999; Miller & Rose, 2008), that prescribes agency and autonomy from individuals who are represented as in charge of their own fate, thus implying individual deservingness (Beauvois, 1994; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007; Sampson, 1988; Son Hing et al.,

2011). Such individualist norms operate in societies where "it is deemed legitimate to judge people according to their unique qualities, aptitudes and contributions, rather than according to their belonging to social categories" (Licata et al., 2011, p. 898; see also Ward, Gale, Staerklé, & Stuart, 2018). Given its role as a key feature describing membership of high-status dominant groups in Western societies, neoliberal judgements of individual deservingness allow national majorities to gauge whether naturalization applicants are ready to obtain national citizenship (Iacoviello & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2015; Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2002; see also Brubaker, 2017).

It is plausible to assume that this joint "neoliberal communitarian" principle of citizenship acquisition reinforces expectations directed towards naturalization applicants to proactively conform to the dominant culture (Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009). By connecting attachment to the nation and individual deservingness, neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship should be at odds with perceived heritage culture maintenance by naturalization applicants. In contrast to those who seek to maintain ties with their heritage culture, naturalization applicants who decide to shed their former markers of cultural affiliation are indeed seen as more exclusively valuing the host identity, thereby truly becoming "one of us" (Kunst & Sam, 2014; Verkuyten et al., 2014). In other words, heritage culture maintenance should be particularly detrimental when it comes to naturalization applicants, *because* it is perceived as incompatible with attachment to the national community they have formally requested to join (Dovidio et al., 2009; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). This perceived incompatibility suggests that when naturalization applications seek to maintain their heritage culture, majority members should perceive that they are weakly attached to the host nation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011). Levels of deservingness are then inferred from perceived attachment. Weak attachment to the national ingroup thus implies a lack of adherence to

ingroup norms and values of individual deservingness (Reicher, Spears, & Haslam, 2010; see also Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2002), which in turn fosters negative evaluations towards naturalization applicants who wish to maintain connections with their heritage culture.

To sum up, we examine the following general hypotheses (more operational hypotheses will be advanced in the introduction to the studies):

1. Perceived heritage culture maintenance by naturalization applicants leads to negative evaluations by national majority members.
2. The negative relationship between heritage culture maintenance and naturalization applicant evaluations is explained by perceived lack of attachment to the host nation and perceived lack of deservingness (i.e., the two core dimensions of neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship).

These two general hypotheses are tested in three experimental studies. The effect of heritage culture maintenance on evaluations, as well as the mediating role of attachment to the host nation and perceived deservingness, are assessed in studies 1 and 2. The causal relationship between attachment to the host nation and perceived deservingness is experimentally tested in study 3. Additionally, the three experimental studies test contextual boundaries conditions under which heritage culture maintenance should be tolerated. More specifically, the moderating role of naturalization policies (i.e., multicultural vs. assimilationist national policies) is examined in studies 1 and 2, and the impact of national origin of the naturalization applicant (i.e., valued vs. devalued national origins) is examined in studies 2 and 3. The exact wording of the main measures, as well as the experimental material for each of the three studies can be found in Appendix B.I and B.II, respectively. Alternative causal models are tested in Appendix B.III.

3.2. STUDY 1

The first experiment examined whether heritage culture maintenance leads to negative evaluations from national majority members, and investigated the underlying process involving perceived attachment to the nation and individual deservingness. Assessing a first boundary condition, study 1 also tested whether policies promoting multiculturalism increase tolerance towards heritage culture maintenance as compared to policies promoting assimilation. A number of studies have indeed shown that opinions towards immigrants who maintain connection with their heritage culture vary as a function of the political environment in which opinions are embedded (Green & Staerklé, 2013; Guimond et al., 2013, 2014). On the one hand, policies promoting assimilation prescribe that immigrant minorities should adopt practices, identity and values of the host society while leaving their own cultural background behind (Wolsko et al., 2006). On the other hand, multicultural policies encourage host culture adoption to be intertwined with the maintenance of heritage culture (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2000).

To sum up, we hypothesized that naturalization applicants reporting low levels of heritage culture maintenance are preferred by national majority members (H1). Additionally, we hypothesized that negative evaluations of naturalization applicants who maintain connections with their heritage culture should be attenuated when policies promote multiculturalism (H2). To understand the processes underlying assimilation expectations, we examined the mediating role of perceived national attachment and individual deservingness (H3). A moderated mediation hypothesis was therefore tested: Heritage culture maintenance should be associated with lower perceived attachment to the host nation (H3a), that in turn should lead to lower perceived deservingness (H3b), which should finally explain why applicants showing low levels of maintenance are evaluated more favorably than applicants showing high levels of maintenance (H3c). However, under

multicultural policies, the negative relationship between maintenance and attachment to the nation should decrease (H4a), as should the indirect effect of maintenance on application evaluations through perceived attachment and deservingness (H4b).

3.2.1. METHOD

3.2.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

Four hundred three students attending an introductory social psychology course at a university in the French–speaking part of Switzerland participated in the study. Only Swiss nationals were retained (73% of the original sample, $n = 293$[7]). Age ranged from 18 to 40 ($M = 20.43$, $SD = 2.37$), although 99% of participants were under 27 years old. A majority of participants were women (77%, $n = 226$).

3.2.1.2. PROCEDURE AND MATERIALS

During class time, participants responded to a questionnaire administered in French, which included the experimental manipulation and the dependent measures described below.

Experimental conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to one of six conditions, defined according to a 3 (policy: multiculturalism vs. assimilationism vs. control) by 2 (profile: high vs. low levels of heritage culture maintenance) between-subjects experimental design. In order to manipulate policies, we used a description of naturalization guidelines attributed to legal authorities (Guimond et al., 2013, 2014). Depending on the experimental condition, participants were exposed to a short summary of guidance material provided by the naturalization office valuing either multiculturalism or assimilationism. No summary was administered in the control condition. Both summaries

7 No evidence was available from previous studies; therefore, we could not determine the sample size in advance. However, the final number of subjects per cell ($N \geq 45$) appeared appropriate to detect small main effects between conditions ($d = 0.3$ one-tailed), given $\alpha = .05$ and $1 - \beta = .80$.

underlined the importance of respecting Swiss laws and of being integrated into Swiss society. In the multicultural policy condition, the guidelines also encouraged applicants to maintain their heritage traditions and framed cultural pluralism as an important feature of Switzerland. Conversely, in the assimilation policy condition, the guidelines encouraged applicants to adopt the Swiss traditions, and also underlined the importance of national unity built around the fundamental values of Switzerland.

Because the policy manipulation comprised three levels (i.e., multicultural, assimilation, and control), two orthogonal contrasts were created to capture the difference between the multicultural condition and the other two conditions jointly (Contrast 1), as well as the eventual difference between the assimilation and the control condition (Contrast 2). Because migration policies in Switzerland generally tend towards assimilation (Goodman, 2010; Koopmans et al., 2005), we were not expecting any difference between the assimilation and the control condition. Therefore, Contrast 1 was our focal predictor when testing hypotheses.

In order to manipulate profiles, we used the vignette method (Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011; Verkuyten et al., 2014). Each participant was exposed to the application record of a male immigrant from Kosovo. According to the Swiss Federal Office of Migrations (OFM), the Kosovo Albanian diaspora represents one of the major and most devalued immigrant groups in Switzerland (Burri Sharani et al., 2010; Wanner & Steiner, 2012). The first migration wave in the 1960's was composed of seasonal-workers, followed by a second wave during the 1990's, mainly composed of asylum seekers. Their arrival during a period of economic downturn, along with the involvement of young Kosovo Albanians in drug deals, built the image of a community that burdens the economy and abuses the Swiss asylum and welfare system (Fibbi & Truong, 2015).

In both conditions, profiles were anonymized and no picture of the applicant was provided. Furthermore, both profiles revealed the same level of host culture adoption, measured in terms of mastery of French (B2 level, that certifies the capacity to achieve most goals and express oneself on a range of topics), knowledge of Swiss institutions and history, and length of residence in Switzerland (12 years, which is the minimum legally required to apply for Swiss citizenship). In the second part of the Commission report, the applicant's level of heritage culture maintenance was manipulated. In the high heritage culture maintenance condition, the applicant looked for the support of the Kosovar community at his arrival in the country, reported speaking Albanian at home with his children, and declared to feel as much Swiss as Kosovar. Conversely, in the low heritage culture maintenance condition, the applicant never sought support from the Kosovar community, reported speaking French at home with his children, and declared feeling more Swiss than Kosovar[8].

Manipulation checks. Following the experimental manipulation, two sets of items were used as manipulation checks: Understanding of the guidance material and perception of acculturation strategies employed by the applicant. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all* (1) to *absolutely* (5).

Understanding of the guidance material was measured using four items. The first two ($r(196) = .19$, $p = .008$) verified whether respondents thought official directives promoted cultural assimilation, for example, "the guidance material prescribed applicants to endorse Swiss traditions". The other two ($r(196) = .72$, $p < .001$) verified whether

8 Until 2003 some municipalities in Switzerland used referenda with closed ballots to decide on naturalization requests. Local voters received official voting leaflets that explained the pending naturalization request with a detailed description of each immigrant applicant. The experimental material was created to mimic these official voting leaflets (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2008).

respondents thought official directives promoted multiculturalism, for example, “the guidance material encouraged applicants to maintain their heritage traditions”.

Perception of host culture adoption was verified using two items ($r(290) = .55$, $p < .001$), for example, “the naturalization applicant adopted the Swiss culture”. *Heritage culture maintenance* was verified as well using two items ($r(291) = .75$, $p < .001$), for example, “the naturalization applicant maintained heritage traditions”. Again, items were kept separate in subsequent analyses.

Dependent measures. *Perceived attachment to the nation* was assessed using four items taken from Roblain and colleagues (2016) ($\alpha = .80$), for example, “I have the impression that the applicant feels attached to Switzerland”. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from *not at all in agreement* (1) to *completely in agreement* (5).

Perceived deservingness was measured using four original items inspired by Davey and colleagues (Davey, Bobocel, Hing, & Zanna, 1999) ($\alpha = .85$), for example, “I have the impression that the applicant deserved to become Swiss citizen”. Items were rated on the same 5-point scale as described above.

Finally, the main dependent variable, *application evaluations* was assessed using three items ($\alpha = .90$), for example, “Do you think that the applicant has a suitable profile for obtaining Swiss citizenship?” Questions were answered on a 7-point scale ranging from *not at all* (1) to *absolutely* (7).

3.2.2. Results

Data analysis was carried out with SPSS, version 24. Manipulation checks were carried out first, then hypotheses were tested.

3.2.2.1. MANIPULATIONS CHECKS

Understanding of the guidance material. Both the assimilation and the multicultural policy conditions included measures assessing perceived openness to cultural diversity in Switzerland. To check for differences in participants' understanding of the guidance material based on the two policies (i.e., assimilation vs. multiculturalism) and the two profiles conditions (i.e., high vs. low heritage culture maintenance), we ran a two-way full-factorial MANOVA. Because correlations between pairs of items were not always satisfactory, we tested effects of the manipulated variables on the items separately. As expected, the multivariate main effect of policy was significant, $F(4, 191) = 83.19$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .36$, $\eta_p^2 = .63$. Conversely, neither multivariate main effect of profile, $F(4, 191) = 0.31$, $p = .87$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .99$, $\eta_p^2 = .006$, nor multivariate interaction effect between profile and policy, $F(4, 191) = 0.68$, $p = .61$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .99$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were found. Univariate tests for between-subject effects of policy using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons revealed that participants in the multicultural policy condition reported lower scores on the two items describing official directives as promoting assimilation ($M_1 = 2.64$, $SE_1 = .10$; $M_2 = 3.25$, $SE_2 = .10$) than participants in the assimilation norm condition ($M_1 = 4.36$, $SE_1 = .11$; $M_2 = 3.64$, $SE_2 = .11$), $p_1 < .001$; and $p_2 = .008$ respectively. Participants in the multicultural norm condition reported higher scores on the two items describing official directives as promoting multiculturalism ($M_1 = 3.14$, $SE_1 = .09$; $M_2 = 4.02$, $SE_2 = .09$) than participants in the assimilation norm condition ($M_1 = 1.60$, $SE_1 = .10$; $M_2 = 1.80$, $SE_2 = .09$), both $p < .001$.

Perception of heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption. The same two-way full-factorial MANOVA procedure was implemented to check for differences in participants' perception of heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption based on the two policies and the two profiles conditions. As expected, the

multivariate main effect of profile was significant, $F(4, 283) = 76.74$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .48$, $\eta_p^2 = .52$, while the multivariate main effect of policy was not significant, $F(4, 284) = 76.74$, $p = .46$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .97$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. A multivariate interaction effect was also found, $F(4, 284) = 2.28$, $p = .02$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .94$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Univariate tests for between-subject effects of profile using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons revealed that participants in the high heritage culture maintenance condition reported higher scores for the two items measuring perceived maintenance ($M_1 = 4.02$, $SE_1 = .06$; $M_2 = 3.62$, $SE_2 = .06$) than participants in the low heritage culture maintenance condition ($M_1 = 2.70$, $SE_1 = .06$; $M_2 = 2.63$, $SE_2 = .06$), both $p < .001$. No univariate interaction effects between profile and policy were found on the two items measuring perceived maintenance.

Conversely, participants in the high heritage culture maintenance condition reported lower scores on the two items measuring perceived host culture adoption ($M_1 = 3.33$, $SE_1 = .07$; $M_2 = 2.96$, $SE_2 = .07$) than participants in the low heritage culture maintenance condition ($M_1 = 3.99$, $SE_1 = .06$; $M_2 = 3.65$, $SE_2 = .07$), both $p < .001$. A univariate interaction effect between profile and policy was also found on one items measuring adoption, $F(2, 286) = 4.34$, $p = .01$; $\eta_p^2 = .03$. ,Yet decomposition of the interaction term revealed no simple effects of policy, meaning that differences in perceived adoption across profiles were not qualified by the policy manipulation. Despite the fact that the two profiles showed the same linguistic level, the same knowledge of Swiss institutions and history, and the same length of residence in the country, participants inferred lower host culture adoption from the high culture maintenance expressed by the naturalization applicant. This result is in line with the negative relationship between heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption evidenced by Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011).

3.2.2.2. HYPOTHESES TESTING

In order to test our set of hypotheses, we conducted a relative conditional process analysis (Hayes, 2018). First, we calculated the total effect of profile manipulation on application evaluations (H1), and we entered interaction terms between profile and policy in the model (H2). Then, we estimated the conditional indirect effects, by introducing attachment to the nation and individual deservingness as serial mediators (H3a-3c), and tested whether the indirect effects were moderated by the policy manipulation (H4a-4b). The full model was tested using PROCESS model 83[9]. Frequencies, means and standard deviation of all main variables decomposed by each experimental condition can be found in Table 3.

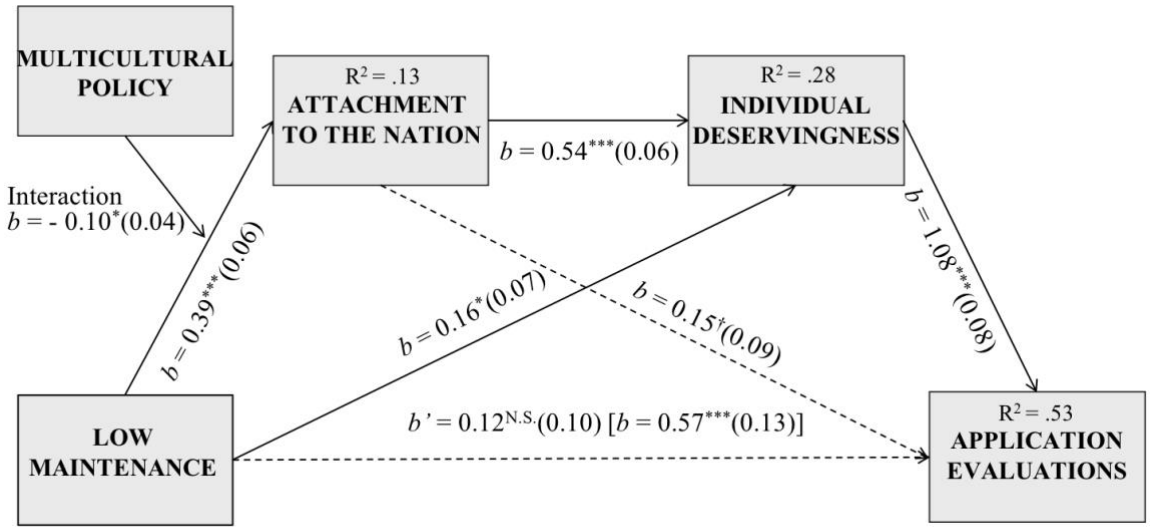
As a second step, we tested whether the total effect of profile manipulation on application evaluations was mediated by attachment to the nation and individual deservingness. Because we expected attachment to be causally related to deservingness, the model allowed the two mediators to covary. Also, we inserted all meaningful interactions between profile and the two contrasts capturing the three policies conditions. Indeed, we found a significant interaction between profile and Contrast 1 in predicting attachment to the nation (i.e., our first mediator), $b = 0.10$ (0.04), $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.19][10]. A test for simple effects showed that low heritage culture maintenance was positively related to perceived attachment to the nation under the joint Assimilation + Control condition (hypothesis 3a), $b = 0.49$ (0.08), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.33, 0.65], but not under the Multicultural policy condition (hypothesis 4a), $b = 0.19$ (0.11), $p = .08$, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.40]. When multiculturalism was made salient in the experimental setting, maintenance

9 In the online appendix we provided results of structural equation modeling where parallel and serial mediation models were compared. In line with our prediction, the serial mediation fit the data better than the parallel mediation.

10 When a 3 (policy) x 2 (profile) full-factorial ANOVA without planned comparisons was preferred, the estimate for the interaction term was only marginally significant, $F(2, 290) = 2.62$, $p = .07$.

did not predict lower levels of attachment attributed to the naturalization applicant. As for individual deservingness (i.e., our second mediator), we found a residual main effect of profile, b = 0.16 (0.07), p = .026, 95% CI [0.02, 0.31] and a main effect of attachment, b = 0.54 (0.06), p < .001, 95% CI [0.42, 0.67], thus confirming hypothesis 3b. No interaction between profile and policy was found on individual deservingness. Compared to the model without mediators, perceived attachment and deservingness accounted for a significant increase of the total variance explained of application evaluations (hypothesis 3c), $\Delta F(2, 288) = 140.23$, p <.001, ΔR^2_{adj} = .46. Moreover, when all the variables were inserted in the model, individual deservingness was the only significant predictor of application evaluations, b = 1.08 (0.08), p <.001, 95% CI [0.93, 1.23] (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Study 1. Direct and indirect effects of applicant's acculturation strategy on application evaluations.



Note: Estimates extracted from a moderated serial mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 83. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are reported. The total amount of variance explained for all endogenous variables is indicated on top of each variable.
*N.S. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.*

Table 3: Study 1. Frequencies, means and standard deviations of main measures, decomposed by each experimental condition.

		Experimental conditions					
		Low heritage culture maintenance			High heritage culture maintenance		
		Multicultural	Assimilation	Control	Multicultural	Assimilation	Control
Attachment to the nation	*n*	54	46	50	52	46	44
	M(SD)	4.03 (0.46)	4.15 (0.57)	4.07 (0.53)	3.84 (0.57)	3.68 (0.55)	3.56 (0.60)
Individual deservingness	*n*	54	46	50	52	46	44
	M(SD)	3.99 (0.55)	4.16 (0.55)	4.15 (0.70)	3.88 (0.63)	3.69 (0.72)	3.60 (0.78)
Application evaluations	*n*	54	46	50	52	46	44
	M(SD)	5.91 (0.99)	5.96 (0.82)	6.03 (1.02)	5.54 (1.06)	5.47 (1.18)	5.19 (1.35)

In line with relative conditional process analysis as described by Hayes (2018), we estimated indirect effects for the joint Assimilation + Control conditions and the multicultural policy condition separately. The index of moderated mediation confirmed hypothesis 4b and revealed that the conditional indirect effects differed substantially depending on the policy, *index* = .18 (0.09), 95% CI [0.03, 0.37]. Indeed, the serial indirect effect through attachment and deservingness was significant under the joint Assimilation + Control conditions, *b* = 0.30 (0.07), 95% CI [0.17, 0.44], but not under the Multicultural condition, *b* = 0.11 (0.06), 95% CI [-0.07, 0.24]. Instead, a residual indirect effect through individual deservingness remained significant regardless of which policy was made salient, *b* = 0.16 (0.08), 95% CI [0.01, 0.32].

3.2.3. Discussion

This first study provided evidence that maintaining connections with the heritage culture practices is a burden for naturalization applicants, as evaluations become more negative when maintenance was high. Furthermore, perceived attachment to the nation and individual deservingness mediated the negative relationship between maintenance and evaluations, showing that heritage culture maintenance undermined perceived attachment and deservingness. While participants inferred levels of deservingness from the degree of attachment attributed to the naturalization applicant, deservingness was the only significant predictor of application evaluations, suggesting that individual deservingness is a key criterion by which potential future ingroup members are judged.

Our findings did not fully support the moderation hypothesis by acculturation policies, as neither the total nor the direct effect of immigrant profile on application evaluations were moderated by the policy manipulation. Yet, when legal authorities promoted multiculturalism, differences between applicants in terms of perceived attachment were attenuated, suggesting that policies influenced evaluations only indirectly.

One explanation for the lack of direct impact of the policy manipulation is that, under multicultural policies, the residual negative effect of maintenance on deservingness overrode the effect of attachment to the nation, explaining the negative evaluation of the naturalization applicant. Indeed, heritage culture maintenance impaired individual deservingness attributed to the naturalization applicants under all circumstances, regardless of whether evaluations occurred in a multicultural or in an assimilationist political environment. Heritage culture maintenance was therefore likely making group-based cultural differences salient for national majority members, which are perceived by them as incompatible with the normative importance placed on individual autonomy and independence (Iacoviello & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2015; Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2002).

Alternatively, the multicultural condition may not have completely yielded the expected results because the manipulation was too subtle. Switzerland is considered highly conservative and assimilationist in terms of naturalization policies (Koopmans et al., 2005). The reading of a brief outline containing official guidelines may not have been enough to persuade participants about the value of cultural diversity in the naturalization process. Moreover, the profile manipulation contained information about cultural maintenance in multiple domains (i.e., language, feeling of belongingness and support seeking) and referred to a naturalization applicant only from a devalued country. These two components may have aroused a generalized suspicion against the naturalization applicant that was not offset by the multicultural environment.

3.3. STUDY 2

A second experimental study was designed to replicate both the direct and the indirect effects of heritage culture maintenance on application evaluations, to examine if the effects could be found for both valued and devalued naturalization applicants, and to test in a more credible and natural setting the role played by diversity policies. In study 2,

we used a real world operationalization of multicultural policies: We compared two countries, Switzerland and Belgium, that are located at the opposite side of the spectrum in terms of integration policies and access to nationality (Howard, 2009). According to the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), conditions in terms of eligibility and requirements in Switzerland are highly unfavorable, whereas they are moderately favorable in Belgium (Huddleston et al., 2015). Also, the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI) ranks Switzerland as highly assimilationist, whereas Belgium is as rather multicultural (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). Assuming that immigration policies shape the societal environment in which evaluations are embedded (Bourhis et al., 1997; Green & Staerklé, 2013; Guimond et al., 2014), heritage culture maintenance of naturalization applicants should be more readily accepted in Belgium than in Switzerland.

Assessing a second boundary condition, study 2 also tested the relationship between heritage culture maintenance and application evaluations for candidates from both valued and devalued countries. Compared to devalued immigrant groups reactions towards heritage culture maintenance should be more welcoming and accommodating towards valued immigrant groups (Kunst & Sam, 2014; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Safdar et al., 2008). Finally, we decided to use a more conservative manipulation of heritage culture maintenance, focusing only on linguistic aspects (e.g., reading and speaking in one's mother tongue at home). Language maintenance is associated with high cultural identification (Geerlings, Verkuyten, & Thijs, 2015; Mu, 2015), but is generally more tolerated by national majority members, because it pertains to private spheres of life (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Navas et al., 2007; Tip et al., 2015).

To summarize, we expected again that low levels of heritage culture maintenance of naturalization applicants would be preferred over high levels of culture maintenance shown by the naturalization applicant (H1). This effect should be qualified by interactions

between profile and country (H2a), and between profile and cultural origin of the naturalization applicant (H2b). In other words, maintenance should be associated with more negative evaluations in Switzerland than in Belgium, and reactions should be less accommodating towards naturalization applicants from devalued compared to valued countries. We also expected to replicate the indirect effect through attachment to the nation and perceived deservingness (H3a-c), and to find indirect effects only in Switzerland (H4a) and only for devalued naturalization applicants (H4b). Indeed, when policies promote multiculturalism or the target person comes from a valued country, heritage culture maintenance should not impair perceived attachment to the nation of naturalization applicants.

3.3.1. METHOD

3.3.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

Data collection took place in Switzerland and in Belgium. Participants included 306 undergraduate students at a university in the French-speaking part of both countries. After data collection, only Swiss (n = 127) and Belgian (n = 93) nationals without immigration backgrounds were retained (72% of the original sample, n = 220[11]). Age ranged from 18 to 63 (M = 20.79, SD = 4.92), although 98% of participants were under 29 years old. A majority of participants were women (69%, n = 152). We observed no statistical differences between the two countries in terms of age and gender.

11 A statistical power analysis based on data from study 1 was performed using G*Power and Power Med (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007; Schoemann, Boulton, & Short, 2017). With α = .05 and 1- β = 0.80, the projected sample size needed in order to replicate both total and indirect effects of the serial mediation model were approximately N = 250.

3.3.1.2. PROCEDURE AND MATERIAL

In small group sessions or during class time, participants responded to a questionnaire administered in French, comprising the experimental manipulation described below and the same dependent measures as used in study 1.

Experimental conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions, according to a 2 (profile: high vs. low levels of heritage culture maintenance) by 2 (origin: devalued vs. valued) between-subjects experimental design. In Switzerland, Kosovar and Spanish applicants were used as devalued and valued categories, respectively. In Belgium, Turks and Italians were selected as devalued and valued categories, respectively. Countries of origin were pretested in order to select comparable groups among the most prevalent immigrant origins in each country that differed significantly in the way they were ranked by national majority members in terms of social status and prestige[12]. The same information as used in study 1 was then given in the first part of the commission report. In the second part, the applicant's acculturation strategy was manipulated differently. In the high heritage culture maintenance condition, the report indicated that the (male) applicant speaks with the accent of his country of origin; at home, he usually reads, writes and expresses himself in his mother tongue and often encourages his children to do the same. Conversely, in the low heritage culture maintenance condition, the report indicated that the applicant speaks without foreign accent; at home he does not usually read, write or express himself in his mother tongue and rarely encourages his children to do so.

12 A pool of ten nationalities per country was pre-tested (N = 50) on the basis of official statistics concerning the number of naturalization applicants per year. Countries sharing the same language as the receiving society were discarded. A single item adapted from Adler and colleagues (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000) was used to assess the *perceived status* in society of the ten national groups, from *very low status* (-5) to *very high status* (+5). In the main study, the perceived gap between the two devalued and the two valued immigrant groups retained was significant (ΔM = 1.03, SE = .25), $F(1, 219) = 16.96$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and was not qualified by any two-way or three-way interaction between country, profile and origin.

Manipulation checks. Following the experimental manipulation, the same two items were used to assess *perception of host culture adoption*, $r(218) = .52$, $p < .001$, and *heritage culture maintenance*, $r(218) = .77$, $p < .001$.

Dependent measures. Participants then responded to the same three sets of questions as in study 1 about the naturalization applicant: *Perceived attachment to the nation* ($\alpha = .71$); *perceived deservingness* ($\alpha = .79$); and *application evaluations* ($\alpha = .91$).

3.3.2. RESULTS

Data analysis was carried out with SPSS, version 24. Results are reported in the same order as in study 1.

3.3.2.1. MANIPULATION CHECKS

Perception of heritage culture maintenance and host culture adoption. To check for differences in participants' perception of maintenance and adoption as a function of profile, country, and origin, we ran a three-way full-factorial MANOVA. As expected, the multivariate effect of profile was significant, $F(4, 209) = 64.69$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .45$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$, as was the multivariate effect of country, $F(4, 209) = 4.60$, $p = .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .92$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and origin, $F(4, 209) = 3.43$, $p = .01$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .94$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. No meaningful multivariate two-way or three-way interactions were found. Univariate tests for between-subject effects of profile using Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons revealed that participants in the high heritage culture maintenance condition reported higher scores for the two items measuring perceived maintenance ($M_1 = 4.06$, $SE_1 = .07$; $M_2 = 3.72$, $SE_2 = .07$) than participants in the low heritage culture maintenance condition ($M_1 = 2.56$, $SE_1 = .07$; $M_2 = 2.57$, $SE_2 = .07$), both $p < .001$. No univariate effects, for country or origin, were found concerning maintenance.

Conversely, participants in the high heritage culture maintenance condition reported lower scores on the two items measuring perceived adoption ($M_1 = 3.53$, $SE_1 =$

.07; M_2 = 3.08, SE_2 = .07) than participants in the low heritage culture maintenance condition (M_1 = 3.86, SE_1 = .07; M_2 = 3.46, SE_2 = .07), both p =.001. A univariate effect of country was also found, showing that Belgian participants reported lower scores on one of the two items measuring perceived adoption (M_1 = 3.62, SE_1 = .08; M_2 = 3.07, SE_2 = .07) than Swiss participants (M_1 = 3.77, SE_1 = .07; M_2 = 3.47, SE_2 = .06), p_1 = .15; and p_2 < .001 respectively. Finally, participants in the devalued origin condition reported lower scores on the two items measuring perceived adoption (M_1 = 3.57, SE_1 = .07; M_2 = 3.11, SE_2 = .06) than participants in the valued origin condition (M_1 = 3.82, SE_1 = .07; M_2 = 3.43, SE_2 = .07), p_1 = .01; and p_2 = .001 respectively. Echoing study 1 and extending results of Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011), participants inferred lower host culture adoption both from the devalued origin and from the high heritage culture maintenance expressed by the applicant, despite the fact that heritage culture maintenance only pertained to private spheres of life.

3.3.2.2. HYPOTHESES TESTING

In order to test our hypotheses, we conducted a conditional process analysis using the same procedure as in study 1. As a first step, we calculated the total effect of profile manipulation on application evaluations (H1), and then inserted interaction terms between profile and country (H2a), and between profile and origin (H2b). We then estimated the conditional indirect effects by introducing attachment to the nation and individual deservingness as serial mediators (H3a-3c), and by testing whether indirect effects were moderated by country (H4a) and by origin (H4b). The full model was tested using PROCESS model 86 (Hayes, 2018). Frequencies, means and standard deviation of all main variables decomposed by each experimental condition and reported by each country separately can be found in Table 4.

Table 4: Study 2. Frequencies, means and standard deviations of main measures, decomposed by each experimental condition and reported by country.

		Experimental conditions			
		Low heritage culture maintenance		High heritage culture maintenance	
		Devalued	Valued	Devalued	Valued
		Switzerland			
Attachment to the nation	*n*	31	37	31	28
	M(SD)	3.86 (0.46)	3.55 (0.46)	3.40 (0.57)	3.52 (0.38)
Individual deservingness	*n*	31	37	31	28
	M(SD)	4.24 (0.58)	4.12 (0.55)	3.78 (0.61)	4.05 (0.52)
Application evaluations	*n*	31	37	31	28
	M(SD)	6.37 (0.80)	6.23 (0.96)	5.27 (1.36)	6.13 (0.95)
		Belgium			
Attachment to the nation	*n*	25	21	23	24
	M(SD)	3.55 (.46)	3.73 (0.31)	3.38 (.57)	3.54 (0.43)
Individual deservingness	*n*	25	21	23	24
	M(SD)	4.23 (.46)	4.11 (0.44)	3.83 (.48)	3.92 (0.45)
Application evaluations	*n*	25	21	23	24
	M(SD)	6.08 (.68)	6.16 (0.73)	5.20 (.94)	5.79 (0.89)

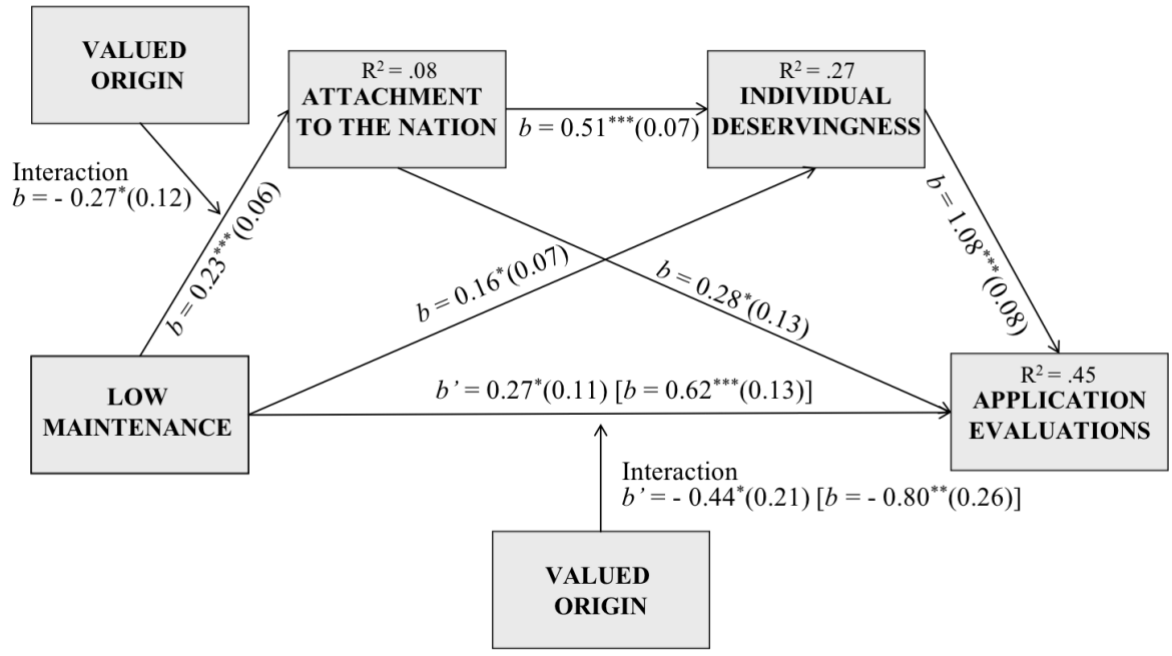
The main effects of profile, country and origin on application evaluations were estimated first. The model was significant, $F(3, 214) = 8.35$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.14$. In line with our first hypothesis, low levels of heritage culture maintenance were preferred over high levels shown by the naturalization applicant, $b = 0.62$ (0.13), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.36, 0.89]. Moreover, valued applicants received more favorable evaluations than devalued ones, $b = 0.32$ (0.13), $p = .014$, 95% CI [0.07, 0.58]. Only a marginal main effect of country was found, showing that evaluations were slightly less positive in Belgium than in

Switzerland, b = - 0.25 (0.14), p =.072, 95% CI [-0.52, 0.02]. Contrary to hypothesis 2a, the interaction between country and profile did not improve model fit, $\Delta F(1, 213) = 0.06$, p =.802, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .00$. In line with Hypothesis 2b, the interaction between origin and profile did improve the model fit, $\Delta F(1, 212) = 9.71$, p =.002, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .04$. A test for simple effects showed that under the devalued origin condition, low levels of heritage culture maintenance were preferred over high levels, b = 1.00 (0.18), p <.001, 95% CI [0.64, 1.36]. Conversely, under the valued origin condition, whether the naturalization applicant showed low or high levels of heritage culture maintenance did not affect the evaluations, b = 0.21 (0.18), p =.242, 95% CI [-0.15, 0.58].

As a second step, we tested if the total effect of profile manipulation on application evaluations, as well as the interaction between profile and origin, were mediated by attachment to the nation and individual deservingness. Because we tested for a serial mediation, the model allowed the two mediators to covary. Also, we inserted all meaningful interactions between profile and origin and between profile and country. Because neither main effect of country nor interactions between profile and country resulted in significant estimates, we maintained country as a covariate. We found a significant interaction between profile and origin predicting attachment to the nation (i.e., our first mediator), b = -0.27 (0.12), p =.032, 95% CI [-0.02, -0.51]. A test for simple effects confirmed Hypothesis 3a: For devalued applicants cultural maintenance resulted in decreased perceived attachment, b = 0.36(0.09), p <.001, 95% CI [0.19, 0.53]. Conversely, for valued applicants, cultural maintenance did not result in decreased perceived attachment, b = 0.09(0.09), p =.28, 95% CI [-0.08, 0.27]. As for individual deservingness (i.e., our second mediator), we found a residual main effect of profile, b = 0.16(0.07), p =.01, 95% CI [0.03, 0.29], and a main effect of attachment, b = 0.51(0.07), p <.001, 95% CI [0.38, 0.65], thus confirming Hypothesis 3b. No interaction between profile and origin

qualified the assessment of individual deservingness. Confirming hypothesis 3c, compared to the model without mediators, perceived attachment and deservingness accounted for a significant increase of the total variance explained of application evaluations, $\Delta F(2, 210) = 52.34$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .28$. When all variables were inserted in the model, individual deservingness, $b = 0.91(0.11)$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.70, 1.15], and attachment to the nation, $b = 0.28(0.13)$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.54] predicted application evaluations. Moreover, the direct effect of profile, $b = 0.27(0.11)$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.48], and the interaction between profile and origin, $b = -0.44(0.21)$, $p = .04$, 95% CI [-0.02, -0.86], shrank although they remained significant (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Study 2: Direct and indirect effects of applicant's acculturation strategy on application evaluations.



Note: Estimates extracted from a moderated serial mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 86. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are reported. The total amount of variance explained for all endogenous variables is indicated on top of each variable.
*N.S. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.*

In line with conditional process analysis (Hayes, 2018), we estimated indirect effects for valued and devalued naturalization applicants separately. The index of

moderated mediation confirmed hypothesis 4b, revealing that the conditional indirect effects differed substantially depending on the origin of the applicant, *index* = .13(0.06), 95% CI [0.01, 0.27]. Indeed, the serial indirect effect through attachment and deservingness was significant for devalued applicants, *b* = 0.17(0.06), 95% CI [0.07, 0.30], but not for valued applicants, *b* = 0.04(0.04), 95% CI [-0.02, 0.12]. Instead, and in line with study 1, a residual indirect effect through individual deservingness only remained significant regardless of the origin of the naturalization applicant, *b* = 0.15 (0.07), 95% CI [0.03, 0.29].

3.3.3. Discussion

This second experiment replicated and extended results from study 1. By manipulating the profiles in a more conservative way, we confirmed the detrimental effect of heritage culture maintenance on application evaluations even when maintenance only referred to private domains of life. The desire to maintain one's own culture was indeed associated with lower attachment to the host country and to reduced deservingness attributed to the naturalization applicant. Moreover, maintenance resulted in negative evaluations only when it concerned applicants from devalued countries. Immigrants from more valued countries paid no price in maintaining their culture, as attachment to the host country was perceived as compatible with maintenance. Our findings also highlighted the same processes at play in countries with very different integration policies and access to citizenship. Our hypothesis about differences between Switzerland and Belgium in terms of acceptance of heritage culture maintenance was indeed rejected. Although slightly underpowered, the negligible effect sizes of the interaction terms for total, direct and indirect effects suggest the moderations would not have been found with a larger sample either. When it comes to including new ingroup members in the national majority group, immigrants from devalued countries are expected to renounce their inherited markers of

identity, regardless of the degree to which cultural diversity is tolerated or promoted by legal authorities.

The two experimental studies converged in highlighting the indirect effects through attachment to the nation and perceived deservingness. While the negative effect of heritage culture maintenance on attachment to the host nation was moderated by policy (study 1) and origin (study 2), the effect on deservingness remained stable throughout conditions. Also, the two studies were consistent in showing that attachment to the host nation preceded deservingness in the causal chain between heritage culture maintenance and naturalization applicant evaluations. Nevertheless, in both experimental designs, attachment and deservingness were endogenous variables and no causal link between the two dimensions could be formally established. These causal limitations led us to design a third experimental study.

3.4. STUDY 3

We designed study 3 to determine whether perceived attachment to the nation (i.e., the first mediator) predicted the level of individual deservingness (i.e., the second mediator) that in turn explained application evaluations. In order to assess the causal relationship between attachment and the subsequent endogenous variables of the model, we manipulated attachment and estimated a mediation model that explained application evaluations through perceived deservingness. Study 2 did not show any moderation of the applicant's origin on the causal process from perceived attachment to application evaluations. Therefore, no differences were expected between applicants from valued and devalued origins. Nevertheless, we maintained this second manipulation in order to ascertain that the effect holds for both national groups. We hypothesized that the manipulation of attachment to the nation would affect application evaluations (H1); that level of attachment would predict perceived deservingness of the naturalization applicant

(H2a); that deservingness would account for a significant portion of the explained variance of application evaluations (H2b), so that the indirect effect between attachment and application evaluations through perceived deservingness would be significant (H3).

3.4.1. METHOD

3.4.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

One hundred fifty-eight students attending an introductory social psychology course at a university in the French–speaking part of Switzerland participated in the study. After data collection, only Swiss nationals without immigration backgrounds were retained (74% of the original sample, $n = 117$[13]). Age ranged from 19 to 31 ($M = 22.41$, $SD = 1.92$), although 99% of participants were under 28 years old. A majority of participants were women (81%, $n = 95$).

3.4.1.2. PROCEDURE AND MATERIALS

During class time, participants responded to a questionnaire comprising the experimental manipulation described below and the same dependent measures as used in studies 1 and 2.

Experimental conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions, according to a 2 (attachment: high vs. low) by 2 (origin: devalued vs. valued) between-subjects experimental design. Again, Kosovars and Spanish were used as devalued and valued origins respectively[14]. The same information used in study 1 and 2 was given in the first part of the Commission report. In the second part, the applicant's

13 A statistical power analysis based on data from a large pilot study was performed using G*Power. With $\alpha = .05$ and $1-\beta = 0.80$, the projected sample size needed in order to replicate the main effect of attachment on effort was approximately N = 108.

14 The perceived status in society of the two communities of origin was assessed again. In line with study 2, the devalued Kosovar immigrant community was perceived as lower status than the valued Spanish immigrant community, $F(1, 116) = 52.76$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .32$.

level of attachment to the nation was manipulated. In the high attachment condition, the applicant revealed high motivation to obtain Swiss citizenship. Moreover, the Commission claimed that this motivation originated from emotional bonds with the country, because the applicant appeared strongly attached and identified with Switzerland. In the low attachment condition, the applicant still revealed high motivation to obtain Swiss citizenship. Nevertheless, the Commission claimed that this motivation did not originate from emotional bonds with the country, because the applicant appeared only weakly attached and identified with Switzerland.

Manipulation checks. Following the experimental manipulation, the same four items used in studies 1 and 2 were used to assess *perception of attachment to the country* ($\alpha = .94$).

Dependent measures. Participants then responded to the same two sets of questions as in studies 1 and 2 about the naturalization applicant: *Perceived individual deservingness* ($\alpha = .83$); and *application evaluations* ($\alpha = .88$).

3.4.2. Results

Data analysis was carried out with SPSS, version 24. Results are reported in the same order as in studies 1 and 2.

3.4.2.1. Manipulation checks

Perception of attachment to the nation. To check whether the two attachment conditions and the two origins predicted perceived attachment to the nation, we ran a two-way full-factorial ANOVA. Only a univariate effect of attachment was found, $F(1, 116) = 272.16$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .71$. In line with the manipulation, in the low attachment condition participants attributed less attachment to the nation ($M = 2.54$, $SE = .08$) than in the high attachment condition ($M = 4.30$, $SE = .07$).

3.4.2.2. HYPOTHESES TESTING

We used PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2018) in order to test total, direct and indirect effects where the attachment manipulation predicted application evaluations through perceived deservingness. Origin was inserted as a covariate because no interactions were found. Thus, the same processes were at play for both valued and devalued naturalization applicants. Frequencies, means and standard deviation of all main variables decomposed by each experimental condition are reported in Table 5.

Table 5: Study 3. Frequencies, means and standard deviations of main measures, decomposed by each experimental condition.

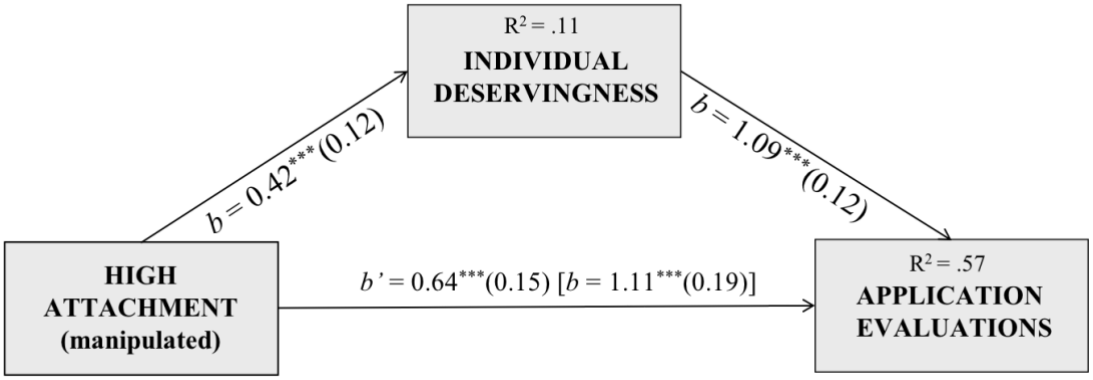
		Experimental conditions			
		Low attachment		High attachment	
		Devalued	Valued	Devalued	Valued
Individual deservingness	*n*	28	30	31	28
	M(SD)	3.72 (0.58)	3.73 (0.75)	4.15 (0.62)	4.16 (0.56)
Application evaluations	*n*	28	30	31	28
	M(SD)	4.83 (1.15)	5.08 (1.29)	5.97 (0.89)	6.15 (0.75)

Confirming hypothesis 1, the model testing the total effect of attachment on application evaluations was significant, $F(2, 114) = 16.88$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = 0.23$. Indeed, evaluations were more positive in the high attachment condition than in the low attachment condition, $b = 1.11$ (0.19), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.94, 1.49]. No interactions between origin and attachment were found, meaning that the same processes were at play for both valued and devalued naturalization applicants.

Confirming hypothesis 2a, attachment also predicted individual deservingness, $b = 0.42$ (0.12), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.20, 0.66]. Compared with the model without the mediator, deservingness accounted for a significant increase of the total variance explained of

application evaluations (hypothesis 2b), $\Delta F(1, 113) = 88.67$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2_{adj} = .34$. As expected, the higher the perceived deservingness, the more positive were the evaluations, $b = 1.09$ (0.12), $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.86, 1.32]. Finally, an analysis of indirect effects using the bootstrapping method of inference confirmed hypothesis 3. Indeed, the indirect effect of attachment on evaluations passing through individual deservingness was significant, $b = 0.47(0.13)$, 95% CI [0.23, 0.72]. Also, the direct effect of attachment shrank, although it remained significant, $b = 0.64(0.15)$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.33, 0.94] (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Study 3: Direct and indirect effects of applicant's level of attachment to the nation on application evaluations.



Note: Estimates extracted from a mediation model using PROCESS Version 3, model 4. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are reported. The total amount of variance explained for all endogenous variables is indicated on top of each variable.
*N.S. $p > .10$, † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.*

3.4.3. DISCUSSION

Study 3 assessed the causal relationship between attachment to the nation and individual deservingness, and tested whether the relationship between attachment and evaluations was mediated by the perceived deservingness attributed to the naturalization applicant. Results confirmed our hypotheses and corroborated the findings of studies 1 and 2, both showing that attachment preceded deservingness in the causal chain from heritage culture maintenance to application evaluations. Indeed, in study 3, higher attachment (manipulated) predicted greater perceived deservingness attributed to the applicant. In turn,

deservingness predicted evaluations. Furthermore, no difference was observed between applicants from valued and devalued countries. Regardless of the origin, attachment to the nation and deservingness represent core dimensions of evaluation that all immigrant communities must fulfill in order to be fully accepted as citizens of the country.

3.5. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Through three studies, we examined naturalization preferences among national majority members. Our findings showed that heritage culture maintenance consistently led to negative evaluations from national majority members, thereby demonstrating the pressure to assimilate faced by naturalization applicants. Heritage culture maintenance was perceived as incompatible with the two evaluative dimensions underlying neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship—attachment to the nation and perceived deservingness—that mediated the relationship between heritage culture maintenance and evaluations of naturalization applicants. Moreover, members of the national majority expressed different expectations toward naturalization applicants depending on whether they originated from valued or devalued countries (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013). Naturalization applicants from valued countries were not sanctioned when they maintained their heritage culture. However, devalued immigrants were treated differently, as a function of their acculturation strategy: Those who renounced their heritage culture were more positively evaluated than those who maintained it.

The two dimensions of attachment and deservingness are not unfamiliar concepts to social psychologists, but they are marginal constructs in acculturation research (Roblain et al., 2016). Also, they have never been combined into a joint ideology to explain empirically the rise in assimilationist expectations in contemporary societies. The present studies provide a first step in integrating representations of citizenship into a multidimensional framework for acculturation research (Schwartz et al., 2015, 2010). The

robustness of our results across two national contexts differing substantially in terms of integration and citizenship policies—Switzerland and Belgium—corroborates the contention that neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship assert themselves across Europe (Davies, 2012; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011).

Acculturation research has shown that heritage culture maintenance elicits different reactions depending on the life domain at stake (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Navas et al., 2007), private forms of cultural maintenance being generally more tolerated than public forms (Tip et al., 2015). However, our second experiment provided evidence that heritage culture maintenance is detrimental for devalued naturalization applicants even when maintenance pertains solely to the private sphere of life (e.g., speaking, reading and writing one's own mother tongue at home). Also, the differential treatment applied to naturalization applicants based on their ethnonational group membership—valued vs. devalued origin—highlights the fact that ethnic criteria still condition social inclusion of immigrant communities in the national community (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Reijerse et al., 2013). The comeback of ethnicity as an exclusionary factor in public opinion across European countries may be even more important in the near future, due to the increased number of resettled asylum seekers, and the related threat mobilized by right-wing populist parties (Green, 2009; Green et al., 2018; Staerklé & Green, 2018). In addition, we found only scant evidence of a mitigating effect of multicultural policy on the assimilation pressure faced by devalued naturalization applicants. When inclusion of new ingroup members in the national ingroup is at stake, diversity policies promoting multiculturalism do not necessarily improve majority members' tolerance for heritage culture maintenance (but see Bourhis et al., 2010; Guimond et al., 2013, 2014).

Even though our findings illustrate the complexity of the ideological, social, and psychological dynamics at work in the evaluation of naturalization applicants, a number of

limitations need to be addressed. Indeed, our participants were all university students, and the experimental design comprised uniquely attitudinal measures within a fictitious vignette scenario (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Yamamoto, 2015). Although a homogenous sample within a controlled experimental setting reduces external disturbances and allows for in-depth investigations of the underlying processes involved, it may undermine the generalizability of our findings to the general population (Henry, 2008; Sears, 1986). Nevertheless, previous studies conducted on representative samples of the national population (Turper et al., 2015), and using behavioral measures (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013) support our conclusions that naturalization applicants from devalued countries who do not assimilate pay a high price in terms of evaluations from national majority members.

To extend the present findings, future research should not only focus on members of the national majority group, but also include individuals with immigrant background in the sample (for a similar argument, see Sarrasin, Green, Bolzman, Visintin, & Politi, 2018; Sarrasin, Green, Fasel, & Davidov, 2014). Compared to nationals, the latter may in fact focus on different dimensions of acculturation (e.g., more favorable attitude towards cultural maintenance and lower importance granted to national attachment), thereby disclosing different evaluations towards naturalization applicants. Recent research also suggests that individuals with an immigrant background perceive significantly more compatibility between principles of individual justice (e.g., perceived deservingness) and collective justice (e.g., heritage culture maintenance), compared to national majority members. Therefore, the evaluation of naturalization applicants who demonstrate high levels of heritage culture maintenance may even be positive among individuals with an immigrant background.

Finally, a number of practical implications follow from these results. Although there is no clear consensus among scholars regarding whether current naturalization regimes are practically connected with cultural assimilation or not (Joppke, 2017), our findings indicate that cultural maintenance can be detrimental for naturalization applicants (Fassin & Mazouz, 2009; Politi & Staerklé, 2017). The general backlash of multicultural policies, intertwined with the concurrent rise of neoliberal communitarian ideologies, fosters shared representations of citizenship in which assimilation becomes *de facto* prescriptive. Naturalization offices and institutions accompanying naturalization applicants throughout their integration process should be made aware of the risks that this implicit assimilation pressure represents for the integration of naturalized citizens. Although the legal inclusion into the national majority group may not be formally related to the level of cultural maintenance of naturalization applicants (but see Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014), national majority members are very skeptical about any marker of cultural difference expressed by devalued candidates, thereby jeopardizing their social inclusion and acceptance. Given the central role of individual deservingness as a dominant, individual justice principle in the allocation of rights and resources, national majorities should be encouraged to perceive this Western meritocratic ideal as compatible with cultural diversity (Gündemir, Homan, Usova, & Galinsky, 2017; Ward et al., 2018), so that they may accept former immigrants as fully-fledged ingroup members even when they maintain their cultural distinctiveness.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOVING ACROSS GROUP BOUNDARIES:

MOTIVATIONS AND INCLUSION EXPERIENCED BY NATURALIZED CITIZENS

Abstract

Nowadays citizenship acquisition has become a reality for many individuals with a migration background, but few studies have investigated their actual naturalization experience. Based on a unique sample of freshly naturalized citizens in Switzerland (N = 566), we assessed three main motivations to naturalize (belongingness, political participation and instrumental motives), as well as feelings of inclusion into the receiving society. Contrary to the "instrumental turn hypothesis" (Joppke, 2018), belongingness and participation motives prevailed over instrumentality. Moreover, participants' national origins and socio-economic status predicted naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion. "Devalued" origins were positively related to belongingness motives, but negatively to feelings of inclusion. Participation motives were most strongly endorsed by participants with high socio-economic status. Compared to other categories, Non-EU citizens from Developing countries, and individuals with relatively low levels of education and income, endorsed instrumental motives to a greater extent. The three motivations were differently connected to feelings of inclusion reported by naturalized citizens: belongingness was positively related to perceived inclusion, whereas instrumentality was negatively related. No direct relation between participation and inclusion was observed. Overall, results suggest a spiral of "exclusionary inclusion" whereby vulnerability experienced by immigrants as outsiders transforms into the marginalization experienced by naturalized immigrants as insiders.

The increasing diversity and heterogeneity of contemporary societies (Castles & Miller, 2003; Esses et al., 2015; Green & Staerklé, 2013) raises important questions about the socio-political incorporation of immigrants (Bean, Brown, Bachmeier, Fokkema, & Lessard-Phillips, 2012; Levin, 2013). Citizenship acquisition, that is, naturalization of immigrants, is a crucial phase in the inclusion of individuals with immigrant background into the social fabric of receiving countries. Accordingly, naturalization is considered both an outcome and a catalyst of successful economic, social and political integration (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a; OECD, 2011; Pietrantuono, 2016).

Yet, citizenship studies have mainly offered "top-down" normative analyses of naturalization regimes and general conceptions of citizenship (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2010a). From this point of view, a general transition has been observed, from "thick" conceptions of citizenship based on identity bonds and attachment with the national community, to "thin" conceptions of citizenship based on instrumental considerations lacking in symbolic and emotional content (Joppke, 2018). However, evidence whether this "instrumentality turn" is reflected in individual motivations of naturalization is still lacking. Accordingly, scholars underline the need for "bottom-up" approaches to citizenship acquisition (Harpaz, 2015; Knott, 2018), and for the study of motivational factors driving individual decisions to naturalize (Finotelli et al., 2018; Robertson, 2008). What is more, no empirical evidence is available demonstrating whether naturalized citizens *feel* they are included in the receiving societies, and consider themselves as part of the national community, or not (for a similar point, see Verkuyten, 2018).

The scant consideration of these social-psychological aspects associated with citizenship acquisition is partially explained by lack of access to a "difficult-to-reach" population, namely naturalized citizens, who are often at different and incomparable stages of integrating in receiving societies (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Pietrantuono, 2016).

With an original sample of individuals with immigration background who have just completed the naturalization process in Switzerland, the aim of this paper is to fill this gap, thereby complementing normative approaches with an investigation of the social-psychological processes involved in citizenship acquisition. By focusing on the subjective experience of naturalized citizens, we center our analysis on two related dimensions, namely *naturalization motives* (i.e., motivations underlying the decision to naturalize), and *feelings of inclusions* (i.e., perceived recognition and acceptance by the receiving society). First, we examine the motivational drivers leading individuals with immigrant background to undertake the naturalization procedure. We identify three main naturalization motives and discuss them in light of theoretical conceptions of citizenship derived from political theory. Second, we assess whether participants' origins and socio-economic status shape the naturalization motives endorsed, as well as feelings of inclusion reported into the receiving society. Third, we articulate naturalization motives with feelings of inclusion experienced by naturalized citizens. Whereas all participants were formally granted Swiss citizenship, naturalized citizens' subjective feelings of acceptance and social recognition differed as a function of their naturalization motives. To conclude, we discuss how instrumentality and devalued origins filter out certain categories of immigrants from the positive psychological outcomes of naturalization.

4.1. TOWARDS A TAXONOMY OF NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

Compared to non-citizens, naturalized citizens have a higher socio-economic status (Bratsberg, Ragan, & Nasir, 2002; Fibbi, Lerch, & Wanner, 2007; Steinhardt & Wedemeier, 2012), engage more in politics (Bevelander, 2011; Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015b; Pantoja & Gershon, 2006), and feel more attached to the receiving society (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). Nevertheless, motives to naturalize vary substantially between individuals, the acquisition of citizenship

being the product of a complex set of contextual factors and personal considerations (Levin, 2013; Soehl, Waldinger, & Luthra, 2018). For instance, Robertson (2008) argued that citizenship acquisition operates "both functionally, as a means to maintain rights and physical mobility across borders, and subjectively as a marker of identity and belonging" (p. 99). In a similar vein, Dag Tjaden (2013) clustered reasons to naturalize into "emotional or subjective", and "practical or objective". Nevertheless, a clear taxonomy of naturalization motives is yet to be defined, and there is no firm evidence that they are distinguishable in the eyes of naturalization applicants.

In terms of classic political theory, becoming a citizen first and foremost implies belonging to and participating in the affairs that affect the national community (Benedicto & Morán, 2007). Framed in terms of "Ethos" and "Demos" (Habermas, 1992; Joppke, 2010a), this Republican tradition stresses both the ethnic-cultural and the democratic-civic grounds of national citizenship (Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011). Classical understandings of citizenship therefore highlight interest-transcending loyalty with the national community. Here, attachment to the nation and participation for the sake of the public good are crucial elements that foreign-born citizens are expected to integrate into their "psychological makeup" (Brubaker, 1992; Shulman, 2002). *Belongingness* and *political participation motives* thus refer to the Republican tradition.

In recent years, this classic conception based on belongingness and political participation has been gradually replaced by new forms of citizenship, thereby questioning the symbolic meaning associated with naturalization (Joppke, 2018). The growing liberalization of citizenship regimes, together with the hierarchization of countries in terms of rights attached to the national passport, has given rise to instrumental practices pertaining to the acquisition of citizenship (Bauböck, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). This strategic attitude to nationality reflects individuals' vested interest in improving their position within a global

system of inequality (Finotelli et al., 2018; Harpaz, 2015). In this view, naturalization is considered a means for upward mobility, applicants improving their status and connected rights through citizenship acquisition (Bauböck, 2018; Kulich et al., 2015). *Instrumental motives* thus refer to this theoretical reconceptualization of citizenship.

Yet, instrumentality and belongingness are not mutually exclusive, and vested interest has not so far replaced symbolic reasons to naturalize (Knott, 2018; Pogonyi, 2019). Quite the contrary, deprived individuals who undergo a process of upward mobility through citizenship acquisition tend to increase identification with the national community (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Kulich et al., 2015). Based on the reasoning above, we expect belongingness, political participation, and instrumentality to constitute three independent (although positively correlated) motivational drivers underlying the decision to naturalize (H1). Because instrumentality is not at odds with the other two motivational drivers, we also expect naturalized citizens to endorse interest-transcending motives based on "genuine" connections between the individual and the community (i.e., belongingness and political participation) to a greater extent than instrumental motives based on individuals' vested interest to improve their status in society (H2).

4.3.3. Naturalization motives as a function of socio-economic status and origins

Naturalization motives are the outcome of individual considerations, calculations and expectations that are related to personal migration trajectories and social positioning in the receiving society. Also, the hierarchy of countries within a global system of unequal access to resources shapes and orient the way people approach naturalization It follows that naturalization motives should be differently endorsed, as a function of the applicants' national origins and socio-economics status.

Belongingness motives concern the identification with the country and the self-categorization as a member of the national community. The relationship between socio-economic status, national origin and belongingness motives has resulted in mixed findings. On the one hand, scholars have argued that devalued immigrant groups should be motivated to acquire host country citizenship because naturalization allows them to downplay their ascribed disadvantaged group membership and thus improve their social self (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Hochman, 2011; Kulich et al., 2015). Similarly, in Canada "visible" ethnic minorities expressed a stronger sense of belonging to the country than the white majority (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). On the other hand, research has shown that previous experiences of exclusion and discrimination associated with devalued origins reduce feelings of belongingness (Berry et al., 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Liebkind, 2012). Because of these contrasting findings we explore, instead of hypothesizing, the link between origins, socio-economic status and belongingness motives.

Political participation motives concern the acquisition of political rights and the willingness to participate actively in the decision-making processes of the receiving society. Previous research has shown that citizenship status does not necessarily imply greater civic and political engagement (Levin, 2013). For instance, education and income are crucial determinants of migrants' intention to engage with politics, highly educated and wealthy individuals being more actively involved in politics than low status individuals (Bevelander, 2011; Morales & Giugni, 2011; Pearce, 2008). We thus expect political participation motives to be endorsed to a greater extent by individuals with high socio-economic status (H3).

Instrumental motives concern the concrete advantages linked with naturalization in terms of reduced vulnerability and discrimination. Previous research has shown that low status immigrants from Developing countries benefit most from naturalization (Devoretz, 2008; Finotelli et al., 2018; Liebig & Von Haaren, 2011). Indeed, disadvantaged origins, low

education and low income are factors that predict whether naturalization leads to greater material resources, thus reducing the risk of deportation, discrimination in the labor market and restriction of individual mobility (Finotelli et al., 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). For these reasons, we expect instrumental motives to be endorsed foremost by individuals from "devalued" origins (H4a), measured in terms of European citizenship and *Human Development Index* of the countries of origin; or with low socio-economic status (H4b), measured in terms of income and education.

4.2. NATURALIZED CITIZENS IN PURSUIT OF INCLUSION

Individual experiences of inclusion depend on the way the receiving society responds to new fellow members. Even when naturalization candidates are formally granted national citizenship, their social recognition by native members of the national community cannot be taken for granted. Yet, recognition is important for a sense of inclusion and acceptance of the newly naturalized citizens. the inclusion goals of the individual and of the national community do not necessarily match (for an articulation between individual and group incluision goals, see Ellemers & Jetten, 2013): Although naturalized citizens are highly motivated to enter the national community, the national community may be reluctant to welcome them.

Social-psychological research has revealed antecedents and consequences of inclusion and respect by fellow members in laboratory and organizational settings (Chen, 2005; Fuller et al., 2006, 2009; but see Begeny & Huo, 2018 for an exception). Surprisingly, feelings of social inclusion in relation to citizenship acquisition remained largely unexplored. These feelings are important, considering that naturalization explicitly aims at *including* immigrants in the national community (OECD, 2011). Also, individuals are very sensitive to social cues indicating that they are "central, included, valued, and respected within the group" (Wiesenfeld, Raghuram, & Garud, 2001, p. 218; see also Tyler & Blader, 2003). Perceived

exclusion by other ingroup members can be a potential source of identity threat (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Branscombe et al., 2002; Wesselmann & Williams, 2017; Wirth & Williams, 2009), especially when commitment to the group is high (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Wirth, Bernstein, Wesselmann, & Leroy, 2017).

Receiving societies do not welcome all immigrant groups to the same extent. Public opinion tends to lean towards "valued" high status naturalization applicants from Western countries, while it rises the bar for "devalued" low status immigrant groups (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Turper, Iyengar, Aarts, & Gerven, 2015; Wanner & D'Amato, 2003). For instance, Turper and colleagues (2015) showed that Dutch nationals evaluate highly skilled immigrants with Western cultural background the most favorably. When applicants were assessed for a citizenship application, the likelihood of an immigrant to be accepted in the Netherlands dropped from 76% to 28% as they move from the most valued to the least valued profile. Similarly, Hainmueller and Hangartner (2013) demonstrated that approval of naturalization profiles in Swiss referenda varied drastically as a function of immigrants' country of origin, the odds to be rejected among applicants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey being 40% higher compared to similar applicants from more affluent European countries. Hence, we expect naturalized citizens from non-EU / Developing countries (H5a), or with low income / education (H5b) to report lower feelings of inclusion than naturalized citizens from EU / developed countries, or with high income / education, respectively.

4.3.4. Inclusion in the national community and naturalization motives

In times of liberal citizenship regimes in which instrumentality is assumed to be a legitimate reason to naturalize (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2018), legal recognition of citizenship status should be granted on the basis of formal criteria, regardless of individual subjective motivations (Bauböck, 2010, 2018). Yet, members of the receiving society are very sensitive to clues indicating attachment to the nation and belongingness among immigrant

communities (Roblain et al., 2016; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011). Indeed, pride and commitment are commonly represented as "good" reasons to naturalize (Benedicto & Morán, 2007; Brubaker, 1992; Roblain, Azzi, & Licata, 2016; Sanchez-Mazas et al., 2003), whereas vested interest and opportunism are considered as "bad" reasons to naturalize (Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014). Immigrants are aware of majority members' expectations and evaluations (Bourhis et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Kauff, Green, Schmid, Hewstone, & Christ, 2016). Knowing that one's motivation is less appreciated by members of the national community thus leads to perceived marginality within the group (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Accordingly, both belongingness (H6a) and political participation motives (H6b)—valued by the national community—should be associated with higher feelings of inclusion as new member. Conversely, instrumental motives—depreciated by the national community—should be associated with lower feelings of inclusion experienced by naturalized citizens (H6c).

We tested this set of hypotheses using cross-sectional data from a survey conducted on (former) immigrants who had just completed the naturalization procedure in Switzerland. Naturalization offices granted us access to the target population, allowing us to recruit participants at the end of the official naturalization ceremony. Applicants were required to fulfill multiple criteria in order to obtain Swiss citizenship (Helbling, 2008; Koopmans et al., 2005). The strict formal requirements reviewed by the naturalization offices during the naturalization procedure (e.g., minimum length of residency in the country of twelve years, civic integration examination, linguistic proficiency test) results in a certain degree of homogeneity among successful applicants, whose ascertained level of acculturation can be therefore taken for granted (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a; Pietrantuono, 2016).

4.3. METHOD

4.3.1. PARTICIPANTS

Five-hundred sixty-six recently naturalized citizens residing in three Swiss cantons (Geneva, *n* = 311; Neuchâtel, *n* = 133; and Valais, *n* = 122) took part in the study. They received the material during official naturalization ceremonies and then filled in the questionnaire at home[15]. Participants started the application procedure approximately at the same time and were all granted Swiss citizenship. Accordingly, their answers were collected few days after the end of the naturalization procedure. Fifty-one percent of participants were female (*n* = 290). Age ranged between 15 and 77 years (*M* = 41.87, *SD* =13.17). Seventy-eight percent (*n* = 441) were first generation immigrants. Eighty-four percent (*n* = 476) were already in possession of a permanent residency permit (C permit) when they started the naturalization procedure.

4.3.2. MEASURES

4.3.2.1. ORIGINS

Almost all participants (> 99%) reported that both parents originated from the same country. Sixty-eight percent (*n* = 383) were EU citizens: 25.6% (*n* = 145) came from North and West European countries (e.g., Germany and France); 38.9% (*n* = 220) came from South European countries (e.g., Italy and Portugal); 3.4% (*n* = 19) came from East and Central European countries (e.g., Poland and Hungary). The remaining 29.3% of participants came from non-EU countries (*n* = 166)[16]. We created a new variable called *European Citizenship*

15 Response rate was slightly higher in Valais (34.9%) and in Neuchâtel (33.2%), compared to Geneva (24%). No financial compensation was offered and participants answered on a voluntary basis. Pre-stamped envelopes were used, such that no expenses incurred for respondents. The sample was not representative of the naturalized population in Switzerland: High levels of education and household income were slightly over-represented, and only French-speaking cantons took part in the research.
Origins sampled are comparable with the general trend observed in 2018 among the naturalized population in Switzerland (see State Secretariat for Migration, 2019).
16 Origins sampled are comparable with the general trend observed in 2018 among the naturalized population in Switzerland (see State Secretariat for Migration, 2019).

that distinguished between non-EU and EU citizens. Furthermore, we classified Developed / Developing countries on the basis of their score on the *Human Development Index (HDI),* a composite index measuring average achievement on three basic dimensions of human development: Life expectancy, quality of education and standard of living. The countries of origin were clustered into three HDI categories (low: *n* = 163, medium: *n* = 226, and high: *n* = 156).

4.3.2.2. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Level of education was measured on a six-point scale. Ten percent of participants (*n* = 57) reported obligatory education, whereas 24.1% (*n* = 133) reported professional education. These two categories were merged into "low education level". Nine percent of participants (*n* = 52) reported general secondary education, whereas 11.8% (*n* = 65) reported high school education. These two categories were merged into "medium education level". Finally, 44.3% of participants (*n* = 244) reported university education or higher. This category was kept separate and indicated a high education level. The variable *Education* comprised thus three levels, indicating low, medium, and high education level respectively.

4.3.2.3. HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Household income was measured on a ten-point scale. We divided the distribution in three equivalent tertiles. Thirty-tree percent of participants (*n* = 186) reported incomes comprised between 2'900 CHF and 6'200 CHF per month. These ranges were merged into one category of low household income. Thirty-seven percent of participants (*n* = 208) reported incomes comprised between 6'200 CHF and 12'200 CHF per month. These ranges were merged into a medium household income category. Finally, 26.0% of participants (*n* = 147) reported household incomes comprised between 12'000 CHF and 15'800 CHF or more

per month[17]. These ranges were merged into a high household income category. The variable *Income* comprised thus three levels, indicating low, medium, and high income respectively.

4.3.2.4. NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

We developed a measure composed of nine items to assess the extent to which participants endorse specific motivations to naturalize. Items were measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not very important*) to 5 (*Extremely important*). A Principal Component Analysis using Oblimin rotation revealed three underlying factors that explained 71.64% of the total variance. The first factor ($\lambda = 3.39$, 37.70% of explained variance, loadings: [.82; .94]) comprised the expected three items composing the belongingness dimension, for example: "I decided to naturalize … in order to feel as a true Swiss" ($\alpha = .85$). The second factor ($\lambda = 2.03$, 22.52% of explained variance, loadings: [.69, .82]) comprised the expected four items composing the instrumental dimension, for example: "… in order to reduce the uncertainty associated with the residency permit" ($\alpha = .75$). The third factor ($\lambda = 1.03$, 11.42% of explained variance, loadings: [.93, .97]) comprised the expected two items composing the political participation dimension, for example: "… in order to have full access to political rights" ($r(556) = .80$, $p < .001$). Three referent indicators were identified by means of an Exploratory factor analysis (EFA), using Maximum likelihood procedure and Oblimin rotation (Vandenberg, 2002). The exact wording is reported in Appendix C.I, with referent indicators at the top of the scale.

4.3.2.5. FEELINGS OF INCLUSION

Four items (two of them reversed) measured the level of inclusion in the Swiss society as perceived by participants, for example: "I have the impression that most of the

17 The same scale was used to measure household income in the latest release of the European Social Survey (ESS, 2016). The median net household income reported by a representative sample of Swiss residents (N = 1237) ranged between 6'200 and 7'300 CHF per month. The average income level of our sample, although slightly higher, is thus comparable to the average Swiss household income reported by the ESS sample.

other Swiss consider me as their fellow citizen" (α = .69). Items were rated on a five-point scale ranging from *not at all in agreement* (1) to *completely in agreement* (5). The exact wording of each item can be found Appendix C.I, the referent indicator reported on the top of the scale.

4.3.3. Analytic strategy

Preliminary Chi-square tests for independence between socio-demographic variables were performed, and assumptions of multivariate normality and linearity were evaluated using SPSS 24.0. Box plots and Mahalanobis distance detected no univariate or multivariate outliers. Also, missing values were negligible and random for any observed indicator (all < 5%), hence a Maximum likelihood estimation procedure with listwise deletion was used in the subsequent analyses (McKnight, McKnight, Sidani, & Figueredo, 2007). Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) and Structural equation modeling (SEM) were performed using the R package "Lavaan" (Rosseel, 2012).

The dimensionality of naturalization motives was assessed first. We estimated the extent to which the expected tripartite motivational structure fit the data, and compared it to the fit of alternative models (H1). Once measurement and structural models were fitted, we estimated and compared latent means (H2). This allowed us to test whether participants endorsed the three naturalization motives to a different extent, removing measurement error from the estimation (Kline, 2015; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000).

At this stage, a series of multi-group CFAs was performed in order to validate the tripartite motivational structure across and test for mean differences between individuals differing in terms of national origin and socio-economic status. European citizenship, HDI, education level and household income were used as grouping variables. As preliminary analyses, we assessed whether the categories of national origin and socio-economic status overlap, using Pearson's chi-square tests of independence. Also, measurement and structural

group invariance was verified (Beaujean, 2014; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000), Subsequently, we estimated the mean structure and tested latent mean differences as a function of national origin and socio-economic status for both naturalization motives (H3-H4) and feelings of inclusion (H5).

After verification of divergence between naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion at the measurement level (Netemeyer et al., 2003), we estimated the structural relation between each naturalization motive on feelings of inclusion, controlling for the other two motivations (H6a-c). Cut-off criteria of fit measures were derived from Hu and Bentler (1999). Differences between models were assessed using Chi-square statistics, changes (Δ) in Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Comparative Fit Index (CFI), as suggested by Vandenberg (2000).

4.4. RESULTS

4.4.1. HYPOTHESIS TESTING

4.4.1.1. DIMENSIONALITY OF NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

Naturalization motives were expected to load on three latent factors, namely belongingness, political participation, and instrumental motives. The tripartite model provided reasonably good fit, χ^2 (24) = 69.81, p <.001; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06, 90% CI [.04 ; .08], p = .16; SRMR = .05. Still, one indicator (i.e., "to reduce bureaucracy and administrative procedures") showed high residuals (Kline, 2015). By excluding this item, the model resulted in a better fit and was retained, $\Delta \chi^2(7)$ = - 33.41, p <.001; ΔBIC = - 1615; ΔCFI = .01. Only weak covariation was found between instrumentality (I) and both political participation (P), σ_{IP} = .13, z = 2.74, p = .006, and belongingness motives (B), σ_{IB} = .18, z = 3.26, p = .001. Conversely, moderate covariation was found between political participation and belongingness motives, σ_{PB} = .40, z = 7.75, p < .001. We tested an alternative model in which the two dimensions (PB) saturated under the same latent factor. This model fit the data poorly,

$\Delta \chi^2(4) = 569.41$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = 544$; $\Delta CFI = -.32$. Therefore, supporting H1, we confirmed the expected tripartite motivational structure, where belongingness, political participation and instrumentality loaded on different albeit positively correlated latent factors.

4.4.1.2. LATENT MEAN COMPARISONS

Once the factorial structure was identified, we estimated the mean structure and tested latent mean differences, thereby removing measurement error from pairwise comparisons. In support of H2, belongingness motives ($M = 4.12$, $SE = .05$) and political participation ($M = 4.26$, $SE = .04$) were endorsed to a greater extent than instrumental motives ($M = 2.85$, $SE = .06$). Indeed, when the equality constraint was released and instrumentality was estimated independently from the two other motives, the model fit improved substantially, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -304.22$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -298$; $\Delta CFI = .17$. Means for political participation were slightly higher than for belongingness motives. When the equality constraint was released and the two motives were estimated independently from one another, model fit improved although negligibly, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -9.75$, $p = .002$; $\Delta BIC = -3$; $\Delta CFI = .005$.

4.4.1.3. MULTI-GROUP INVARIANCE AND LATENT MEAN DIFFERENCES

National origin—European citizenship and HDI—and socio-economic status—education and income—were used to group participants. Significance and strength of their association was assessed through a series of Pearson's chi-square tests of independence (see Appendix C.II). Except for European citizenship and level of education, all Chi-square tests were significant, meaning that national origin and socio-economic status partially overlapped. They were nevertheless kept separate for a more fine-grained interpretation of results. A step-by-step procedure of measurement and structural invariance was therefore performed for each grouping variable. Comparison between the baseline model without equality constrains and nested models with increasing levels of invariance can be found in Appendix C.III. For each grouping variable, both measurement and structural invariance was

partially met, so that latent mean differences could be estimated without error (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000).

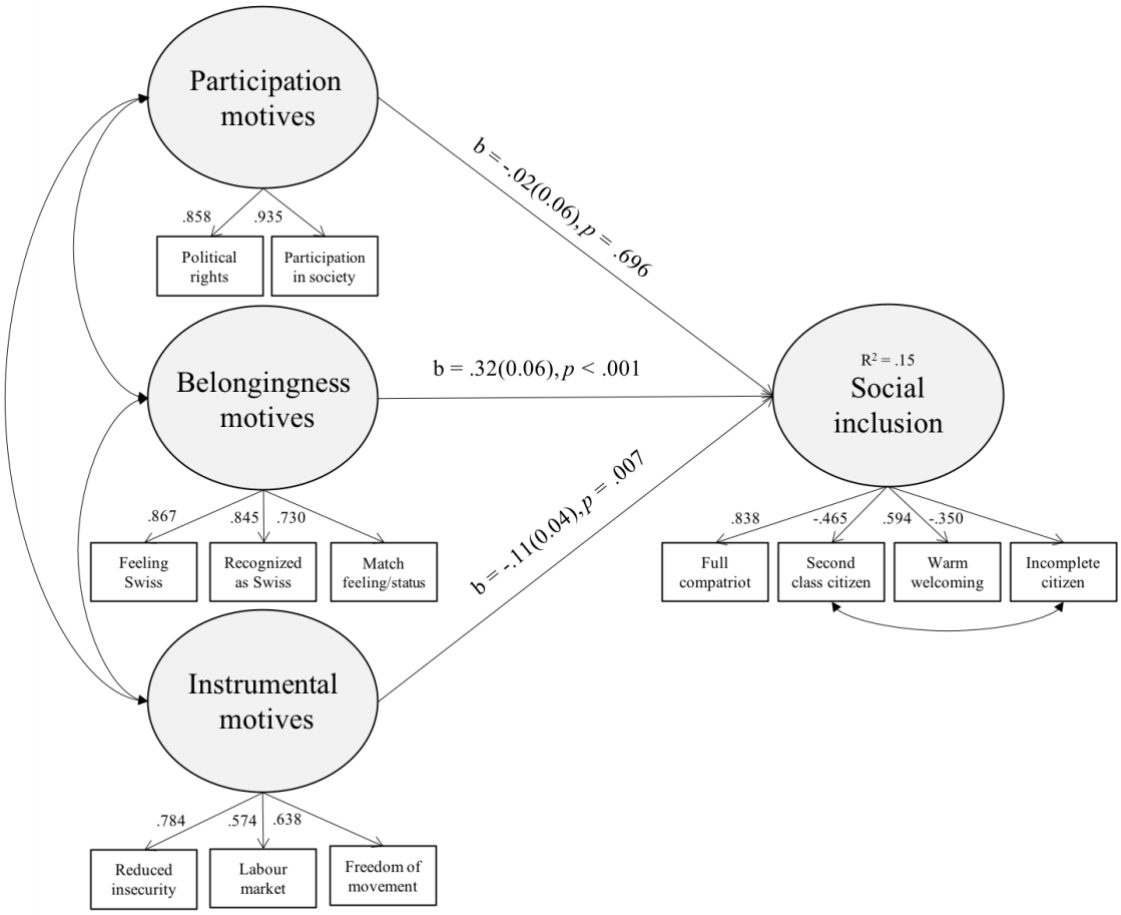
Participants reported different levels of naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion, as a function of their national socio-economic status (Table 6), and origin (Table 7). No predictions were made concerning belongingness motives. Yet, belongingness was more strongly endorsed by participants from non-EU, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -15.56$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -5$; $\Delta CFI = .003$, and low HDI countries, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -15.12$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -9$; $\Delta CFI = .006$, compared to the other subgroups. In other words, naturalized citizens from non-EU / Developing countries reported more belongingness motives than participants originating from EU / Developed countries. No differences were found as a function of level of education and household income. In line with H3, political participation motives were less endorsed by participants reporting low education levels, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -18.66$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -13$; $\Delta CFI = .008$, and low household income, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -19.36$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -2$; $\Delta CFI = .003$, compared to the other categories. No differences in political participation motives were observed as a function of European citizenship and HDI. In line with H4a, instrumental motives decreased as a function of HDI, $\Delta \chi^2(2) = -18.44$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -6$; $\Delta CFI = .005$, the higher the HDI of their country of origin, the lower the instrumental motives reported by participants. However, no effect of European citizenship was found. In line with H4b, instrumental motives were more endorsed by participants with low education levels, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -122.16$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -7$; $\Delta CFI = .005$, or with low household income, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -14.25$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -1$; $\Delta CFI = .003$, compared to the other categories. Finally, and in line with H5a, lower feelings of inclusion were reported by participants coming from non-EU, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -150.89$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -22$; $\Delta CFI = .012$, and low HDI countries, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -192.51$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = -8$; $\Delta CFI = .006$, compared to the other categories. Against H5b, no differences in inclusion were observed across levels of education and household income.

4.4.1.4. Relations between naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion

In a final step, naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion were incorporated into a single structural equation model, where the three motives constituted the exogenous independent variables, and feelings of inclusion the endogenous dependent variable (Figure 13)[18]. By regressing the three naturalization motives on feeling of inclusion, we estimated the unique contribution of each motive, controlling for the others. Supporting our prediction, the full model provided good fit, χ^2 (47) = 131.97, p <.001; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .05, 90% CI [.04 ; .06], p = .12; SRMR = .05. Also, the model was robust and regression estimates consistent after introducing age, gender, first vs. second generation, political orientation, European citizenship, HDI, education, and household income as covariates. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors of the restrained model without control variables are displayed in Figure 13. To sum up, as predicted, belongingness motives and feelings of inclusion were positively related (H6a), suggesting that the more participants endorsed belongingness motives, the more they felt included. Against our predictions, once endorsement of belongingness and instrumental motives were controlled for, political participation motives and feelings of inclusion were unrelated. Conversely, as expected, instrumentality was negatively related to inclusion (HH6c): The more participants endorsed instrumental motives, the less they felt included in the national community.

18 Before assessing the structural relations between latent variables, we verified whether the three motives and feelings of inclusion represented independent dimensions (i.e., discriminant validity). Compared to alternative models, the fit improved when motivations and inclusion were kept separate.

Figure 13: Relation between naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion as result of SEM.



Note: Regression estimates were calculated without control variables. Naturalization motives were modelled as exogenous and feelings of social inclusion as endogenous variables, respectively. Results are consistent using sex, gender, generation, political orientation, education, household income, European citizenship and HDI as covariates. Model fit: $\chi^2(47) = 131.97$, $p < .001$. CFI = .96; RMSA = .05, 90% CI [.04; .06], p = .31; SRMR = .05.

Table 6: Differences in endorsement of naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion, as a function of socio-economic status.

Socio-economic status	**Education**			**Household Income**		
	Low education	*Medium education*	*High education*	*Low income*	*Medium income*	*High Income*
Instrumental	**3.09 (0.10)**	2.81 (0.12)	2.66 (0.09)	**3.06 (0.10)**	2.80 (0.09)	2.67 (0.12)
Political participation	**4.08 (0.08)**	4.35 (0.08)	4.37 (0.05)	**4.10 (0.07)**	4.37 (0.05)	4.35 (0.06)
Belongingness	4.07 (0.07)	4.25 (0.08)	4.07 (0.06)	4.06 (0.08)	4.21 (0.06)	4.11 (0.08)
Inclusion	3.84 (0.06)	3.71 (0.09)	3.67 (0.06)	3.71 (0.07)	3.77 (0.07)	3.70 (0.08)

Table 7. Differences in endorsement of naturalization motives and feelings of inclusion, as a function of origins.

Origins	**European Citizenship**		**Human Development Index**		
	Non-EU	*EU*	*Low HDI*	*Medium HDI*	*High HDI*
Instrumental	2.99 (0.11)	2.77 (0.07)	**3.11 (0.11)**	**2.85 (0.09)**	**2.54 (0.11)**
Political participation	4.18 (0.07)	4.30 (0.05)	4.18 (0.07)	4.30 (0.06)	4.28 (0.07)
Belongingness	**4.23 (0.07)**	4.09 (0.05)	**4.26 (0.07)**	4.11 (0.07)	4.04 (0.08)
Inclusion	**3.46 (0.07)**	3.85 (0.05)	**3.49 (0.08)**	3.86 (0.06)	3.84 (0.07)

Note: Differences in latent means were estimated using Multi-group CFA. Comparison between models was assessed using Chi-square statistics, changes (Δ) in Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Comparative Fit Index (CFI), as suggested by Vandenberg. Means that differ significantly from the other subgroups are reported in bold.

4.5. DISCUSSION

Bridging citizenship studies and social psychological literature, the current study provided a systematic classification of individual naturalization motives, and assessed quantitatively the psychometric characteristics of an innovative scale measuring motives. Examining a unique sample of immigrants that accomplished the naturalization procedure, we distinguished between three distinct motivational drivers, namely belongingness, political participation and instrumental motives, underlying the subjective naturalization experience. We thus demonstrated the multi-dimensionality of naturalization motives across subsamples differing in terms of origins and socio-economic status.

At odds with the "instrumental turn hypothesis" (Joppke, 2018) concerning practices of citizenship, we found no evidence that instrumentality was prioritized over willingness to belong and participate in the national community. Quite the opposite, participants endorsed political participation and belongingness motives to a greater extent than instrumental motives. Also, the three motivational drivers were positively related, indicated their subjective compatibility. It may be the case that instrumentality prevails among specific immigrant niches, such as descendants of emigrants (Harpaz, 2015), co-ethnics living abroad (Pogonyi, 2019), and international investors (Joppke, 2018). Yet, our results suggest more nuanced conclusions when it comes to the general immigrant population living in receiving countries (Finotelli et al., 2018; Knott, 2018; Soehl et al., 2018).

Moreover, the relative importance of naturalization motives varied as a function of the origins of naturalized citizens and their socio-economic status. Interestingly, belongingness motives were particularly high among non-EU immigrants / originating from countries ranked relatively low in terms of human development (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Hochman, 2011; Kulich et al., 2015). Willingness to participate in the political life of the country was associated with higher education an income (Bevelander, 2011; Morales & Giugni, 2011;

Pearce, 2008). Participants from less affluent countries and with relatively low levels of education and income tended to show higher levels of instrumentality compared to the other categories (Devoretz, 2008; Finotelli et al., 2018; Liebig & Von Haaren, 2011).

Importantly, our analysis also showed that naturalized immigrants do not feel included and welcomed to the same extent. Although citizenship policies are first and foremost designed to *include* and to incorporate individuals with immigrant background into the national community (OECD, 2011), citizenship acquisition does not ensure *per se* strong feelings of inclusion in the national community. European citizenship and relatively high HDI—more than socio-economic status—were significant predictors of feelings of inclusion expressed by naturalized citizens. Conversely, non-European immigrants from developing countries perceived themselves as less included as new citizens. Ironically, the higher belongingness motives observed among these origins was paired with greater perceived marginality and exclusion. In turn, instrumental motives were negatively related to feelings of inclusion: The more people reported instrumental motives, the less they felt accepted by member of the receiving society. Although instrumentality may be considered more and more legitimate from the perspective of normative models of citizenship (Bauböck, 2018; Joppke, 2018), it remains associated with subjective feelings of social exclusion and marginalization in the national community.

Even though our findings illustrate the complexity of the social and psychological dynamics at work in the naturalization process, research in this area is in its infancy. Indeed, a number of limitations of our study need to be addressed, and several questions call for answers. First, our research was limited to a particular social and political context, and the findings cannot be generalized across other citizenship constellations (for a discussion about the importance of comparative approaches, see Bauböck, 2010). In Switzerland, assimilation in the national culture and participation in the democratic process are prevalent values (Green

& Staerklé, 2013; Staerklé, Falomir-Pichastor, Pereira, Berent, & Butera, 2015), prescribing belongingness and participation motives as particularly valuable and desirable. Cross-cultural comparisons are thus necessary to determine whether these same motivational drivers are equally endorsed in other national contexts. Second, because of the cross-sectional nature of the data it was impossible to tackle the causal relationship between motivations and feelings of inclusion. Motivations were asked retrospectively and referred to the original reasons that led participants to engage in the naturalization process, whereas feelings of inclusion referred to the present sentiment of acceptance and consideration by other members of the receiving society. Future research should employ longitudinal designs in order to assess causality, thereby disclosing how feelings of inclusion evolve over time (i.e., before, during, and after the naturalization process). Third, in the present research we examined only successful applicants that completed their naturalization procedure. Ideally, future research should add applicants who failed the procedure, thereby assessing feelings of inclusion (and exclusion) on the basis of the institutional (lack of) legal recognition of group membership. Fourth, when introducing the study, we underscored that answers were anonymous and researchers had no connections with the naturalization offices. Yet, participants may still have associated our survey with the naturalization officials, thereby risking social desirability biases while they were answering the questionnaire. Relatedly, responses may vary whether the audience is composed by members of the national or the immigrant communities. If participants were asked to explain their intentions to naturalize to another immigrant person, for instance, we could expect less emphasis on belongingness motives and more centrality of instrumental considerations (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003; Klein et al., 2007). Fifth, future research should move beyond general assessment of political participation motives, and investigate which policies are mostly endorsed by naturalized citizens. Fifth, future research should move beyond general assessment of political participation motives, and investigate

which policies are mostly endorsed by naturalized citizens. For instance, prior research has shown that citizens with immigrant background tend to oppose immigration policies to a similar extent as autochthons (Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Sarrasin et al., 2018). Yet, it is likely that different motivations to join the national community result in different attitudes towards immigration policies (see chapter five of the present thesis).

4.6. CONCLUSION

The European Commission defined inclusion as follows: *"A process which ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live. It ensures that they have a greater participation in decision-making, which affects their lives and access to their fundamental rights"* (European Commission, 2005, p. 10). Inclusion is particularly important for those at the bottom of the social ladder. Yet, we demonstrated a spiral of "exclusionary inclusion", whereby precisely those who are motivated to improve their precarious status in society and originate from devalued countries, are most deprived from the positive psychological effects of citizenship acquisition. Bereft of social recognition, the mere legal status bestowed by the state and certified by official documents does not make a person feel like a citizen. Problems arise when the ultimate aim of the administrative procedure—acquiring the same rights as the majority of the population regardless of one's origins—relate to decreased feelings of inclusion in the national community. A society will not be truly inclusive and cohesive as long as those who find protection in citizenship from vulnerability and discrimination consider themselves as second-class citizens at the margins of society.

CHAPTER FIVE

MORE ROYALIST THAN THE KING?

OPINIONS TOWARDS IMMIGRATION POLICIES AMONG NATURALIZED CITIZENS

Abstract

Social psychological research has analyzed the relationship between nationals and immigrants mostly as a binary intergroup phenomenon. Yet, intergroup boundaries become permeable when foreigners acquire national citizenship through naturalization. In this paper we articulate two processes of political incorporation, namely absorption and transformation, by studying anti-immigration sentiment reported by naturalized citizens. Based on a unique sample of immigrants that accomplished the naturalization procedure (N = 566), we investigate participants' preferences for permissive or strict immigration policies as a function of their naturalization motives and acculturation expectations. Three main motivations are assessed: instrumental, political participation and belongingness motives. Our findings reveal a process of political absorption of naturalized citizens in the body politic: Political participation and belongingness motives are connected to endorsement of host culture adoption expectations, predicting in turn higher anti-immigration sentiment. An alternative process of political transformation is also supported by the data: Instrumental motives are connected to endorsement of heritage culture maintenance expectations, predicting in turn lower anti-immigration sentiment. We discuss the social psychological dynamics involved in the transition from outsiders to insiders, and highlight the effects of naturalization on power relations between nationals and immigrant minorities.

Contemporary societies are becoming more and more diverse and heterogeneous, leading both policy makers and researchers to discuss new ways to deal with the increased complexity of "super-diverse" social settings (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015; Vertovec, 2007). Accordingly, a binary differentiation between national majority and immigrant minorities has been gradually replaced by theoretical redefinition of societies as composed of multiple subgroups in constant adjustment and reciprocal interdependence (Caricati, 2018; Deaux, 2000; Richeson & Craig, 2011). Citizenship acquisition is an iconic example of the permeability of intergroup boundaries (Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009). Through the procedure of naturalization, immigrants at the late stage of acculturation undertake a process of individual mobility aimed at being legally, politically and socially recognized as members of the host national community (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Kulich et al., 2015). Concurrently, naturalization promotes social inclusion and increases political commitment among these individuals previously excluded from the political arena (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015b; Just & Anderson, 2012).

Surprisingly, psychological research on citizenship acquisition is scarce (for a similar point, see Condor, 2011; Stevenson, Hopkins, Luyt, & Dixon, 2015; Verkuyten, 2018), and very little is known about political opinions of naturalized citizens with immigrant background (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Rooij, 2012). This lack of investigation is mainly due to difficulties in obtaining access to naturalized citizens, who are often at different stages of their integration process (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a; Pietrantuono, 2016). Our contribution aims to fill this gap, looking at opinions towards immigration policies and anti-immigration sentiment reported by naturalized citizens. On the one hand, the incorporation of newcomers in the body politic of a country represents a potential source of innovation, creativity and social change (Hornsey et al., 2007; Hornsey & Imami, 2004; Packer, 2008). From this standpoint, political incorporation can be defined as an exogenous

process of transformation, in which uniformity is challenged and minority rights are emphasized (Minnite, 2009; Varjonen et al., 2018). On the other hand, social acceptance and recognition of newcomers as ingroup members derive from their assimilation, loyalty and conformism to national ingroup norms (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014; Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno, 2006; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). In this respect, political incorporation can be defined as an endogenous process of absorption, in which attitudes among the foreign-born and native-born converge and minority responsibilities are emphasized (Minnite, 2009; Varjonen et al., 2018; see also chapter one of the present thesis).

In this paper we contrast endogenous and the exogenous dynamics of political incorporation, based on an original sample of freshly naturalized citizens who just accomplished the naturalization procedure in Switzerland. We investigate the role of naturalization motives and acculturation expectations in predicting new citizens' anti-immigration sentiment. First, we will look at the overall trend in the data, analyzing the extent to which participants endorse different naturalization motives and acculturation expectations. Second, we will test two independent processes that originate from distinct motives to naturalize, give rise to different acculturation expectations, and result in contrasting attitudes towards immigration policies. To conclude, we will discuss the articulation between intra-group processes and inter-group relations involved in the transition from outsiders to insiders, and underline the consequences of naturalization in terms of power relations between national majority and immigrant minority groups.

5.1. INTER-MINORITY RELATIONS: WHAT IMMIGRANTS THINK ABOUT IMMIGRATION

In recent years the scientific community has shown an increased interest in the study of inter-minority relations (Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2016). How minority groups interact with each other has both theoretical and empirical relevance: The extent to which individuals

belonging to subordinate cultural groups create political alliances and strive together for their rights depends on their attitudes towards each other (Esser, 2004; Just & Anderson, 2015). Still, most psychological research on anti-immigration sentiment has focused on attitudes expressed by national majority members (i.e., natives without immigration background) towards immigrants (Esses et al., 2015; Sarrasin, Green, Fasel, & Davidov, 2015). The few empirical investigations concerned with the perspective of immigrant groups outlined a pattern consistent with the absorption hypothesis: In general, long-term foreign residents at the late stage of acculturation tend to assimilate to the host society and lean toward attitudes and opinions in line with those expressed by natives (Branton, 2007; Rooij, 2012; Schiefer, 2013; Valentova & Berzosa, 2012). Accordingly, Callens and colleagues (2014) showed that second-generation immigrants build their acculturation expectations around host culture adoption (that is, the strategy preferred by national majority group members), whereas first-generation immigrants endorse heritage culture maintenance to a greater extent (that is, the strategy preferred by immigrant minority group members).

Even fewer studies have focused on attitudes of naturalized citizens towards immigrants (for exceptions, see Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). That is unfortunate, given that citizenship acquisition is a turning point in the acculturation process of individuals with immigration background (Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2015a). The transition from outsiders to insiders experienced by new citizens through naturalization affects profoundly the way they see themselves vis-à-vis their host country. In this situation, intra-group processes (i.e., need of inclusion within the host national majority) and intergroup relations (i.e., anti-immigration sentiment) are intertwined and should be studied jointly. Referring to it as “incorporation effect”, Kolbe and Crepaz (2016) argued that naturalization operates as a marker of self-selection into an identity: “After all, these individuals have become citizens by choice, not by birth. Immigrants who deliberately seek, and are granted,

citizenship often become more zealous supporters of that host-country's majority attitudes than natives" (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016, p. 111). Accordingly, research has shown that naturalized citizens are skeptical about granting rights and admitting newcomers than immigrants without the host country citizenship (Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). Yet, the processes involved in the political incorporation of naturalized citizens into the body politics are under-investigated.

5.1.1. INDIVIDUAL UPWARD MOBILITY AND OUTGROUP DEROGATION

An increasing number of studies attempt to elucidate how upward mobility (i.e., the achievement of a higher-status position through, notably, citizenship acquisition) impacts on individuals' self-definition, attitudes, and behaviors (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The findings showed that individual mobility is typically associated with distancing from the group of origin (Derks, Ellemers, Van Laar, & De Groot, 2011; Ellemers, 2001; Ellemers, Van den Heuvel, De Gilder, Maass, & Bonvini, 2004). Mobile individuals most often appear as motivated as high-status group members to justify the organizational/contextual culture in which they have been successful, even though such attitudes may be detrimental to the low-status group (Wright & Taylor, 1999). However, the psychological mechanisms supporting this prediction are complex. Some studies revealed negative attitudes of mobile individuals towards their group of origin only among individuals who were lowly identified (Derks et al., 2011; Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, & Raghoe, 2015). Other studies, in turn, suggested a decrease of concern among mobile individuals towards their previous markers of identity, regardless of their level of identification. For instance, Kulich and colleagues (2015) investigated the attitudes reported by Spanish immigrants in Switzerland towards their group of origin, distinguishing between individuals with and without the host country citizenship (i.e., mobile and non-mobile individuals, respectively). Consistent with past research, mobile individuals expressed more negative attitudes towards Spanish immigrants than non-mobile

individuals, and these attitudes were not accounted for a decrease of identification with Spaniards, but by an increase of identification with Swiss (Kulich et al., 2015).

Identity dynamics are at the very foremost of acceptance from high-status group members. Insofar as attachment to the acquired high-status group is a necessary condition (Roblain et al., 2016), mobile individuals must concomitantly renounce to maintain connections with their culture of origin, in order to benefit from the approval and the support of the high-status group (Van Laar, Bleeker, Ellemers, & Meijer, 2014). Distancing form previous affiliations should be even more pronounced if the two social categories are mutually exclusive and identity bonds are poor. This is the case between naturalized citizens and the broad category of immigrants, inasmuch an official ceremony ratifies the transition from the immigrant group (from this point forward defined as an outgroup) to the national majority group (from this point forward defined as an ingroup). Assimilation can thus be apprehended as a means for naturalized citizens to facilitate their recognition and social inclusion as full members of the national ingroup (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). That is to say, naturalized citizens tend to align themselves with the norms and practices of the group they identify with, thereby reinforcing the divide between national insiders and immigrant outsiders (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Jetten et al., 2002; Noel et al., 1995).

5.1.2. Marginality and endorsement of acculturation norms

Although well established and empirically supported, the upward mobility hypothesis assumes that all individuals in a process of transition to a higher-status group are heading towards central positions (Levine & Moreland, 1994; Moreland, 1985; Moreland, Levine, & Cini, 1993). In other words, mobile individuals should be expected to endorse strategies of political absorption and cultural assimilation in order to get as close as possible to the ingroup prototype (Barreto & Ellemers, 2009; Pickett, Bonner, & Coleman, 2002). Yet, marginality can be an end-state for the individual, either because of a personal choice or because the

group prevents marginal members to acquire a more central position within the group (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Accordingly, attachment to the national majority ingroup and identity concerns are not the only motives underlying the naturalization experience. While some naturalized citizens may be motivated by the desire to become core ingroup members, others may be primarily moved by obtaining the legal status of citizen, while remaining marginal ingroup members (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2018).

On the basis of the same dataset as the one used in this paper in the fourth chapter of the present thesis we proposed three main motivations to naturalize, namely political participation, belongingness and instrumental motives (See also Dag Tjaden, 2013; Li & Frieze, 2013; Pogonyi, 2019; Robertson, 2008; Wong & Pantoja, 2009). Willingness to participate actively in the decision making of the receiving society characterized those individuals motivated by *political participation motives*. Identification with the country and self-categorization as a member of the national group characterized those individuals motivated by *belongingness motives*. Attainment of material advantages in terms of reduced vulnerability and increased work opportunities characterized those individuals motivated by *instrumental motives*.

We expected naturalization motives to be associated to different normative expectations reported by naturalized citizens. When it comes to immigration, nationals and immigrants share different beliefs about how to deal with cultural diversity (Bourhis et al., 1997). Host culture adoption (that is, the degree to which immigrants endorse the host majority culture) is considered the crucial condition for integration that national majority members expect from immigrants (Maisonneuve & Testé, 2007; Roblain et al., 2016). Conversely, tolerance of heritage culture maintenance (that is, the degree to which immigrants preserve their culture of origin) is considered the compensation for integration that immigrant minority members demand from nationals (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Green & Staerklé, 2013;

Wolsko et al., 2006). We hypothesized that naturalized citizens moved by the desire to become core ingroup members would validate acculturation norms associated with the national majority ingroup, whereas naturalized citizens who are moved by instrumental motives would endorse acculturation norms associated with the immigrant minority outgroup (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003; Jetten et al., 2006; Kleef et al., 2007). That is to say, participation and belongingness motives should be connected to host culture adoption expectations (H1). Conversely, instrumental motives should be connected to heritage culture maintenance expectations (H2).

Importantly, these acculturation expectations should then shape how naturalized citizens relate to the immigrant outgroup. We expected that the two acculturation expectations would be associated in contrasting ways to anti-immigration sentiment (Green & Staerklé, 2013; Guimond et al., 2013): Host culture adoption focuses on the duties required from immigrants, and should be related to preference for strict immigration policies (H3). Conversely, heritage culture maintenance focuses on the rights granted to immigrants, and should be related to preference for permissive immigration policies (H4). To put it all together, we predicted two independent processes of political incorporation. On the one hand, we expected an endogenous process of absorption: high inclusion goals (i.e., participation and belongingness motives) should be connected to endorsement of ingroup norms (i.e., adoption expectations), predicting in turn greater anti-immigration sentiment (H5). On the other hand, we expected an exogenous process of transformation: low inclusion goals (i.e., instrumental motives) should be connected to endorsement of outgroup norms (i.e., maintenance expectations), predicting in turn lower anti-immigration sentiment (H6).

5.2. METHOD

5.2.1. SAMPLE AND MEASURES

5.2.1.1. PARTICIPANTS

Five-hundred sixty-six naturalized citizens residing in three Swiss cantons (Geneva, *n* = 311; Neuchâtel, *n* = 133; and Valais, *n* = 122) received the material during the official naturalization ceremony, and they filled out the questionnaire at home. Participants started the application procedure approximately at the same time and all were granted Swiss citizenship, such that their answers were collected only few days after the end of the naturalization procedure. Fifty-one percent of participants were female (*n* = 290). Age ranged between 15 and 77 years (*M* = 41.87, *SD* =13.17). Seventy-eight percent (*n* = 441) were first generation immigrants. Eighty-four percent (*n* = 476) were already in possession of a permanent residence permit (C permit[19]) when they started the naturalization procedure.

Seventy-five countries were represented in the sample, although most of participants came from relatively wealthy countries. Indeed, the *Human Development index (HDI)* of the countries of origin ranged from .94 (Australia) to .40 (Burkina Faso), yet the first tertile of the sample included countries ranging from a HDI score of .94 to .89 (*n* = 156); the second tertile included countries ranging from a HDI score of .88 to .84 (*n* = 226); the last tertile included a wider spectrum of countries ranging from a HDI score of .87 to .40 (*n* = 163). Sixty-eight per cent of participants (*n* = 383) were European citizens: 25.6% came from North and West European countries (*n* = 145), mostly Germany and France; 38.9% came from South European countries (*n* = 220), mostly Italy and Portugal; 3.4% came from Eastern European countries (*n* = 19), mostly Poland and Hungary. The remaining 29.3% of participants came from non-EU countries (*n* = 166).

19 At the moment of the data collection, C permit was not an official criterion required by naturalization offices.

Participants differed in terms of socio-economic status as well. A third of participants accomplished either obligatory (*n* = 59) or vocational education (*n* = 133), and they reported household incomes comprised between 2'900 CHF and 6'200 CHF per month (*n* = 186). A third of participants reported either general secondary (*n* = 52) or high school education (*n* = 65), and they reported incomes comprised between 6'200 CHF and 12'200 CHF per month (*n* = 208). Finally, a third of participants reported university education or higher (*n* = 244), and they reported household incomes comprised between 12'000 CHF and 15'800 CHF or more per month (*n* = 147).

5.2.1.2. MEASURES

Naturalization motives. Nine items assessed participants' motivations to naturalize. Moreover, an open-ended question allowed participants to indicate additional reasons that led them in naturalization. Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Not very important*) to 5 (*Extremely important*). The scale was created expecting three underlying dimensions: *Belongingness motives,* for example: "I decided to naturalize in order to feel as a true Swiss"; *Political participation motives,* for example: "I decided to naturalize in order to have full access to political rights"; *Instrumental motives,* for example: "I decided to naturalize in order to reduce the uncertainty associated with the residence permit". The exact wording of each item can be found in Appendix C.I.

Acculturation expectations. Six items measured participants' acculturation expectations. Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Totally disagree*) to 5 (*Totally agree*). The scale was adapted from Badea (2012; see also, Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). We expected two underlying dimensions: *adoption expectations,* for example: "Members of foreign cultural communities living in Switzerland should adopt Swiss customs and traditions"; *Maintenance expectations*, for example: "Members of foreign cultural

communities living in Switzerland should maintain their heritage customs and traditions". The exact wording of each item can be found in Appendix D.I.

Anti-immigration sentiment. Four items measured participants' *anti-immigration sentiment*. Items were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*Totally disagree*) to 5 (*Totally agree*), for example: "Switzerland should employ stricter measures to expel immigrants whose residence permits in Switzerland have expired". The scale was adapted from the 2014 European Social Survey migration module (see Appendix D.I).

5.2.2. Analytic strategy

Analyses were performed using the R package "Lavaan" (Rosseel, 2012). We evaluated the assumptions of multivariate normality and linearity through SPSS 24.0. Using box plots and Mahalanobis distances, we evidenced no univariate or multivariate outliers. Multivariate normality was met as it is reported in Table 8. Also, missing values were negligible and randomly distributed for any observed indicator (all < 2%), hence Maximum likelihood estimation procedure with listwise deletion was used (McKnight et al., 2007). Measures were validated using Confirmatory factor analyses. Hypothesised and alternative latent structures for each scale were tested first. Then, latent means were estimated and pairwise comparisons were carried out contrasting means-constrained and means-free models (Kline, 2015). Once the measurement model was established and the mean structure was calculated for each scale separately, structural equation modelling was performed to test causal relations between latent constructs. Cut-off criteria of fit measures were derived from Hu and Bentler (1999). Differences between models were assessed using Chi-square statistics, changes in Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Comparative Fit Index (CFI), as suggested by Vandenberg (2000).

5.3. RESULTS

5.3.1. CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS AND LATENT MEANS COMPARISONS

5.3.1.1. NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

A first CFA was performed expecting three underlying dimensions behind naturalization motives. The three-dimensional model provided reasonably good fit, χ^2 (24) = 69.81, p <.001; CFI = .98; RMSA = .06, 90% CI [.04 ; .08], p = .16; SRMR = .05. Still, one indicator (i.e., "to reduce bureaucracy and administrative procedures") showed correlational residuals higher than the threshold value fixed at.10 (Kline, 2015). An alternative model without the offending item resulted in a better fit and it was retained, $\Delta \chi^2(7) = 33.41$, p <.001; ΔBIC = -1615; ΔCFI = .01. Considering the moderately high covariance between Political participation (P) and Belongingness (B) motives, $\sigma_{PB} = .40$, an alternative bi-dimensional model was tested where the two P and B saturated under the same latent factor. This model fitted the data poorly, $\Delta \chi^2(2) = 409.83$, p <.001; ΔBIC = 397; ΔCFI = -.23. Thus, we confirmed a latent structure that loaded on three correlated dimensions, that we named political participation, belongingness and instrumental motives.

Once the structural model was identified we estimated the mean structure and tested latent mean differences, thereby removing measurement error from pairwise comparisons (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Table 8 summarizes descriptive statistics, reliability and multivariate normality for all latent variables. To sum up, political participation and belongingness motives were generally endorsed to a greater extent than instrumental motives. Indeed, when instrumentality was estimated independently, model fit improved substantially, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -304.22$, p <.001; ΔBIC = -298; ΔCFI = .17. Also, constraining the latent mean to be equal to the mid-point of the scale did not result in a worse fit, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 5.82$, p =02; ΔBIC = -1; ΔCFI = .004, indicating that instrumentality was only mildly endorsed by our participants. Conversely, means for participation and belongingness motives did not differ. When the

equality constrain between the two motives was released, model fit improved to a negligible extent, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = -9.75$, $p = .002$; $\Delta BIC = -3$; $\Delta CFI = .005$. Also, both the average score of participation, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 558.51$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = 552$; $\Delta CFI = .31$, and of belongingness, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 413.88$, $p < .001$; $\Delta BIC = 408$; $\Delta CFI = .23$, resulted to be higher than the mid-point of the scale.

Table 8: Descriptive statistics, reliability and distribution of each latent construct

	α	*M (SE)*	*Mardia Index*
Political participation motives	.89	4.26 (.04)	2.00
Belongingness motives	.85	4.12 (.05)	2.99
Instrumental motives	.70	2.85 (.06)	2.99
Adoption expectations	.73	4.40 (.03)	3.00
Maintenance expectations	.71	3.08 (.04)	2.99
Anti-immigration sentiment	.68	2.90 (.05)	3.00

Note: All variables were measured on a 5-point scale. Cronbach alphas, latent means with related standard errors and Mardia index are reported for each dimension separately. The latter was used to check the multivariate normality of distributions. Because all values were below the threshold of p(p+2), where p = number of indicators, we conclude that multivariate normality was met for all latent constructs (Barbaranelli, 2006).

5.3.1.2. ACCULTURATION EXPECTATIONS

The same analytical procedure was implemented with respect to acculturation expectations. The hypothesized two latent factors model was assessed first. Supporting our prediction, the model provided reasonably good fit, $\chi^2 (8) = 31.17$, $p < .001$; CFI = .97;

RMSA = .07, 90% CI [.05 ; .10], p = .08; SRMR = .05. Only one bivariate correlational residual was superior to .10. Conversely, the alternative one-dimensional model fitted the data poorly, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 327.66$, p <.001; ΔBIC = 321; ΔCFI = -.42. Thus, we confirmed a latent structure that loaded on two correlated dimensions that we named Adoption expectations (A) and Maintenance expectations (M), σ_{AM} = -.07. When latent means were constrained to be equal, model fit worsened significantly, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 404.16$, p <.001; ΔBIC = 398; ΔCFI = -.52. In line with our expectations, latent means comparisons revealed that host culture adoption was generally more endorsed than heritage culture maintenance (Table 8). While the average score of adoption was higher than the mid-point of the scale, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 925.73$, p <.001; ΔBIC = 919; ΔCFI = -.97, the average score of maintenance did not differ from the mid-point, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 3.72$, p =.05; ΔBIC = -3; ΔCFI = -.004.

5.3.1.3. ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT

Finally, anti-immigration sentiment was assessed, with a single dimension hypothesized. The model fit was good, χ^2 (4) = 13.16, p =.011; CFI = .97; RMSA = .09, 90% CI [.04 ; .15], p = .08; SRMR = .03. Still, one indicator (i.e., "immigrants and Swiss should have the same political rights") showed correlational residuals higher than the threshold value fixed at.10 (Kline, 2015). We proceeded by deleting the offending indicator and re-estimated the model. Because the model was perfectly identified and saturated, no fitting statistics were produced. Nevertheless, the alpha increased from .64 to .68. and BIC improved by1621 points. Participants tended to show moderate anti-immigration sentiment; the mean score did not differ from the mid-point of the scale, $\Delta \chi^2(1) = 3.68$, p =.06; ΔBIC = 3; ΔCFI = -.01.

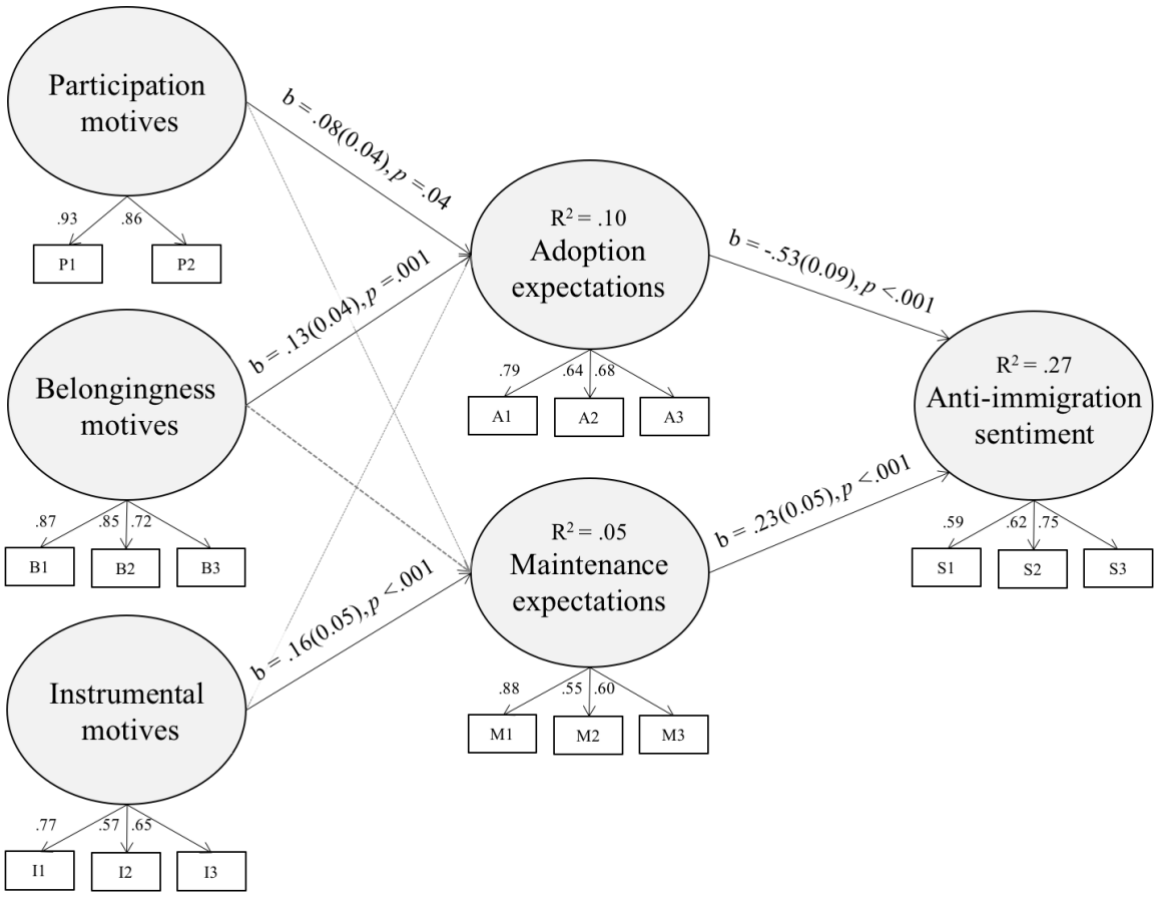
5.3.2. HYPOTHESES TESTING: TWO PATH-WAYS OF POLITICAL INCORPORATION

Naturalization motives, acculturation expectations and anti-immigration sentiment were incorporated into a single structural equation model where the three motivations constituted the exogenous independent variables, the two acculturation expectations, the

endogenous mediators, and anti-immigration sentiment the predicted dependent variable. Supporting our predictions, the full model with all paths estimated provided good fit, χ^2 (104) = 184.47, p <.001; CFI = .97; RMSA = .04, 90% CI [.03 ; .05], p = .99; SRMR = .04. Yet, the reduced model without non-significant paths resulted in an equivalent fit and it was retained, $\Delta \chi^2(6) = 4.98$, p =.56; ΔBIC = -37; ΔCFI = .000. Also, the model was robust and regression estimates did not change substantially after introducing sex, gender, generation, education, income and origin as covariates. Differences in slopes were assessed using multi-group structural equation modelling, but no moderating effects of any control variable were found. Unstandardized estimates and standard error of the reduced model without control variables are reported in Figure 14.

Regression estimates showed that both political participation and belongingness motives predicted greater expectations towards host culture adoption (H1). Conversely, instrumental motives predicted greater expectations towards heritage culture maintenance (H2). In turn, host culture adoption was positively associated to anti-immigration sentiment (H3), whereas heritage culture maintenance was negatively associated to anti-immigration sentiment (H4). None of the total or direct effects of naturalization motives on anti-immigration sentiment was significant. Yet, three indirect effects through acculturation expectations were significant. Indeed, belongingness motives, b = - 0.07(.02), p = .002, and political participation motives, b = - 0.04(.02), p = .05, were positively associated to anti-immigration sentiment through host culture adoption (H5). Conversely, instrumental motives were negatively associated to anti-immigration sentiment through heritage culture maintenance (H6), b = 0.04(.01), p = .004.

Figure 14: From naturalization motives to anti-immigration sentiment. Alternative pathways of political incorporation.



Note: Regression estimates resulting from structural equation modelling without control variables. Both measurement and structural components were reported. Covariances were estimated. Results were consistent controlling for sex, age, generation, education, income and origin. No moderating effects of control variables were found. Model fit: $\chi^2(110) = 189.45$, $p < .001$; CFI = .97; RMSA = .04, 90% CI [.03; .05], p = .99; SRMR = .05.

5.4. DISCUSSION

This paper analyzed anti-immigration sentiment reported by naturalized citizens. Naturalization motives and acculturation expectations were used to delineate two alternative processes of political incorporation, and to examine how they shape naturalized citizens' anti-immigration sentiment. Previous research demonstrated that citizenship acquisition boosts the social and political integration of immigrants into the receiving societies (Hainmueller et al., 2015a, 2015b). We evidenced the kind of acculturation expectations and political opinions that are more frequently associated with the transition of naturalized citizens from immigrant

outsiders to national insiders. An overall trend was observed: Naturalized citizens reported political participation and belongingness motives to a greater extent than instrumental motives. Also, they privileged host culture adoption over heritage culture maintenance. Furthermore, on average they tend to report quite high levels of anti-immigration sentiment.

Our findings supported the prevalence of a model of political incorporation that stresses the absorption of immigrants in the body politic through a process of assimilation and normative conformism (Minnite, 2009; Varjonen et al., 2018). Indeed, political participation and belongingness motives were connected to endorsement of host culture adoption, that in turn predicted preference for strict immigration policies. Accordingly, the mobility hypothesis was reflected in our data: Naturalized citizens, at the end of a process of upward mobility, tended to endorse prototypical ingroup norms and to derogate outgroup members, thereby becoming the most loyal gatekeepers of intergroup boundaries (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015; Noel et al., 1995; Pickett & Brewer, 2001). In this regard, political absorption was not only the outcome of an intrinsic motivation to belong, but aimed at acquiring a valued and respected position within the national majority group by endorsing restrictive attitudes towards immigrants (Noel et al., 1995; Van Laar et al., 2014).

Despite being prevalent, this endogenous process of political absorption was not the only dynamic connected to citizenship acquisition. A finer analysis of the underlying motivations to naturalize evidenced an alternative process of political incorporation embedded in the naturalization experience. Indeed, instrumental motives were related to endorsement of heritage culture maintenance, that was in turn negatively associated to anti-immigration sentiment. This alternative pathway corresponding to an exogenous process of innovation stressed immigrant rights and was related to preference for permissive immigration policies. In other words, a marginal position in the national ingroup improved the relation to the immigrant outgroup, promoting alternative norms, and a more inclusive society (Hornsey et

al., 2007; Hornsey & Imami, 2004; Packer, 2008; Subašić et al., 2008).

To our knowledge, the present study was the first attempt to articulate alternative models of political incorporation of immigrants with social-psychological theories about group processes and intergroup relations. While the process of individual upward mobility of naturalized citizens has received scant attention, the transition from outsiders to insiders has profound implications for the way new citizens position themselves in the intergroup setting. Indeed, full inclusion inside the national ingroup comes at the price of increased differentiation and psychological disengagement from the immigrant outgroup (Leonardelli et al., 2010; Turner et al., 1987). Such increased disengagement is particularly problematic as support from immigrants may protect individuals in case of rejection and scapegoating by members of the national majority (Correll & Park, 2005; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002; Van Laar et al., 2014). Ironically, positive relations between natives and naturalized citizens imply negative relations with immigrants. That is to say, conflict is not solved through the process of naturalization, but it is simply moved from one relationship to another. Through the absorption of immigrant minorities into the body politic, conflict loses its critical potential, thus becoming functional to perpetuation of social hierarchies and power asymmetries (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, & Pratto, 2001).

Previous research on the effects of upward mobility on intergroup relations focused exclusively on attitudes and behaviors of mobile individuals towards co-ethnics (Chipeaux et al., 2017; Derks et al., 2015; Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2009; Kulich et al., 2015). In the present research we extended this concept by investigating the effects of mobility on general anti-immigration sentiment. Yet, the broad category of "immigrants" may have little psychological meaning for individuals who have already settled down in the receiving society for good. The scant identification naturalized citizens are supposedly sharing with newcomers from distant cultural backgrounds may account for the surprisingly restrictive opinions

towards immigration policies we have observed. As compared to the general category of immigrants, more positive attitudes can be expected towards members of the same ethno-cultural group (but see Chipeaux, Kulich, et al., 2017; Kulich et al., 2015). This effect might be explained by the closer sense of continuity, similarity, and common faith shared among individuals with the same cultural background (Leach et al., 2008; Phinney, 1990; Sabatier, 2008), but also because double nationality is allowed in Switzerland, thereby setting the norm that double identification with both national and co-ethnics is tolerated by authorities (Goodman, 2010; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018).

Although very different dynamics may be at play when attitudes are directed towards co-ethnics or immigrants in general, our findings are ecologically valid. Indeed, when asked to take a stance on immigration policies, citizens are rarely confronted with one specific ethnicity or national origin. Conversely, referenda and popular votes are often referred to migration more broadly, or legal sub-categories—such as asylum seekers—with no direct reference to any cultural background. Future research should nevertheless compare attitudes and opinions endorsed by immigrants at late stages of their integration process towards both co-ethnics and immigrants from a broad range of origins and legal statuses.

The social-psychological investigation of citizenship acquisition represents a promising field of research that has just begun in recent years and should be explored further in the future (Condor, 2011; Stevenson et al., 2015; Verkuyten, 2018). For instance, in our study naturalization motives were used as exogenous independent variable, and socio-demographics employed as control variables. Also, our participants were not representative of the naturalized population in Switzerland: High levels of education and household income were slightly over-represented in the sample, and only French-speaking cantons participated in the research. Using representative samples of the immigrant population, it would be possible to determine socio-economic, acculturative, and contextual factors responsible for

the endorsement of specific naturalization motives. Also, cross-national comparisons would clarify whether the negative interdependence we observed between ingroup inclusion and outgroup derogation is intrinsic to the process of upward mobility, or decreases in national contexts in which multiculturalism is supported by the national majority ingroup. In Switzerland assimilation norms of acculturation are prevalent (Goodman, 2010; Green & Staerklé, 2013), such that naturalization applicants who renounce their heritage culture are evaluated more positively than those who maintain it. Because immigrants are generally aware of the social norms shared by the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis, Montreuil, et al., 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011), it is likely that they conform and extend these expectations towards other immigrant groups in order to be fully accepted.

Accordingly, in our study we were unable to tease apart normativity from the actual attitude of participants. Although answers were anonymous and researchers shared no connections with the naturalization offices, participants may still have associated our survey with the naturalization officials, thereby risking social desirability biases while they were answering the questionnaire. The suspected visibility and identifiability of their answers might have increased normative-conforming behaviors. For instance, Noel and colleagues (1995) demonstrated that peripherical members of a valuable group derogated their outgroup counterpart, but only when they believed other ingroup members might have learnt of their responses (Noel et al., 1995; see also, Reicher & Levine, 1994). Indeed, identity strategies are context-dependent, and vary as a function of the audience to which the person is addressing (Hopkins et al., 2015; Klein et al., 2007; Reicher, Hopkins, & Condor, 1997). Results from Barreto and colleagues (2003) support this view: In their study Turkish respondents in the Netherlands were more likely to stress their national identity to a Dutch than to a Turkish audience (Barreto et al., 2003). Adopting a similar approach, future research should vary the

language of the questionnaire, in order to tease apart internal processes from external constrains.

In terms of new lines of research, future studies should investigate if conformism to majority group norms is effective in promoting a greater integration in the national majority group (Merton, 1968). Also, it would be worth investigating if prosocial behaviors towards immigrant minorities grow stronger among applicants who ultimately fail the naturalization procedure. Indeed, perceived discrimination and injustice may result in rejection of and disidentification with the national majority group (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), as well as in increased connections with and support towards other immigrants (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Moreover, research should investigate the potential of social influence held by naturalized citizens when compared to nationals and immigrants. Naturalized citizens are able to criticize and innovate the social and political system from the inside of the national majority group. As ingroup members, they hold a more legitimate position than immigrants in the eyes of national majority members to promote social change and to speak out in favor of a more egalitarian society (David & Turner, 1996, 1999; Hornsey & Imami, 2004; Pérez & Mugny, 1998).

5.5. CONCLUSION

This research revealed the complex dynamics involved in citizenship acquisition, and portrayed societal consequences in terms of intergroup power relations. The social and political capital available to immigrants is conditional upon maintenance of intergenerational ties and solidarity between immigrant groups. Also, full access to political rights implies that naturalized citizens gain the potential to become legitimate spokespersons of the interests of immigrant communities within the body politic, thereby equalizing power relations between national majority and immigrant minority groups. Against this exogenous model of political

incorporation, we evidenced that two out of three main naturalization motives were connected to acculturation expectations in line with the expectations of the national majority, and not with the willingness to preserve and promote immigrant cultures and traditions. As long as the inclusion of new members into the body politic excludes innovation while promoting conformism, the potential of marginal voices to improve social arrangements will be unheard and the possibility for social change undermined.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present thesis sets the stage for a social psychological framework of citizenship acquisition. Our general aim was to investigate how both national majority members and naturalized citizens understand and define naturalization, how they align themselves or actively challenge conceptions of citizenship promoted by state institutions and political parties, how they experience naturalization procedures, relate to naturalization applicants, and support immigration policies. Accordingly, four empirical chapters articulated three complementary dimensions. 1) The first dimension focused on the relation between nationals and state institutions, and the way normative conceptions of citizenship filter into common-sense and structure the public opinion on citizenship acquisition (chapter two and three). 2) The second dimension focused on the relation between nationals and naturalized citizens, and the way the two sides either evaluate or experience inclusion within the national community (chapter three and four). 3) The third dimension focused on the relation between naturalized citizens and immigrants, and the way different processes of political incorporation shape anti-immigration sentiment (chapter five).

Together, these three underlying dimensions were included in an integrative social psychological framework, which tackled the complexity of intragroup and intergroup relations involved during the naturalization process. Beside the diversity of approaches, methods and populations, the four empirical chapters shed light on a common issue, that is the dialectic articulation between assimilation and cultural maintenance as opposite forces underlying the naturalization experience. All along the four empirical chapters, indeed, an overarching pattern was found, that contrasted cultural diversity and maintenance of positive relations

between naturalized citizens and immigrant minority members, against cultural assimilation and creation of positive relations between naturalized citizens and national majority members. Although compatible in theory, double allegiance of naturalized citizens with both national and immigrant communities was perceived as problematic, loyalty to either group being conceived as mutually exclusive. As a rite of passage, naturalization was socially understood as a screening tool, aimed at filtering out "good" candidates, who preserve the homogeneity of the national community, from "bad" candidates, who threaten and disrupt the cohesiveness of national majority members around common values and cultural practices. In this regard, *within-group* similarity and *between-group* difference are simultaneously requested from immigrants who wish to obtain citizenship. On the one hand, similarity refers to the expected hyper-conformism to national norms and values, so that naturalized citizens are stereotyped as close to the ingroup prototype as possible. On the other hand, difference refers to the expected hyper-individualization of migration trajectories, so that naturalized citizens are stereotyped as detached from previous markers of cultural identity as possible.

6.1. THE RELATION BETWEEN CITIZENS AND STATE INSTITUTIONS

6.1.1. THE ARTICULATION BETWEEN PARTY CLUES AND POLICY ARGUMENTS

While explaining the nature of power, Turner (Turner, 1991, 2005) argued that authorities are considered legitimate spokespersons of the group, as long as they represent the will of the people, and act on their behalf for the common good (see also Mugny, 1982; Politi et al., 2017; Subašić et al., 2008). Accordingly, people conform to naturalization policies in force, inasmuch as the institutionalized demarcation of citizenry is consistent with shared conceptions of the nation and psychologic boundary-making. If the national community members consider that current procedures are in line with their own understanding of citizenship, no room for debate is left. Conversely, when hegemonic representations collapse and the gap between procedures and public opinion increases, people challenge current social

and political arrangements and propose alternative solutions (Howarth, 2006; Howarth et al., 2013).

This was precisely the case observed in the empirical study included in the second chapter of the present thesis. Indeed, opposing representations endorsed by Swiss voters supported or opposed the federal decree aimed at simplifying the naturalization procedure for third-generation immigrants. Different contents were anchored first and foremost to political beliefs and ideological configurations. Anti-egalitarian right-wingers in favor of "thick" borders endorsed the idea of naturalization as based on a deliberate process of acculturation, and called for active proofs of integration required from third-generation immigrants. No differences were instead observed as a function of the participants' own migration background, autochthons and converging in the endorsement of similar representations and orientations towards naturalization. Individual effort and deservingness were often used to legitimize existing procedures. Conversely, egalitarian left-wingers in favor of "thin" borders endorsed the idea of naturalization as based on birth-rights owned by third-generation immigrants, and called for an automatic procedure aimed at including "fellow Swiss citizens without passport" into the national community.

By studying how national community members made sense of their voting behavior, we showed their opinion formation to be anchored to complex systems of meaning. Research has shown that information processing is often biased by party preferences, so that individuals tend to align their position on policy arguments endorsed by their preferred political party (Colombo & Kriesi, 2017; Slothuus & De Vreese, 2010). Although political affiliations played a major role in structuring the representational field, supporters and opponents of the federal decree searched beyond party clues in legitimizing their voting behavior. Indeed, the organizing principles of social representations of citizenship were deeply anchored to general conceptions of nationhood (i.e., ethnic, cultural, and civic principles). The many nuances

emerging from our bottom-up approach thus revealed that common-sense enjoys considerable degrees of freedom, reframing both institutional definitions and normative conceptions of the nation according to contextual specificities. Relative independence between state institutions and public opinion was observed also in the third chapter of the present thesis. In two experiments we investigated whether the institutional environment modulates evaluations given by national majority members to naturalization applicants. Only scant evidence was found about moderating effects of immigration and naturalization policies on the decision-making process, so that participants favored immigrants who assimilated over those who maintained connection with their heritage culture regardless of the political environment in which their choice was embedded.

The dialectic relation between expert knowledge derived from political theory and lay thinking was clearly visible in connection to ethnic, cultural and civic conceptions of the nation. These three dimensions dominated the scientific debate around citizenship policies in recent years, and laid the foundations to a multitude of naturalization regimes. Whereas ethnic conceptions have been commonly considered as exclusive, civic conceptions have been commonly considered as inclusive (Brubaker, 1992; Koopmans et al., 2005). Evidence concerning cultural conceptions was mixed, and varied depending on the degree of perceived compatibility between cultures (Kymlicka, 2001; Reijerse et al., 2013). Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) showed for instance that national majority members tolerate integration of the two cultural facets only when heritage culture maintenance is not perceived at odds to host culture adoption.

In the second chapter we observed that Swiss voters mobilized ethnic, civic, and cultural arguments, suggesting that normative conceptions flowed into common-sense. Nevertheless, the valence associated to the three dimensions was not in line with theoretical expectations, whereby civic criteria should be inclusive and ethnic criteria should be

exclusive. Conversely, essentialist arguments based on common descents legitimized simplified naturalization policies for third-generation immigrants. The extensive reference to ascribed criteria (e.g., Swiss essence, parents and grand-parents, birth in the country etc.) demonstrated that support for the federal decree was not driven by inclusive conceptions of the national community and openness to cultural diversity. In this sense, the body politic did not wish to expand and transform itself, by including citizens from different cultural horizons. No reference to multiculturalism was made, cultural diversity being only evoked as a problem to be solved, and not an opportunity to be taken. Conversely, support for simplified procedures was based on cultural similarity and common essence connecting Swiss citizens together. Surprisingly, no differences between individuals with and without immigration background were observed in their endorsement to assimilationist representations. The taxonomy proposed by Koopmans and colleagues (Koopmans et al., 2005) depicted Swiss naturalization policies as promoting both ethnic and assimilationist conceptions of the nation. In this respect, public opinion did not challenge the foundations of nationhood upon which naturalization policies were tailored. Conversely, inclusion of third-generation immigrants was consensually justified by reason of their cultural transformation into Swiss. Ironically, cultural and ethnic conceptions were mobilized in favor of immigrants, while simultaneously reinforcing the idea of Swiss citizenry as based on common culture and descents.

6.2. THE RELATION BETWEEN NATIONALS AND NATURALIZED CITIZENS

6.2.1. ASSIMILATION EXPECTATIONS AND THE EXTRA BURDEN ON DEVALUED NATURALIZATION APPLICANTS

Causal evidence that naturalization applicants have to trade off heritage culture maintenance for being included into the national community was found in three experimental studies included in the third chapter. In this case, the focus was directly on decision-making concerning individual immigrant profiles, and not to general evaluations of naturalization

policies made by national majority members. National majority members were asked to act as naturalization officials and decide whether to accept or not naturalization applications. We observed that any sign of heritage culture maintenance — both in the private and the public sphere of life — worsened the evaluations of naturalization applicants. Moreover, cultural assimilation was prescribed only for specific ethnicities, so that immigrants from devalued culturally distant countries —Kosovo and Turkey— were expected to assimilate to a greater extent than immigrants from valued culturally proximal countries —Spain and Italy— (for similar findings, see Andreouli, 2013; Andreouli & Dashtipour, 2014).

Results demonstrated that ethnic and cultural conceptions of the nation reinforce each other and do not constitute two independent evaluative dimensions. Inasmuch as cultural traits are essentialized, arguments referring to cultural incompatibility conceal rejections based on ethnic criteria. Here again institutionalized practices and lay thinking diverge. Naturalization procedures and official speeches of representatives of the state during naturalization ceremonies often celebrate cultural diversity in Switzerland, and welcome new citizens as multicultural heralds without any ethnic distinction (Ossipow & Felder, 2015). Yet public opinion is more nuanced and controverted. The alleged incompatibility between certain cultures imposes an extra burden on the shoulders of naturalization applicants from devalued origins. Not only did they receive more negative evaluations form national majority members in general, but they had to give up maintaining connections with their cultural group, in order to be accepted. Such findings echoed the natural experiment conducted in Switzerland by Hainmueller and Hangartner (2013). By analyzing municipality registers, these authors collected data on all naturalization referenda from 1970 to 2003, and observed that the likelihood of being rejected was about 40% higher for naturalization applicants from the Balkans and Turkey, as compared to allegedly similar applicants from more affluent Northern

and Western European countries. Also, chances to be accepted increased significantly in case of complete assimilation to the Swiss culture.

Other than replicating previous findings, our experiments provided evidence about the underlying processes responsible for higher rejection rates associated to heritage culture maintenance. As evidenced in the second chapter, differentiation between "good" and "bad" naturalization applicants was structured around neoliberal communitarian representations of citizenship. Paradoxically, neoliberal principles based on independence and autonomy were inferred from communitarian principles based on cultural conformity and national cohesiveness. Accordingly, deservingness was connected to attachment to the nation, which was perceived as incompatible to heritage culture maintenance from naturalization applicants. The joint mobilization of "individualizing" obligations, whereby applicants were expected to be different from other immigrant persons, and "de-individualizing" obligations, whereby applicants were expected to be similar to other nationals, reveals the complex articulation of similarity and difference in relation to citizenship acquisition.

6.2.2. From legal to social recognition as ingroup member

Inclusion into the national community cannot be measured only on the basis of legal recognition of citizenship status bestowed by the state (Honneth, 1995; Licata et al., 2011). Social recognition and respect from fellow group members are equally important to make a person feeling included and esteemed (Smith & Tyler, 1997; Spears et al., 2006). Whereas the third chapter of the present thesis focused on social recognition as it is bestowed by national majority members, the fourth chapter focused on social recognition as it is perceived by naturalized citizens. By connecting group inclusion goals endorsed by national majority members, on the one hand, and individual inclusion goals endorsed by naturalized citizens, on the other, we articulated individual and group perspectives on inclusion (Bourhis, Montreuil, et al., 2009; Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

As for individual inclusion goals, scholars tended to observe a transition in recent years towards instrumental practices of citizenship (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2018). In other words, more and more naturalization applicants request and obtain citizenship on the basis of personal considerations related to their status in society. Although institutions may tolerate, and even encourage, instrumental motivations to increase security of the legal status in the country, our findings showed that instrumentality is related to lower feelings of inclusion reported by naturalized citizens. Conversely, we demonstrated that belongingness to the receiving country was the only motivational driver associated to greater feelings of inclusion among naturalized citizens. Altogether, the second, third and fourth chapters confirmed the importance that attachment to the nation plays in shaping the relationship between national and naturalized citizens (for a similar argument, see Roblain et al., 2016).

Yet, the association between individual and group inclusion goals is not always straightforward, so that naturalized citizens may be highly attached to a group who reject them instead (for a similar argument, see Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Adaptation problems, distress and identity threat can arise when high-identifiers are not socially recognized by fellow ingroup members (Branscombe, Ellemers, et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 2002). Such was the case in our study when it comes to naturalized citizens coming from non-EU or Developing countries. Although these national categories showed the highest rate of belongingness motives (i.e., individual inclusion goals), they also reported the lowest feelings of inclusion (i.e., perceived group inclusion goals). Again, individuals with devalued immigration background had the hardest time being accepted and recognized as members of the national community, regardless of their level of attachment and identification with the receiving country. The differential treatment experienced on the basis of national origin echoes findings presented in the third chapter, and reveal the vitality of ethnic conceptions of the nation in contemporary Switzerland.

6.3. THE RELATION BETWEEN NATURALIZED CITIZENS AND IMMIGRANTS

6.3.1. ANTI-IMMIGRATION SENTIMENT AMONG NATURALIZED CITIZENS

Naturalized citizens are individuals "in-between" two social groups, and face status inconsistency between two incompatible identity facets (Chipeaux, Iacoviello, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2017; Kulich et al., 2015). Indeed, their history of immigration makes room to their future as members of the national community. A number of empirical studies showed that naturalized citizens tend to separate their destiny from immigrants and derogate against their previous ingroup members (Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018). Yet, exclusive employment of secondary-data form large survey-studies prevented these researches from testing hypotheses about the underlying processes involved.

To fil this gap we proposed a two-pathway model of immigrant political incorporation. The model was tested empirically in the fifth chapter of the present thesis and showed two independent routes. The first route, named political absorption, was the most common among naturalized citizens. Accordingly, high inclusion goals (i.e., belongingness and political participation motives) were connected to ideological expectations prescribed by the national majority ingroup (i.e., host culture adoption), which in turn explained derogation against the immigrant minority outgroup (i.e., preference for restrictive immigration policies). The second route, named political transformation, was less common than the first among naturalized citizens. Accordingly, low inclusion goals (i.e., instrumental motives) were connected to ideological expectations promoted by the immigrant minority outgroup (i.e., heritage culture maintenance), that were in turn negatively related to anti-immigration sentiment (i.e., preference for permissive immigration policies).

The two-pathway model provided comprehensive understanding of the processes underlying immigrant political incorporation, by concomitantly articulating explanations at three distinct levels (Doise, 1976, 1982). The first explanation is placed at the intra-individual

level of analysis: The upward mobility process was driven by the inner motivation to enhance the self-concept by joining a valuable group. Depending on which motivation goal was more pronounced, naturalized citizens undertook different routes of political incorporation. The second explanation is placed at the positional level of analysis: Depending on the social rank in society (e.g., socio-economic status and origins), naturalized citizens thought of themselves as marginal or core members within the national majority ingroup. Core members tended to distance themselves from the immigrant outgroup to a greater extent than marginal members. The third explanation is placed at the ideological level of analysis: Acculturation expectations bridged the relation between motivations to join the national ingroup and attitudes shown towards the immigrant outgroup. Individuals strongly motivated to become core ingroup members behaved as they "ought to", endorsed dominant prescriptive norms of acculturation, and derogated against immigrants. Such "incorporation effect" (Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; see also, Kulich et al., 2015) also explain results of chapter 2, showing no differences between national majority and naturalized minority members in their endorsement of assimilationist representations of citizenship.

6.3.2. The dialectic between social stability and social change

The endogenous process of absorption, on the one hand, and the exogenous process of transformation, on the other hand, represent two opposite societal forces accounting for social stability and social change, respectively. Therefore, our analysis of political incorporation participates in the long-lasting debate about how social hierarchies and intergroup power dynamics are preserved or challenged. Previous approaches tended to clearly differentiate between dominant social groups motivated at maintaining their privilege in society —men, nationals, White, Western people — and subordinate social groups moved by egalitarian principles — women, immigrants, Black, Non-Western people — (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1988, 2002; Sidanius et al., 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; but see Jost & Burgess, 2000; Jost &

Hunyady, 2005). Our approach postulates instead that members of the same social category (e.g., naturalized citizens) can think of themselves as either dominant or subordinate, depending on psychological processes and identity dynamics (Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 2003).

The endogenous process of absorption undertaken by individuals who were motivated to become core ingroup members was connected to endorsement to ingroup norms (i.e., host culture adoption expectations), so that naturalized citizens acted as majority group members and showed exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants. Conversely, the exogenous process of transformation undertaken by individuals at the margins of the national majority group was connected to outgroup norms (i.e., heritage culture maintenance expectations), so that naturalized citizens acted as minority group members and showed inclusionary attitudes towards immigrants. Although more atypical and deviant than the former, it is precisely the strategy allowing the body politic to expand, differentiate, and incorporate alternative points of view previously excluded from political representation (Moscovici, 1976b; Nemeth, 2009).

6.4. THE SPIRAL OF EXCLUSIONARY INCLUSION

6.4.1. POSING THE DILEMMA

How can inclusion be exclusive, and exclusion be inclusive? We believe this twofold oxymoron to best represent the opposite forces and identity tensions characterizing the naturalization experience (for a similar point, see Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Van Laar et al., 2014). Our findings suggest that exclusion and inclusion, based on the concurrent expectation of ingroup similarity and outgroup difference, can merge into complex configurations during this process of upward mobility. Within the immigrant minority group, citizenship acquisition differentiates between "deserving" and "undeserving" immigrants. Accordingly, *inclusion* and legal recognition of naturalized citizens as members of the national community are *exclusive*, because they represent the result of meticulous screening procedures. Within the national

majority group, citizenship acquisition differentiates between "first-class" and "second-class" citizens. Accordingly, *exclusion* and derogation of immigrants are *inclusive*, because they represent the sign of loyalty and belongingness to the national community pledged by naturalized citizens.

Such paradoxical coexistence of exclusion and inclusion, articulated with the joint expectation of similarity and difference, flows from shared norms of assimilation, whereby host culture adoption and heritage culture maintenance are depicted as incompatible (Bourhis, Barrette, et al., 2009; Van Acker & Vanbeselaere, 2011). When inclusion into the national majority ingroup comes at the price of derogation against the immigrant minority outgroup, naturalization becomes a strategy of "normalization". External elements are allowed to be individually absorbed while conserving the system as such. That is to say, national majority members do not renegotiate their dominant status in society by including immigrant elites within the national community. Quite the opposite, immigrant elites who become nationals turn against their previous fellow members and reproduce power asymmetries. Paradoxically, naturalized citizens are transformed into the most faithful and conservative guardians of national norms and values.

Although functional to be accepted in the short term, the loss of connections between naturalized citizens and immigrants can be detrimental in the long term. On the one hand, support from immigrant minority members and maintenance of cultural practices can be useful resources for mobile individuals who are facing an identity transition, and protect them from eventual marginalization within the national community (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney, Horenczyk, & Vedder, 2001; Van Laar et al., 2014). On the other hand, criticism and divergent thinking from marginal ingroup members help societies to adapt to new challenges (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Jetten & Hornsey, 2014; Nemeth, 2009). A strategy of assimilation is therefore three times counterproductive: for the individual, who loses connections and

support from the immigrant group; for immigrants themselves, who cannot rely on the political support of naturalized citizens; and for the society as a whole, that loses occasions to revise practices, adjust normative regulations, and fix eventual dysfunctionalities.

Naturalized citizens have a better social position than immigrants for denouncing problems and proposing alternatives. Because they are now part of the national community, are entitled to speak in its behalf. Although groups attribute great value to uniformity and paint a dark picture on deviance (Hornsey et al., 2007; Pinto et al., 2010), divergent thinking coming from ingroup members is more readily accepted than criticism coming from outsiders (Hornsey & Imami, 2004; Hornsey, Trembath, & Gunthorpe, 2004). By celebrating diversity and proposing creative solutions to societal issues, naturalized citizens would thus show loyalty towards nationals, immigrants and themselves at once.

6.4.2. Solving the dilemma

Taken together, a number of suggestions can be drawn from our work that may inform policies, and generate good practices for naturalization offices and policy-makers. First, it would be useful to acknowledge the distinction between legal recognition, on the one hand, and social recognition, on the other. Although institutions focus very much on formal protocols and procedures, little attention is generally paid to whether naturalization applicants feel welcome within the national community. State officials who accompany applicants through the naturalization process are the mirror of society and should speak inclusively on its behalf.

Second, more importance should be attributed to instrumental motives as legitimate reasons to undergo the naturalization procedure. Speeches and informative materials mainly focus on belongingness and political participation as the only rightful motivations (for instance, see the video clip promoted by the Vaud Canton: vd.ch/naturalization). Conversely, practical advantages of naturalization in terms of security and stability of the legal status, are

rarely put forward as legitimate. People can truly and fully contribute to society only if they do not have to struggle daily with precarious living conditions and fear of deportation. In this regard, instrumentality should not be seen as the wrong reason to naturalize, but the ultimate goal of an administrative procedure meant to accord equal rights to all citizens.

Third, the gap between "first-class" and "second-class" citizens should be reduced. Different evaluations from national majority members and different feelings of inclusions among naturalized citizens have been observed as a function of the national origin. Although more attached and emotionally involved than others, naturalization applicants from non-Western / Developing countries tended to feel less welcome in the national community. As representatives of the receiving society, naturalization officials should be careful to promote inclusive messages to everyone, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Fourth, naturalization procedures should value multiculturalism more and implement tasks promoting divergent thinking. Naturalized citizens coming from hundreds of countries in the world are rare resources for the whole community. Switzerland should learn naturalization applicants' values and customs as much as the other way round. By treasuring each cultural background, representatives of the state would set the norm of diversity as a resource for Switzerland. By listening to eventual criticisms addressed to social arrangements and encouraging original solutions, the political body would expand and incorporate additional strategies to cope with societal problems. By feeling appreciated for their difference, naturalization applicants won't feel obliged to trade off their heritage culture for being accepted as rightful members of the national community; they would feel they are accepted for who they are instead.

6.5. THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The present thesis proposed a bottom-up approach to citizenship acquisition, and investigated how institutional procedures and legal recognition are articulated to social psychological processes. In four empirical chapters we developed and tested a social psychological framework, where citizenship acquisition was positioned at the crossroads of intragroup and intergroup dynamics, embedded in a given socio-political context. Our research shed light on the subjective perspective of social actors directly or indirectly involved in the naturalization process, and contributed in advancing current understanding of acculturation and intergroup relations, through the lens of political psychology.

6.5.1. INDIVIDUALS WITHIN THE STRUCTURE

The dialectic relation between the individual and the structure is a central topic of investigation in social psychology, questioning why people protect, conform, follow, challenge, revise, and fight against social arrangements and authorities (Moscovici, 1976b; Mugny, 1982). Social representations theory, in particular, bridges individual and contextual explanations of human behavior, and postulates that collective systems of meaning circulate in society, crystallize into rules, procedures and normal practices, and impose themselves over individual cognition (Moscovici, 1984). According to Moscovici (2001), the individual has some autonomy, and while incorporating social representations may simultaneously modify them. Acculturation literature as well considers the role that institutions and procedures play in shaping the intergroup setting in which encounters between national majority and immigrant minorities are embedded (Bourhis et al., 1997; Guimond et al., 2014). Nonetheless, much of the existing research focused on top-down processes by which social structures descend on individual psychology, prescribe codes of conduct, and influence people' acculturation preferences. Much less attention has been dedicated instead to bottom-up forms of norm formation, and the processes by which social arrangements and state policies are

modified through the reorganization of the representational field (for an exception, see Howarth, et al., 2014).

The present thesis demonstrate that collective systems of meaning can be strategically appropriated by the individual, so that criteria generally employed to exclude outgroup members can be mobilized to include them. Our analysis focused on the many ways social actors construct their versions of social reality to *do* things and transform their social and political environment. By doing so, we challenged the determinist assumption whereby established systems of meanings — such as conceptions of the nation — are trans-situational and can be readily used to predict cognitive processes, intergroup relations and political behavior. Language being connected to the performative goal of the source, meanings are therefore socially embedded. Also, certain line of arguments can be inclusive and exclusive at the same time. For instance, the assimilation rhetoric can be strategically used by social actors to include a certain subcategory of immigrants (e.g., third-generation immigrants), while concomitantly exclude others (e.g., newcomers).

6.5.2. Acculturation at the crossroad of intra- and inter-group dynamics

Increasing attention has been dedicated in recent years to the intergroup dynamics connected to expectations and acculturation strategies among individuals belonging to two allegedly stable and clearly differentiable categories, namely nationals and immigrants (e.g., Bourhis, Barrette, et al., 2009; Bourhis et al., 1997; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Navas et al., 2005; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick, Wagner, van Dick, & Petzel, 2001). Surprisingly, intragroup dynamics within the national group itself are largely unexplored, and little is known about expectations and acculturation strategies among individuals belonging to presumably unstable and blurry normative positions, namely autochthons and naturalized citizens (for a similar argument, see Ellemers & Jetten, 2013; Verkuyten, 2018). Yet, the recategorization process involved in the transition of naturalized citizens from the immigrant

minority to the national majority groups redefines the boundaries between ingroup and outgroup, and place acculturation at the crossroad of both intragroup and intergroup dynamics (Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009).

Our research showed that immigrants who wish to be included in the national community must "deserve" their rights as norm-conforming individuals (Andreouli & Chryssochoou, 2015; Gibson, 2009; Mazouz, 2012). In other words, acculturation expectations at the intragroup level are mainly grounded on the moralizing compliance with prototypical ingroup norms of deservingness (Joffe & Staerkle, 2007; Staerklé, 2016; Staerklé et al., 2007; see also Abrams et al., 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Moreover, communitarian beliefs of a culturally grounded national community (Davies, 2012; Delanty, 2002), intertwined with Western meritocratic ideals of individual autonomy, give rise to a new assimilationist ideology (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Van Houdt et al., 2011). Interestingly, the same acculturative pressure to assimilate experienced by immigrants who wish to obtain national citizenship is reproduced against other immigrant groups once successful naturalization applicants turn into nationals. The present thesis originally articulate intragroup expectations, compliance to majority influence and reproduction of normative patterns among immigrants at the latest stage of the integration process (i.e., naturalized citizens; for a similar argument, see Callens, Valentová, & Meuleman, 2014).

6.5.3. Inter-minority intergroup relations

Current trends of social psychology of intergroup relations stressed the importance of overcoming dualist representations of the social field as organized around a high-status dominant majority group, on the one hand, contraposed to a low-status subordinate minority group, on the other. Accordingly, scholars have started investigating a constellation of intergroup relations, between groups occupying different positions in the social structure

(Caricati, 2018; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Kerr et al., 2017). Whereas upward comparisons between subordinate and dominant groups promote social change, it was shown that downward comparisons and derogation among subordinate groups preserve inequalities and maintain the social hierarchy intact (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002; Craig & Richeson, 2012; Wills, 1981).

Despite these important attempts to challenge the dichotomous analysis of intergroup relations, recent advances in acculturation research has not called into question the classic "two-groups paradigm", as organized around an allegedly stable national majority group and an allegedly stable immigrant minority group (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Esses et al., 2015). In this respect, our research showed that intergroup boundaries between majority and minority groups are blur and constantly redefined, so that immigrant elites are recategorized as member of the national community through naturalization. By crossing this process of upward mobility and acculturation dynamics, we advanced the current understanding of inter-minority relations. We pinpointed alternative strategies of incorporation within the high-status group, and showed that political support or derogation towards low-status group members are both possible outcomes of the process of individual mobility. In so doing, we extended previous research on the effects of individual mobility (Chipeaux, Kulich, et al., 2017), demonstrating how different individual inclusion goals orient the acculturation strategy of naturalized citizens. In line with previous investigations (Craig & Richeson, 2012; Richeson & Craig, 2011), we also collected evidence that perceived marginality within the national majority ingroup, buffers the negative effects of individual mobility on the concerns demonstrated by naturalized citizens towards the immigrant minority outgroup (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013).

6.6. LIMITS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Our work provided a convincing and relatively consistent picture of the dynamics at play during the transition of naturalized citizens from the national majority to the immigrant minority groups. Nevertheless, a number of limitations need to be addressed, and additional evidence would be needed to draw more solid conclusions from our findings.

6.6.1. EVALUATIONS OF NATURALIZATION MOTIVES

In the fourth and fifth chapter we postulated that not all reasons to naturalize are equally accepted by the receiving society. Whereas belongingness and political participation motives are in line with expectations from national majority members, instrumentality leaves naturalized citizens at the margin of the national community. This hypothesis is grounded in a long-lasting theoretical debate, and our findings partially confirm that different value is attributed to naturalization motives. Nevertheless, more clear-cut experimental evidence would be needed, in order to make stronger claims about national majority members' evaluations of different naturalization motives. Similar to the experimental design employed in the third chapter of the present thesis, it would be possible to manipulate motivations put forward by naturalization applicants, and measure whether belongingness and political participation are better evaluated than instrumentality.

Motivations may inform national majority members about different aspects of the naturalization applicant, by invoking complementary characteristics of the target (Yzerbyt, 2016). Indeed, when people evaluate a person or a group, they are motivated to know whether the target's intentions towards the self and the ingroup are beneficial or threatening (i.e., sociability and morality), and whether the target has the ability to fulfill these intentions (i.e., competence) (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). Roblain, Azzi, and Licata (2016) have shown that perceived attachment to the nation leads majority members to assign more warmth (i.e., sociability and morality)

traits to immigrants. Accordingly, it would be appropriate in future investigations to cross evaluations of naturalization motives and impression formation. Because belongingness motives are theoretically linked to perceived cooperation with the ingroup, we may expect this attribute to be related to sociability traits. On the other hand, in neoliberal societies, the moral image of an individual is linked to the representation of a free citizen who takes responsibility in carrying out his/her duties. Therefore, we may expect political participation motives to be related to morality traits (Dean, 1999; Van Houdt et al., 2011). Because it is based on vested-interest, we may expect instrumentality to be negatively related to both sociability and morality.

Furthermore, we propose to cross belongingness and political participation motives, and test whether political participation is welcomed by national majority members only if connected to strong belongingness and attachment to the country. Different strategies of political participation have been recognized among ethnic and cultural minority groups. Whereas some political claims advance only the minority vested-interest, others may benefit the majority group as well (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2004; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014). Criticism and political activism from ingroup members is accepted and tolerated, when people are perceived as psychologically invested in the group they are criticizing (Hindriks et al., 2017; Hornsey et al., 2004). Accordingly, we may expect political participation from naturalized citizens to be positively evaluated only when connected to an endogenous process of political absorption.

6.6.2. Cross-cultural comparisons and contextual effects

Almost all of the studies included in the present thesis were conducted in Switzerland, that is one of the most particular and restrictive naturalization systems in Europe. Also, in Switzerland each municipality has the right to decide who is eligible as Swiss citizen, while most countries attribute citizenship at the central level of the state (for a detailed description

of the Swiss naturalization regime, see Helbling, 2008, 2010b). The unicity of the Swiss naturalization system can be considered both a limitation and an opportunity. On the one hand, the generalizability of our findings to other social and political systems is undermined. On the other hand, the relative autonomy enjoyed by cantons and municipalities would allow subnational comparisons otherwise impossible in other countries (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016; Manatschal, 2011).

Central to the present thesis was the articulation between top-down and bottom-up approaches. Yet, only scant evidence was found about contextual effects of naturalization policies on individual attitudes and evaluations. Before drawing any conclusion on the international robustness of our findings, future investigations should compare social and political contexts (either at the national or subnational levels), differing in their level of inclusiveness (Green et al., 2018; Sarrasin et al., 2012). For instance, naturalization motives may differ depending on the prevalent normative climate. Accordingly, we may expect belongingness and political participation motives (i.e., high individual inclusion goals) to be prevalent in social and institutional contexts that are open to immigrants' participation in society (i.e., high group inclusion goals). Conversely, instrumental motives may be particularly central in social and institutional contexts where immigrant status is more precarious, or discrimination against immigrants is still prevalent. Also, political absorption may be more prevalent in assimilationist settings, whereas political transformation may be more prevalent in multicultural settings. All together, these research questions call for multi-level approaches to best tackle contextual effects of immigration and integration policies on immigrants' naturalization motives and political incorporation.

6.6.3. Articulation between legal and social recognition

Also important in the present thesis was the distinction between different spheres of recognition (Honneth, 1995; Licata et al., 2011). Whereas research on citizenship acquisition

mainly focused on legal recognition bestowed by legal institutions, we argued that a social psychological approach should also focus on social recognition attributed by national majority members. Yet, in our research we were not able to cross the two levels of recognition. Indeed, in the third chapter of the present thesis, legal and social recognitions were confounded: Swiss nationals evaluated whether naturalization applicants were ready to be granted citizenship or not, so that social inclusion and legal status overlapped. Conversely, in both the fourth and the fifth chapters legal recognition was a constant, so that only feelings of social inclusion could be measured among naturalized citizens who were already granted citizenship status.

Future investigations should distinguish between successful and unsuccessful applicants, and test whether legal recognition bestowed by authorities impact a number of social psychological outcomes, such as social and psychological adjustment and adaptation. This might be the case for immigrants with well-established status in the receiving society, such naturalization applicants, but it is even more crucial for vulnerable populations, such as newcomers and asylum seekers. Indeed, lack of legal recognition by legal authorities heightens the risk for emotional distress and impaired quality of health among dismissed plaintiffs (Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Spitznagel, 2007). Social exclusion, feelings of injustice and self-worthless are prevalent among destitute asylum seekers, who find themselves at the margins of society (Cuthill, 2017). Also, temporary residency status accorded to people asking for international protection is a source of insecurity and reduce people's long-terms ability to integrate with the host society (Bakker, Dagevos, & Engbersen, 2014).

This last point, in particular, will be the main focus of my future research activities. After my Ph.D. will be completed, and legal recognition as a member of the scientific community will be granted to me, I will do my best to find answers to these timely issues, with open mind and open heart.

CONCLUSION

The present thesis could ended up saying that assimilation is the best strategy for individuals who wish to obtain citizenship. Indeed, assimilated naturalization applicants are more easily recategorized as ingroup members, concurrently proving their will to belong to the national community. Conversely, we believe this would be a wrong and dangerous message to send. Although functional to cross group boundaries in the short-term, assimilation has major downsides in the long-term, thereby undermining migrants' full potential to participate in the public sphere, and building up a conformist society where uniformity is artificially imposed. Denial of social recognition of immigrants from different cultures and origins as true members of the national community, we argue, has profound and detrimental implications for both the individual *and* the society as a whole. Immigrants minorities are likely to be hurt by the mismatch between others' expectations of cultural uniformity and their own demands of cultural multiplicity; a deception that translates into reduced commitment and participation to the social and political life (Hopkins & Blackwood, 2011). Also, assimilation and prescribed cultural similarity is not uniformly preferred by national majority members, and it can be even threatening in the eyes of some members of the dominant community, because it blurs existing status boundaries between groups (Guimond, De Oliveira, Kamiesjki, & Sidanius, 2010; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2008).

What is more, societal expectations that naturalized citizens from "devalued" origins should give up maintaining their heritage culture dates back to colonialist ideas of *domination* of one culture over another. The underlying old-fashioned assumption is that Western European cultures are superior to foreigner customs and traditions (Brubaker, 2017). True inclusion cannot be based on domination over the other, neither can social recognition compromise someone's identity. To explain the fundamental incompatibility between assimilation and citizenship, I choose to go deeper than the surface of statistic trends. This

thesis will then end up unconventionally, with poetry. As a matter of fact, art can be used as stimulus material, and grant privileged access to the interpretative repertoires of the Author. Words become metaphors, whereby emotions are free to resonate more clearly.

> "Forgive me,
> I am what you wanted me to be, so why reject me after I have transformed myself, according to your convictions, in your image, according to your norms, by the sense of divine duty that motivated you and motivates you still.
>
> From the position of an animal,
> Of that which has no conscience,
> Of that which has no soul,
> Of an illiterate,
> Of that which is close to the devil by its fetishes and beliefs,
> Of that which is closer to an ape,
> Of a bully,
> Of a layabout,
> Of a dreamer,
> Of an idler,
> Of a beast,
> Of a savage.
>
> I have become the fruit of your expansions, your adventures, your rights and laws.
>
> You brought me the ingredients necessary to give me a soul, to access education, to acquire knowledge, to give sense to me life, to believe in your God, to dress myself, emancipate myself, know how to read and write.
>
> Now that I can express myself, assert myself, challenge, that I can create, and that I can convey to my own kind all that you passed on to me, now it becomes a problem for you.
>
> You are on edge, you fear being invaded and being wiped from existence, and so you create an unease between us.
>
> Despite your brutality, despite the pillage, the slavery, despite your domination, I hold onto the essential of my culture. I am no more than a blending of your culture and mine, enriching me more, as I constantly travel between two worlds.
>
> So, I beg your forgiveness for being the object of your divine mission, because you came to bring me knowledge and wisdom, to civilize me and my "own kind" who were, in your view, in obscurity.
>
> If that was your divine duty, then accept me as I am and let us share the common values that are the link between your culture and mine.
>
> Forgive me, you were mistaken in doing it all,
> for centuries and centuries, you have never accepted me".

Recently, I conducted an interview with the Author of this poem: a Swiss citizen originating from an African country. I was puzzled and intrigued by the symbolism behind his words, and my curiosity pushed me to know more. A person who was modeled in the image and likeness of the Western world, and yet a person who also asked for forgiveness. A person who lived almost all his life in Europe, who never spoke a language other than French and English, and yet he felt he was never fully accepted as a rightful citizen. A person who denounced unjust mistreatment, and yet reached out to his perpetrators.

The troublesome search for identity was the focus of our interview. By stressing the inner tension between two incompatible identity facets, the Author brought me back in time to his hometown, in Africa, during the 1960s. He was cut off from his culture from early childhood, he told me, so it was easier for him to be included among French families. He found himself intimately divided between two worlds: a real one, made by European schools, superior education, books and intellectual exchanges; and an imaginary one, a lucid dream of hunting in nature, swimming in rivers, dancing around fires, and connecting with the Earth.

These two worlds were in constant conflict, never compatible throughout his life. They could have been harmonized in theory, if one was not imposing itself on the other. “As long as domination is the goal, harmony is precluded”, he said. People constantly taught him the inferiority of his primitive culture, in comparison to the enlightened triumph of reason imported from overseas.

But no matter the effort he made to become invisible, fully acculturated in accordance with foreign values and customs; no matter how many years he spent in France and Switzerland; no matter the citizenship granted in both countries, he always was and always remained an anomaly in the eyes of the many. The more he assimilated, the greater threat he became for them. “Integration needs recognition from the other. Without recognition, integration is an empty concept”. Rejection is all the rage. Something went wrong, it was

suddenly clear to him. And that is when the self-questioning began: The identity search was reborn inside him at the same moment he felt rejected. When he realized he might never have become fully European, he felt truly Azande for the first time.

APPENDIXES

A. CHAPTER TWO

I. RELATION BETWEEN CLASSES OF META-DATA AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

A binomial hierarchical logistic regression was performed to ascertain the effect of five classes of meta-data, namely 1) socio-demographics, 2) social-status, 3) opportunity for contact, 4) political beliefs, and 5) ideological configurations, on the likelihood that Swiss voters have supported or rejected the federal decree on simplified naturalization for third-generation immigrants. Results for each step separately are reported in Table 9. The final model (Model 5) was statistically significant, $\Delta\chi^2(19) = 235.39$, $p < .001$. The model explained 36% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in voting behavior, and correctly classified 81% of cases.

With regard to socio-demographic variables, linguistic region was the only significant (and robust) predictor, so that Swiss voters coming from the Italian-speaking region (Tessin) rejected the federal decree to a greater extent than the two other regions. With regard to socio-economic status, education was the only significant predictor. In particular, apprentices rejected the federal decree to a greater extent than Swiss voters with obligatory education. This result was robust and consistent when taking in consideration control variables. With regard to opportunity for contact, the percentage of foreigners in the municipality of residency was the only significant predictor. In particular, the higher the number of foreigners, the greater the likelihood of supporting the federal decree. With regard to political beliefs, both political orientation and party affiliation were significant predictors. In particular, the more Swiss voters showed right-wing orientations, the greater the likelihood of rejecting the federal decree. Also, people affiliated to parties advocating in favor of the federal decree supported the referendum to a greater extent than both people affiliated to anti-referendum parties, or not

affiliated to any party at all. With regard to ideological configurations, both attitudes towards foreign relations and equal opportunities were significant predictors. In particular, the more Swiss voters were open to other countries and egalitarian, the greater the likelihood of supporting the federal decree. Interestingly, the same meta-data structuring social representations of citizenship of Swiss voters were significant and unique predictors of their actual voting behavior. This finding confirms the close connection between social representations and support vs. rejection of the federal decree aimed at simplified naturalization procedures for third-generation immigrants

Table 9: Binomial hierarchical logistic regression ascertaining the effects of meta-data on rejection of the federal decree.

	Step 1			**Step 2**			**Step 3**			**Step 4**			**Step 5**		
	Exp	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*
Age	1.00	.01	0.58 $^{N.S.}$	1.00	.01	0.17 $^{N.S.}$	1.00	.01	0.06 $^{N.S.}$	1.00	.01	0.27 $^{N.S.}$	1.00	.01	0.20 $^{N.S.}$
Women (vs. men)	0.78	.16	2.16$^{N.S.}$	0.70	.17	4.42*	0.70	.17	4.24*	0.95	.19	0.07 $^{N.S.}$	0.84	.20	0.72 $^{N.S.}$
Swiss parents															
One parent abroad	0.89	.26	0.19 $^{N.S.}$	0.94	.27	0.55 $^{N.S.}$	0.99	.27	0.01 $^{N.S.}$	0.87	.31	0.21 $^{N.S.}$	0.94	.32	0.03 $^{N.S.}$
Two parents abroad	1.68	.46	1.29 $^{N.S.}$	1.99	.47	2.10 $^{N.S.}$	2.20	.48	2.67 $^{N.S.}$	1.97	.54	1.60 $^{N.S.}$	2.21	.57	1.96 $^{N.S.}$
Naturalized (vs. natives)	0.48	.44	2.73†	0.46	.46	2.94†	0.46	.46	2.82†	0.47	.52	2.16 $^{N.S.}$	0.43	.54	2.40 $^{N.S.}$
French speaking region															
German	1.56	.20	4.80***	1.50	.21	3.81†	1.35	.21	1.96 $^{N.S.}$	1.18	.24	0.48 $^{N.S.}$	1.18	.25	0.47 $^{N.S.}$
Italian	2.66	.24	17.06***	2.63	.24	16.03***	2.55	.24	14.87***	2.64	.27	13.09***	2.39	.28	9.83**
Income				0.98	.03	0.38 $^{N.S.}$	0.98	.03	0.41 $^{N.S.}$	0.99	.03	0.17 $^{N.S.}$	0.98	.03	0.33 $^{N.S.}$
Vulnerability (vs. no)				0.95	.21	0.05 $^{N.S.}$	1.00	.22	0.00 $^{N.S.}$	0.94	.24	0.07 $^{N.S.}$	0.88	.25	0.27 $^{N.S.}$
Obligatory education															
Apprenticeship				2.79	.39	6.78**	2.86	.40	7.05**	2.94	.44	5.93*	3.10	.46	6.02*
High school				1.99	.45	2.32 $^{N.S.}$	2.01	.45	2.40 $^{N.S.}$	2.80	.50	4.19*	3.38	.53	5.32*
University				1.36	.41	0.56 $^{N.S.}$	1.40	.41	0.69 $^{N.S.}$	2.27	.46	3.22†	2.74	.48	4.43*

Table 9 (continued from the previous page)

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3			Step 4			Step 5		
	Exp	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*	*Exp*	*SE*	*Wald*
Mixed household							0.66	.36	1.28	0.56	.41	$1.94^{N.S.}$	0.71	.41	$0.71^{N.S.}$
Percentage of foreigners							0.98	.01	$3.71^{\dagger}$	0.98	.01	4.31^{*}	0.98	.01	3.94^{*}
Political orientation										1.41	.06	36.40^{***}	1.27	.06	15.52^{***}
Pro-referendum party															
No party affiliation										2.44	.23	14.82^{***}	2.05	.24	8.92^{**}
Anti-referendum party										5.69	.24	51.66^{***}	4.10	.25	31.36^{***}
Openness													1.22	.07	7.88^{**}
Equality													1.34	.07	19.37^{***}
Model fit	$\chi^2(7) = 24.52$, $p = .001$ $R^2_{Negelkerke} = .04$			$\Delta\chi^2(5) = 30.44$, $p = .001$ $\Delta R^2_{Negelkerke} = .03$			$\Delta\chi^2(2) = 5.39$, $p = 0.07$ $\Delta R^2_{Negelkerke} = .02$			$\Delta\chi^2(3) = 145.06$, $p < .001$ $\Delta R^2_{Negelkerke} = .22$			$\Delta\chi^2(2) = 39.98$, $p < .001$ $\Delta R^2_{Negelkerke} = .05$		

Note: Meta-data are divided into five classes, and included at different step of the analysis. Socio-demographic variables were inserted first (Step 1), followed by socio-economic status (Step 2), opportunity for contact (Step 3), political affiliation (Step 4), and ideological orientations (Step 5). Wald test and related significance are reported for each predictor, together with exponential slopes and standard error. Model fit and increased Negelkerke R^2 are showed for each step separately at the end of the table. $^{N.S.}$ $p > .19$, † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

B. CHAPTER THREE

I. MAIN MEASURES

Attachment to the nation

To what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements?

I have the impression that…

1. …the applicant feels attached to Switzerland
2. …the applicant is happy to be part of the Swiss community
3. …the applicant is proud to belong to the Swiss community
4. … for the applicant to be Swiss is an important thing

Effort to integrate

To what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements?

I have the impression that…

1. …the applicant has worked hard to integrate into the Swiss community
2. …the applicant deserves to become a Swiss citizen
3. …the applicant has made efforts to become a member of the Swiss community
4. …for the applicant is motivated to become a member of the Swiss community

Application evaluations

---

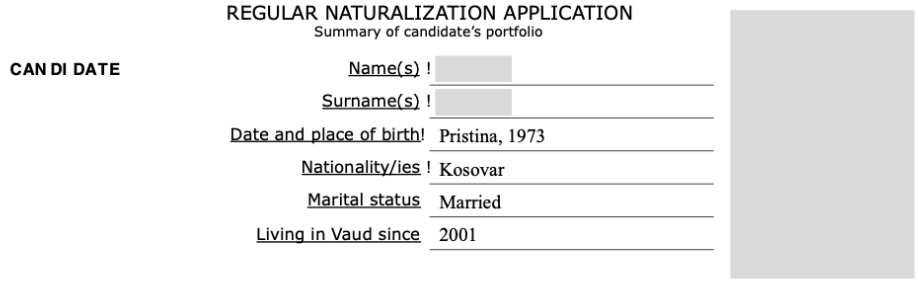
1. Do you think that the applicant is ready to become a Swiss citizen?
2. Do you think that the applicant has a suitable profile for obtaining Swiss citizenship?
3. Do you think that the naturalization office should accept the applicant's dossier as it is?

II. EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL

STUDY 1

Profile manipulation

Low heritage culture maintenance



REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s) !	
Surname(s) !	
Date and place of birth!	Pristina, 1973
Nationality/ies !	Kosovar
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

Mr , a Kosovar citizen born in 1973, has resided in Lausanne since March 2003. On September 8, 2015, he filed his application for naturalization with the Population Authorities of the city of Lausanne.

INVESTIGATION REPORT

The applicant obtained a score of 75% on the language test which corresponds to a B2 level, attesting to his ability to perform daily tasks and to hold a conversation in French. He has also demonstrated sufficient knowledge of Swiss institutions and history. Mr is therefore summoned for a naturalization hearing on July 18, 2016, with the municipal council.

COMMISSION REPORT

The interview focused mainly on the acclimatization of the applicant to Lausanne life. Since his arrival in Lausanne, Mr reports that he has never needed the support of the Kosovar community to adapt to Switzerland. In addition, he says French is the main language used in his household, so that his two children always feel at home. This is why the applicant claims to consider himself now more Swiss than Kosovar, explaining his desire to obtain the Swiss passport

High heritage culture maintenance

REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s) !	
Surname(s) !	
Date and place of birth!	Pristina, 1973
Nationality/ies !	Kosovar
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

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Norm manipulation

Assimilation norm

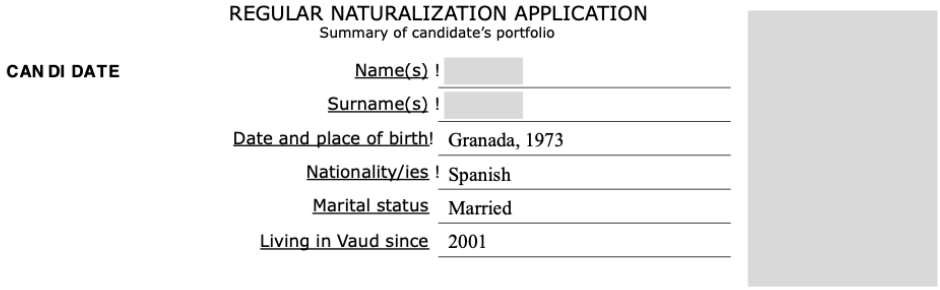
> **Cantonal regulations on naturalization**
> **Acquisition by decision of the competent authority**
>
> In the naturalization procedure, the municipality must examine whether the candidate is fit for naturalization, in particular if he meets the criteria provided for by federal law (see Article 14 of the Nationality Act).
>
> At the cantonal level, regulations encourage the applicant to demonstrate, through his behaviour, his attachment to Switzerland and his respect for its laws, while also adopting the Swiss way of life and customs.
>
> On June 21, 2016, the Cantonal Authorities announced upcoming changes in naturalization regulations and emphasized that the well-being of future generations derives from the ability of new citizens to maintain the cohesion of our country around its core values.

Multicultural norm

> **Cantonal regulations on naturalization**
> **Acquisition by decision of the competent authority**
>
> In the naturalization procedure, the municipality must examine whether the candidate is fit for naturalization, in particular if he meets the criteria provided for by federal law (see Article 14 of the Nationality Act).
>
> At the cantonal level, regulations encourage the applicant to demonstrate, through his behaviour, his attachment to Switzerland and his respect for its laws, while also preserving the way of life and the customs of his own country of origin.
>
> On June 21, 2016, the Cantonal Authorities announced upcoming changes in naturalization regulations and emphasized that the well-being of future generations derives from the ability of new citizens to promote pluralism around the different cultures that animate our country.

STUDY 2

Low maintenance (valued Spanish applicant in Switzerland)



REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s) !	
Surname(s) !	
Date and place of birth!	Granada, 1973
Nationality/ies !	Spanish
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

Mr , a Spanish citizen born in 1973, has resided in Lausanne since March 2003. On September 8, 2015, he filed his application for naturalization with the Population Authorities of the city of Lausanne.

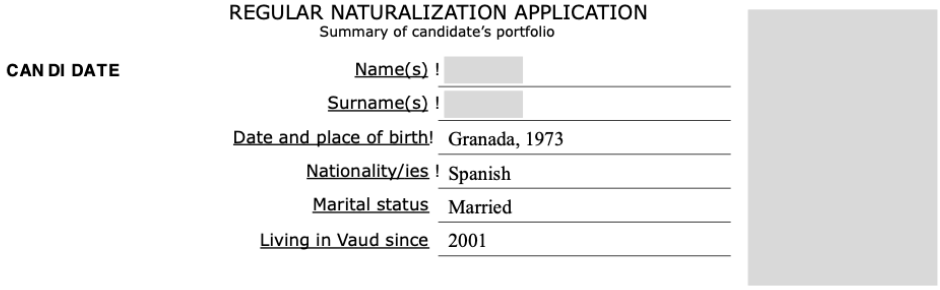
INVESTIGATION REPORT

The applicant obtained a score of 75% on the language test which corresponds to a B2 level, attesting to his ability to perform daily tasks and to hold a conversation in French. Mr spoke clearly and fluently, revealing no Spanish accent. He has also demonstrated sufficient knowledge of Swiss institutions and history. Mr is therefore summoned for a naturalization hearing on July 18, 2016, with the municipal council.

COMMISSION REPORT

The interview focused mainly on the acclimatization of the applicant. Since arriving in Switzerland, Mr has always lived with his family near the municipality of Lausanne. He says he speaks, reads and writes very little Spanish in the household, rarely encouraging his two children to express themselves, to read and to write in Spanish as well. In light of the information gathered, the commission will discuss the naturalization application of the candidate at the next municipal council meeting.

High maintenance (devalued Turkish applicant in Belgium)



REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s) !	
Surname(s) !	
Date and place of birth!	Granada, 1973
Nationality/ies !	Spanish
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

Mr , a Spanish citizen born in 1973, has resided in Lausanne since March 2003. On September 8, 2015, he filed his application for naturalization with the Population Authorities of the city of Lausanne.

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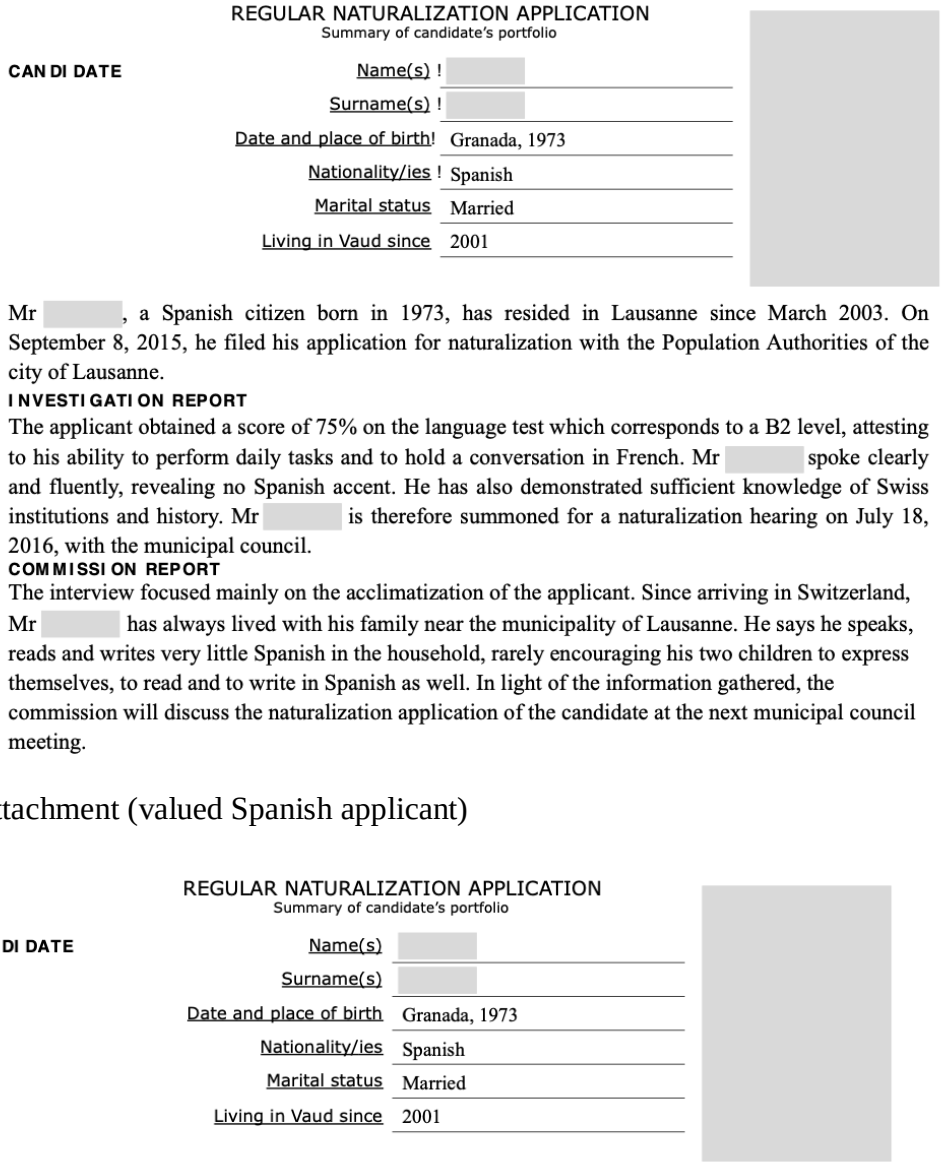
STUDY 3

High attachment (devalued Kosovar applicant)



REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s) !	
Surname(s) !	
Date and place of birth!	Granada, 1973
Nationality/ies !	Spanish
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

Mr , a Spanish citizen born in 1973, has resided in Lausanne since March 2003. On September 8, 2015, he filed his application for naturalization with the Population Authorities of the city of Lausanne.

INVESTIGATION REPORT

The applicant obtained a score of 75% on the language test which corresponds to a B2 level, attesting to his ability to perform daily tasks and to hold a conversation in French. Mr spoke clearly and fluently, revealing no Spanish accent. He has also demonstrated sufficient knowledge of Swiss institutions and history. Mr is therefore summoned for a naturalization hearing on July 18, 2016, with the municipal council.

COMMISSION REPORT

The interview focused mainly on the acclimatization of the applicant. Since arriving in Switzerland, Mr has always lived with his family near the municipality of Lausanne. He says he speaks, reads and writes very little Spanish in the household, rarely encouraging his two children to express themselves, to read and to write in Spanish as well. In light of the information gathered, the commission will discuss the naturalization application of the candidate at the next municipal council meeting.

Low attachment (valued Spanish applicant)

REGULAR NATURALIZATION APPLICATION
Summary of candidate's portfolio

CANDIDATE

Name(s)	
Surname(s)	
Date and place of birth	Granada, 1973
Nationality/ies	Spanish
Marital status	Married
Living in Vaud since	2001

Mr , a Spanish citizen born in 1973, has resided in Lausanne since March 2003. On September 8, 2015, he filed his application for naturalization with the Population Authorities of the city of Lausanne.

INVESTIGATION REPORT

The applicant obtained a score of 75% on the language test which corresponds to a B2 level, attesting to his ability to perform daily tasks and to hold a conversation in French. He has also demonstrated sufficient knowledge of Swiss institutions and history. Mr is therefore summoned for a naturalization hearing on July 18, 2016, with the municipal council.

COMMISSION REPORT

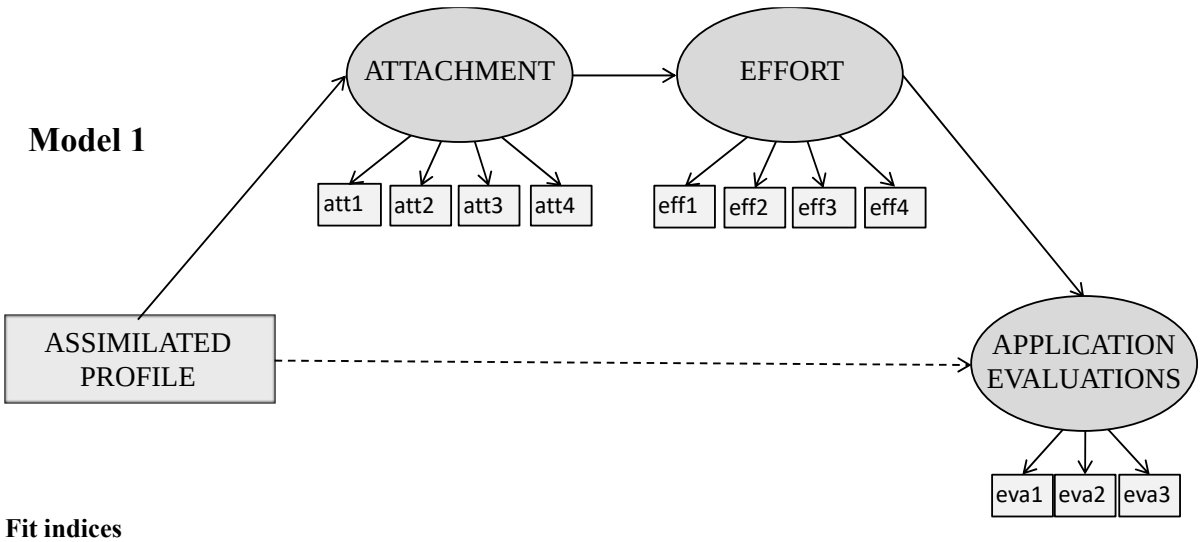
The interview focused mainly on the acclimatization of the applicant. Mr considers it important, for him, to obtain Swiss citizenship. His motivation to naturalize does not seem to come from feelings of affection towards the country. In general, the applicant is weakly attached to the Swiss community and seems to identify weakly with the country. In light of the information gathered, the commission will discuss the naturalization application of the candidate at the next municipal council meeting.

I. Comparison between parallel and serial mediation models

The analytic procedure implemented in Study 1 (see Figure 15) assumed that effort to integrate was a more proximal predictor of application evaluations than attachment to the nation. Results confirmed the hypothesis of a serial mediation. Indeed, when both attachment and effort were entered in the equation, only effort to integrate shared unique variance with the dependent variable (Hayes, 2018). That is to say, attachment to the nation predicted application evaluations only indirectly, through effort to integrate.

In order to clarify the causal relationship between attachment and effort, we conducted additional analyses using structural equation modeling. We compared parallel and serial mediation model fits, thus providing empirical evidence about the causal relationship between endogenous variables. Cut-off criteria of fit measures were derived from Hu and Bentler (1999). Differences between models were assessed using Chi-square statistics, changes in Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and Comparative Fit Index (CFI), as suggested by Vandenberg (2000). Model 1tested our predicted serial mediation, in which effort was explained by attachment. Model 2 tested the alternative parallel mediation, in which attachment and efforts are treated orthogonally. Model 3 tested the reversed serial mediation, in which attachment was explained by effort. Model 1 fit the data the best, suggesting that attachment preceded effort in the causal chain from heritage culture maintenance to application evaluations.

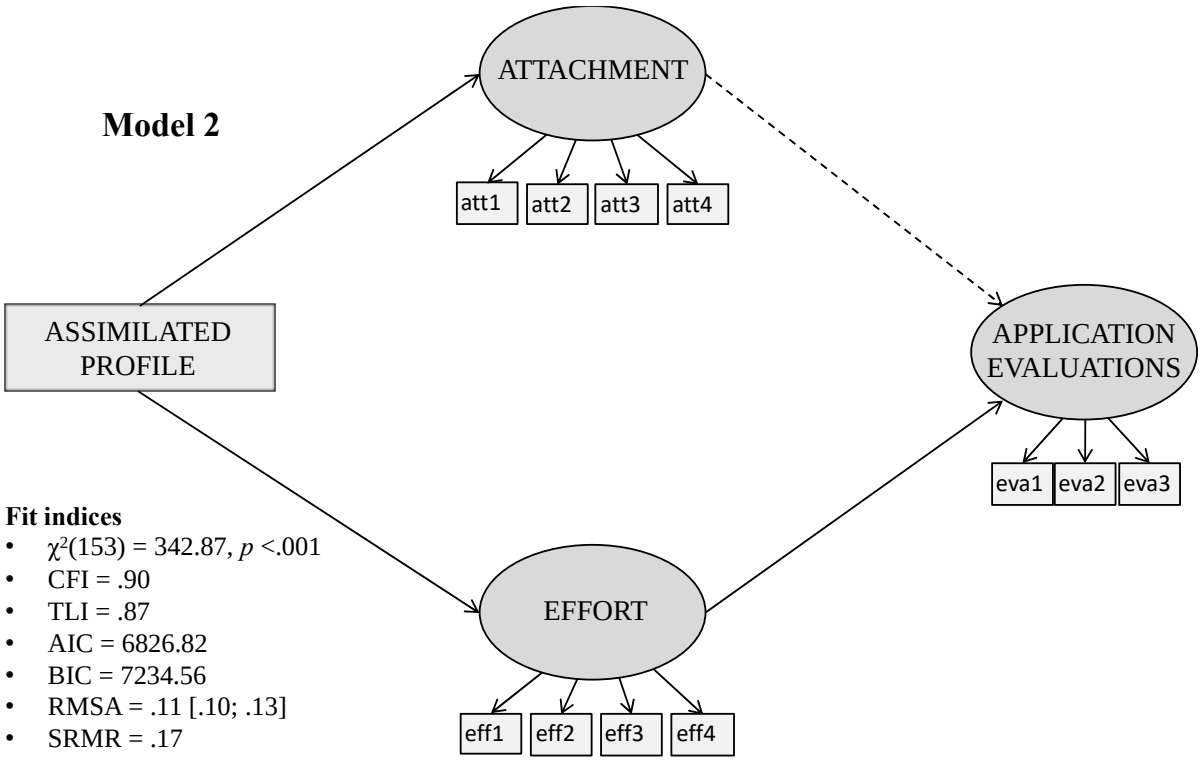
Serial mediation model



Fit indices

- $\chi^2(156) = 262.65$, $p < .001$
- CFI = .95
- TLI = .93
- AIC = 6740.61
- BIC = 7137.33
- RMSA = .08 [.07; .10]
- SRMR = .06

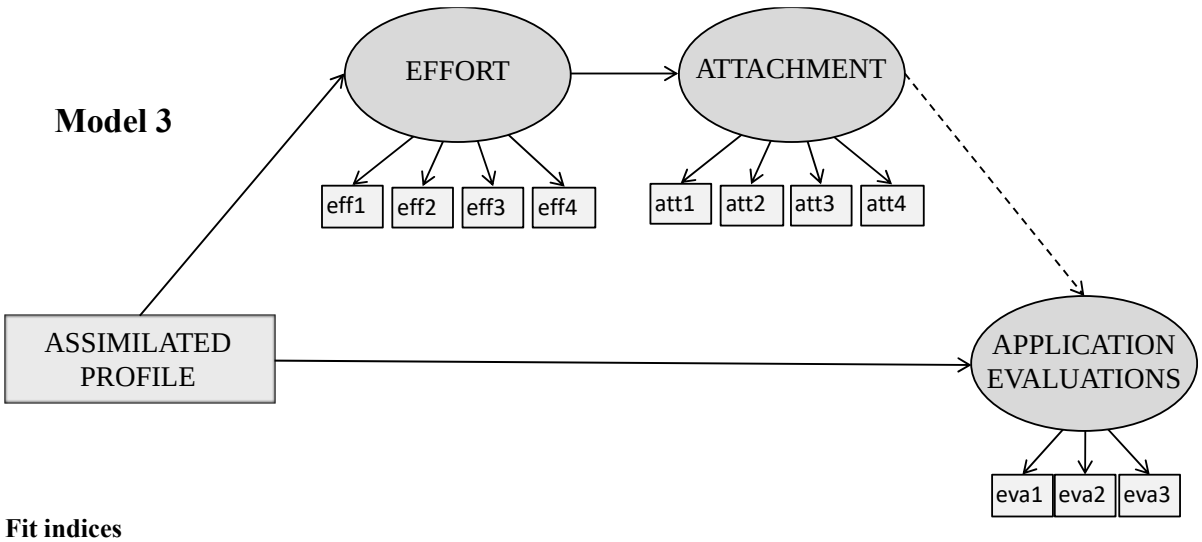
Parallel mediation model



Fit indices

- $\chi^2(153) = 342.87$, $p < .001$
- CFI = .90
- TLI = .87
- AIC = 6826.82
- BIC = 7234.56
- RMSA = .11 [.10; .13]
- SRMR = .17

Reversed serial mediation model



Fit indices

- $\chi^2(156) = 390.49$, $p < .001$
- CFI = .88
- TLI = .85
- AIC = 6868.45
- BIC = 7265.17
- RMSA = .12 [.11; .14]
- SRMR = .10

C. CHAPTER FOUR

II. MEAN MEASURES

Naturalization motives

We would like to know the main reasons that led you to naturalize. Below you will find a list of possible reasons that you can rate on a scale from 1 (Not very important) to 5 (Extremely important).

Instrumental motives[20]*:*

1. Decrease vulnerability due to temporary residence permit
2. Have easy access to the Swiss labor market
3. Be able to leave and return to Switzerland with less worries
4. Reduce bureaucracy and administrative procedures – removed

Political participation motives:

5. Have full access to political rights (right to vote and to be elected in cantonal and national elections)
6. Have a say in important decisions concerning Swiss society

Belongingness motives:

7. Feel truly Swiss
8. Be officially recognized as a Swiss citizen
9. Match feeling of being Swiss with the administrative status

Feelings of inclusion

Based on your own experience, to what extent do you personally agree or disagree with the following statements?

I have the impression that…

5. …most Swiss people consider me as a full-fledged compatriot
5. …most Swiss people treat me like a second-class citizen (R)
6. …most Swiss people have welcomed me warmly into their community
7. …most Swiss people do not fully recognize me as a citizen of this country (R)

20 Labels are indicated for facilitating the reading. No mention of the sub-scales was made in the questionnaire.

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN GROUPING VARIABLES

Table 10: Chi-square test for independence between origins and socio-economic status

		Education			Household income			European citizenship	
		Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Non-EU	EU
Household income	Low	91 (17.2%)	50 (9.4%)	41 (7.7%)					
	Medium	75 (14.2%)	47 (8.9%)	83 (15.7%)					
	High	16 (3.0%)	18 (3.4%)	109 (20.6%)					
Statistics		*χ^2 (4, N = 530) = 97.47, p < .001. V = .30*							
European citizenship	Non-Eu	54 (10.0%)	38 (7.1%)	67 (12.4%)	71 (13.3%)	54 (10.1%)	34 (6.4%)		
	EU	134 (24.9%)	77 (14.3%)	169 (31.4%)	115 (21.6%)	150 (28.1%)	109 (20.5%)		
Statistics		*χ^2 (2, N = 539) = 0.89, p = .64. V = .04*			*χ^2 (2, N = 533) = 9.79, p = .007. V =.14*				
Human development index	Low	53 (10.4%)	38 (7.4%)	62 (12.1%)	71 (14.1%)	52 (10.3%)	30 (6.0%)	147 (28.3%)	12 (2.3%)
	Medium	109 (21.3%)	46 (9.0%)	57 (11.2%)	79 (15.7)	96 (19.0%)	34 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	213 (41.0%)
	High	15 (2.9%)	26 (5.1%)	105 (20.5)	25 (5.0%)	44 (8.7%)	73 (14.5%)	10 (1.9%)	137 (26.4%)
Statistics		*χ^2 (4, N = 511) = 84.51, p < .001. V =.29*			*χ^2 (4, N = 504) = 67.55, p < .001. V = .26*			*χ^2 (2, N = 519) = 422.25, p = .64. V = .90*	

Note: Relations between categorical variables were estimated using a series of Pearson's chi-square tests. Headcounts and percentages are reported for each cell separately. Chi-square statistics and Cramer's V were used to assess the significance and strength of each association

III. Increasing levels of invariance in Multi-group CFA

By means of a series of Multi-group CFA, we tested both measurement (loadings and intercepts) and structural (latent variances and covariances) invariance between the configurational unconstrained model and alternative constrained models. Table 11 shows baseline and constrained models for origin (HDI and EU) subsamples. Table 12 shows baseline and constrained models for socio-economic status (household income and education) subsamples.

Table 11: Measurement and structural invariance for origins.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX

Baseline model: χ^2 (141) = 216.34, *p* <.001; CFI = .97; RMSA = .06, 90% CI [.04 ; .07], *p* = .25; SRMR = .06.

	Measurement invariance					**Structural invariance**			
	Δ χ^2 (df)	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*		*Δ χ^2 (df)*	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*
Metric (p)	13.43(14)	.49	- 73	.000	Variances	28.66(32)	.64	-170	.001
Scalar (p)	26.04(24)	.35	-123	- .001	Covariances (p)	38.99(42)	.60	-222	.001

EUROPEAN UNION

Baseline model: χ^2 (94) = 176.15, *p* <.001; CFI = .96; RMSA = .06, 90% CI [.04 ; .07], *p* = .15; SRMR = .05.

	Measurement invariance					**Structural invariance**			
	Δ χ^2 (df)	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*		*Δ χ^2 (df)*	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*
Metric	9.41(8)	.31	- 38	-.002	Variances	23.60(18)	.17	-87	-.003
Scalar (p)	17.12(14)	.25	-69	- .002	Covariances (p)	26.93(22)	.21	-109	-.003

Note: The baseline model is reported on top, followed by increasing levels of measurement and structural invariance. The ratio for both absolute and incremental fit indexes is reported. (p) = partial invariance.

Table 12: Measurement and structural invariance for socio-economic status.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Baseline model: χ^2 (141) = 236.71, *p* <.001; CFI = .96; RMSA = .06, 90% CI [.05 ; .08], *p* = .07; SRMR = .06.

	Measurement invariance					**Structural invariance**			
	Δ χ^2 (df)	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*		*Δ χ^2 (df)*	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*
Metric (p)	18.70(13)	.13	- 61	-.003	Variances (p)	35.07(27)	.14	-132	-.004
Scalar (p)	33.34(23)	.08	-110	- .005	Covariances (p)	39.25(35)	.29	-176	-.003

EDUCATION

Baseline model: χ^2 (141) = 249.21, *p* <.001; CFI = .95; RMSA = .06, 90% CI [.05 ; .08], *p* = .03; SRMR = .06.

	Measurement invariance					**Structural invariance**			
	Δ χ^2 (df)	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*		*Δ χ^2 (df)*	*p*	*ΔBIC*	*ΔCFI*
Metric	19.57(16)	.24	- 77	-.002	Variances (p)	42.85(34)	.14	-163	-.006
Scalar (p)	36.90(30)	.18	-149	- .004	Covariances	54.86(46)	.17	-224	-.007

Note: The baseline model is reported on top, followed by increasing levels of measurement and structural invariance. The ratio for both absolute and incremental fit indexes is reported. (p) = partial invariance.

D. CHAPTER FIVE

III. MEAN MEASURES

Acculturation expectations

We would like to hear your personal opinion about cultural diversity in Switzerland. In your opinion, in order to live in a harmonious society

Adoption expectations[21]*:*

1. Every foreign cultural community living in Switzerland should adopt Swiss customs and traditions
2. From an early age, children from every foreign cultural community should learn Swiss values
3. Members of every foreign cultural community should know Swiss history and traditions

Maintenance expectations:

1. Members of every foreign cultural community should maintain customs and traditions of their country of origin
2. Everyone should learn the history of foreign cultural communities living in Switzerland
3. Members of every foreign cultural community should promote history and traditions of their home country

Opinions towards immigration policies

To what extent do you personally agree with the following statements regarding immigration policies in Switzerland?

1. Regularization of immigrants who work irregularly (without a permit) should be facilitated
2. Switzerland should take stricter measures to expel immigrants whose residence permits in Switzerland have expired
3. In times of economic downturn, the arrival of new immigrants in Switzerland should be limited
4. Immigrants and Swiss should have the same political rights (right to vote and to be elected in cantonal and national elections) – removed

21 Labels are indicated for facilitating the reading. No mention of the sub-scales was made in the questionnaire.

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