Geographic polarization and cosmopolitanism: Evidence from Switzerland

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Abstract

Large cities in Europe and North America are cosmopolitan environments where people embrace multiculturalism, immigration and international connections. People in small towns, villages and the countryside are more likely to prioritize national sovereignty and the maintenance of historical traditions. These geographic divides are at the center of contemporary politics but we do not know why they exist. One possibility is that living in larger cities makes people more cosmopolitan while living in smaller areas makes people less cosmopolitan. However, credibly measuring geographic effects is difficult because people sort across geography in ways that are correlated with political attitudes. I address these methodological challenges by leveraging longitudinal data from the Swiss Household Panel to analyze the relationship between geography and three measures of cosmopolitanism: immigration attitudes, EU attitudes and support for the Radical Right. I find no evidence that moving to a different type of municipality, living in municipalities that change composition over time, or spending one's entire life in the same municipality contribute to geographic divides over cosmopolitanism. Instead, I find evidence that geography may exert indirect effects on cosmopolitanism by shaping educational and occupational outcomes, which are generally some of the strongest predictors of attitudes towards immigration, the EU and the Radical Right. These findings have several implications for our understanding of geographic polarization.

1 Introduction

European and North American nation-states are geographically polarized over cosmopolitanism (Alba and Foner 2017; Hochschild 2016). People in large cities are more likely to be cosmopolitan and embrace multiculturalism, immigration and international connections. People in small towns, villages and the countryside are more likely to prioritize national sovereignty and the maintenance of historical national traditions (Cramer 2016; Lichter and Ziliak 2017). It is as if nation-states are fragmented into separate worlds with fundamentally different perspectives on how society should be structured (Jennings and Stoker 2016; Rodden 2019). Debates about immigration, national boundaries and international connectedness are the central political conflict of our time (Hooghe and Marks 2018; Kriesi et al. 2006, 2012). If European and North American societies hope to find solutions, they must address the geographic nature of the divides.

Geographic polarization is difficult to address because we do not know why political attitudes are spatially clustered (Rodden 2010). One possibility is contextual effects: the experience of living in different geographic locations may shape political preferences. Another possibility is sorting: people with different political preferences may sort into different geographic locations. The two perspectives have very different implications. Contextual effects suggest that geography in and of itself is the cause of polarization while sorting suggests that geography is a second-order manifestation of deeper divides.

Recent research suggests that sorting may explain why immigration attitudes are so positive in large European cities. A growing body of research finds that people who are highly-educated and professionals are more likely than people with less education and manual occupation to support immigration (Cavaillé and Marshall 2019; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). Maxwell (2019*a*) applies that research to geographic divides and finds that highly-educated professionals are generally positive about immigration, regardless of where they live. Moreover, recent macro-economic trends have concentrated high-skilled high-wage jobs - and as a result highly-educated professionals - in large cities (Cunningham and Savage 2017;

Oberti and Préteceille 2016; Sassen 2001). Maxwell (2019*a*) finds that this uneven clustering of educational and occupational groups is the best explanation for why immigration attitudes are so positive in large European cities. There is also an ongoing debate about the extent to which people sort into cosmopolitan urban or nationalist rural areas because they want to live in communities that match their cultural and political preferences (Favell 2008; Florida 2005; Tam Cho, Gimpel and Hui 2013).

In this paper, I build on the recent sorting research to examine whether contextual effects may be an additional cause of geographic polarization over cosmopolitanism. Maxwell (2019*a*) finds that sorting explains why immigration attitudes are so positive in large cities but I expand the focus to contextual effects across the full range of urban to rural geographic environments and I analyze a range of cosmopolitanism indicators, including immigration attitudes, European Union attitudes, and support for the Radical Right. The key methodological challenge when analyzing variation across geographic units is being able to account for the fact that people are not randomly distributed across space (Gallego et al. 2016; Kaufmann and Harris 2015). To address this challenge I leverage longitudinal data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP) merged with contextual data on respondents' municipal-level environment. This allows me to control for the importance of geographic sorting and develop a research design capable of identifying several types of contextual effects.

I find no evidence of direct effects of geography on cosmopolitanism in Switzerland. There is no evidence that moving to a different municipality, living in municipalities that change composition over time, or spending one's entire life in the same municipality affects geographic divides over immigration, the EU, or support for the Radical Right.[1] Instead,

[1] I do find some evidence that living in municipalities with growing foreign populations is associated with anti-immigrant attitudes, but this dynamic alone cannot explain geographic divides over immigration because the fastest growing foreign populations are in the largest cities where immigration attitudes are the most positive.

I find evidence that geography may exert indirect effects on cosmopolitanism by shaping educational and occupational outcomes. Respondents in larger communes are more likely to obtain higher educational outcomes and professional occupations and less likely to become manual workers. These demographic characteristics matter because they are generally some of the strongest predictors of attitudes towards immigration, the EU and the Radical Right.

My findings have several implications for our understanding of contemporary political geography. First, the lack of support for direct contextual effects is consistent with recent research suggesting that sorting mechanisms are the key to understanding geographic polarization (Gallego et al. 2016; Maxwell 2019*a*). This implies any effort to bridge urban-rural divides will need to account for the macro-historical factors that create uneven economic opportunities across space and cluster highly-educated professionals in large cities. In addition, bridging urban-rural divides will require addressing the cultural factors that lead people with different political preferences to cluster in different places (Bishop 2008; Florida 2005).

The lack of direct contextual effects does not mean municipal environments have no effect on geographic polarization. My findings suggest that geography helps shape education and occupation, which matter for a wide range of economic, social and political outcomes, including cosmopolitanism. To the extent that economic opportunities continue to be uneven across urban and rural areas, these indirect effects will persist and geographic divides over cosmopolitanism will likely get worse (Guilluy 2014; Rodríguez-Pose 2018). Moreover, to the extent that geographic areas produce different educational and occupational opportunities, the lived experience of urban and rural residents will likely produce fundamentally different perspectives on society, making it increasingly difficult to reach political compromises (Gimpel et al. 2019; McNamara 2017). In short, the findings in this paper suggest that geography is essential for understanding polarization over cosmopolitanism.

2 Urban-rural polarization: The Swiss case

Historically, the most prominent geographic divide in Switzerland was across linguistic regions: German, French, Italian and Romansh (Linder 2010). However, in recent years Switzerland has become increasingly divided along urban-rural lines that cut through the linguistic regions. Today, residents of the large cities on the western plateau (between Geneva and Zurich) are more likely to support cosmopolitan values and residents of the Alpine countryside in the center and east of the country are more likely to reject cosmopolitanism (Jaberg 2012; Miller 2017). Switzerland is now similar to many countries in Europe (and beyond) in its strong urban-rural cosmopolitan polarization.

3 Hypotheses

The logic of contextual effects is that the experience of living in specific geographic contexts may shape political attitudes (Ethington and McDaniel 2007; Fitzgerald 2018; Johnston and Pattie 2006). For cosmopolitan attitudes, there are several key differences between larger and smaller communes that may be important.

One distinction is the size and density of the commune. Existing research suggests that higher population density increases interactions in a wide range of shared spaces (e.g. public transportation, parks and shops) (Huckfeldt 1986). This may be important because being forced to share space may lead people to develop understanding and more tolerance for cultural difference (Wessendorf 2014; Wood and Landry 2008). These structural differences between large and small municipalities should create different cultural environments that are more (or less) hospitable to cosmopolitan values (Gimpel et al. 2019; Mummolo and Nall 2017; Parker 2015).

Another distinction is the size of the foreign-born population. Larger municipalities generally have more foreign residents and there is a long tradition of research on how exposure to people with different national origins, races or religions can promote tolerance and cos-

mopolitan attitudes (Allport 1954; Kaufmann and Harris 2015; van Heerdin and Ruedin 2019). There is also a long tradition of research on how exposure to different groups can generate threat and negative attitudes (Blalock 1967; Dancygier 2010; Enos 2017). However, threatening ramifications of exposure to foreign residents are unlikely to explain urban-rural variation in cosmopolitanism, because there are more immigrants in large Swiss cities and more cosmopolitan attitudes in those cities.[2] Instead, it is more likely that exposure to foreign residents generates positive attitudes because of meaningful relationships or casual public encounters (Mo and Conn 2018; Paluck, Green and Green 2018; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

In this paper, I take the logic of contextual effects and apply them to four main testable hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that moving from one geographic context to another should allow us to identify the effects of living in specific places. If this could account for geographic polarization over cosmopolitanism, then attitudes should become more cosmopolitan after moving to larger communes and less cosmopolitan after moving to smaller communes, relative to people who do not make those moves.[3]

H_1: *People become more/less cosmopolitan after moving to larger/smaller communes.*

The second approach to contextual effects examines how attitudes change as specific aspects of their geographic context changes over time (Laurence and Bentley 2016). The

[2]Immigrant and refugee populations may be growing rapidly in some rural areas across Europe and as a result provoking threat and more negative attitudes (Hopkins 2011). Yet, those areas are limited in number and cannot account for the broader urban-rural divide.

[3]This comparison accounts for the fact that attitudes may change over time for many reasons, but that geographic context effects can be isolated by comparing the attitudinal time trends of people who move and people who do not move (Lancee and Schaeffer 2015).

two key contextual factors identified by existing literature are overall population size and size of the foreign population. If these could account for geographic polarization, then attitudes should become more cosmopolitan if the overall population (or the foreign population) increases over time and become less cosmopolitan if the overall population (or the foreign population) decreases over time.

H_2a: *Living in communes where the population gets larger/smaller over time makes people more/less cosmopolitan.*

H_2b: *Living in communes where the foreign population gets larger/smaller over time makes people more/less cosmopolitan.*

A third way to observe direct contextual effects is by comparing people who have spent their entire lives in different types of municipalities. Research suggests that longterm political socialization begins early in life and is especially powerful during the formative late adolescent years (Sapiro 2004). People who remain in the municipality where they spent their formative years only have that one geographic influence on their opinions. In addition, excluding movers helps mitigate concerns about people sorting into specific types of communes.[4] Restricting the analysis to lifelong residents facilitates a clean and stark comparison across people in different municipalities. According to this logic, people who spend their entire lives in larger communes should be more cosmopolitan than people who spend their entire lives in smaller communes.

H_3: *People are more/less cosmopolitan if they spend their entire life in larger/smaller*

[4]Moreover, research suggests that movers (in general) tend to be more cosmopolitan than non-movers (Recchi 2015).

communes.

Finally, geography may have indirect effects on cosmopolitanism by shaping educational and occupational outcomes. There is a wealth of literature demonstrating that people with post-secondary degrees and professional occupations are more likely than people with lower levels of education qualifications and manual occupations to embrace cosmopolitanism (Cavaillé and Marshall 2019; Hobolt and de Vries 2016; Igarashi and Saito 2014). In addition, we know that economic opportunities are not equally dispersed across urban-rural areas (Cunningham and Savage 2017; Guilluy 2014; Rodríguez-Pose 2018). The concentration of high-wage knowledge-economy jobs in large cities may promote more educational and occupational attainment relative to smaller municipalities. To the extent this is true, geography would then be relevant for cosmopolitanism through its influence on demographic outcomes.

H_4a: *Living in larger/smaller communes increases/decreases the likelihood of having post-secondary education and professional occupations.*

H_4b: *Living in larger/smaller communes decreases/increases the likelihood of having no secondary education and manual occupations.*

4 Data and Measures

I use data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP). The longitudinal nature of the SHP is especially useful because it allows me to observe cosmopolitan attitudes (and whether they change) as people move to and from different geographic locations. One challenge with longitudinal data is how to handle non-random attrition from the panel. In particular, respondents who are young, male, foreign-born, socially and economically marginalized, or

who move residence have a greater risk of leaving panel studies (Rothenbühler and Voorpostel 2016; Voorpostel and Lipps 2011). In appendix B I provide a detailed discussion of how this might affect my analysis, but it is not clear that it should threaten the main findings of the paper.

The SHP began in 1999 and conducts annual face-to-face interviews.[5] New respondents were added in 2004 and 2013 to address attrition. I use the 19 SHP waves available at the time of analysis (1999-2017). All analyses are weighted to account for stratification, clustering and non-random patterns of attrition (Antal and Rothenbühler 2015). More details on the SHP data are in the appendix.

Cosmopolitanism is the belief that all humans are part of the same community and should not be divided on the basis of class, race, religion, nation or other social boundaries (Beck and Grande 2007). There are multiple dimensions of cosmopolitanism, including identity, cultural values and policy preferences (Pichler 2009). I focus on cosmopolitan political attitudes and use three indicators. The first is immigration attitudes, which taps directly into beliefs about how open or closed society should be to humanity, and which has also been one of the most contested issues in European politics in recent years (Clarke, Goodwin and Whiteley 2017). The second is attitudes towards European unification. Switzerland is one of the few West European countries that is not part of the European Union (EU), but the extent and the form of European integration is a major issue across all European countries. Moreover, the extent to which people are willing to look beyond national boundaries and connect with international communities like the EU is a core aspect of cosmopolitanism (Beck and Grande 2007). Finally, I analyze support for radical right wing parties.[6] Radical right policy positions vary across parties and have evolved over the years (most notably a leftward

[5]At times surveys are conducted by mail if the respondent cannot be contacted in person.

[6]The following five parties are coded as radical right wing: Swiss People's Party, Swiss Democrats, Federal Democratic Union, Swiss Freedom Party and the Ticino League.

drift on economic issues). Yet, the consistent core appeal of radical right parties has been support for greater national sovereignty and a rejection of globalization and cosmopolitan values.[7] Overall, the three measures provide a multifaceted perspective on some of the most contentious political aspects of cosmopolitanism in contemporary Europe.

The immigration attitude question is about opinions on chances for foreigners in Swiss society.[8] The European unification question is whether Switzerland should join the EU.[9] For radical right support, I use an item that asks which party respondents would vote for if there were an election tomorrow. I code support for radical right-wing parties as '1' and all other responses (including 'would not vote') as '0'.[10]

I measure geographic residence with SHP data on commune of residence merged with census data on commune population. This provides a continuous measure from the smallest

[7]Many parties are more cosmopolitan than the radical right, but none have platforms that are consistently and coherently designed around cosmopolitanism. Therefore I do not code any other party choices as cosmopolitan. For more on the radical right see (Mudde 2007).

[8]There are three response options: 'In favor of equal opportunities', 'In favor of better opportunities for Swiss citizens', or 'Neither'. I recode these answers into two measures. *Equal foreigners*: 1 - Yes, 0 - Other and *Better Swiss*: 1 - Yes, 0 - Other. This is an unconventional measure compared to the more standard items about immigration policy or views on immigrant integration. However, it directly captures attitudes about the salience of the co-national/foreigner boundary, which is a central aspect of cosmopolitanism debates.

[9]There are three response options: 'In favor of joining the EU', 'In favor of staying outside the EU', or 'Neither'. I recode these answers into two measures. *Join EU*: 1 - Yes, 0 - Other and *No EU*: 1 - Yes, 0 - Other.

[10]For analyses of radical right support I limit the sample to respondents with Swiss citizenship, excluding people who are ineligible to vote.

commune (Calonico - 58 people) to the largest commune (Zürich - ranging from 337,900 to 409,241 people across panel waves). Population size is not the only way of measuring geographic divides. For additional analyses I use government codes that classify communes into different types of urban, suburban or rural categories. I do not start with these codes because they coarsen the data and impose assumptions about categories that do not necessarily reflect how cosmopolitan divides operate in Switzerland. Therefore, the main analyses use the more fine-grained and open-ended measure of commune population size.

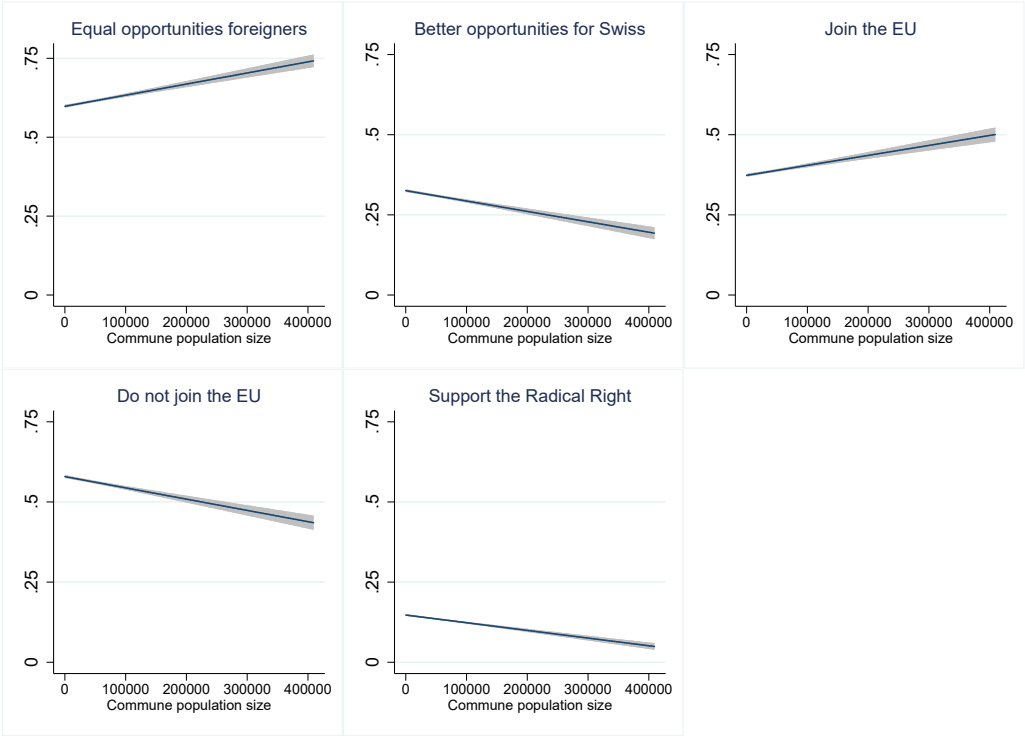
I limit my analysis to respondents born in Switzerland. The core cosmopolitan debate is the extent to which society should be open to international influences, including immigrants. Immigrants generally have more cosmopolitan views than natives and are not as geographically polarized as natives.[11] Limiting my analysis to respondents born in Switzerland provides a potential sample of 154,572 person-year observations and 16,316 distinct respondents. SHP questions about immigration and EU attitudes are asked in waves 1999-2009, 2011, 2014 and 2017. Questions about party support are asked every wave.

5 Results: Geographic divides

Figure 1 provides an overview of cosmopolitan attitudes across geography in the SHP. The results in figure 1 are predicted scores from bivariate linear regressions. As expected, for each measure, attitudes are more cosmopolitan in communes with larger population sizes. For immigration and EU attitudes, the difference between the largest and the smallest communes is roughly 0.15 points. For Radical Right support, the difference is roughly 0.10 points. Note that for EU attitudes the geographic gap crosses the 0.5 midpoint of the scale. People in the largest communes are generally supportive of the EU while people in smaller

[11] Results are substantively similar when including immigrant respondents. The geographic polarization over cosmopolitanism is similar, but skewed in a more cosmopolitan direction. Results for subsequent analyses are also similar with and without immigrant respondents.

Figure 1: Cosmopolitan attitudes across geography



Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017. Respondents born in Switzerland.
Predicted scores (with 95 percent confidence intervals) from weighted linear regressions.
Y-axis coded '0'- No, '1'- Yes. 'Support the Radical Right' limited to Swiss citizens.

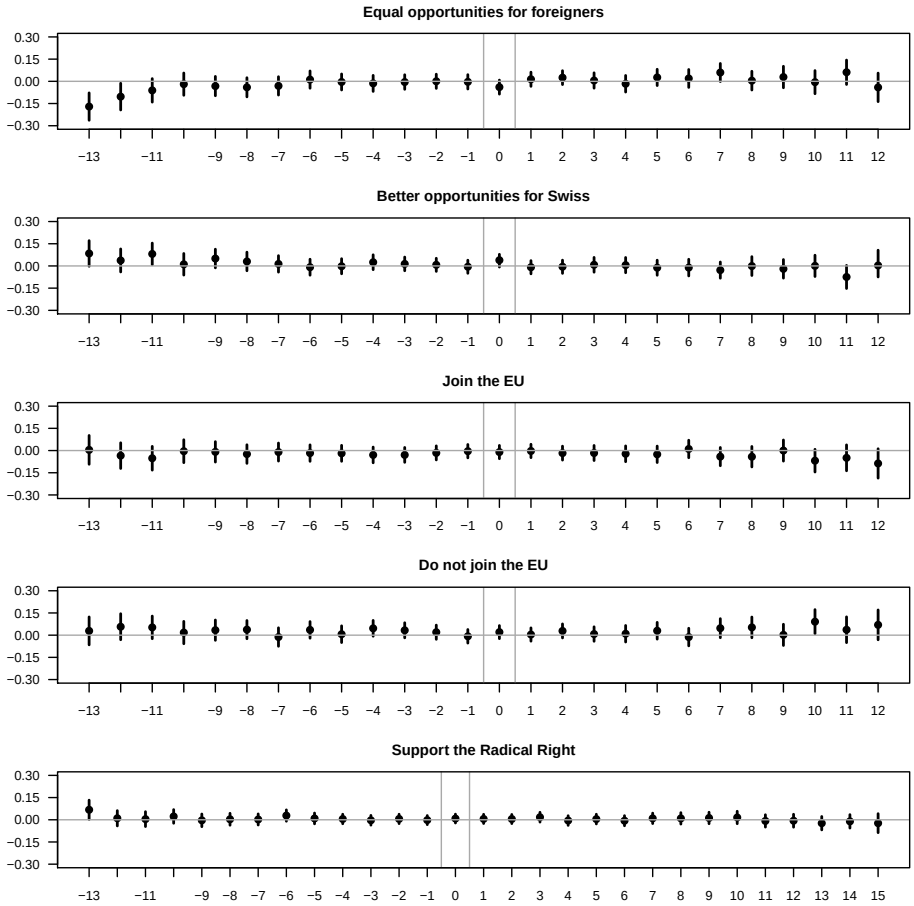
communes are not supportive of the EU. Overall, figure 1 indicates sizable geographic gaps for dependent variables that range from 0 to 1.

6 Do attitudes change after moving?

H_1 predicts that contextual effects on cosmopolitan attitudes should be observable among people who move to different geographic areas. I test this hypothesis by exploiting the panel structure of the SHP and examining cosmopolitan attitudes before and after respondents move to communes with larger or smaller populations (i.e. before and after receiving the contextual 'treatment'). I compare the attitudinal time trend of people who move to larger or smaller communes with the attitudinal time trend of people who do not move to larger or smaller communes (the 'control group'). This approach accounts for the fact that attitudes

may change over time for reasons unrelated to moving.

Figure 2: Cosmopolitan attitude time trends when moving to larger communes



Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017.
The y-axis plots coefficients (surrounded by 95 percent confidence intervals) from linear regression models with person fixed effects for the difference in attitudes between people who move to communes with a larger population and those who do not move to larger communes. Positive/negative coefficients indicate a more positive/negative answer to the survey item for movers as opposed to not-movers. The x-axis is the amount of time before and after the move. '0' is the period the move occurred. Negative/positive numbers are the periods before/after the move. Weighted models include additional controls for any household move, year, and canton. 'Support the radical right' model limited to Swiss citizens. Results presented for years with at least 100 movers in the model.

I compare time trends by estimating linear regressions with person fixed effects.[12] There

[12]I include control variables for any household move (some people move within the same

are three key covariates. One is a bivariate measure of whether respondents moved to a commune with a larger or smaller population size since the previous survey wave. This captures whether the attitude change from one wave to the next is different for people who change communes as opposed to those who do not change communes. The second key covariate is a categorical variable for the number of years prior to moving to larger/smaller communes. This captures whether the attitude change over several different time intervals is different for people who will move to larger/smaller communes as opposed to those who will not move. The final covariate of interest is a categorical variable for the number of years after moving to larger/smaller communes. This captures whether the attitude change over several time intervals is different for people who have moved to larger/smaller communes as opposed to those who have not moved. If moving to larger/smaller communes has a causal effect on cosmopolitan attitudes we would expect the coefficients to be zero prior to the move (in line with the parallel trend assumption) and then deviate from zero after the move.

Figure 2 presents results for moving to larger communes and provides no evidence of contextual effects. In figure 2, the coefficients for time since moving in the immigration attitude and Radical Right support are clustered around zero and are not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. For the EU attitude models there is suggestive evidence that attitudes may get more negative about the EU over time after moving to larger communes. If true, this would run counter to the predictions of H_1 because EU attitudes are generally more positive in larger communes. However, respondents who move to larger communes already exhibit a more negative time trend for EU attitudes *prior* to their move. The results in figure 2 do not provide evidence that moving to larger communes affects cosmopolitan attitudes.

Figure 3 presents results for moving to smaller communes and provides no evidence of contextual effects. In the first four panels the coefficients suggest that attitudes get more anti-immigration and anti-EU over time after moving to smaller communes. However, in

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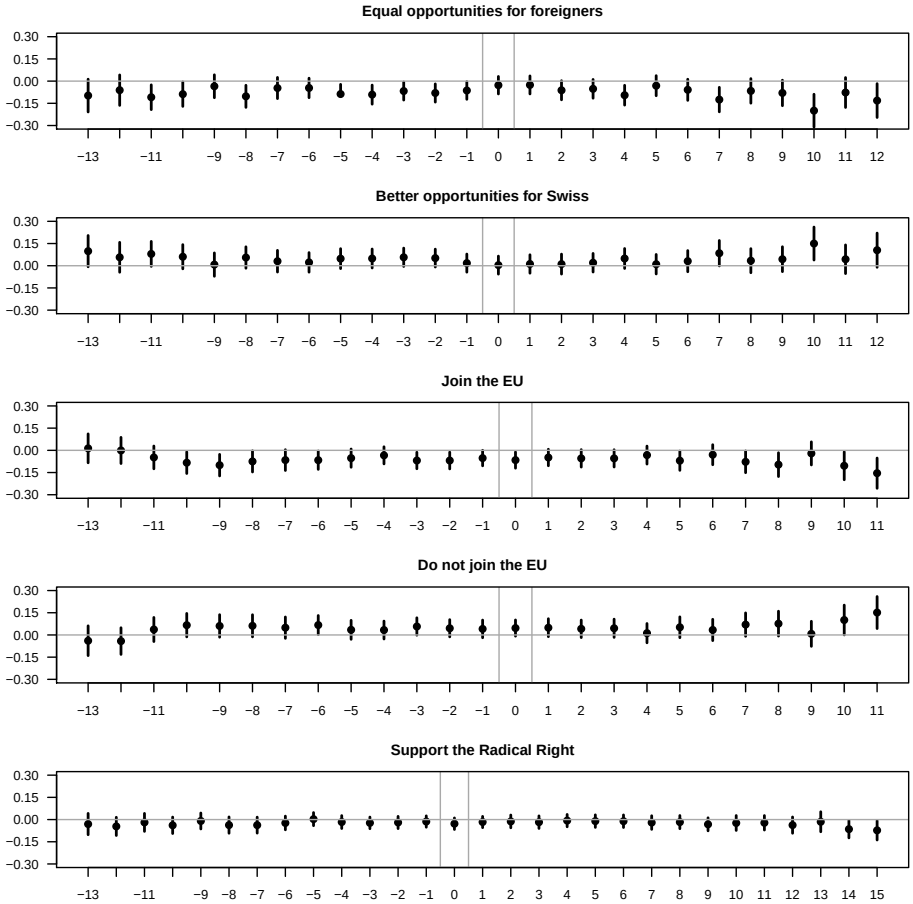
commune), SHP wave, and canton.

Figure 3: Cosmopolitan attitude time trends when moving to smaller communes



Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017.
The y-axis plots coefficients (surrounded by 95 percent confidence intervals) from linear regression models with person fixed effects for the difference in attitudes between people who move to communes with a smaller population and those who do not move to smaller communes. Positive/negative coefficients indicate a more positive/negative answer to the survey item for movers as opposed to not-movers. The x-axis is the amount of time before and after the move. '0' is the period the move occurred. Negative/positive numbers are the periods before/after the move. Weighted models include additional controls for any household move, year, and canton. 'Support the radical right' model limited to Swiss citizens. Results presented for years with at least 100 movers in the model.

each case those time trends are also present prior to the move. If people who will move to smaller communes are less cosmopolitan than people who do not move to smaller communes, that would be consistent with the logic of geographic divides created by selection effects. In short, there is no evidence in figures 2 and 3 that moving to larger or smaller communes

changes cosmopolitan attitudes.

The models in figures 2 and 3 test whether the general process of moving to larger or smaller communes affects attitudes, but the contextual effects of moving may only exist for specific types of moves to larger or smaller communes. For example, moving may only change attitudes when the new commune is dramatically larger or smaller than the previous commune (i.e. when the population size 'treatment' is stronger). I explore this possibility by estimating attitudinal time trend models only for movers in the top and bottom quartile of commune population differentials.[13] These results are in appendix tables C1 and C2 and for the most part the coefficients are clustered around zero and provide no evidence of contextual effects on cosmopolitan attitudes.[14]

Another possibility is that moving only affects cosmopolitan attitudes if the new commune is an extreme case. To test this possibility I use detailed SHP codes that classify commune types to distinguish between the largest metropolitan centers (where attitudes are the most cosmopolitan) and rural communes (where attitudes are the least cosmopolitan).[15] These results are in appendix tables C3 and C4 and provide no evidence of contextual effects on immigration attitudes.[16] In short, a series of alternate specifications finds no evidence that

[13]Among person-year observations that have moved to a commune with a different population size, the top quartile ranges from 6,432 to 407,056 more people. The bottom quartile ranges from 10,576 to 396,348 fewer people.

[14]One exception is in appendix table C1 where attitudes get more negative about the EU over time among those in the top quartile of moves to larger communes. However, those trends are also present prior to the move.

[15]The largest metropolitan centers (called 'great urban centers' in the SHP) are Basel, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Zürich; an average population size of 192,392. Rural communes have an average population size of 1,761.

[16]There are two examples of changing attitudinal trends over time in tables C3 and C4.

moving to communes of a different size affects cosmopolitan attitudes.

7 What happens when communes change over time?

My second main line of inquiry is whether local residents become more (or less) cosmopolitan when certain aspects of their local environment change. In particular, H_2a highlights the overall population size and H_2b highlights the percentage of foreign residents as the two key contextual factors that should affect cosmopolitanism.

To explore these possibilities, I estimate a series of models that regress cosmopolitan attitudes on changing commune population size and changing percentage of foreign residents. A key aspect of the estimation strategy is my use of person fixed effects, which allows me to estimate the importance of within-person changes in commune characteristics over time. This is preferable to an alternate approach of estimating models that compare cosmopolitan attitudes across respondents living in communes where overall population and foreign percentage of the population change at different rates. Analyzing variation across respondents confounds variation over time and variation across individuals. This is a problem because cosmopolitan individuals self-select into the larger cities where overall population growth and foreign population growth are fastest.[17] That variation across individuals is largely driven by

EU attitudes get more positive among people who move to the largest metropolitan centers but those trends are also present prior to the move. Support for the Radical Right gets less likely for movers to rural communes, but those trends are also present prior to the move.

[17]The average one-year population change is a loss of 536.3 residents in the quartile of communes with the smallest population, compared to an increase of 2,908.6 residents in the quartile with the largest population. The average one-year change in the foreign population is an increase of 0.01 percent in the quartile of communes with the smallest population, compared to an increase of 0.45 percent in the quartile with the largest population.

selection and should not be interpreted as the result of contextual effects changing attitudes. Instead, my within-person analysis is a more appropriate strategy for identifying the effect of changing commune characteristics on cosmopolitanism.

Table 1: Cosmopolitan attitudes and changing commune composition

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
Population	0.003	-0.013	-0.006	-0.006	-0.011*
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.005)
Foreign percentage	-0.002*	0.002**	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Observations	54,610	54,610	53,449	53,449	83,856
Respondents	9,375	9,375	9,345	9,345	10,953
Overall R^2	0.000	0.001	0.098	0.096	0.011

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year and canton. Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s). 'Foreign percentage' is the share of the population that is foreign-born.

Models 1 and 2 in table 1 suggest that immigration attitudes become more negative as the foreign population increases over time. This runs counter to the predictions of H_2b and is unlikely to account for geographic variation in immigration attitudes. Immigration attitudes are most positive in the largest cities, where the foreign population increases the fastest. However, these results are consistent with findings from previous research which finds that under conditions of economic disadvantage and resource competition, exposure to out-groups can generate negative attitudes (Kaufmann and Goodwin 2018; Maxwell 2019*b*).[18]

[18]Appendix table D1 confirms the importance of economic contextual factors by regressing immigration attitudes on changing population, unemployment, and the share of residents receiving social welfare. The relationship between foreign population and anti-immigrant attitudes is robust to the inclusion of unemployment (likely because unemployment is higher

Models 3 and 4 in table 1 suggest that there is no relationship between changing population and EU attitudes. Yet model 5 in table 1 suggests that as the overall population increases, the likelihood of supporting the Radical Right decreases. This is consistent with H_2a and therefore could potentially account for geographic divides in Radical Right support, if the effect size were large enough. Based on the coefficient in model 5, the average effect (for an average year-to-year growth of 200 people) would be a decrease of .00002 percent in the likelihood of voting for the Radical Right. This is an extremely small number and unlikely to have much impact on overall geographic polarization.

The effect of population growth may be stronger in specific types of communes. For example, population growth might yield the biggest influence on cosmopolitanism in the larger communes where population growth is the most dramatic. Alternatively, population growth might have greater effects on cosmopolitanism in rural communes. Rural communes tend to have slower population growth and lower levels of cosmopolitanism, so the effect of population growth might be more distinctive in such settings. Appendix table D2 explores these possibilities by regressing support for the Radical Right on changing population size in different types of communes. The coefficients for population growth are not statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$), suggesting that population growth does not have larger effects on cosmopolitanism in either larger or smaller communes.

Appendix D explores several additional specifications. One possibility is that population changes are less important than the rate of change. Larger communes tend to have larger population increases so the residents may be accustomed to those patterns. Dramatic changes in the rate of population change may be what provokes attitudinal change. However, results in appendix table D3 provide no evidence that the rate of overall population change or the rate of the foreign population change are associated with cosmopolitan attitudes.

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in larger communes). However, after controlling for commune social welfare, the coefficient for foreign percentage is reduced in half and no longer statistically significant at $p < 0.05$.

Another possibility is that different socio-economic groups react differently to population changes. High socio-economic status respondents tend to be more cosmopolitan so they may be more primed to respond to population changes by increasing their positive interactions with foreign residents. Lower socio-economic status respondents tend to be less cosmopolitan but that may provide them with the most room for cosmopolitan growth in response to population changes. Appendix tables D4 and D5 explore these possibilities with a series of models among subsets of respondents with specific educational and occupational outcomes. A detailed discussion of these results is in appendix D, but the main finding is that the few observed relationships between population change and cosmopolitanism among specific socio-economic groups are either extremely small in size or inconsistent with the expectations of H_2a and H_2b. In short, there is no evidence that changing population composition can account for geographic divides over cosmopolitanism.

8 Lifelong exposure to the same geographic context

The logic of H_3 is that contextual effects should be observable among people who spend their entire lives in the same geographic context. I test this hypothesis by limiting my analysis to respondents who have been in the same commune since they were 5 years old and who do not change communes during the SHP study.[19] I then regress cosmopolitan attitudes on commune population size.

Results in table 2 provide no evidence that people who spend their whole lives in

[19]Technically, all respondents in this subgroup have not been in the same commune for their entire lives. However, the sample size of SHP respondents who have been in the same commune since birth is too small for reliable analysis across the full range of geography (1,334 respondents). Expanding the sample to people in the same commune since the age of 5 provides a larger sample size (2,583 respondents), while retaining the limitation to people who grew up in their current commune of residence.

Table 2: Cosmopolitan attitudes among whole life in same commune

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
Population	-0.011	0.032	0.092	-0.095	-0.205
	(0.068)	(0.073)	(0.076)	(0.075)	(0.109)
Observations	8,885	8,885	8,574	8,621	12,603
Respondents	1,372	1,372	1,353	1,366	1,514
Pseudo R^2	0.020	0.020	0.134	0.140	0.063

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent. All models include controls for year and canton. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s).

larger/smaller communes are more/less likely to be cosmopolitan. The coefficients are small and none are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. However, one possible concern with the analysis in table 2 is that the continuous measure of commune population (dispersed across a wide range of commune sizes) may not be able to detect patterns in the limited sample. To address this concern, I estimate additional models where commune population is coarsened into tertiles, quartiles and quintiles. A detailed discussion of these results is in appendix E, but the main finding is consistent with the results in table 2. There is evidence that when commune population is coarsened, there are consistent patterns of more cosmopolitan attitudes among people who spend their whole lives in larger communes. Yet, those relationships are greatly reduced and no longer statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$) after controlling for potential confounders. In short, there is no evidence that lifelong residence in larger/smaller communes makes people more/less likely to be cosmopolitan.

9 The indirect effect of geography

The analyses thus far have examined potential direct effects of geography on cosmopolitanism. The final hypothesis (H_4) approaches contextual effects from a different perspective

by exploring whether living in different types of communes shapes educational and occupational attainment, which would then have downstream implications for geographic divides over cosmopolitanism.

Table 3: Education outcomes among whole life in same commune

	Post-secondary degree			
	Continuous	Tertiles	Quartiles	Quintiles
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Population	0.187	0.238*	0.224**	0.159**
	(0.099)	(0.105)	(0.079)	(0.060)
Observations	11,027	11,027	11,027	11,027
Respondents	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133
Pseudo R^2	0.119	0.120	0.123	0.121
	No secondary degree			
	Continuous	Tertiles	Quartiles	Quintiles
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Population	-0.296	-0.315	-0.297*	-0.192*
	(0.270)	(0.171)	(0.121)	(0.095)
Observations	11,027	11,027	11,027	11,027
Respondents	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133
Pseudo R^2	0.139	0.142	0.145	0.142

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent.
All models include controls for father's occupation, father's education, year, region, age, and sex. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. 'Population' is commune population, as a continuous variable measured in 100,000s (models 1 and 5), coarsened into tertiles (models 2 and 6), quartiles (models 3 and 7), and quintiles (models 4 and 8).

There is an established body of literature on the importance of educational and occupational attainment for shaping cosmopolitan attitudes. To confirm that these relationships hold in the SHP sample, I estimate models regressing cosmopolitanism on education and occupation (and include a wide range of relevant control variables). Full results are in appendix table F1, but the main result is that having a post-secondary degree and being a

professional are associated with being more cosmopolitan while not having a secondary degree and being in a manual occupation are associated with being less cosmopolitan. If living in different types of communes shapes educational and occupational attainment, that would be an indirect path for geography to affect cosmopolitanism.

Table 4: Occupational outcomes among whole life in same commune

	Professional occupation			
	Continuous	Tertiles	Quartiles	Quintiles
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Population	0.106	0.202	0.244*	0.213**
	(0.126)	(0.130)	(0.098)	(0.078)
Observations	10,109	10,109	10,109	10,109
Respondents	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129
Pseudo R^2	0.138	0.140	0.145	0.147

	Manual occupation						
	Continuous	Tertiles		Quartiles		Quintiles	
	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Population	-0.255	-0.559***	-0.314*	-0.379***	-0.228*	-0.292***	-0.182*
	(0.157)	(0.119)	(0.129)	(0.089)	(0.097)	(0.067)	(0.074)
Observations	10,109	10,109	10,109	10,109	10,109	10,109	10,109
Respondents	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129
Pseudo R^2	0.157	0.176	0.155	0.173	0.155	0.172	0.155

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent.
All models include controls for father's occupation, father's education, year, region, age, and sex. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. 'Population' is commune population, as a continuous variable measured in 100,000s (models 1 and 5), coarsened into tertiles (models 2,6,7), quartiles (models 3,8,9), and quintiles (models 4,10,11). Models 5, 6, 8 and 10 estimate the likelihood of being an agricultural or fishery worker, a craft or trades worker, a plant or machine assembler, or an elementary occupation. Models 7, 9 and 11 estimate the likelihood of being a craft or trades worker, a plant or machine assembler, or an elementary occupation.

I estimate a series of models regressing education and occupational attainment on commune population size. Results are in tables 3 and 4. I restrict my focus to respondents who

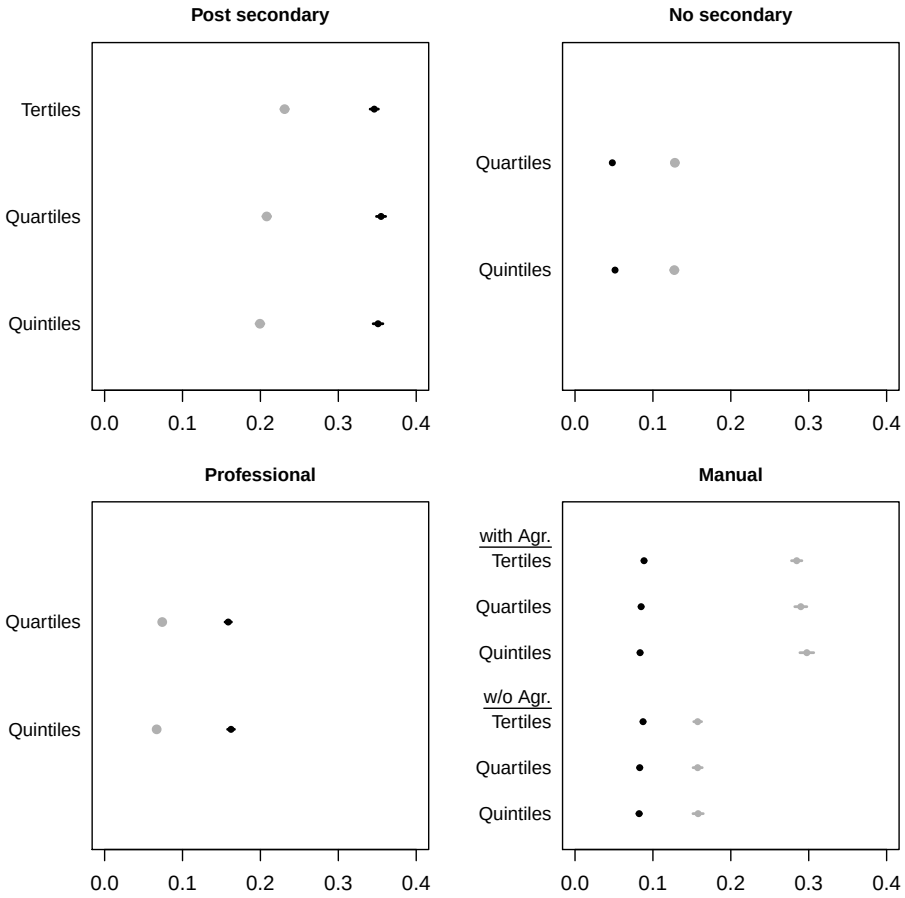
have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. Including movers would introduce concerns about selection into different types of communes. People may move (or not move) to different communes because of factors that are correlated with socio-economic attainment. Restricting my analysis to lifelong residents facilitates a cleaner comparison across people in different municipalities. Nonetheless, lifelong residence in different types of communes is not randomly assigned. To address concerns that (intergenerational) socio-economic status may predict who is more likely to live in larger or smaller communes, I include control variables for father's education and father's occupation.[20] Given the concerns raised in the previous section about data coverage across the full range of the continuous commune population measure, I estimate a series of models where commune population is also measured in tertiles, quartiles and quintiles.

Results in table 3 suggest that lifelong residents of larger communes are more likely to have post-secondary degrees and less likely to have no secondary degree. The coefficients are consistently signed across the four specifications for commune population size. Not all coefficients are statistically significant at $p < 0.05$, as the standard errors are larger for the continuous and the tertile specifications (which are less coarse measures of commune population). Nonetheless, results in table 3 provide suggestive evidence of a connection between commune of residence and educational attainment.

Results in table 4 suggest that lifelong residents of larger communes are more likely to be professionals and less likely to have manual occupations. The direction of the coefficients is consistent across models, although the specifications with a continuous measure of population are not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. The coding of manual occupations includes

[20]Parental socio-economic status is by definition prior in the temporal and causal chain to where the respondents live today. The SHP also includes measures of mother's education and mother's occupation, but the larger number of missing values makes these measures unsuitable for my analysis.

Figure 4: Predicted probability of educational and occupational outcomes



Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017.
Calculated from logistic regression models (in tables 3 and 4) with standard errors clustered by respondent. Points are predicted probabilities and lines are 95 percent confidence intervals. For each panel, the x-axis is coded '0'-No, '1'-Yes.
'Post secondary' is the probability of having a post-secondary degree, 'No secondary' is the probability of not having a secondary degree. 'Professional' is the probability of having a professional occupation. 'Manual' is the probability of having a manual occupation.
Results are for the highest (black) and lowest (gray) tertile, quartile or quintile of commune population. In the bottom right panel, 'with Agr.' refers to manual occupations including agriculture and 'w/o Agr.' refers to manual occupations other than agriculture.

agricultural jobs, which are not common in urban areas. To ensure that the results are not driven by this structural limitation, I estimate models (numbers 7, 9 and 11) in which the dependent variable 'manual occupation' is coded to exclude agricultural jobs. In these models, commune population coefficients are smaller than in models that include agricultural

jobs, but the coefficients are consistently negative and statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$). This suggests that lifelong residents of larger cities are less likely to have manual occupations, whether or not the definition of manual occupations includes agricultural jobs.

To gauge the magnitude of relationships between education, occupation and geography, figure 4 plots predicted probabilities calculated from models in tables 3 and 4. The results in figure 4 compare the probability of the respective educational or occupational outcome in the top or bottom tertile, quartile or quintile of commune population size. Some of the largest geographic gaps are for the likelihood of having post-secondary qualifications. Lifelong residents of the largest communes are 12 to 15 percentage points more likely than residents of the smallest communes to have post-secondary qualifications. These are substantial gaps that suggest commune size may be a important factor in shaping educational trajectories.

The geographic gap in the likelihood of having manual occupations is substantial when including agricultural jobs. Lifelong residents of the largest communes are roughly 20 percentage points less likely to have one of the manual occupations. That gap shrinks to roughly 7 or 8 percentage points when agricultural jobs are excluded. There are similar gaps for the likelihood of having no secondary qualifications (8 percentage points) and for being a professional (9 percentage points).

Overall, results in this section suggest that geography may play an important indirect role in shaping cosmopolitan attitudes. Education and occupation are two of the most important predictors of cosmopolitanism and my results suggest that commune size may shape educational and occupational attainment. Yet the analysis in this section is suggestive and not definitive. My data and research design only allow me to identify one instance of geographic effects on education and occupation (a comparison of lifelong residents in different types of communes), but there may be other ways in which geography matters for movers. In addition, I control for father's education and occupation to minimize the confounding effect of socio-economic background, but these controls are unlikely to fully capture variation in socio-economic background. Future research should explore these issues in greater detail.

10 Discussion

This paper has explored whether contextual effects can account for geographic divides over cosmopolitanism. Existing evidence suggests that sorting is important for understanding why different types of people live in different geographic environments. Yet, it is has been difficult for previous research to credibly evaluate contextual effects, which is the other possible explanation for geographic divides. I address these challenges by leveraging longitudinal data from the SHP merged with contextual data on municipal-level environments to explore three types of direct contextual effects. I find no evidence that moving to a different municipality, living in municipalities that change composition over timne or spending one's entire life in the same municipality affects geographic divides on cosmopolitanism. Instead, I find evidence of indirect geographic effects. Living in larger communes may increase the likelihood of obtaining post-secondary educational qualifications and becoming a professional, two demographic outcomes that are strongly associated with cosmopolitan attitudes. In addition, living in smaller communes may increase the likelihood of not obtaining post-secondary qualifications and becoming a manual workers, two demographic outcomes strongly associated with anti-cosmopolitan attitudes.

There are two important caveats to the finding of no direct contextual effects. First, I do find evidence that immigration attitudes become more negative when the foreign share of the local population increases. This dynamic cannot explain geographic divides over immigration (as the foreign population increases fastest in large cities where immigration attitudes are the most positive) but it does suggest that contextual effects exist. Second, my analysis focused on municipal-level factors but recent research finds evidence of neighborhood-level contextual effects on cosmopolitan attitudes (van Heerdin and Ruedin 2019; Maxwell 2019*b*). These neighborhood-level effects cannot explain the broader urban-rural divide but they are further evidence of contextual effects. Together these two caveats highlight the nuanced and multi-faceted way in which contextual effects may operate.

The lack of evidence of direct contextual effects suggests that sorting will continue to be

the primary driver of geographic divides over cosmopolitanism. In particular, the macroeconomic trends that have concentrated cosmopolitan highly-educated professionals in large cities should continue to exacerbate the geographic divides. However, an ongoing area of future research will be why education and occupation are so strongly correlated with cosmopolitan orientations. Is it still unclear whether those relationships are driven by economic interests, cultural habits, or a combination of the two. In addition, researchers continue to debate whether educational and occupational attainment have direct causal effects on cosmopolitan orientations, or whether people with different cosmopolitan orientations select into different educational and occupational tracks. Better understanding the relationship between education, occupation and cosmopolitanism will be essential for charting future urban-rural divides.

My evidence of potential indirect geographic effects further emphasizes the importance of education and occupation. Future research will want to explore in more detail why educational and occupational attainment varies across geography. The patterns appear to be strong, but there are multiple possible mechanisms that could explain the finding. Geography could shape education and occupation through different interpersonal networks, structural opportunities, or cultural norms. Future research should explore this in more detail.

The results in this article are from Switzerland, but the issue of urban-rural polarization is relevant for countries across Europe and North America. Managing territorial divides over how to respond to globalization will be essential for nation-states to maintain their coherence and unity. Unraveling the divides will be a top political priority for years to come.

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Appendix: Table of Contents

A Descriptive statistics

Table A1: Demographic summary statistics
(weighted, respondents born in Switzerland)

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age	51.13	17.41	13	101
Female	0.52	0.50	0	1
Swiss citizen	0.96	0.18	0	1
Post-secondary education	0.32	0.47	0	1
No secondary education	0.09	0.29	0	1
Professional	0.14	0.35	0	1
Manual occupation	0.14	0.34	0	1

B Swiss Household Panel details

SHP sampling is done randomly by households and is stratified at the regional level. Standard procedure is for all individuals in the household to be surveyed, with a few special case exemptions (e.g. if potential respondents suffer from health issues, have language-comprehension problems, or if they are under the age of 15 years old).

A challenge with longitudinal data is how to handle non-random attrition from the panel. In the SHP, respondents are at greater risk of attrition if they are young, male, foreign-born, or socially and economically marginalized (Rothenbühler and Voorpostel 2016; Voorpostel and Lipps 2011). These known demographic predictors of attrition are used to calculate the longitudinal weights employed in my analysis, which should correct for some of the potential bias.[21] There is always the possibility that additional non-demographic characteristics (e.g. psychological alienation) contribute to attrition in ways that are uncorrelated with observable demographic characteristics. To the extent that this is true, the sample would be biased towards fewer anti-cosmopolitanism respondents. Yet, it is not clear how this would bias the analysis of contextual effects. The direction of any bias would depend on whether attrition among psychologically alienated respondents varies across geography and moving status and there is no clear reason to expect such variation.

Another subpopulation with a higher risk of attrition in the SHP is people who move (Rothenbühler and Voorpostel 2016; Voorpostel and Lipps 2011). One implication of this is an attenuated sample of post-move observations. Another (potentially more serious) implication is if attrition is unevenly distributed across different movers. For example, a reasonable

[21] In addition, note that these demographic predictors of attrition may cancel each other out in the overall balance of more and less cosmopolitan respondents in the sample. People who are younger and foreign born are more likely to be cosmopolitan while people who are socially and economically marginalized are less likely to be cosmopolitan (Antal and Rothenbühler 2015).

assumption is that socially and economic marginalized movers are more likely than socially and economically successful movers to drop out of the panel. If true, this would bias the sample of movers towards more cosmopolitan respondents. Yet, this distributional imbalance is also a natural feature of the moving population. Highly-educated professionals (who are generally cosmopolitan) are over-represented among movers (regardless of whether to larger or smaller communes) because of the greater resources required for long-distance moves. Therefore, higher rates of attrition among less cosmopolitan movers might further exaggerate the small sample size of less cosmopolitan movers but it is not clear how this might bias the analysis. With a sample biased towards more cosmopolitan movers it might be more difficult to detect pro-cosmopolitanism effects of moving to larger communes (because people who are cosmopolitan prior to moving have less space to change their attitudes). Yet, one could also make the case that it would be easier to detect the pro-cosmopolitan effects of moving to larger communes if the most alienated anti-cosmopolitan respondents are removed from the data. On balance, it is not clear that attrition should be a major threat to the inferences in this paper.

C Moving effects additional models

Table C1: Time trends for movers to larger communes - the largest population differential

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
12 years before move	-0.135*	0.068	-0.084	0.096	0.068*
	(0.057)	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.059)	(0.034)
11 years before move	-0.067	0.102*	-0.059	0.062	0.057
	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.055)	(0.051)	(0.035)
10 years before move	-0.037	0.031	-0.025	0.030	0.046
	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.032)
9 years before move	-0.064	0.071	-0.007	0.039	0.022
	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.048)	(0.047)	(0.027)
8 years before move	-0.074	0.041	-0.027	0.063	0.015
	(0.047)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.027)
7 years before move	-0.032	0.014	-0.024	-0.006	0.021
	(0.044)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.025)
6 years before move	-0.020	0.002	-0.056	0.077*	0.056*
	(0.041)	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.026)
5 years before move	-0.016	-0.003	-0.047	0.035	0.016
	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.023)
4 years before move	-0.036	0.020	-0.055	0.068	0.023
	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.020)
3 years before move	-0.021	0.012	-0.049	0.054	0.009
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.020)
2 years before move	-0.010	0.005	-0.049	0.059	0.014
	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.019)
1 year before move	-0.011	-0.005	-0.039	0.028	0.014
	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.019)
Year of move	-0.038	0.025	-0.045	0.070*	0.020
	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.019)
1 year after move	0.001	-0.015	-0.034	0.039	0.013
	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.019)
2 years after move	0.020	-0.012	-0.060	0.070*	0.007
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.019)
3 years after move	0.013	0.000	-0.042	0.047	0.028
	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.020)
4 years after move	-0.041	0.005	-0.049	0.045	-0.003
	(0.040)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.019)
5 years after move	0.021	-0.024	-0.046	0.054	0.018
	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.020)
6 years after move	0.025	-0.027	-0.024	0.027	0.000
	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.021)
7 years after move	0.033	-0.021	-0.066	0.077	0.031
	(0.041)	(0.038)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.021)
8 years after move	-0.006	-0.022	-0.055	0.080	0.011
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.024)
9 years after move	0.051	-0.031	-0.066	0.062	0.015
	(0.048)	(0.043)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.023)
10 years after move	0.003	-0.025	-0.119*	0.150**	0.015
	(0.049)	(0.045)	(0.048)	(0.050)	(0.024)
11 years after move	0.049	-0.089	-0.048	0.054	-0.006
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.025)
12 years after move					-0.008
					(0.026)
13 years after move					-0.018
					(0.027)
14 years after move					-0.011
					(0.027)
Observations	58,543	58,543	57,260	57,260	89,660
Respondents	9,655	9,655	9,623	9,623	11,115
Overall R^2	0.001	0.001	0.095	0.096	0.008

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017. Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year, any move, and region. All models limited to respondents born in Switzerland. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. Coefficients (with standard errors in parentheses) estimate whether attitude change over different time intervals is different for respondents who move to larger communes with a population differential in the largest quartile of all moving population differences, as opposed to respondents who do not make such moves. Results presented only for years with at least 100 movers in the model.

Table C2: Time trends for movers to smaller communes - the largest population differential

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
11 years before move	-0.029	0.035			-0.025
	(0.069)	(0.064)			(0.049)
10 years before move	0.029	0.017	0.009	-0.035	-0.026
	(0.069)	(0.065)	(0.060)	(0.065)	(0.044)
9 years before move	0.045	-0.039	-0.027	-0.007	0.005
	(0.061)	(0.055)	(0.060)	(0.061)	(0.042)
8 years before move	-0.080	0.049	-0.015	-0.004	-0.004
	(0.060)	(0.054)	(0.059)	(0.060)	(0.040)
7 years before move	0.005	-0.004	-0.006	-0.033	-0.008
	(0.058)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.058)	(0.042)
6 years before move	0.032	-0.044	-0.006	0.015	-0.004
	(0.055)	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.055)	(0.036)
5 years before move	-0.028	0.006	0.001	-0.009	0.027
	(0.056)	(0.055)	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.037)
4 years before move	-0.004	-0.004	0.016	-0.020	0.006
	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.037)
3 years before move	0.016	-0.000	-0.035	0.018	-0.016
	(0.052)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.033)
2 years before move	-0.005	0.001	-0.019	0.007	0.001
	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.034)
1 year before move	-0.005	-0.025	0.008	-0.008	-0.007
	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.032)
Year of move	0.038	-0.039	-0.016	-0.014	-0.026
	(0.051)	(0.049)	(0.045)	(0.048)	(0.031)
1 year after move	0.045	-0.020	-0.006	-0.017	-0.004
	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.032)
2 years after move	0.026	-0.017	-0.021	0.023	-0.009
	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.049)	(0.053)	(0.035)
3 years after move	0.020	-0.016	-0.038	0.023	0.001
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.034)
4 years after move	-0.035	0.026	-0.012	-0.027	0.007
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.033)
5 years after move	0.033	-0.025	-0.039	-0.003	-0.002
	(0.057)	(0.055)	(0.053)	(0.058)	(0.035)
6 years after move	0.015	-0.015	0.008	-0.027	-0.005
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.054)	(0.056)	(0.036)
7 years after move	-0.046	0.047	-0.020	-0.010	-0.011
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.036)
8 years after move	-0.035	0.009	-0.046	0.010	-0.012
	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.066)	(0.039)
9 years after move					-0.019
					(0.038)
10 years after move					0.008
					(0.042)
11 years after move					-0.035
					(0.039)
12 years after move					-0.008
					(0.046)
Observations	58,543	58,543	57,260	57,260	89,660
Respondents	9,655	9,655	9,623	9,623	11,115
Overall R^2	0.001	0.001	0.097	0.100	0.010

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017. Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year, any move, and region. All models limited to respondents born in Switzerland. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. Coefficients (with standard errors in parentheses) estimate whether attitude change over different time intervals is different for respondents who move to smaller communes with a population differential in the largest quartile of all moving population differences, as opposed to respondents who do not make such moves. Results presented only for years with at least 100 movers in the model.

Table C3: Cosmopolitan attitude time trends for movers to the largest metropolitan centers

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
7 years before move	-0.013	0.069			0.071*
	(0.079)	(0.069)			(0.034)
6 years before move	0.064	0.000	0.267***	-0.308***	0.093*
	(0.070)	(0.063)	(0.075)	(0.077)	(0.038)
5 years before move	0.045	-0.029	0.350***	-0.388***	0.077*
	(0.062)	(0.050)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.035)
4 years before move	0.033	0.046	0.346***	-0.352***	0.039
	(0.056)	(0.052)	(0.066)	(0.061)	(0.028)
3 years before move	0.047	-0.007	0.313***	-0.360***	0.055*
	(0.054)	(0.049)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.026)
2 years before move	0.077	-0.032	0.325***	-0.345***	0.025
	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.040)	(0.014)
1 year before move	0.048	-0.012	0.316***	-0.381***	0.050**
	(0.058)	(0.052)	(0.058)	(0.055)	(0.016)
Year of move	-0.007	0.017	0.298***	-0.302***	0.027
	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.041)	(0.038)	(0.017)
1 year after move	0.060	-0.027	0.335***	-0.337***	0.020
	(0.056)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.055)	(0.015)
2 years after move	0.055	0.007	0.257***	-0.289***	-0.003
	(0.057)	(0.049)	(0.063)	(0.060)	(0.018)
3 years after move	0.094	-0.047	0.340***	-0.350***	0.018
	(0.059)	(0.056)	(0.062)	(0.056)	(0.021)
4 years after move					0.012
					(0.021)
5 years after move					-0.000
					(0.024)
6 years after move					0.007
					(0.025)
Observations	51,865	51,865	50,725	50,725	82,014
Respondents	9,299	9,299	9,261	9,261	10,779
Overall R^2	0.002	0.001	0.092	0.087	0.006

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017. Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year, any move, and region. All models limited to respondents born in Switzerland. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. Coefficients (with standard errors in parentheses) estimate whether attitude change over different time intervals is different for movers as opposed to non-movers. Results presented only for years with at least 100 movers in the model. The largest metropolitan centers are Basel, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Zurich.

Table C4: Cosmopolitan attitude time trends for movers to rural communes

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
9 years before move	-0.037	0.034	0.149	-0.068	-0.120**
	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.106)	(0.088)	(0.044)
8 years before move	-0.151*	0.084	0.138	-0.028	-0.115*
	(0.069)	(0.065)	(0.113)	(0.089)	(0.047)
7 years before move	-0.147*	0.119*	0.117	-0.070	-0.108**
	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.106)	(0.082)	(0.042)
6 years before move	-0.103	0.085	0.138	-0.028	-0.059
	(0.055)	(0.053)	(0.108)	(0.084)	(0.039)
5 years before move	-0.126*	0.084	0.162	-0.067	-0.052
	(0.058)	(0.057)	(0.105)	(0.076)	(0.038)
4 years before move	-0.108	0.089	0.152	-0.065	-0.037
	(0.059)	(0.058)	(0.106)	(0.078)	(0.036)
3 years before move	-0.122*	0.118*	0.120	-0.041	-0.023
	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.101)	(0.073)	(0.034)
2 years before move	-0.199***	0.147**	0.092	-0.027	-0.056
	(0.058)	(0.055)	(0.107)	(0.076)	(0.033)
1 year before move	-0.095	0.065	0.149	-0.081	-0.048
	(0.055)	(0.054)	(0.103)	(0.077)	(0.028)
Year of move	-0.113*	0.085	0.114	-0.061	-0.070*
	(0.050)	(0.049)	(0.096)	(0.070)	(0.029)
1 year after move	-0.099	0.081	0.104	-0.038	-0.067*
	(0.055)	(0.052)	(0.104)	(0.076)	(0.032)
2 years after move	-0.067	0.028	0.126	-0.065	-0.067*
	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.103)	(0.074)	(0.034)
3 years after move	-0.075	0.061	0.096	-0.062	-0.069
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.108)	(0.077)	(0.036)
4 years after move	-0.113	0.104	0.135	-0.098	-0.033
	(0.061)	(0.065)	(0.109)	(0.082)	(0.034)
5 years after move	-0.007	0.021	0.146	-0.069	-0.051
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.113)	(0.078)	(0.034)
6 years after move	-0.008	0.011	0.168	-0.071	-0.055
	(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.110)	(0.086)	(0.035)
7 years after move					-0.035
					(0.036)
8 years after move					-0.040
					(0.034)
9 years after move					-0.042
					(0.035)
Observations	51,865	51,865	50,725	50,725	82,014
Respondents	9,299	9,299	9,261	9,261	10,779
Overall R^2	0.001	0.001	0.090	0.089	0.005

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Swiss Household Panel 1999-2017. Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year, any move, and region. All models limited to respondents born in Switzerland. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. Coefficients (with standard errors in parentheses) estimate whether attitude change over different time intervals is different for movers as opposed to non-movers. Results presented only for years with at least 100 movers in the models.

D Changing commune composition

Appendix tables D4 and D5 explore whether changing commune composition operates differently for specific socio-economic subgroups. Model 5 in appendix table D4 suggests that among professionals, support for the Radical Right may decrease as the foreign percentage of the local population increases over time. This is consistent with the predictions of H_2b and could be evidence that high-status professionals (who are one of the most cosmopolitan subgroups in general) are particularly likely to become more cosmopolitan as their local environment includes more foreigners. However, it is worth noting that there is no evidence of a relationship between increasing percentages of foreign residents and more cosmopolitan immigration or EU attitudes among professionals, so this is not a broader phenomenon. In addition, the estimated effect size is very small. The average year-to-year change in the percentage of foreign residents is an increase of 0.23 percent. Based on the coefficient in model 5 of appendix table D4 (-0.001), the average year-to-year decrease in the likelihood of supporting the Radical Right is 0.0002 percentage points, which is an extremely small number. Even at two standard deviations from the mean year-to-year increase in the foreign population (an increase of 4.76 percent), the estimated decrease in the likelihood of supporting the Radical Right is only 0.005 percentage points. These effects are unlikely to be important for overall geographic polarization.

Model 4 in appendix table D5 suggests that people in manual occupations become more anti-EU as the overall population increases. Declining support for the EU is a general trend in Switzerland. After the referendum to join the EU was narrowly defeated in 1992, public opinion in Switzerland has gradually become more negative towards the EU. However, the finding in model 4 runs counter to the predictions of H_2a and therefore is unable to account for geographic divides on cosmopolitanism. It is not clear why EU attitudes should decline faster in communes with larger population growth or why that trend should be more

pronounced among manual workers as opposed to other socio-economic subgroups.[22] Future research should explore this in more detail.

Models 6 and 7 in table D5 suggest that people with no secondary education become more anti-immigration as the percentage of foreign residents increases. This is not consistent with the predictions of H_2b and cannot account for geographic polarization on immigration. However, the results in models 6 and 7 are consistent with the logic of group threat (Dancygier 2010; Kaufmann and Goodwin 2018). Moreover, the logic of group threat is that exposure to out-groups is most likely to generate negative attitudes under conditions of economic disadvantage and resource competition. Respondents without secondary education are one of the most vulnerable socio-economic subgroups, so it makes sense that the relationship between a growing foreign population and anti-immigrant attitudes should be most pronounced for this group. As in the analysis of the overall population (table 1 in the main text and appendix table D1), among the subset of no secondary education the coefficient for foreign population change is greatly reduced and no longer statistically significant after including a control variable for percent of commune residents receiving social welfare. This reinforces the importance of contextual economic factors for conditioning group threat.

Finally, model 10 in table D5 suggests that among those without secondary education, an increase in the commune population size may be associated with decreasing support for the Radical Right. This is consistent with the predictions of H_2a and consistent with findings

[22]At the start of the SHP, manual workers in communes with faster population growth were more positive about the EU than manual workers in communes with slower growth. It is possible that the overtime trends reflect more room for attitudes to become more negative in communes with faster population growth, although it is not clear why this should be more pronounced among manual workers as opposed to other socio-economic subgroups. At the start of the SHP, all subgroups were more positive about the EU in communes with faster population growth.

from the overall SHP sample (table 1 in the main text). As mentioned in the main text, for the overall SHP sample, the effect of increasing commune population size is extremely small (the average year-to-year population change would be associated with a decrease of .00002 percent in the likelihood of voting for the Radical Right). The effect is somewhat larger for respondents without secondary education. According to the coefficient in model 10 of table D5, the average year-to-year population change would be associated with a decrease of .0001 percent in the likelihood of voting for the Radical Right. However this is also an extremely small number and is also unlikely to have much impact on overall geographic polarization.

Table D1: Immigration attitudes and changing commune composition

	'Equal for foreigners'			'Better for Swiss citizens'		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Population	0.003	-0.016	-0.034	-0.013	0.004	0.015
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Foreign percentage	-0.002**	-0.001	-0.001	0.002**	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Commune unemployment	✓		✓	✓		✓
Commune welfare		✓	✓		✓	✓
Observations	49,137	25,841	20,563	49,137	25,841	20,563
Respondents	7,377	8,088	6,133	7,377	8,088	6,133
Overall R^2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.000

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year and canton. Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s). 'Foreign percentage' is the share of the population that is foreign-born. 'Commune unemployment' is a control variable for commune unemployment levels. 'Commune welfare' is a control variable for percentage of commune residents receiving social welfare.

Table D2: Support for the Radical Right and changing commune composition

	Large urban centers (1)	Urban centers (2)	Rural (3)
Population	0.024	-0.005	0.074
	(0.025)	(0.005)	(0.834)
Foreign percentage	0.005	0.001	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	7,049	15,801	14,559
Respondents	1,141	2,474	2,117
Overall R^2	0.000	0.000	0.001

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year and canton. Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s). 'Foreign percentage' is the share of the population that is foreign-born. 'Large urban centers' are Basel, Bern, Geneva, Lausanne and Zürich. 'Urban centers' are large urban centers plus Aarau, Baden, Bellinzona, Biel, Chur, Fribourg, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Locarno, Lugano, Lucerne, Montreux, Neuchatel, Olten, Schaffhausen, Sion, Solothurn, St. Gallen, Thun, Vevey, Wil, Winterthur, and Zug.

Table D3: Cosmopolitan attitudes and rates of commune composition change

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
Population change	-0.025	-0.002	-0.009	0.015	-0.005
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.006)
Foreign percentage change	0.003	-0.003	-0.001	0.001	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Observations	48,756	48,756	47,711	47,711	77,129
Respondents	9,104	9,104	9,067	9,067	10,690
Overall R^2	0.001	0.002	0.096	0.086	0.004

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year and canton. Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population change' is the change in the commune population (measured in 100,000s) since the previous year. 'Foreign percentage change' is the change in the share of the population that is foreign-born since the previous year.

Table D4: Cosmopolitan attitudes and changing commune composition: High socio-economic status respondents

	Professional occupations				
	Equal for.	Pro Swiss	Join EU	No EU	R. Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Population	-0.023	0.014	0.013	-0.008	-0.006
	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.012)
Foreign percentage	-0.000	0.000	-0.002	0.002	-0.001*
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Observations	7,791	7,791	7,604	7,604	11,844
Respondents	1,904	1,904	1,884	1,884	2,190
Overall R^2	0.000	0.002	0.113	0.090	0.004

	Post-secondary education				
	Equal for.	Pro Swiss	Join EU	No EU	R. Right
	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Population	-0.017	0.004	0.020	-0.022	-0.006
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.005)
Foreign percentage	0.000	0.000	-0.002	0.002	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Observations	17,724	17,724	17,461	17,461	28,644
Respondents	3,443	3,443	3,415	3,415	4,005
Overall R^2	0.000	0.001	0.117	0.112	0.001

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year and canton. Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s). 'Foreign percentage' is the share of the population that is foreign-born.

Table D5: Cosmopolitan attitudes and changing commune composition: Low socio-economic status respondents

	Manual occupations				
	Equal for.	Pro Swiss	Join EU	No EU	R. Right
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Population	0.040	-0.049	-0.052	0.089*	0.019
	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.028)	(0.039)	(0.022)
Foreign percentage	0.000	-0.002	0.003	-0.005	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Observations	7,078	7,078	6,964	6,964	10,365
Respondents	1,844	1,844	1,835	1,835	2,197
Overall R^2	0.000	0.002	0.024	0.017	0.002

	No secondary education				
	Equal for.	Pro Swiss	Join EU	No EU	R. Right
	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Population	0.021	-0.074	0.003	0.019	-0.048*
	(0.049)	(0.064)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.023)
Foreign percentage	-0.006*	0.007*	-0.002	0.001	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Observations	4,556	4,556	4,342	4,342	6,315
Respondents	1,060	1,060	1,052	1,052	1,280
Overall R^2	0.001	0.001	0.009	0.032	0.001

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Linear regression models with person fixed effects and controls for year. Models 1-5 include controls for canton. Models 6-10 include controls for region instead of canton because the smaller sample size is not dispersed across all cantons.

Respondents born in Switzerland who did not move within the past year. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens. 'Population' is commune population (measured in 100,000s). 'Foreign percentage' is the share of the population that is foreign-born.

E Lifelong exposure additional models

Appendix tables E1-E3 explore whether lifelong residence in different communes affects cosmopolitan attitudes. Models in table 2 of the main text use a continuous measure of commune population size but appendix tables E1-E3 use commune population measures that are coarsened into tertiles, quartiles and quintiles. One main result in appendix tables E1-E3 is the pattern of more cosmopolitan attitudes among people who spend their whole lives in larger communes. These results are consistently statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$) across each cosmopolitan attitude dependent variable and each coarsened measure of commune population.

Yet, just because cosmopolitanism varies across geography among this subset of lifelong residents does not mean that contextual effects are the cause of that variation. Lifelong residents of larger communes are more likely to be highly-educated and have professional occupations, and those socio-economic outcomes are also associated with cosmopolitanism. Therefore, I estimate additional models with control variables for education and occupation. Tables E1 and E2 indicate that for immigration and EU attitudes, the commune population coefficients are reduced roughly in half and are mostly no longer statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$) after controlling for respondents' education and occupation. (For radical right support, the results in table E3 indicate that the commune population coefficients are only slight reduced and remain statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$) after controlling for education and occupation). These results suggest that accounting for the education and occupation of lifelong residents in different communes will mostly account for observed differences in immigration attitudes and EU attitudes.

Education and occupation are important sources of variation across geography and cosmopolitanism, but they could also be considered post-treatment variables if lifelong residence in different geographic areas shapes these socio-economic outcomes.[23] Therefore, appendix

[23] I find evidence of this in the main text section 'The indirect effect of geography'.

tables E1-E3 also estimate models with control variables for father's education and father's occupation.[24] Parental socio-economic status is the key measure of an individual's class background, which predicts a wide range of socio-economic outcomes later in life (Bowles and Gintis 2002). Moreover, due to temporal ordering the likelihood of having a professional/manual worker father (or a father with post-secondary as opposed to no secondary education) cannot be affected by whether one is a lifelong resident of different types of communes. Appendix tables E1-E3 show that after including these measures of class background, the coefficients are reduced and no longer statistically significant at $p < 0.05$. The one exception is the measure of population quintiles predicting support for 'Better opportunities for Swiss citizens', which is negative and remains statistically significant (at $p < 0.05$) after the inclusion of controls for father's education and father's occupation. However, this is the only coefficient that remains statistically significant and it is on the borderline of the 95 percent significance threshold, so we should not overinterpret this finding.

In short, a series of additional models in appendix tables E1-E3 suggest that there is no relationship between lifelong residence in larger/smaller communes and cosmopolitanism, after controlling for potential confounders.

[24]The SHP also includes measures of mother's education and mother's occupation, but the larger number of missing values makes these measures unsuitable for my analysis.

Table E1: Immigration attitudes among whole life in same commune

	Equal opportunities for foreigners								
		Tertiles			Quartiles			Quintiles	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Population	0.199*	0.120	0.114	0.145*	0.076	0.081	0.137**	0.086	0.089
	(0.079)	(0.080)	(0.082)	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.061)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.047)
SES		✓			✓			✓	
Father SES			✓			✓			✓
Observations	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872
Respondents	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041
Pseudo R^2	0.025	0.064	0.037	0.025	0.064	0.037	0.027	0.065	0.037

	Better opportunities for Swiss citizens								
		Tertiles			Quartiles			Quintiles	
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Population	-0.226**	-0.140	-0.140	-0.167**	-0.093	-0.103	-0.156***	-0.102*	-0.108*
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.086)	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.064)	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.050)
SES		✓			✓			✓	
Father SES			✓			✓			✓
Observations	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872	6,872
Respondents	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041	1,041
Pseudo R^2	0.029	0.067	0.040	0.029	0.067	0.040	0.031	0.068	0.041

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent. All models include controls for year and canton. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. 'Population' is commune population, coarsened into tertiles (models 1-3 and 10-12), quartiles (models 4-6 and 13-15), and quintiles (models 7-9 and 16-18). 'SES' are control variables for respondent education and occupation. 'Father SES' are control variables for education and occupation of the respondent's father.

Table E2: European Union attitudes among whole life in same commune

	Join the EU								
		Tertiles			Quartiles			Quintiles	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Population	0.279**	0.177	0.149	0.201**	0.114	0.109	0.179***	0.115*	0.104
	(0.089)	(0.091)	(0.093)	(0.066)	(0.069)	(0.071)	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.053)
SES		✓			✓			✓	
Father SES			✓			✓			✓
Observations	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627	6,627
Respondents	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023	1,023
Pseudo R^2	0.135	0.160	0.158	0.135	0.159	0.158	0.137	0.160	0.159

	Do not join the EU								
		Tertiles			Quartiles			Quintiles	
	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
Population	-0.227**	-0.137	-0.100	-0.170**	-0.094	-0.080	-0.150**	-0.092	-0.075
	(0.087)	(0.089)	(0.090)	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.069)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.052)
SES		✓			✓			✓	
Father SES			✓			✓			✓
Observations	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673	6,673
Respondents	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036	1,036
Pseudo R^2	0.141	0.162	0.163	0.141	0.161	0.164	0.143	0.162	0.164

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent. All models include controls for year and canton. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years old. 'Population' is commune population, coarsened into tertiles (models 1-3 and 10-12), quartiles (models 4-6 and 13-15), and quintiles (models 7-9 and 16-18). 'SES' are control variables for respondent education and occupation. 'Father SES' are control variables for education and occupation of the respondent's father.

Table E3: Support for Radical Right among whole life in same commune

	Tertiles			Quartiles			Quintiles		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Population	-0.330**	-0.222*	-0.157	-0.257**	-0.178*	-0.137	-0.205***	-0.144*	-0.104
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.104)	(0.079)	(0.078)	(0.082)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.064)
SES		✓			✓			✓	
Father SES			✓			✓			✓
Observations	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782	9,782
Respondents	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092	1,092
Pseudo R^2	0.074	0.095	0.108	0.075	0.096	0.108	0.075	0.096	0.108

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent. All models include controls for year and canton. Limited to Swiss citizens born in Switzerland who have lived in the same commune since the age of 5 years. 'Population' is commune population, coarsened into tertiles (models 1-3), quartiles (models 4-6), and quintiles (models 7-9). 'SES' are control variables for respondent education and occupation. 'Father SES' are control variables for education and occupation of the respondent's father.

F Demography and Cosmopolitan Attitudes

Table F1: Education, Occupation and Cosmopolitan attitudes

	Equal for. (1)	Pro Swiss (2)	Join EU (3)	No EU (4)	R. Right (5)
Post-secondary	0.459***	-0.499***	0.341***	-0.340***	-0.481***
	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.072)
No secondary	-0.286***	0.248***	-0.407***	0.348***	0.171*
	(0.061)	(0.062)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.083)
Professional	0.440***	-0.492***	0.379***	-0.392***	-0.732***
	(0.055)	(0.062)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.105)
Manual	-0.467***	0.486***	-0.608***	0.551***	0.571***
	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.063)	(0.061)	(0.067)
Observations	60,362	60,362	59,034	59,034	90,953
Respondents	10,104	10,104	10,070	10,070	11,536
Pseudo R^2	0.042	0.041	0.120	0.126	0.079

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Logistic regressions with standard errors (in parentheses) clustered by respondent. Models include controls for age, sex, commune population size, Swiss citizenship, year and canton. Limited to respondents born in Switzerland. 'R. Right' limited to Swiss citizens.