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**How and Why Do Intentions to
Naturalize Evolve over Time?**

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How and Why Do Intentions to Naturalize Evolve over Time?

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Abstract

While much of the literature focuses on the factors influencing naturalization outcomes, far less studies have investigated the will to acquire new citizenship. However, unlike naturalization, which, once acquired, is a fixed status, intention is subject to change, evolve, or be translated into action. Thus, studying the evolution of naturalization intentions provides a first overview of the interest and renunciation factors involved in acquiring a new passport. With nearly 25% of its resident population not holding citizenship and having one of Western Europe's most restrictive nationality policies, Switzerland constitutes a relevant case for studying this phenomenon.

This article draws on Swiss panel data (N = 1274) to identify, through different logistic regression models, the drivers of 1) a change in personal preferences and 2) the realization of a stated intention to acquire a new citizenship. The results indicate that socioeconomic characteristics and intimate ties with the host society are associated with the realization of naturalization aspirations, while the country of origin and immigrants' relationships and experiences with the host society are important in explaining favorable changes of minds toward naturalization.

Keywords

Citizenship; naturalization intentions; naturalization decision-making process; Switzerland

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1 Introduction

Naturalization leads to a change in legal status that often comes with new rights, duties, and opportunities. However, how does one explain, at a given moment, the choice to become legally bound with the host society by applying for naturalization¹? Is it always a matter of choice or interest? Naturalization studies have traditionally focused on practices, often setting aside the will to acquire new citizenship (Barbiano di Belgiojoso & Ortensi, 2022; Steiner, 2019). Although practices or behaviors correspond to naturalization outcomes, intentions can be understood as a self-declared aspiration or interest in acquiring a new citizenship. The current article argues that addressing the issue of intentions and their evolution can improve our understanding of the decision-making process that leads to acquiring new citizenship. Moreover, unlike naturalization, which, once acquired, is a fixed status, intention is subject to change, evolve, or be translated into action. Therefore, confronting intentions with practices helps determine whether a selection effect underlies the naturalization process and if barriers obstruct the ability to naturalize. Although a growing body of research has linked intentions and (re)migration behavior (see, e.g., Landesmann & Mara, 2013; Monti & Mussino, 2021; van Dalen & Henkens, 2008; Wanner, 2021), neither the evolution nor realization of naturalization intentions has yet been explored. Hence, the present article contributes to the literature by connecting two branches of naturalization studies: those of practices and those of intentions.

This exploratory work looks at the evolution of naturalization intentions. More concretely, it tries to explain why migrants favoring naturalization realize their intentions by starting a procedure? In contrast, why migrants initially reluctant about naturalization change their minds? To this end, the present study examines the effect of both individual immigrants' socioeconomic (1) and origin country (2) characteristics, subjective experiences and personal ties with the host society (3) and experiences of changes in the life course (4), here with the aim of giving an overview of the interest and renunciation factors involved in acquiring a new passport. At a more general level, the present work also provides insights into foreigners' experiences and attitudes toward their host society, through the lens of naturalization intentions.

With nearly 25% of its resident population not holding citizenship and having one of the most restrictive nationality policies in Western Europe (Arrighi, 2017; MIPEX, 2020), Switzerland constitutes a relevant case for studying the naturalization phenomenon. Based on Swiss panel data, the present article has explored the changes from naturalization intentions to practices, as well as those in intention after four years, controlling for eligibility and the four groups of predictor factors. The population under study comprises first-generation immigrants who arrived in Switzerland after 2006 (Steiner & Wanner, 2019). Different implementations of logistic regressions allow for identifying the following: *What are the drivers of 1) a change in personal preferences and 2) the realization of the stated intention?*

¹ In the current study, the terms “host” or “destination” are used to indicate the country or society in which a migrant is established without being a legal citizen, while “origin” country refers to the country of nationality held (before naturalization in Switzerland, if this applies), not necessarily reflecting the country of birth.

2 Theory and Hypotheses: From Intentions to Behaviors

Naturalization intentions can be defined as “an immigrant’s perception of the desirability of a formal membership and identification with the destination country [...]. This intention can arise at any point in an immigrant’s life.” (Huddleston, 2020, p. 5). When studying (re)migration intentions, some migration scholars have emphasized the relevance of taking intentions into account because they constitute proxies for immigrants’ personal relationships with their residence country (Caron, 2019) and could also reflect attitudes toward the experience in the host society (Carling, 2014). Although intention studies have received particular attention among researchers on international migration, few empirical works have investigated immigrants’ interest in citizenship acquisition (Barbiano di Belgiojoso & Ortensi, 2022; Steiner, 2019) or the factors influencing each step in the process (Huddleston, 2020). Indeed, focusing only on citizenship status does not provide a broad picture of the naturalization phenomenon because those who changed their minds or were unable to complete the process are not incorporated into the statistics.

An additional interest in studying intentions is that they can evolve and change or be translated into action. Furthermore, linking intentions with behavior helps in understanding whether there is a selection effect behind the naturalization process. Indeed, if many people who wish to naturalize do not apply, barriers may obstruct their ability to acquire new citizenship. Initially, social psychology explored the relationship between intentions and behaviors. In particular, the *theory of reasoned action* proposed by Fishbein and Ajzen in 1975 aimed to predict behavior. According to this theory, “The immediate predictor (or determinant) of individuals’ behavior is their intention” (Maio et al., 2018, pp. 87-88). Based on this model, in 1991, Ajzen introduced the *theory of planned behavior*, arguing that “actions are also influenced by whether or not people feel they *can* perform the relevant behavior” (Maio et al., 2018, p. 89). Following these two theories, attitudes and subjective norms toward naturalization determine the intention to acquire new citizenship. Attitudes involve making a decision of favoring versus disfavoring naturalization, whereas subjective norms are related to the perceived social pressure to apply – or not – for naturalization. Naturalization behavior is influenced by whether people feel confident about their odds of success (Maio et al., 2018). Thus, by shedding light on changes and intention realization, the current article aims to investigate the following questions: *How do personal preferences toward naturalization evolve after a few years in the host society? What factors are associated with (in)consistencies with original stated intentions?*

Although a growing body of research has connected intention to behavior in the case of (re)migration, it has never been done in the field of naturalization (to the author's knowledge). Thus, the following section will first rely on migration studies. Then, it will briefly introduce and identify the discrepancies between the naturalization determinants of both intentions and practices, with a particular focus on the Swiss context. Finally, it will describe life events that may lead to a change of mind.

2.1 A Gap Between Intentions and Behaviors?

Migration studies have linked intentions and behaviors in two different ways. Some authors have investigated the predictive power of intention on migration (Creighton, 2013; Lackzko et al., 2017; Tjaden et al., 2019), while others have focused on the realization of intentions to emigrate (Landesmann & Mara, 2013) or remigrate (Flahaux, 2015; Monti & Mussino, 2021; for in Switzerland, see Wanner, 2021). In both cases and as in social psychology research, a similar issue is raised: Are intentions effectively translated into action? In this regard, most empirical findings have suggested that intentions correspond to future behaviors (Creighton, 2013; Lackzko et al., 2017; Landesmann & Mara, 2013; Tjaden et al., 2019; van Dalen & Henkens, 2008; Wanner, 2021). For instance, van Dalen and Henkens (2008) have observed an achievement rate of 24% within two years for plans regarding emigration intentions (for similar results in Switzerland, see Wanner, 2021). This rate can only increase because some of those who have not migrated are likely to migrate after the two years being examined. Therefore, given that emigrating has long-term consequences and needs time to be achieved, the authors estimate this rate to be quite high, concluding that “intentions are good predictors of future emigration behavior” (p. 19).

The time between the expression and realization of an intention can last several months or years. Hence, because a decision process takes time, aspirations tend to evolve (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011). Some factors may also interfere with goal pursuit, implying discrepancies between intentions and behavior. For instance, the time spent in the host country (Monti & Mussino, 2021), the situation of the origin country (Flahaux, 2015), economic resources, or the experience of unemployment (Czaika & Vothknecht, 2014) have all been found to affect the realization of migration aspirations. Sheeran and Webb (2016), who synthesize research in social psychology on the intention-behavior gap, conclude that “intentions get translated into action approximately one-half of the time” (p. 511). According to the authors, different elements facilitate achievement: “Intentions are more likely to be translated into action when respective behaviors are easier to perform” (p. 504). In the migration context, Carling (2002) also raises this issue, insisting on the distinction between aspiration and ability (see also Carling, 2014 or Carling & Schewel, 2018). The aspiration/ability model developed by the author conceptualizes the ability to migrate, that is, overcome the barriers that may occur during the process, as a precondition to turn aspirations into actual behavior (Carling, 2002; Carling, 2014). Transposed to naturalization decision, just because people wish to naturalize does not necessarily mean they can. Indeed, foreigners must often meet various criteria and may face multiple administrative and legislative obstacles before being eligible and able to acquire a new citizenship.

2.2 Naturalization Intentions and Practices

Generally speaking, the factors associated with naturalization behaviors are relatively similar to those for intentions, though some discrepancies can be observed in the literature. For instance, it appears that young women are usually more likely than men to naturalize (Zimmermann et al. 2009; Vink et al., 2013, for Switzerland: Loretan & Wanner, 2017). However, in the Swiss context, being a male immigrant increases the probability of intending to naturalize (Bennour, 2020; Steiner, 2019; for opposite results in the German case, see Zimmermann et al., 2009). Pecoraro (2012) assumes the abandonment or delay of naturalization by men, especially younger ones, to be caused by the military duties that come with Swiss citizenship. As for the effect of age at arrival, immigrating

when young may strengthen personal ties and the degree of integration into one's host society, which increases the likelihood to become a citizen (Peters et al., 2016) or desire to do so (Zimmermann et al. 2009).

Some studies have noted an effect of individuals' socioeconomic level and resources when it comes to naturalizations. For instance, a high degree of attainment favors both intention (Hochman, 2011; Zimmermann et al., 2009, in Switzerland: Bennour, 2020; Politi et al., 2021; Steiner, 2019) and host passport acquisition (Bevelander & Veenman, 2006; Chiswick & Miller, 2009; Zimmermann et al. 2009, in Switzerland: Pecoraro, 2012). People with higher education levels may be more able to overcome obstacles that occur during the naturalization process (Huddleston, 2020). Indeed, low levels of education are associated with limited access to citizenship, especially under restrictive institutional contexts (Vink et al., 2021, see also Jensen et al., 2021). For instance, after Denmark and the Netherlands introduced new requirements to acquire citizenship, Vink et al. (2021) find lower naturalization rates among people with lower education levels. Not only does education level matter, but the place of graduation is also critical: Zimmermann et al. (2009) show that having attended school in the host country increases the probability of planning naturalization in the future (see also Kahanec & Tosun, 2009). As suggested by the authors, this association could be due to a greater awareness – or at least a belief – of being more competitive in the labor market when holding the nationality of the host country. Regarding the income effect, naturalized immigrants have higher earnings levels (Bueker, 2005). However, income does not appear to be significant in explaining intentions (Steiner, 2019; Witte, 2014): it tends even to be negatively associated with naturalization intentions (Kahanec & Tosun, 2009; Massey & Akresh, 2006). Given the above, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: Individuals with high socioeconomic level and resources – measured through education, employment status, and income – are more likely of both becoming favorable or realizing a stated intention.

Every year, almost 40,000 foreigners acquire Swiss citizenship through a naturalization procedure. The responsibilities for granting citizenship are emblematic of Swiss federalism; they are divided between the communal, cantonal, and federal levels. Moreover, access to Swiss nationality through naturalization is among the most restrictive in Western Europe (Arrighi, 2017; MIPEX, 2020). Two types of acquisition modes are possible and differ mainly in terms of the length of stay required and depend on the personal situation of each candidate. Ordinary naturalization is the main mode; it is available to all individuals with foreign nationality (or stateless persons), living in Switzerland and holding a permanent residence permit (C permit). Since the 2018 reform², the required length of stay is ten years at the federal level and between two and five years at the cantonal level. In addition, candidates must achieve social integration, lack a criminal record and be financially independent (this includes not being on social assistance three years prior to application and not being subject to debt enforcement proceedings for the past five years). The other mode – facilitated naturalization – is aimed at the legal partner of a Swiss citizen who has lived in Switzerland for five

² The main modifications to apply for naturalization involve, among others, a reduction of the residence period from 12 to 10 years, a precision about the cantonal length of stay that can be ranged between 2 and 5 years, and the requirement to hold a permanent residence permit (C permit). The reform also defines more precisely the integration criteria necessary for granting naturalization; for instance, a level of oral and written language skills certified and no social assistance must have been received during the three years preceding the application (Probst et al., 2019). The 2018 reform tightened naturalization requirements, including more restrictive regulations in some cantons (Probst et al., 2019, p. 133).

years. More than providing easier access to nationality, being married to a citizen certainly increases the settlement probabilities and the desire to enjoy similar rights as citizens, which in turn increases the likelihood to naturalize (Dziadula, 2020; Helgertz and Bevelander, 2017; Huddleston, 2020; Peters et al., 2016). Therefore, it is not surprising that Swiss spouses are more inclined to want to acquire citizenship (Bennour, 2020).

When the criteria are met, naturalization becomes a concrete option, and immigrants are more likely to want to naturalize (Hochman, 2011). However, this effect does not last across time of residence in the host country; the longer the length of stay, the less willing an immigrant will be to naturalize (Zimmermann et al., 2009; for opposite results, see Politi et al., 2021). After years in the host country without possessing its nationality, immigrants may be accustomed to living without being citizen. In this sense, even if they once wished to acquire a new citizenship, as time goes by, naturalization could be felt as no longer necessary and generating costs considered too important (monetary or psychological). Conversely, recent immigrants may see citizenship as an opportunity for their future lives in the host country (Zimmermann et al., 2009).

Once Swiss citizenship has been acquired, it allows access to certain rights, such as voting or standing for election. Thus, it is not surprising that, when individuals are interested in the political life of the host country, they are more likely to want to naturalize in the future (Huddleston, 2020; Hochman, 2011; Kahanec & Tosun, 2009; Steiner, 2019; Witte, 2014). Moreover, because language proficiency is a prerequisite to access citizenship, speaking and understanding the local language also promotes both the interest (Huddleston, 2020) and the acquisition of citizenship (Pecoraro, 2012). Not only personal ties with the host society, but also immigrants' feelings or subjective experiences may impact naturalization. For instance, a study on Bulgarians' willingness to acquire German citizenship in Hamburg found perceived negative attitudes towards foreigners to increase naturalization interest (Kovacheva, 2021). The author assumed citizenship acquisition to be "a tool for crossing the boundary between foreigners and Germans" (p. 189). However, this particular case is an exception in the literature. In general, perceived hostile attitudes of natives (Kahanec & Tosun, 2009) or feeling discriminated against (Portes & Curtis, 1987; Steiner, 2019) are negatively associated with citizenship intention, even more if identified as being directly related to foreign origin (Hochman, 2011), or a specific ethnic group (Witte, 2014). Thus, the following associations are expected:

H2a: When immigrants have intimate ties with their host country, their likelihood of becoming favorable or realizing naturalization intention increases once becoming eligible.

H2b: Conversely, negative subjective experiences are associated with higher chances of becoming unfavorable or renounce acquiring citizenship.

Swiss migration policy toward third-country nationals (i.e. non EU/EFTA) is restrictive; entry, admission, and stay are highly regulated for those not holding an EU/EFTA passport. Thus, apart from political rights, acquiring a Swiss passport provides "administrative" rights such as the security to stay as long as desired or the ability to avoid visa issues. This explains why third-country nationals have a higher propensity for wishing (Steiner, 2019) or becoming a citizen (Dronkers & Vink, 2012), but also why motivations for wanting to acquire a new nationality vary by region of origin. With the use of data from the Swiss *Migration-Mobility Survey*, Politi et al. (2021) distinguish two types of motives underlying naturalization intentions: the symbolic one (political

participation and sense of belonging) and the instrumental one (simplification of administrative procedures, better professional opportunities, and freedom of movement). The authors observe greater symbolic motives behind the intentions of individuals originating from highly developed countries and greater instrumental motives for those coming from less developed countries. Thus, the interest in acquiring a new nationality also depends on the rights and opportunities associated with the original passport, which are unevenly distributed around the world (Kochenov & Lindeboom, 2017). For instance, by giving access to the free movement of persons within EU/EFTA member states, Swiss nationality also opens the door to new mobility rights for non-EU/EFTA nationals (Galeano et al., 2021; see also de Hoon et al., 2019 in the Netherlands). Because the benefits associated with acquiring Swiss citizenship are different depending on the passport held and because non-EU/EFTA nationals have to overcome the highest barriers to migrating to Switzerland, the following association is expected:

H3a: Third-country nationals are more likely to realize their stated intentions by entering a naturalization procedure.

Naturalization is traditionally explained by an individual cost-benefit calculation done before entering into the procedure (see, e.g., Yang, 1994 or Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1986). Following this approach, when the country of origin does not recognize dual citizenship and requires giving up the original passport to naturalize, the cost of acquiring new citizenship becomes higher. Therefore, for some, the emotional and symbolic attachment to the origin context is such that giving up the original citizenship is not an option, which constitutes a significant barrier to immigrant naturalization (Weinmann, 2022). In this regard, it is not surprising that immigrants from countries where dual citizenship is allowed show higher intentions to naturalize (Barbiano di Belgiojoso & Ortensi, 2022; Huddleston, 2020; Politi et al., 2021; Weinmann, 2022). However, the findings on naturalization practices are mixed. Some studies have found the recognition of dual citizenship increases the likelihood of holding host country citizenship (Alarian, 2017; Chiswick & Miller, 2009; Helgertz and Bevelander, 2017; Mazzolari, 2005; Peters et al., 2016), while others find the opposite relationship (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Yang, 1994). Considering the cost of giving up the original citizenship, the following is expected:

H3b: Those in favor of naturalization in the first place and originating from countries that do not recognize dual citizenship will be less likely to realize their initial intention.

2.3 How Can Changes in the Life Course Impact Naturalization?

Although a passport allows access to several additional rights, naturalization is generally linked to the intention to permanently stay (Diehl & Blohm, 2011; Weinmann, 2022) as well as with a feeling of attachment (Bennour, 2020; Weinmann, 2022) or belonging (Donnalaja & McAvay, 2022; Molina & Yalçinkaya, 2020) to the host country. Previous studies pointed out that naturalization decisions are not only made at the individual level; family ties also matter (Street, 2013). In particular, the presence of children in the household favors both the settlement in the host country (Monti & Mussino, 2021) and acquisition of new citizenship (Yang, 1994). However, having children not only implies a form of stability or even “rootedness” that increases the likelihood of naturalization (Bueker, 2006, p. 94), but also requires some life planning that may impact the

realization of a stated intention. In this regard, Monti and Mussino (2021) note that those with children actually achieved their initial intention of emigration.

When the motivations underlying immigration to the destination country are related to family projects, such as starting a family or having children, naturalization intentions increase (Portes & Curtis, 1987; Steiner, 2019). The effect of other family-related events, such as marriage, is more puzzling; although being married seems to influence citizenship acquisition (Paparusso, 2019; Vink et al., 2013), it is less clear whether marital status impacts naturalization intentions. Some studies find that being married increases the likelihood of wanting to acquire host country citizenship (Zimmermann et al., 2009), while others found no effect in this respect (Hochman, 2011) or even a negative association with naturalization interest (Kahanec & Tosun, 2009). Furthermore, the spouse characteristics also seems to play a significant role; according to Helgertz and Bevelander (2017), being married to foreign-born citizen increases the probability to naturalize (see also Street, 2013). Regarding the experience of a marital status change or childbirth, until now, no study has analyzed its potential impact on naturalization propensity. Moreover, besides family-related events, other events, such as occupational changes, may influence the decision-making process. Hence, considering that the transition from an intention to a naturalization application requires candidates to be proactive, and assuming that decisions can be impacted by unanticipated or anticipated events that occur in the life trajectory, the following is expected:

H4: Changes in marital status, number of children, or employment status are expected to impact the decision-making process to naturalize.

3 Data and Methodology

The present article is based on the *Migration-Mobility Survey* (MMS), a panel study conducted in Switzerland every two years since 2016 (Steiner & Wanner, 2019). Covering different topics, this survey is a rich source of data offering innovative research fields on migrants who arrived in Switzerland since 2006 and their relationships with the host society. To guarantee a better understanding of the questions and reduce non-response bias, the MMS is offered in six different languages (English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish).

The sample frame was drawn by the Swiss Federal Office using the Swiss Population Register. In 2016, of the 20,136 foreigners in the sample, 5,973 responded online or by phone. Among them, 70% agreed to be part of the panel. The response rate amounted to 37.2%, a slightly higher rate than expected for a survey targeting such a mobile population. In total, the MMS includes single answers and three panels: those who responded since 2016 constitute “panel1620”, whereas those who stopped answering in 2018 are “panel1618”, and those who started in 2018 form “panel1820”. In 2020, of the 7,393 respondents, 1,292 were panel1620 members and 1,990 panel1820 members. The survey is aimed at foreign-born individuals who arrived in Switzerland in 2006 or later, aged 18 years or older upon arrival and aged 24–64 years at the time of the survey. Therefore, only immigrants are included, not their direct descendants. Moreover, provisionally admitted persons (F), asylum seekers (N), and undocumented migrants were excluded from the sampling. In 2016, 11 groups of regions or countries were part of the sampling: EU/EFTA (Germany, Austria, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, and Portugal), North America, India, West Africa, and South America. A stratified random sampling strategy was applied, including stratification based on

nationality and the duration of residence to oversample recently arrived migrants (those with less than two years of residence).

In each of the three MMS waves, the respondents were asked about their intention to naturalize with the following question: “Do you intend to apply for Swiss nationality in the future?” The participants could choose from the following: 1 (“yes, certainly”), 2 (“yes, probably”), 3 (“no, probably not”), 4 (“no, certainly not”), 5 (“I don’t know yet”), 6 (“I have already applied for Swiss nationality”), and 7 (“I have already been naturalized”).³ For simplification purposes, the naturalization intention variable was recoded by grouping the categories “yes” (1–2), “no” (3–4), and “applied/naturalized” (6–7). Therefore, this variable contains three different modalities.

3.1 Analyzing the Evolution of Intention

To analyze the decision-making process to naturalize over sufficient time for realizing or changing an initial intention, the population under study comprises panel members who had completed all three waves of the MMS (panel1620). At the time of the first survey in 2016 (MMS16), most participants were not eligible to enter into an ordinary procedure. Hence, the 4-year period between MMS16 (T₀) and MMS20 (T₊₄) allows for observing the behavior of participants who became eligible within this time span.⁴ Excluded from the analyses are 18 participants who, in MMS16, held Swiss nationality or applied for it because they had already made their decision and, therefore, are no longer in the scope of the present study. In total, the final dataset contains 1,274 individuals.⁵

The analysis is divided into two parts. First, it describes the evolution of naturalization intentions by comparing the responses between T₀ and T₊₄. Two trends characterize the initial naturalization intention: those who answered “yes” are considered to be in favor of naturalization, while those whose answer was “no” or “do not know” are summarized as “reluctant”. Table 1 describes the possible evolutions from these two starting points.

Table 1 : Description of the Naturalization Intention and Possible Evolutions

		Intention in MMS20 (T ₊₄)		
		Yes	No / do not know	Applied / naturalized
Intention in MMS16 (T ₀)	Yes (in favor)	II	IV	I
	No / do not know (reluctant)	III	II	III

Because naturalization intention can take different directions, four types of evolution are selected for the analysis (see Table 1). The first category follows its plans and realizes it in T₊₄ either by applying for or obtaining Swiss citizenship (I). The second retains its original intention; that is, the

³ Note that “I have already been naturalized” was only proposed in MMS20.

⁴ For instance, while 6.9% of panel1618 was in a procedure or already acquired Swiss citizenship in MMS18, this was the case for 13.5% of panel1620 in MMS20. Because twice as many people entered into the process, panel1620 was more relevant to analyze.

⁵ Note that responses from panel1618 members (N=2011), as well as panel1820 (N=3146), have been used as a robustness check.

answers in 2016 and 2020 are similar (II). A change of mind describes the next two categories. The third comprises those who became favorable or even entered a procedure in T_{+4} but did not necessarily wish to do so in MMS16 (III). The last one includes those intending to naturalize in T_0 who became unfavorable afterwards (IV).

In the second part of the analysis, two sets of logistic regressions are computed. The first focuses on favorable individuals in T_0 eligible by T_{+4} . For these individuals, the next “logical” step should be to start a naturalization procedure. Therefore, a multinomial logistic regression allows for understanding why they kept their intention or became unfavorable. Based on a binomial logit regression, the second set of models targets those reluctant to naturalization in T_0 , highlighting what factors led them to adopt a more favorable intention.

3.2 Explanatory Variables and Sample Description

From the literature review, the explanatory variables are divided into 4 groups. All these variables were measured at the time of the 2016 survey⁶, except for those assessing changes in the life course. Immigrant's sociodemographic characteristics variables (1) contains respondents' (a) level of education: with 71% of the panel holding a tertiary education level, education attainment was quite high. The (b) employment status⁷ allows for the identification of those engaged in a remunerative activity (50%). A third variable assesses the (c) perceived financial well-being: 67% felt they could save money, 27% considered their income sufficient to cover their expenses, and 6% considered it insufficient.

Regarding the characteristics of the origin country (2), (d) area of origin differentiates “EU27/EFTA”⁸, “other OECD country,” and “non-OECD country” nationals. Given the intra-European mobility rights associated with EU/EFTA nationality, someone holding at least a member state passport is recorded as being a EU27/EFTA national. The high share of EU27/EFTA nationals in the population under study (59%) reflects restrictive Swiss migration policies toward third-country nationals. Additional information about the origin country are related to its citizenship policy. The (e) MACIMIDE index (Vink et al., 2015), as measured in 2016, indicates whether the origin country dual citizenship legislation provides for automatic loss of the origin country (40%) or not (60%).

The immigrants' subjective experiences, feelings, and personal ties with the host society (3) are measured through the following: (f) marriage to a Swiss citizen indicating if respondents can access to a facilitated naturalization procedure (13%), (g) language proficiency (dummy variable), in which those individuals who spoke and understood the local language composed the reference category (45%)⁹, (h) length of stay in Switzerland (mean=4.6 years, standard deviation=2.7), and (i) the presence of minor children in the household (47%). In addition, the (j) place of education shows

⁶ Note that, in a few cases, place of education was missing in 2016 but existed in 2018 or 2020. In this case, the missing values were retrieved and replaced by MMS18 or MMS20 information. Similarly, for individuals whose origin country was “other” or “unknown,” the information was retrieved from the Swiss population register (STATPOP).

⁷ Any respondent working full-time, part-time or in more than one part-time job was considered as being active in the labor market.

⁸ EU after the exit of the United Kingdom.

⁹ Were considered as having mastered one of the Swiss languages, those who responded that they understood most or all conversations and spoke somewhat or fluently the local language spoken in their municipality of residence.

that 92% of the respondents completed their highest educational qualification abroad (vs. 8% in Switzerland), which is not surprising given that the MMS targets immigrants arriving after 2006. Finally, the interest in (k) Swiss politics and (l) feeling of discrimination are binary variables with the modalities “yes” or “no.” Most respondents answered that they were interested in Swiss politics (77%) and did not experience situations of prejudice or discrimination over the past two years (66%).

A last set of variables allows addressing the MMS data’s dynamic framework by assessing whether individuals have experienced specific changes in their personal life (4) between MMS16 and MMS20. This group captures (m) childbirths (21%), (n) divorces (4%), (o) marriages (8%), and the (p) experience of unemployment (4%).

All models were run by using case-wise deletion, meaning that individuals with missing values in the covariates were removed from the analysis¹⁰. In addition, each model controls for gender and age at immigration. Moreover, all the above variables have been included in the models after checking for potential multicollinearity; no such problem was found ($VIF < 3.0$). In the case of multinomial regressions, this was approximated by running two separate logistic regressions from the model, as suggested by Begg and Gray (1984). Finally, the measure of interest obtained from these models is the odds ratio (OR), which represents the exponential value of coefficients computed by the models.

4 Results

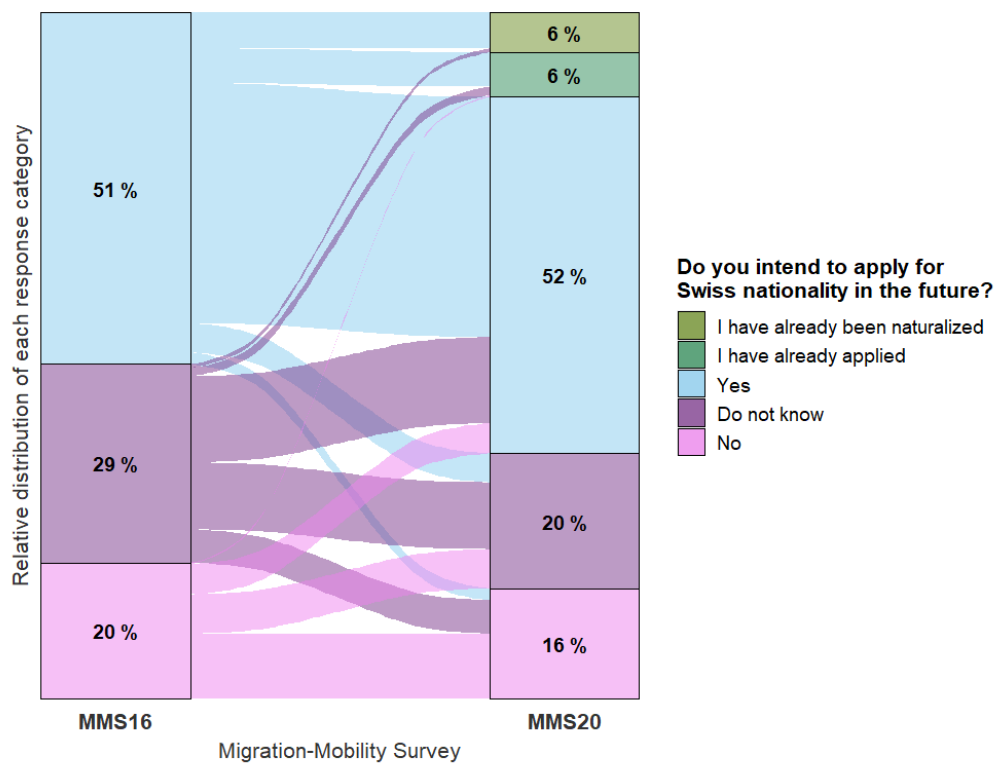
4.1 Descriptive Results

Figure 1 represents both the distribution and direction of the evolution of naturalization intentions. The height of the bars illustrates the distribution of naturalization intentions in both waves, while the flows represent the direction of intention.

The naturalization entry rate (combining those in the process and naturalized) amounted to 12% in MMS20. This rate was mainly triggered by respondents who initially wished to naturalize, hence making intention a good predictor of behavior. However, 68% of those intending to naturalize maintained their intention but did not start a naturalization process in 2020, hence underlining the relevance of analyzing those factors associated with the (non)realization of the initial intention (cf. next section). The four years between MMS16 and MMS20 not only allowed the respondents to realize a favorable intention, but also gave them time to build a clearer opinion on the possibility of naturalizing. Indeed, only one out of three respondents whose answer was “I do not know” in 2016 remained hesitant in 2020. Among these, those who changed their minds turned mainly in favor of naturalization in 2020.

¹⁰ 4 cases were removed due to non-response.

Figure 1: Descriptive Results of Naturalization Intentions Between 2016 and 2020



Source: Switzerland, MMS 2016–2020 (unweighted data), author's own calculation

Table 2 compares the responses for 2016 and 2020, demonstrating that most of the respondents were consistent with their initial intention; overall, 75% of the immigrants kept their initial intention or realized it by entering a naturalization process or by being naturalized.

Table 2: Descriptive Results of Intention Evolution

From MMS16 to MMS20	N	%
Kept their intention	825	64.7
- yes at T_0	446	35.0
- no/do not know at T_0	379	29.7
Realization:	131	10.3
- in process	64	5.0
- obtained Swiss citizenship	67	5.3
Change:	318	25
- in disfavor	76	6.0
- in favor	242	19.0
Total	1'274	100

Source: Switzerland, MMS 2016–2020 (unweighted data), author's own calculation

Although the changes in intention amounted to 25%, they were mainly related to favorable changes toward naturalization. Thus, descriptive analysis shows that the respondents were, broadly speaking, quite favorable toward naturalization, either by wishing to acquire Swiss nationality, by

being in a process, or already being naturalized. When this was not the case, they become favorable after a few years spent in Switzerland (Figure 1, Table 2).

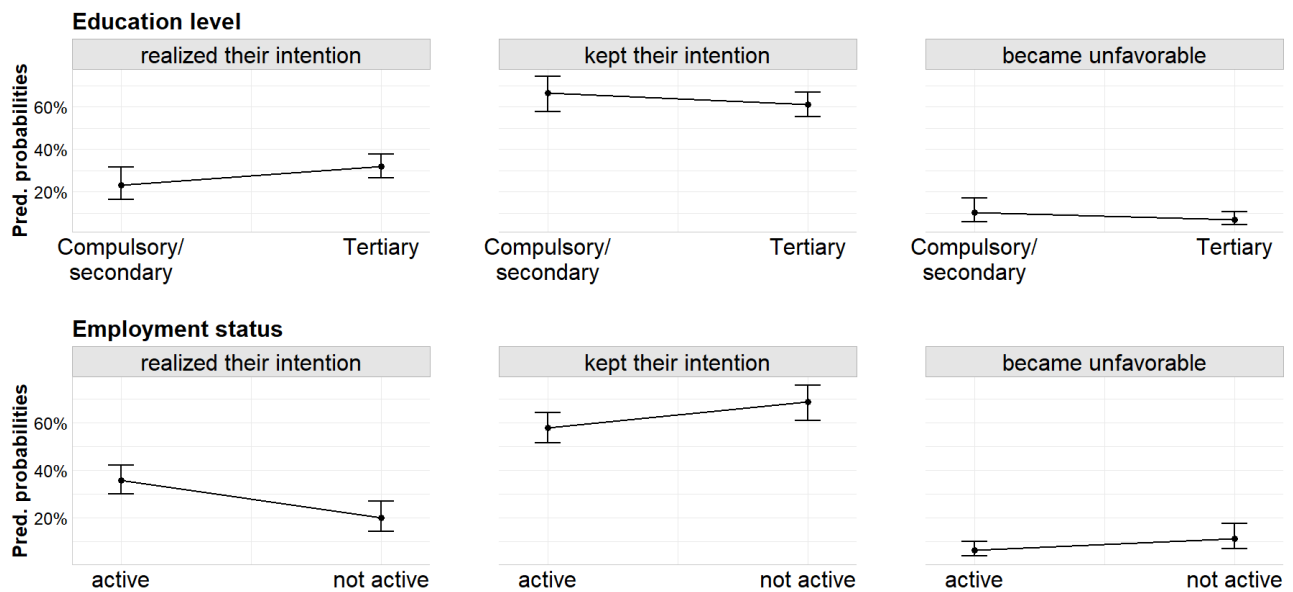
4.2 From Potential to Actual Citizen: What Makes Migrants (not) Realize their Intention to Naturalize?

To identify the factors associated with the realization of a stated naturalization intention, multinomial regression models were computed. Because those “at risk” of entering into a naturalization process (i.e., the potential candidates) were those meeting the legal criteria, the analysis was restricted to eligible respondents¹¹ by the time of MMS20 data collection who responded that they “intend to naturalize” in MMS16 (N=417). Among them, 30% started a procedure, with 9% becoming unfavorable and the rest sticking to their favorable intentions. Regarding the size of the sample and to ensure consistent estimates, each group of explanatory variables was included in separate models (see Appendix 1 for detailed results).

Model 1a tests the impact of individuals’ socioeconomic characteristics, showing their relevance in explaining that naturalization aspirations are realized. Indeed, the probability of starting a procedure is higher for immigrants holding tertiary education and who are active in the labor market (Figure 2, **H1**). In a context such as Switzerland, where access to nationality is restrictive (MIPEX, 2020), the results of Model 1a underline both the selective effect of education on access to nationality (Jensen et al., 2021; Vink et al., 2021) and the overwhelming obstacles that naturalization requirements constitute for some groups. According to Model 1a, the predicted probability of starting a procedure for those not active in the labor market is 19%, nearly half as much as those who were active (36%). In other words, the results indicate that non-gainfully employed people may struggle to translate their intention to naturalize into actual behavior. This is probably because of the legislation in force requiring candidates to be financially independent to apply for Swiss nationality. Therefore, the desire to naturalize is not always a question of will or aspiration, but it could also be related to the ability to access citizenship (Carling, 2002).

¹¹ Are considered as eligible, individuals married to a Swiss citizen because of the relaxed criteria for length of stay required, and those who had lived in Switzerland for at least five years as of 2016.

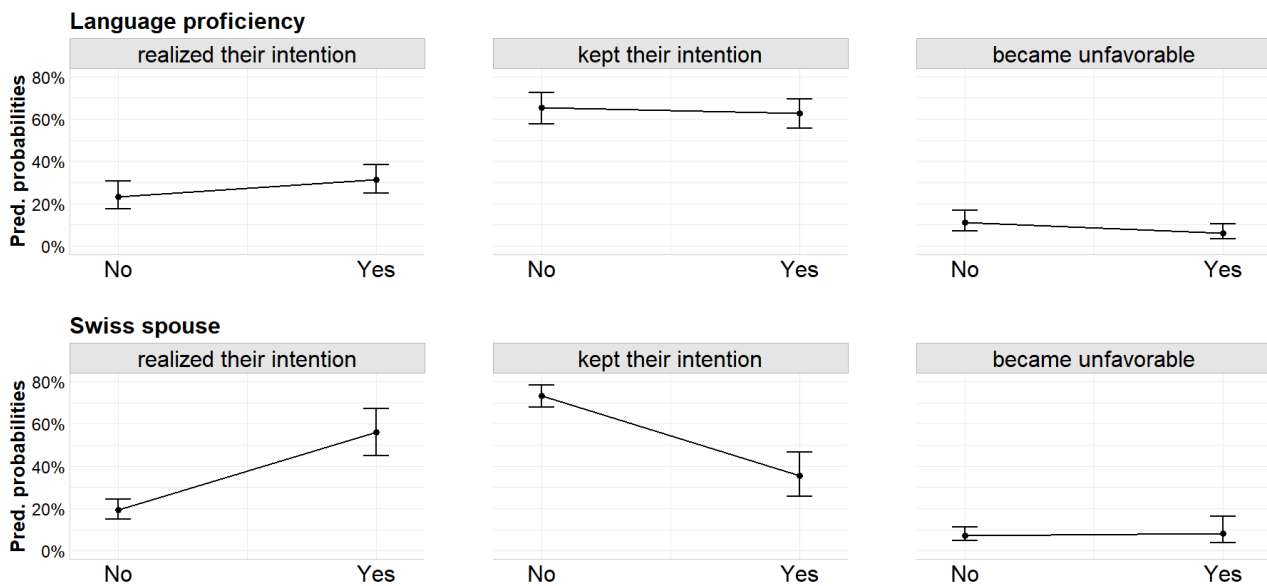
Figure 2: Model 1a, Multinomial Logistic Regression on the Association Between Individuals' Socioeconomic Characteristics and the Intention Realization Among Favorable and Eligible Individuals



Note: Control variables: age at arrival and gender. Predictor variables: education level, employment status, perceived financial well-being. N of observations: 414. Likelihood ratio test: χ^2 (df. 14) = 17.276, $p = 0.02736$. Source: Switzerland, MMS 2016–2020 (unweighted data).

Regarding immigrants' relationships with the host society, the impact of negative subjective experiences on the naturalization decision-making process is not established by the findings from Model 1c (**H2b**). As for personal ties with Switzerland, the results show three significant predictors of entry into a naturalization procedure (**H2a**). First, the time spent in Switzerland is significantly associated with the naturalization decision-making process, increasing the probability of realizing the stated intention. Second, language proficiency promotes the acquisition of Swiss citizenship by increasing the probability of initiating a procedure (Figure 3). Since the 2018 reform set the minimum language level to be attained, it is not surprising to find that it is also a precondition to enter into a procedure. However, given that almost half of those wishing to acquire Swiss citizenship in 2016 were not fluent in the language spoken in their municipality of residence, these findings also call into question the deterrent effect of setting such criteria. Third, Figure 3 shows that Swiss citizens' spouses were more likely to realize their favorable intention of 2016 and less likely to keep their intention. Access to a facilitated procedure – which is the case of Swiss citizens' spouses – halves the waiting period to become a citizen and, thus, may explain the higher probability of starting a procedure. This acquisition mode also comes with less personal investment because integration requirements, such as civic knowledge, are not necessarily requested. In addition, partner choice may reveal an intention to settle in the host society, at least in the medium term. To a lesser extent, becoming a Swiss citizen also provides the same political (i.e., participating in votes and elections) or mobility (e.g., visa exceptions for travel) rights as one's spouse.

Figure 3: Model 1c, Multinomial Logistic Regression on the Association Between Relationships with the Host Country and Intention Realization Among Favorable and Eligible Individuals



Note: Control variables: age at arrival and gender. Predictor variables: interest in Swiss politics, feeling of discrimination, place of education, presence of children in the household. N of observations: 414. Likelihood ratio test: χ^2 (df. 20) = 68.916, $p < 0.001$. Source: Switzerland, MMS 2016–2020 (unweighted data).

Regarding the characteristics of the origin country, neither the area of origin nor citizenship policies of the country of origin were found to have a significant overall effect on Model 1b (**H3a**, **H3b**). Because the current study covers the period 2016–2020, uncertainties surrounding Brexit may have spurred British nationals to acquire EU27/EFTA citizenship (see, e.g., Barwick, 2021; Sredanovic, 2020; Wood & Gilmartin, 2018). For this reason, an additional model was computed by considering stratified countries of origin, but this shows no significant trend for British nationals. Interestingly, Austrians were less likely to turn their initial intention into actual behavior, even if eligible. Austria does not permit its citizens to have multiple nationalities, hence leading to the automatic loss of Austrian citizenship in the case of naturalization¹². This finding suggests that, in some cases, dual citizenship provisions may impact the naturalization decision-making process. However, given the few Austrian nationals in the sample (N=23), this relationship would require further analysis.

When variables measuring changes in the life course are considered, neither the birth of a child nor a change in one's legal status or professional situation were found to significantly impact the naturalization decision-making process (Model 1d, **H4**). A possible explanation may be that such events are anticipated and do not induce a neat transition; instead, they have a medium- or long-term effect that cannot be assessed by a cross-sectional model. Furthermore, few changes occurred during the 4-year gap between the two waves of MMS studied, which may also explain the lack of significance of this group of variables.

Finally, all models controlled for the effect of gender and age at arrival. Although the timing of immigration does not appear to play a significant role, the results suggest that women are more likely to start a naturalization procedure once they were eligible.

¹² Information available on the website of the Austrian government:
https://www.oesterreich.gv.at/en/themen/leben_in_oesterreich/staatsbuergerschaft/Seite.260430.html

Robustness check

Additional analyses were conducted to confirm the robustness of these findings. First, in previous models, the dependent variable was recoded into three different modalities to assess the naturalization intention. To test the relevance of grouping the categories “no” and “I do not know”, as well as “yes, probably” and “yes, certainly”, an ordinal logistic regression model with all variables was run by distinguishing all categories. Second, the three waves of the MMS allowed for testing the robustness of the results by analyzing the evolution of naturalization intentions within a 2-year period (i.e., responses of panel1618 and panel1820). Because no significant associations were inconsistent with the factors explaining the realization of naturalization intentions, these complementary analyses largely confirm the results from the multinomial regression models. Therefore, the findings indicate that socioeconomic characteristics and intimate ties with the host society are associated with the naturalization decision-making process. More precisely, women living in Switzerland for several years, holding a tertiary education, being active in the labor market, married to a Swiss citizen, and speaking the local language have a higher propensity to translate their initial intention to naturalize into actual behavior.

4.3 What Makes Migrants Initially Reluctant About Naturalization Change their Minds and Favor it?

Although the first part of the analysis focused on those who were initially in favor of naturalization, the second part (see Appendix 2 for detailed results) concentrates on those reluctant to pursue naturalization, that is, those whose answer in MMS16 was “do not know” (N=369) or “do not intend” (N=252). Among them, 39% changed their minds after four years and answered that they “intend” (35%), “are in a [naturalization] procedure” (3%), or “acquired Swiss citizenship” (1%).

Even though, in the previous section, Model 1a showed that some individuals’ socioeconomic characteristics were associated with the realization of naturalization aspirations, this set of variables was found not to significantly lead to a more favorable intention (Model 2a, **H1**).

Regarding the macro characteristics of countries of origin, the original nationality was found to matter when explaining a shift toward a more favorable intention toward naturalization. Compared with EU27/EFTA nationals, nationals from non-OECD countries were 2.6 times more willing to naturalize (Model 2b, **H3a**). After living in Switzerland for a few years, immigrants from non-OECD countries may realize the advantages associated with the acquisition of Swiss citizenship. Indeed, apart from providing a security to stay in the host country or the right to participate in politics, acquiring a new passport also allows non-OECD nationals to address – at least partly – the unequal rights and opportunities associated with their original passports, such as mobility or facilitated movement without visa requirements (Kochenov & Lindeboom, 2017). In sum, when the results of both Models 1b and 2b are interpreted simultaneously, country of origin appears to explain changes in intention toward naturalization rather than actual entry into a process. In addition, the case of Austrian nationals is particularly interesting. The previous section showed that their favorable intentions were significantly less likely to turn into actual behavior. The replication of Model 2b when adding stratified countries of origin (see Appendix 3) indicates that the probability of adopting a favorable intention toward naturalization for Austrians was 12%, i.e. about three times less than for all other origin groups (Table 3). Hence, although the association between

dual citizenship recognition and a positive change in intention toward naturalization was not significant (**H3b**), the results still suggest that, in the case of Austria, dual citizenship provisions certainly lead to reluctance in acquiring a Swiss passport.

Table 3: Predicted Probability of Opting for a More Favorable Intention by Stratified Countries of Origin

	Probability (%)	95% CI	Total (N)
Germany	50	0.38, 0.61	76
Austria	12	0.07, 0.21	102
France	31	0.20, 0.45	52
Italy	38	0.26, 0.52	54
United Kingdom	36	0.26, 0.47	83
Spain and Portugal	41	0.32, 0.52	94
North America	38	0.26, 0.52	59
India	54	0.38, 0.69	42
West Africa	62	0.34, 0.84	14
South America	56	0.40, 0.71	44

Notes: Control variables: age at arrival, gender, naturalization intention in 2016. Predictor variables: stratified countries of origin. N of observations: 620. Likelihood ratio test: χ^2 (df. 7) = 15.902, p = 0.0012. Source: Switzerland, MMS 2016–2020 (unweighted data).

The findings on immigrants' personal ties with their host society show that the respondents interested in Swiss politics but reluctant to pursue naturalization in MMS16 were 60% more likely to favor naturalization in MMS20 (Model 2c). Previous studies have found that interest in host country politics is positively associated with naturalization intention (Hochman, 2011; Steiner, 2019). Analyzing the evolution of such intentions allows us to take a step forward; the results of Models 1c and 2c suggest that interest in the host country's politics has a greater impact on changing one's mind rather than on entry into a naturalization procedure (**H2a**). Another significant predictor of intention change is educational place; having attended school in Switzerland increases by 3.3 times the likelihood of favoring naturalization after four years (Model 2c). The respondents educated in Switzerland certainly developed greater familiarity with the Swiss system, which make them more aware of the naturalization criteria. This can lead to a change of mind when naturalization becomes possible. Moreover, according to Model 2c's findings, having children also significantly increases the likelihood of favoring naturalization.

One might have expected that experiences of prejudice or discrimination would strengthen negative opinions not only toward the host country in general, but also toward the possibility of acquiring citizenship therein. Surprisingly, Model 2c shows the opposite relationship (**H2b**): perceived discrimination increases the likelihood of adopting a more favorable intention toward naturalization. Holding the host country nationality guarantees foreigners a right to stay, protecting them against certain forms of exclusion (e.g., discrimination in hiring decisions, see Fibbi et al., 2003; Zschirnt, 2020), which is a need that can be accentuated when one already feels discriminated. However, this would explain why immigrants pursue naturalization rather than change their minds and favor it, something not established by both Models 1b and 2b results. Therefore, the relationship between perceived discrimination and naturalization merits further investigation.

Regarding the occurrence of a change in the life course, as in previous analyses, none of the events included in Model 2d significantly impacts the propensity to favor naturalization (**H4**).

Regarding the control variables, the probability of opting for a more favorable intention decreases with age at arrival, while gender has no significant effect. Moreover, as the descriptive analysis highlighted different steps in the decision-making process, the naturalization intention of 2016 was also controlled. The results show that, compared with those who “did not intend to naturalize” in 2016, those who “did not know” were 3.3 times more likely to have a favorable intention in 2020. Therefore, this suggests that indecision is more volatile than negative intentions toward naturalization.

Robustness check

As in the previous section, robustness checks were carried out. The findings suggest that the country of origin and immigrants’ relationships and experiences with the host society are important in explaining favorable changes of minds toward naturalization. Thus, the results confirm that aspirations of non-OECD nationals, those who arrived at young adulthood, are interested in Swiss politics, have been educated in Switzerland, are living with children, and have felt they were discriminated against are more likely to favor naturalization. In addition, indecision is effectively more likely than a negative intention to turn to favorable aspirations after a few years in the host country.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

The current study shed new light on the aspirations toward the acquisition of host country citizenship by identifying the factors that are associated with the naturalization decision-making process. The results have shown that one out of four interviewed immigrants changed their naturalization intentions within the period from 2016 to 2020, mainly to a more favorable one. This points out that, even in a country such as Switzerland, where access to nationality is relatively restrictive, immigrants’ aspirations toward naturalization are rather favorable. Moreover, tracking individuals at two points in time allows investigating whether stated naturalization intention turns into actual behavior and how changes of mind evolve. Considering that those naturalized or in the process in 2020 were mainly respondents wishing to acquire Swiss citizenship in 2016, naturalization intention seems to be a good proxy of behavior. Furthermore, the analyses also suggest that undecided intentions are more likely to shift in favor of naturalization compared with negative ones.

Being able to transform an intention into behavior is central in explaining and understanding why some realize their initial intention to naturalize while others do not. The current study has identified barriers that may obstruct the ability of individuals interested in naturalization to acquire a new nationality. For instance, holding a tertiary education, being active in the job market, or mastering the local language all were found to increase the likelihood of applying for Swiss citizenship. In contrast, those in the opposite situation will face more difficulties in starting the process. Thus, the results raise questions about the overwhelming obstacles that naturalization criteria constitute for some groups, especially those who are less educated. The findings also interrogate the deterrent effect of implementing some requirements such as language skills introduced by the Swiss

Citizenship Act reform in 2018. Indeed, previous studies conducted in Scandinavian countries have shown that the introduction of language requirements delayed the naturalization of immigrant groups with lower levels of education (Vink et al., 2021), even excluding them from citizenship (Jensen et al., 2021). Therefore, the introduction of new naturalization criteria opens new research avenues on the impact this reform may have had on the acquisition of Swiss citizenship.

Apart from the ability to apply for naturalization, the current study also has found that immigrants interested in naturalization were more likely to initiate a process when their stay was stable and they had strong personal ties with the host society; this was reflected by different factors associated with entry into a naturalization process, such as marriage with a Swiss citizen or the length of stay in the host country. These factors can certainly strengthen the settlement prospects and could reflect a willingness to stay in the medium/long term, which is usually associated with naturalization (Diehl & Blohm, 2011).

Interest in acquiring a new passport can sometimes result from a calculation based on the expected costs and benefits (Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1986; Yang, 1994) and the chances of success. This calculation is not frozen in time; it evolves over the stay in the host society and changes with experiences in the host society and individuals' interests and characteristics. For instance, the results of the current study suggest that those familiar with the Swiss system are more likely to change their minds in favor of naturalization. In particular, education in Switzerland and interest in politics are factors positively associated with the interest in naturalization. Switzerland's direct democracy implies that citizens vote on various issues several times a year. After some years in the host country, access to political participation rights may increase interest in naturalization or even become an incentive to acquire a new passport. Indeed, more than half of the MMS respondents in 2016 intended to naturalize because they wished to vote in national elections and get involved in their local communities. This was one of the most common reasons to explain the desire to acquire Swiss nationality in the future.

Previous studies have shown that bad experiences, such as perceived discrimination, negatively affect the intention to acquire citizenship (Hochman, 2011; Portes & Curtis, 1987; Steiner, 2019). Unexpectedly, the analyses have shown another trend: discrimination increased the likelihood of favoring naturalization after a few years. Further qualitative research would enrich the understanding of this association and lead to a more in-depth investigation into which circumstances acquiring a new passport may be seen as a response to an anticipated risk of discrimination or exclusion.

The benefits of acquiring a new nationality may be significant when the gap between the rights and opportunities associated with the original and host passports is large, which is often the case between Switzerland and non-OECD countries (Kochenov & Lindeboom, 2017). In this regard, the literature has shown that third-country nationals have a higher propensity for wanting to (Steiner, 2019) or becoming a citizen (Dronkers & Vink, 2012). The findings of the current study allow for taking a step forward; they indicate that where migrants come from is more important for understanding a shift in favor of naturalization than the actual entry into the process.

While contributing to the underexplored aspects of the naturalization decision-making process, some limitations must be considered when evaluating the results. First, it cannot be excluded that

immigrants among the more deeply “rooted” and integrated in Switzerland were more likely to respond to the survey (Wanner, 2021) and, therefore, were more favorable toward naturalization. Second, the MMS targeted immigrants arriving after 2006, which implies that they were not necessarily eligible to apply for naturalization. Eligibility for naturalization (ordinary and facilitated modes) was approximated by the length of stay in Switzerland and marriage to a Swiss citizen. However, these variables did not necessarily reflect all aspects of naturalization requirements, some of which were not measurable with the data available (e.g., years spent in the same municipality or canton). Third, the 4-year gap between the two waves of MMS may not be sufficient to provide a complete picture of the evolution of naturalization intentions over time.

Finally, these limitations notwithstanding, the current study was a first attempt to explore the process behind a naturalization decision. The follow-up of individuals over time allowed us to connect two branches of naturalization studies that traditionally focus either on behaviors or intentions. Based on rich survey data, the findings highlight different interests and renunciation factors related to different stages of the decision-making process, emphasizing the relevance of paying more attention to naturalization intentions and their evolution in future research.

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Constant	2.2	0.1***	3.7**	0.2*	2.1	0.1***	25.1***	0.8	1.8	0.04***	33.7***	1.3	9.2**	0.9	6.7**	0.7
	(1.2, 3.1)	(-1.5, 1.7)	(2.7, 4.8)	(-1.6, 2.0)	(1.1, 3.1)	(-1.6, 1.8)	(23.5, 26.7)	(-1.7, 3.3)	(0.8, 2.9)	(-1.9, 2.0)	(31.8, 35.6)	(-1.9, 4.5)	(7.1, 11.2)	(-2.3, 4.0)	(5.2, 8.2)	(-1.5, 2.9)
Observations	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	410	410	569	
Likelihood ratio test (with M1=0)			χ^2 (df 14) = 17.276, p=0.02736		χ^2 (df 12) = 7.1529, p=0.3069		χ^2 (df 20) = 68.916, p<0.001		χ^2 (df 14) = 6.3181, p=0.6116							
Akaike inf. crit. (AIC)	730.5		727.9		734.5		689.9		740.7		703.2		658.8		906.3	
Bayesian inf. crit. (BIC)	751.8		782.7		780.8		767.2		793.7		868.5		827.5		1071.4	

Note: odds ratio (confidence interval in parentheses)
 Significance level: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01
 Source: MMS (unweighted data)

Appendix 3: models with stratified countries

Multinomial regression		
<i>Intention evolution in T+4</i>		
<i>(ref. = "realized their intention")</i>		
	M1b bis	
Origin country characteristics		
Stratified countries (ref. = Germany)		
Austria	3.5*	9.6***
	(2.1, 4.9)	(7.9, 11.2)
France	1.5	0.9
	(0.7, 2.3)	(-0.7, 2.5)
Italy	2.1	1.6
	(1.2, 2.9)	(0.1, 3.0)
United Kingdom	3.9***	1.1
	(3.0, 4.9)	(-0.7, 3.0)
Spain and Portugal	1.6	2.2
	(0.6, 2.6)	(0.6, 3.7)
North America	1.3	0.9
	(0.5, 2.0)	(-0.6, 2.3)
India	2.7*	0.8
	(1.6, 3.7)	(-1.6, 3.1)
West Africa	1.9	2.6
	(0.9, 3.0)	(1.0, 4.1)
South America	2.1*	0.7
	(1.2, 2.9)	(-1.0, 2.5)
Constant	1.2	0.1***
	(0.1, 2.3)	(-1.9, 2.0)
Observation		414
Akaike inf. crit. (AIC)		736.9
Bayesian inf. crit. (BIC)		833.5

Note: odds ratio (confidence interval in parentheses)

Significance level: * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$

Source: MMS (unweighted data)

Logistic regression	
<i>Favorable intention in T+4</i>	
<i>(ref. = "kept their intention")</i>	
	M2b bis
Stratified countries (ref. = Germany)	
Austria	0.1***
	(-0.6, 0.9)
France	0.5**
	(-0.3, 1.2)
Italy	0.6
	(-0.1, 1.4)
United Kingdom	0.6*
	(-0.1, 1.2)
Spain and Portugal	0.7
	(0.1, 1.4)
North America	0.6
	(-0.1, 1.4)
India	1.2
	(0.4, 2.0)
West Africa	1.7
	(0.4, 2.9)
South America	1.3
	(0.5, 2.1)
Constant	2.5*
	(1.6, 3.5)
Observation	620
Akaike inf. crit. (AIC)	747.9
Bayesian inf. crit. (BIC)	805.4