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

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Abstract

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

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

Introduction

In Switzerland and other immigration countries, the foreign-born population was proven more geographically mobile than the native population, especially in the first years after arrival (Charton & Wanner, 2001; Lerch, 2012b). Critical transitions in the life course, such as getting married or divorced, having a child or entering full-time employment are among the most significant predictors of residential mobility (Feijten & Van Ham, 2007, 2010; Jang, Casterline, & Snyder, 2014; Kulu, 2008; Michielin & Mulder, 2008; Morris 2017; Warner & Sharp, 2016). However, despite the ubiquitous focus placed on the life course framework to analyse internal migration patterns for native populations, life course literature has paid little attention to international migrants' relocation (De Jong & Graefe, 2008). Research tends to emphasise human and social capital or economic factors as primary determinants of mobility following immigration into the host country (Reher &

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Silvestre, 2009). Besides these key determinants, relevant explanations for increased mobility of recently arrived immigrants include the joint age-profile of international migration and other life events tied to residential mobility (life cycle); the synchronization of events around the migration project (e.g. family reunification or labour migration); and the need for housing and employment adjustment following a major relocation. More importantly, international migrants are a selected population of movers who may have latent propensity to initiate repeated migration.

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

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

This paper contributes to the existing literature in two ways. First, we adopt a life course approach to expand previous findings regarding the determinants of foreign-born internal migration and residential mobility. We address the influence of childbirth, marriage, and professional

transitions on residential behaviours following immigration — a major turning point in the life course. Most international migrations occur in the individuals' twenties, a critical stage for other age-related transitions in the life course. As pointed out by Clark (2013) there may have been an overly strong emphasis on age and family status in the residential mobility models. According to Clark, these components are merely acting as proxies for life course events, which occur in the aging process. This focus is even more obvious for immigrants, whose mobility is mostly conceives within the human capital framework, i.e. with a focus on age rather than on life course transitions. By focusing on the first settlement years of young adults, we consider three important (cumulative and overlapping) predictors of mobility: age, the time since immigration and life events tied to the transition to adulthood. Second, we provide insights into the selective nature of internal migration by considering the role of the migration history and that of latent characteristics (i.e. the individual variance in the propensity to migrate) to explain the linkages between long- and short-distance mobility sequences.

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

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

Rossi (1955) has long argued that changes in family composition alter the need and satisfaction regarding one's housing and living environment. In this respect, residential mobility is a response to the disequilibrium created by a shift in the family composition, driving decisions about where and when to move. Recent studies challenge this unidirectional perspective and rather emphasise the interdependency between mobility and family dynamics (Mulder, 2013; Wagner & Mulder, 2015). Indeed, methodological innovations over the last forty years allow for a more comprehensive approach to spatial mobility and the life course. Courgeau's (1990) pioneer work addresses the effects of pre- and post-migration events and shows how family, migration and professional trajectories are interdependent. On the one hand, migration is tied to meaningful transitions or stages in the life course such as completing a degree, buying a home, getting married or divorced, retiring, etc. On the other hand, residential transitions (for instance, rural to urban migration) change the context for family- and employment-related decision-making (Courgeau, 1990). In a far-reaching study on the connection between migration and marriage, Mulder and Wagner (1993) squarely address the respective roles of events and status. By considering a time interval around marriage, they allowed time ordering (the sequence of marriage and migration) to differ from causal ordering and concluded that the transition (the shift from one status to another) has much more influence than the status in itself. More recently, Clark and Withers (2009) looked at the synchronicity of fertility, labour force participation and mobility behaviours. They constructed windows of observation surrounding these events (from six months prior to the event until 18 months after) and analysed conditional outcomes — the occurrence of mobility conditional on fertility, and fertility

conditional on mobility. The results show that fertility involves mobility (37% of the time) more often than mobility involves fertility (4.5% of the time) (Clark & Withers, 2009). Warner and Sharp (2016) identify a temporality in the effect of life events on mobility across time by considering three measurements: a short-term effect, an average long-term effect, and the "grow or decay over time in the average long-term effect". They contend the transition to adulthood triggers mobility in the short-term, but results in long-term residential stability. While some events — such as access to homeownership — are directly stabilising, others — like marriage — maintain the likelihood of mobility above the average and only stabilise progressively over time (Warner & Sharp, 2016).

Other empirical research supports a short-term effect of childbirth (or pregnancy) on residential mobility and a long-term stabilising effect for households with school-age children (Kulu, 2008; Michielin & Mulder, 2008). Kulu and Steele (2013) further our understanding of the interrelationship between childbearing decisions and housing transitions. Using Finish register data and multilevel event history models, they simultaneously estimate the hazard of the two events. They find a positive effect of fertility on mobility and vice versa, with common latent characteristics which simultaneously drive fertility and mobility behaviours. In other words, women who are more prone to have a child are also more inclined to migrate. Moreover, researchers have acknowledged substantial differences in fertility behaviours between native and foreign-born populations, particularly in the first years following immigration. For instance, Andersson (2004), Milewski (2007), and Mussino and Strozza (2012) find higher birth rates among recently arrived immigrants than their native counterparts in Sweden, Germany, and Italy respectively. Guarin and Bernardi (2015) show, in the case of Switzerland, that immigrants become parents earlier and more often than natives. However, no previous research has investigated if international migration alters the reciprocal links between fertility and residential relocation in the first settlement years. Re-migrating shortly after arrival might be challenging, especially in Switzerland's tight housing market. It is likely that future parents will tend to accommodate with the first location until they acquire enough country-specific human capital and economic resources to facilitate relocation. In a different mechanism, individuals who anticipate having a new born child the first year might settle in larger dwellings from the beginning. De Jong and Graefe (2008) confirm a positive association between childbirth and interstate migration among the foreign-born population in the US, although the authors do not specifically address the case of recent immigrants, nor do they consider short-distance relocations.

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

Employment transition is yet another factor closely tied to spatial outcomes. The intersection of the two events either occurs following a job acquisition in another region, or in a reverse process, in anticipation of more favourable employment opportunities at destination. In a recent contribution, Kim (2014) shows that transitions in employment have a large positive impact on residential

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

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

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

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

the linkages between mobility events beginning with long-distance relocations, it provides less clarity for mobility sequences starting with short-distance moves (Clark & Whiters, 2008).

An alternative hypothesis for repeated migration behaviours (for both short and long distance) goes as far back as to Goodman's (1976, 1982) frequent-mover hypothesis. He qualifies mobile-prone individuals as "individuals whose mobility history, life cycle stage, and other demographic characteristics are associated with high mobility propensity" (Goodman, 1982, p. 209). In a study conducted in Spain, Silvestre and Reher (2014) compare the characteristics of one-time movers with that of multiple-time movers. They find that repeat movers are more likely to be young, male, highly educated, unemployed and renters. As these situational factors change slowly over time, the factors which previously triggered mobility are likely to operate again and generate repeated moves (Gordon & Molho, 1995). Another way to conceptualize this hypothesis operates through the assumption that some individuals have an unobserved and permanent pre-disposition to 'mover' or 'stayer' behaviours (Blumen, 1955). Following this view, international migrants are a selective group of either movers or multiple movers, with specific latent attributes (e.g. less attached to a specific location, willing to take risks) which make them more inclined to relocate. However, as pointed out by Spilerman (1972), instead of postulating homogeneous sub-groups of movers and stayers, the models should integrate a continuous range of individual heterogeneity in the rates of movement. In the next section, we explain how we use this strategy in order to capture latent mobility behaviours. It is worth noting that the frequent-mover and housing adjustment hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, as the latter explains part of the former. Clark and Huang (2004) support this claim in their studies on the linkages of long- and short-distance moves in the UK. However, they find the frequent-mover hypothesis to better conceptualise the connection between these two forms of mobility. Their results demonstrate not only that households which migrate are more mobile the subsequent year (adjustment), but also that households following this classic adjustment pattern are far from settling down (frequent-mover).

Analytical strategy

Data

The data comes from the biographical component of the Swiss Household Panel survey. It contains a collection of event histories from a representative sample of 6088 individuals who joined the panel in 2013. All transitions which pertain to family (marriage, divorce, childbirth), employment (transition in and out of full-time or part-time employment) and residential trajectories (residential changes within and between cantons) are reported on a life calendar. The selection of cases is based on two criteria. First, we restrain the dataset to young immigrants — those who have immigrated in Switzerland between ages 18 and 34. This allows us to focus on triggers tied to the transition to adulthood. Second, given our interest in the international migration as a turning point in the life course, we only consider the experience of the first years after arrival: we restrict the length of observation to the first six years of residence. In order to avoid duplicated cases, we remove household members who share the same residential trajectory. We also exclude trajectories that count at least one residential episode outside of Switzerland. Overall, 623 individuals fulfil these requirements. The main limitation of this study lies in a rather small sample and potential lack of statistical power (type II error). Fortunately, transitions are very common among the targeted population of young immigrants, with the least frequent event – migration between cantons – being experimented by more than 150 individuals (25% of the sample) and other events by more than half

of immigrants in the sample (Table 1). Nevertheless, this limitation should be kept in mind while interpreting the results.

Modelling strategy

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

We organise the data file in a long format (i.e. person-year) allowing for repeated events of residential relocation. Individuals are at risk set of changing residence from their arrival to Switzerland to a first mobility, or from the previous movement to any new relocation. In order to model the relative risk of experiencing internal migrations, we first perform two separate binomial logistic models for discrete time data, one for long-distance migration, and another for short-distance residential mobility. Second, in order to control for time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity linked to mobility behaviours, we take advantage of the repeated nature of migration, and move to a multilevel setting. As the episodes of mobility are clustered within individuals (Davies, 1993; Kulu 2008), an individual random effect has been included in both long and short distance models. Given that logistic models are nested within multilevel logistic models, we compare the effect of one migration on another, before and after consideration for unobserved determinants of migration, with a likelihood ratio test and the Akaike information criterion (AIC). This allows for an analysis of the connected nature of mobility events by disentangling a short-term adjustment migratory sequence (the effect of one migration on another) from repeated migration made by a hypermobile segment of the population (see hypotheses 2 and 3 below).

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

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

included: the time since immigration to Switzerland (in years), and the number of migration before arriving to Switzerland.

The role of human capital, social capital and economic factors on migration decisions are not the focus of this study. However, to avoid confusion and isolate individual life course effects, we control for a set of covariates that are known to trigger residential mobility. We include demographic characteristics such as gender, age at immigration to Switzerland, and birthplace. The literature shows that foreign-born men are more internally mobile than comparative women (Nogle, 1994; Silvestre & Reher, 2014). Given the different patterns related to family and employment transitions around international migration, interactions between gender and other covariates have been tested. We find no statistical support for conducting separate analyses for men and women. Given that the economic return of migration reduces with age, the relation should be negative. A recent study also notes that international migrants to Switzerland experience a differentiated access to the housing market based on the country of origin (Raumadaten GmbH, 2013). Based on a geographic partition which reflects historical migration flows to Switzerland, we distinguish four regions of origin in order to account for a potential origin effect in housing opportunities and behaviours: Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, and all other world regions grouped together. Additionally, we include the level of education separated in three categories: secondary I, secondary II and tertiary education. Highly educated individuals are more likely to undertake internal migration, given that they are part of a broader labour market with more job opportunities and better chance for positive economic return at destination (Ishikawa & Liaw, 2009).

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

Working hypotheses

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

H1) The role of life events: Transitions in the life course have differentiated effects on the distance of relocations. We expect family events to mainly influence residential mobility within cantons (short-distance) and professional events to primarily impact residential mobility between cantons (long-distance).

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

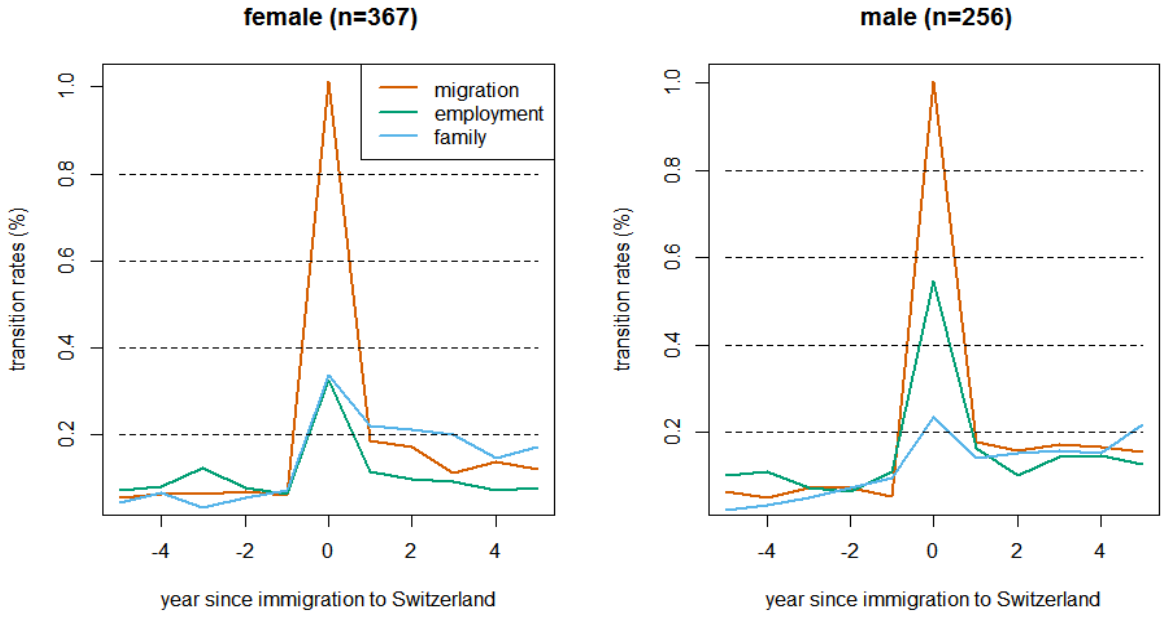
H3) The frequent-mover hypothesis: Repeated migration results from a selected segment of the population with high mobility propensity, rather than a real linkage between mobility events. We test this hypothesis using two indicators of long-term behaviours of increased mobility. First, we expect a positive association between the number of migration prior to arrival in Switzerland and the odds of relocation within Switzerland, both within and between cantons. Second, we capture

time-invariant heterogeneity in migration behaviours using an individual random effect on the propensity to migrate. To do so, we compare the effect of a migration on another in the logistic and multilevel logistic frameworks. We expect a reduced effect of a migration on another (i.e. the effect of relocation at *t-1* on the odds of relocation at *t0*) after taking into account individual unobserved propensity of mobility in the multilevel model.

Descriptive findings

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

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



Source: Swiss Household Panel survey

Table 1 provides the attributes of the sample and sub-samples of stayers, short-distance movers and long-distance movers. Short-distance movers include individuals who have moved only within cantons. Long-distance movers consist of those who have migrated at least once between cantons, regardless of whether they have also moved within cantons or not. Overall, respondents have

mentioned 314 residential changes within cantons and 156 relocations between cantons during the first six years in Switzerland. Half of the respondents did not move, 30% moved exclusively within the canton of first settlement, and 20% changed cantons of residence at least once.

The chi-squared independent measure tests the difference in the distribution of the independent variables between sub-samples. There are no differences in the repartition of socio-demographic characteristics across sub-samples. However, differences appear for the number of family events and employment transitions experienced in each cluster. There is an increased number of childbirths among short-distance movers ($p<0.05$): on average, seven individuals out of ten who moved within a canton had a child (207 births for 310 migrants), compared with two thirds for stayers and one half for long-distance movers. By contrast, marriage occurs evenly across migration categories. Coherently with the theoretical framework, long-distance movers are more likely to experience transitions in employment ($p<0,001$): they entered a new employment 1.3 times on average, compared with 1.04 and 0.78 for short-distance movers and stayers respectively.

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

	Sample (n=623)		**Stayer** (n=310)		**Migration(s) within canton** (n=188)		**Migration(s) between cantons** (n=125)		**Chi-squared test †**
	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	n	mean	p-value
Sex									0,420
Men	256	0,41	130	0,42	81	0,43	45	0,36	
Women	367	0,59	180	0,58	107	0,57	80	0,64	
Age at arrival									0,950
18-24	322	0,52	162	0,52	99	0,53	61	0,49	
25-29	178	0,29	86	0,28	53	0,28	39	0,31	
30 and more	123	0,20	62	0,20	36	0,19	25	0,20	
Marital status at arrival									0,310
Married	108	0,17	53	0,17	38	0,20	17	0,14	
Not Married	515	0,83	257	0,83	150	0,80	108	0,86	
Number of children at arrival									0,540
Childless	505	0,81	252	0,81	148	0,79	105	0,84	
1	69	0,11	34	0,11	24	0,13	11	0,09	
2+	49	0,08	24	0,08	16	0,09	9	0,07	
Country of birth									0,072
Western Europe	205	0,33	90	0,29	64	0,34	51	0,41	
Southern Europe	141	0,23	77	0,25	45	0,24	19	0,15	
Eastern Europe	141	0,23	75	0,24	44	0,23	22	0,18	
Africa-America-Asia	136	0,22	68	0,22	35	0,19	33	0,26	
Education									0,120
Secondary I	210	0,34	114	0,37	65	0,35	31	0,25	
Secondary II	203	0,33	101	0,33	55	0,29	47	0,38	
Tertiary	210	0,34	95	0,31	68	0,36	47	0,38	
Number of events									
Mariage	323	0,52	150	0,48	107	0,57	66	0,53	0,400
Birth of a child	405	0,65	207	0,67	135	0,72	63	0,50	0,044
New job	601	0,96	242	0,78	196	1,04	163	1,30	0,000
Migration within canton	314	0,50	0	0,00	264	1,40	50	0,40	-
Migration between cantons	156	0,25	0	0,00	0	0,00	156	1,25	-

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

Socio-demographic attributes are not associated with a particular residential trajectory. Women are overrepresented in the sample (59%). About half of young adults who moved to Switzerland were aged 18 to 25 (52%). Consequently, the vast majority of immigrants are childless (81%) and not married (83%) upon arrival. Respondents are equally distributed across educational levels, with no variation between sub-samples. Finally, the distribution of immigrants is fairly even across birth regions. The chi-squared indicates a marginal overrepresentation of immigrants originating from "Western Europe" and "Africa, America and Asia" in the subsample of long-distance movers.

Multivariate results

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

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

The results also corroborate the synchronised process of marriage and residential mobility. However, there is no evidence that this event primarily involves short-distance relocation: the odds of relocation within and between cantons are about three times higher during the year when respondents get married (OR=3.11 $p<0.001$; OR=2.64 $p<0.01$ respectively). One year after this transition, the likelihood of relocation drops immediately: the odds are cut in half the subsequent year for short-distance migration, and by two thirds for long-distance migration (OR=0.55 $p<0.05$; OR=0.36 $p<0.05$). This is not surprising given that marriage adjustment moves mostly occur synchronised, as seen above, or in anticipation, as many couples cohabit before getting married. Similarly, it was expected that childbirth is closely interrelated with local residential mobility. Interestingly, models show neither short-term nor synchronous effect between childbirth and

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

	Within canton		Between cantons	
	Logistic M1a	Multilevel logistic M1b	Logistic M2a	Multilevel logistic M2b
Sex (ref, men)				
Women	0,80 .	0,78	1,30	1,38
Age at arrival (ref, [18,25))				
[25,30)	0,82	0,77	0,99	1,03
[30,35)	0,68 .	0,64 .	1,04	1,16
Country of birth (ref, Western Europe)				
Southern Europe	0,95	0,94	1,06	0,84
Eastern Europe	0,81	0,79	0,81	0,75
Africa-America-Asia	0,78	0,76	1,06	0,99
Education (ref, secondary I)				
Secondary II	0,96	0,93	1,49 .	1,35
Tertiary	1,03	1,05	1,08	0,86
Employment trajectory				
Employment status (ref, not employed)				
Employed	1,23	1,32	1,32	1,23
New job t0	2,17 ***	2,24 ***	4,76 ***	5,89 ***
New job t-1	0,81	0,77	0,75	0,79
Lost job t0	2,56 **	2,80 **	4,21 **	4,90 **
Lost job t-1	0,42	0,41	2,42 .	2,62 .
Family trajectory				
Parental status (ref, no children)				
Children	1,30	1,30	0,80	0,69
Childbirth t0	0,96	0,98	1,02	1,02
Childbirth t-1	1,09	1,13	0,27 *	0,28
Marital status (ref, not married)				
Married	0,84	0,88	0,70	0,66
Marriage t0	2,93 ***	3,13 ***	2,40 **	2,78 **
Marriage t-1	0,57 *	0,55 *	0,36 *	0,36 *
Migration trajectory				
Years since immigration (ref, 6)				
1	0,02 ***	0,02 ***	0,02 ***	0,01 ***
2	1,92 **	1,91 **	1,23	0,95
3	1,23	1,31	1,39	1,28
4	0,93	0,95	0,99	0,95
5	0,95	0,97	1,36	1,24
Nb. of migration before arrival (ref, 0)				
1	0,99	0,98	1,79 *	2,02 *
2+	1,36 .	1,42 .	1,74 *	1,91 *
Migration within canton t0			0,12 ***	0,07 ***
Migration within canton t-1	2,14 ***	0,99	0,56	0,44 .
Migration between canton t0	0,11 ***	0,09 ***		
Migration between canton t-1	1,74 .	1,74 .	3,50 ***	1,20
Constant	0,09 ***	0,06 ***	0,02 ***	0,02 ***
AIC	1982	1966	1141	1132
Likelihood ratio test		18.3(1df) ***		11.3(1df) ***
Var (theta)		0,96		1,65

Source: Swiss Household Panel survey

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

migration; some interpretations are proposed in the discussion section. If we now look at the effect of parenthood and marital status on residential relocation, we cannot confirm any long-term inhibiting effects, as shown in previous studies for native populations. Immigrants can be both married and parents when they arrive in Switzerland without having their partner or children living with them. It is reasonable to think that married immigrants behave similarly to single immigrants when their family remains in the origin country.

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

Third, we investigate the short-term connection between migration events within Switzerland — i.e. the effect of previous residential mobility (*t-1*) on the odds of relocation at time *t*. Accounting for unobserved propensity of multiple migration, models 1b and 2b provide better goodness of fit (smaller AIC) than models 1a and 2a, which indicates that some individuals are prone to experience multiple spatial mobility. Besides, the two sets of models — without and with individual heterogeneity in the propensity to migrate — draw different conclusions regarding the relations between mobility events. Model 1a suggests a chain of two short-distance migration: the odds of relocation within cantons double following another move within cantons (O.R. for migration within canton at $t-1 = 2.14$ $p>0.001$). This relation also appears for the connection between two long-distance moves in Model 2a: the odds ratio for migration between cantons is multiplied by more than three after having done a long-distance migration (OR for migration between cantons at *t-1*=3.50 $p<0.001$). As hypothesised (H3), adjusting for individual unobserved determinants of migration in models 1b and 2b has an attenuating effect on these variables which are no longer statistically significant (OR=0.99 $p>0.1$; OR=1.20 $p>0.1$ respectively). Therefore, one should interpret the two mobility sequences (*short-short* and *long-long)* as a function of a frequent-mover propensity, rather than an effect of previous moves *per se*. Short-distance migration does not trigger successive short-distance moves. Instead, multiple short-distance moves made by frequent-movers are likely to be followed by additional short-distance relocations (Goodman, 1982, cited in Clark & Huang, 2004). Conversely, the classic adjustment sequence (H2) of a short-distance relocation following a long-distance migration is maintained after controlling for individual short-distance random effect in model 1b, although it only reaches the statistical significance level of 10%

(OR=1.74 p. >0.1). To sum up, the results support that *long-long* and *short-short* migration sequences are confined to a selected segment of the population with high latent mobility propensity (H3), while a *long-short* migration sequence rather results from a process of housing adjustment (H2).

Summary and discussion

This paper integrates the concept of linked life events to analyse residential behaviours following an international migration and enhance the more classic micro-economic explanations of foreign-born internal migration. Using the SHP data, we focus on cohorts of young immigrants living in Switzerland and search for regularities in the way that mobility sequences are intertwined with major life course transitions. Unsurprisingly, life course transitions prove to be accelerated by, or intensified at the time of, the international migration (Figure 1). Immigrants experience rapid social changes when they make the transition from one country to another (De Valk, Windzio, Wingens, & Aybek, 2011); they need to manage their lives in a new societal and institutional context. Therefore, immigrants often engage in multiple transitions and experimental moves as part of their integration in the new society. Besides, given the age profile of international migrants, these changes often coincide with other critical life course transitions, such as the transition to adulthood, which in turn intensify the incentives for more mobility. Following Clark's (2013) assertion on the respective role of age and life events, we find age to merely trigger mobility, and family and employment transitions to be closely tied to residential behaviours. A noteworthy exception, however, is the effect of childbirth on local residential adjustment which is not statistically significant. Switzerland has a tight housing market which implies the necessity of planning a change of residence well in advance. Unlike natives, recent immigrants have less opportunities to coordinate and adapt their housing situation to a change in family composition, especially when childbirth occurs a short time after the international migration. They might also not have the resources or knowledge of the housing market to find another dwelling and continue to live in the same household with their new-born child. An alternative explanation points to an anticipation effect: immigrants might have organized these two transitions simultaneously, before their arrival to Switzerland. If immigrants immediately settle in a dwelling that can accommodate additional family members, this will reduce the likelihood of further adjustment moves. Nevertheless, the rate of overcrowding which is considerably above that of the native population suggests that at least some of the immigrants experience difficulties in gaining additional space[1].

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

Another important contribution of this paper lies in the model specifications which explicitly consider individual random effect in the propensity to migrate and its role in explaining different

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

mobility sequences. International and internal migration are selective processes bonded to specific life course stages. Movers and stayers are thought to possess different characteristics: not everyone has the same taste for migration nor has the same ability to overcome the barriers to migrate. In this sense, immigrants are a unique group, given that they have already demonstrated an inclination to move across long-distance; they have proven that migration is an available, potential behaviour (Nogle, 1994). Nevertheless, migration behaviours are complex, and dividing the population between movers and stayers would be an oversimplification. Previous research pointed out that "while movement is usually confined to a minority of the population, there are a disproportionate number of repeat movers" (Gordon & Molho, 1995, p. 1). By considering repeated migration in a multilevel framework, we tackle the question of whether successive migration is due to a short-term adjustment process or rather a long-term phenomenon for a hypermobile segment of the population. The results show that the connection between successive migrations is sometimes explained by a process of housing adjustment (H2) and sometimes induced by the high mobility propensity for a subpopulation of frequent-movers (H3). These results reinforce Clark and Huang (2004)'s conclusion that the adjustment and frequent-mover hypotheses are rather complementary than substitutes. We find time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity to mediate the link between repeated long- and repeated short-distance mobility sequences (H3), while the housing adjustment hypothesis better explains the short-term connection between long- and short- distance relocation (H2). Unobserved heterogeneity is not limited to permanent personality traits (e.g. geographical flexibility); there are unmeasured circumstances that might also lead to a higher level of mobility in the long run. Situational factors such as the type of employment might also put some professionals on a long trajectory of residential instability. However, one could argue that it is precisely because individuals are (geographically) flexible that they selected this type of work in the first place. Nevertheless, the inclusion of an individual random effect in the multilevel models offers a more comprehensive insight into the selected nature of migration and the connection between mobility events. Overall, the adjustment process is not confined to a selected segment of the population, as are other forms of frequent-mover behaviours.

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

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