Children in immigrant families in Switzerland: on a path between discrimination and integration

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CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN SWITZERLAND: ON A PATH BETWEEN DISCRIMINATION AND INTEGRATION

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The results reported represent the best estimates possible on the immigrant population as derived from official statistical sources. Given the fluid nature of the migration phenomenon, it is not possible to know precisely the extent to which the coverage is representative of the whole population of interest or is fully comparable across the countries studied. In general, the number of undocumented arrivals and undocumented residents is more difficult to measure through routine data collection processes, and the country researchers did not specifically address this segment of the immigrant population. Undocumented immigrants and their families may or may not be covered in some of the country analyses.

The country studies have been reviewed as individually indicated by national experts, by members of the international research team, including UNICEF IRC, and by the series editor.

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CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN SWITZERLAND: ON A PATH BETWEEN DISCRIMINATION AND INTEGRATION

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Summary: There were 1.5 million documented foreigners living in Switzerland in 2000. This represented 20 per cent of the resident population, which is one of the highest shares of foreign residents within any country in Europe. Switzerland may be described as a country of immigrants because of significant inflows: of the resident population aged 15 and above, 23 per cent are foreign born. At the 2000 census, of the 1,442,000 children 0 to 17 years of age living in families in Switzerland, approximately 39 per cent (559,000) were members of families of foreign origin with at least one foreign-born parent. The countries of origin of 52 per cent of these families were outside the European Union. The 2000 census enumerated 350,000 children resident in Switzerland who were foreign citizens.

The following are key findings of the study:

- The high proportion of foreigners among the population is partly caused by the fairly restrictive laws on naturalization in Switzerland. The naturalization process is socially selective. Thus, variations among immigrant group tend to fade away if one takes social origin and length of stay into account.
- There are considerable differences between Swiss and foreign children in terms of family environment, particularly the share of children living in one-parent families. Immigration decreases the likelihood of divorce and separation.
- The second generation often tends to maintain practices and behaviours that are distinctive within their immigrant communities rather than among native-born population.
- Most children in immigrant families live in households in which at least one parent is working.
- Educational performance varies among immigrant groups. Youth in groups involved in longer term immigration flows tend to be more successful than youth in groups in more recent flows.
- The unemployment rate among youth aged 15–24 who are foreign nationals is twice the rate among Swiss youth in the same age group. The marginalized position on the labour market of youth involved in recent immigration flows is caused by difficulties encountered in education and in social integration, but it is also partly the product of discriminatory practices among teachers and employers.
- The evidence on the causes of deviant behaviour among youth of immigrant origin points to the interplay among social dynamics in the country of origin, specific types of immigration and structural conditions in the country of settlement.

Keywords: immigrant child, immigrant family, demography, education, labour market, discrimination, citizenship, health, poverty, deviant behavior.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

EU	European Union
EU-15	Member states of the EU before 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom
EU-25	Member states of the EU before January 2007: the EU-15, plus Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

Public debate on immigration tends to be polarized in Switzerland around issues relating to admission policy. However, many children in well-settled immigrant families also appear to experience social exclusion. This needs to be addressed by policies and programmes aimed at fostering social integration. Despite the extraordinarily rapid growth in the number of children in immigrant families, this segment of the population is almost entirely absent from policy discussion and social programme development, and there is a paucity of information available on the circumstances of these children.

The aim of this report is therefore to assess the living conditions of children in immigrant families in Switzerland.

We first provide a brief historical perspective. We then sketch out the major demographic characteristics of immigrant groups in Switzerland, especially children and families, based on the most recent data available nationwide (the 2000 census; see Table 1). We also outline the legal and conceptual framework governing the naturalization process for immigrants and children of immigrant origin. In the literature review, we combine analysis of census data and the recent literature in Switzerland on immigration to examine the social and economic well-being of children in immigrant families and the social environment in which these children develop and grow, including the education system, health care and the labour market.

Table 1: Basic Data on Children in Immigrant Families, Switzerland, 2000

number and per cent of children

Family origin	*Total, number*	*Age at last birthday (%)*				*Citizenship (%)*	
		0–4	*5–9*	*10–14*	*15–17*	*Swiss*	*Non-Swiss*
All children	1,441,654	26.2	29.0	29.0	15.9	77.3	22.7
In Swiss-born families	882,874	24.5	28.7	30.1	16.6	98.2	1.8
In immigrant families	558,780	28.7	29.3	27.1	14.9	44.2	55.8
Republic of Yugoslavia[a]	80,207	28.4	30.4	27.3	14.0	8.6	91.4
Italy	75,615	22.0	27.8	30.8	19.3	48.5	51.5
Germany	44,003	30.4	29.5	26.1	14.0	73.9	26.1
Portugal	41,992	31.8	31.1	24.5	12.6	15.2	84.8
France	32,276	28.5	29.6	27.3	14.6	74.3	25.7
Turkey	31,683	26.8	29.4	28.0	15.8	20.7	79.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21,169	26.3	29.8	28.2	15.8	8.6	91.4
Spain	20,884	22.9	27.5	30.6	18.9	41.0	59.0
TFYR Macedonia	20,025	25.5	27.3	29.8	17.4	5.7	94.3
Austria	13,142	26.6	28.7	28.1	16.6	82.0	18.0
Sri Lanka	10,880	48.4	30.5	14.9	6.2	8.1	91.9
Croatia	10,295	24.3	29.5	28.8	17.4	20.9	79.1
United Kingdom	9,844	28.7	30.2	27.7	13.4	66.5	33.5
United States	9,770	29.6	31.0	27.2	12.1	73.6	26.4

Source: 2000 census.

Note: The table shows only children in immigrant groups of around 10,000 or more individuals in Switzerland.

a. In 2000, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia included the Republic of Montenegro, the Republic of Serbia and the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

2. RECENT PATTERNS IN IMMIGRATION

From the end of World War II to 1974 there was a significant increase in the number of migrant workers among the population of Switzerland. In response to the demands for a larger labour force, Italians and Spaniards arrived during the 1950s.

At that time, Switzerland recruited guest workers through the closely controlled distribution of permits to applicants who were available to engage in temporary work and temporary residence. Laws were passed to ensure that the workers would not settle in Switzerland permanently. The waiting period for a permanent residence permit might be as long as 10 years, and settlement in Switzerland for reasons of family reunification (to be with a family member already resident in Switzerland) was almost impossible.

These policies – called the rotation model because new workers were brought in as the permits of others expired – greatly limited the number of children in families of foreign origin in Switzerland. Nonetheless, by the end of 1970, approximately 17 per cent of all children 0 to 17 years of age, or 297,000 children, were foreign citizens. At that time, most foreign children were citizens of Italy (165,000 children, or 56 per cent of all foreign children). Other countries represented included Germany (37,000, 13 per cent), Spain (24,000, 8 per cent) and Austria and France (each 15,000, 5 per cent). This may be compared with the 350,000 children of foreign citizenship enumerated in the 2000 census.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, pressure applied by international organizations such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and the International Labour Organization led to the adoption of a more sensitive family reunification policy (Efionayi et al. 2005). The rotation policy was replaced through an integration-oriented scheme that facilitated family reunification, made foreign workers eligible for more promotions and attempted to put an end to labour market segmentation. In the late 1970s, seasonal workers who had worked in Switzerland for at least five years gained the right to transform their seasonal permits into permanent residence permits and to bring their families to Switzerland. The proportion of migrant workers with families living in Switzerland rose.

However, the second half of the 1970s and the 1980s were characterized by a depressed economy brought on by the oil crisis of 1973 and the slow economic growth at the beginning of the 1980s. This provoked the departure of thousands of migrant workers and significantly diminished the flow of immigrants, especially from Italy. The number of children in families of foreign origin stabilized.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the countries of origin of migrant labourers progressively changed, and Portugal and the former Yugoslavia (including successor countries) became the main countries of origin for new immigration flows to Switzerland. Immigration from these two countries reached peaks between 1989 and 1994. Moreover, there were two major inflows of asylum seekers during the period: during the first years of the 1980s and during the first years of the 1990s. The main countries involved were Sri Lanka, Turkey and Yugoslavia. People often chose to seek refuge in a country where their fellow countrymen already resided as labour migrants.

For many decades, Switzerland has implemented a policy of selective admission among immigrants who are not highly qualified. Since 2004, nationals of the European Union (EU) have been able to enter the country under the free movement of labour provisions of the bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the EU. Currenty, selective admission of highly qualified applicants is still the official policy with respect to citizens of non-EU countries.

Starting in the early 1980s, family reunification progressively became the most important reason for immigration. Between 1998 and 2005, 42.4 per cent of immigration was motivated by family reunification (29.7 per cent involving foreigners living in Switzerland and 12.7 per cent involving Swiss citizens) (Rausa and Reist 2006). Only recently has the share of applications for resident permits citing family reunification as the reason (39.8 per cent in 2000, but 36.6 per cent in December 2006) dropped below the share of applications citing employment as the reason.

3. SIZE AND ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

There were 1.5 million documented foreigners living in Switzerland in 2000. This represented 20 per cent of the resident population, one of the highest proportions of foreigners in any country in Europe. Switzerland may be described as a country of immigrants because of significant inflows: of the resident population aged 15 and above, 23 per cent is foreign born.

At the 2000 census, of the 1,442,000 children 0 to 17 years of age living in families in Switzerland, approximately 39 per cent (559,000) were members of families of foreign origin with at least one foreign-born parent. The origin of 52 per cent of these families was outside the EU-25, while slightly fewer than 48 per cent came from the EU-25.[1] The 2000 census enumerated 350,000 children who were foreign citizens[2].

Prominent among the children in immigrant families from the EU-25 were the children in families originating in Italy, followed by families from Germany, Portugal, France, Spain and Austria (Table 2). Four of these six countries of origin share borders with Switzerland, and the two others – Portugal and Spain – are traditional countries of origin of immigrants to Switzerland. Together, these countries account for 85 per cent of all children in immigrant families from the EU-25. Immigration flows from the remaining 19 countries of the EU-25 are less developed, and the number of children in families from these countries is lower.

[1] The EU-25 consists of the member states of the EU between May 2004 and January 2007: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

[2] A reader of this paper, who is familiar with the Swiss data, will notice that the definition of the group analyzed here (children with at least one foreign-born parent) is different from the mainstream definition of 'migrant' in Switzerland which is based on nationality. The difference pertains to the fact the formal legal attribute of nationality is not considered here and the parent's place of birth is privileged to of child's place of birth. The more extensive notion of immigrant family suggests a fresh look at the second generation scene.

Among the children from countries that are not among the EU-25, the largest groups come from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. The Republic of Yugoslavia accounts for the highest number of children (see Table 1, note a). Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey likewise account for significant groups. More than 10,000 children are in immigrant families from Croatia and Sri Lanka. Asylum seekers from all these countries ended up in Switzerland, and the majority of the members of families of foreign origin in Switzerland arrived or were born in Switzerland in this context.

Table 2: Children according to Family Origin, Switzerland, 2000

number of children

Family origin	*Number*	*Family origin*	*Number*
All children	1,441,654		
In Swiss-born families	882,874		
In immigrant families	558,780	In immigrant families (cont.)	
Republic of Yugoslavia	80,207	Brazil	7,343
Italy	75,615	Netherlands	6,769
Germany	44,003	Philippines	4,695
Portugal	41,992	Morocco	4,543
France	32,276	Thailand	4,200
Turkey	31,683	Belgium	4,041
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21,169	Canada	3,533
Spain	20,884	Viet Nam	3,505
TFYR Macedonia	20,025	Tunisia	3,336
Austria	13,142	Peru	2,925
Sri Lanka	10,880	Poland	2,895
Croatia	10,295	India	2,832
United Kingdom	9,844	Czech Republic	2,822
United States	9,770	Dominican Republic	2,806

Source: 2000 census.

Among non-European countries, the United States of America accounts for the largest number of children in immigrant families after Sri Lanka, but before Brazil (Table 2). The number of children in immigrant families from Africa, the Americas and Asia is therefore rather small according to the census. However, the size of some groups is probably underestimated. It is likely that families lacking residence permits do not respond to the census. This is especially the case of families from countries of origin in Latin America, which accounts for a sizeable proportion of the undocumented residents in Switzerland.

Among immigrant youth, unaccompanied refugee minors represent a special situation. The term unaccompanied refugee minor indicates a refugee 0 to 17 years of age who has become separated from his or her parents and is not otherwise being cared for by an adult. As asylum seekers, these young people find themselves in an especially vulnerable position. They often arrive lacking any established contacts around which to frame their cultural, linguistic, or religious identities. They lack the emotional support of their families and possess limited schooling and vocational training. They may easily become lost and isolated.

In 2002, 1,673 unaccompanied refugee minors filed applications for refugee status in Switzerland and may therefore be classified as asylum seekers. They represented 4–6 per cent of all asylum seekers in Switzerland in 2000–2002. Almost one third came from West Africa,

though the list of countries of origin is already long. Boys outnumbered girls, and the great majority – 96 per cent in 2002 – were 15–18 years of age (Riva Gapany 2005).

While 44 per cent of the children in immigrant families have Swiss citizenship, 56 per cent hold only the nationalities of their countries of origin (Table 3). The share of children with Swiss citizenship varies according to origin. It is higher among children from the EU-25 or among groups with a high number of marriages between citizens of separate countries. It is the lowest among recent immigrants, among temporary immigrants with a high probability of returning to their countries of origin and among immigrants who are in Switzerland for reasons related to asylum-seeking. For instance, the proportion of Swiss citizens is only 8 per cent among children from Sri Lanka (asylum-related immigration), 15 per cent among Portuguese children (temporary immigration) and less than 10 per cent among the countries of the former Yugoslavia (recent immigration).

Table 3: Age and Citizenship of Children, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Age at last birthday*				*Citizenship*	
	0–4	*5–9*	*10–14*	*15–17*	*Swiss*	*Non-Swiss*
All children	26.2	29.0	29.0	15.9	77.3	22.7
In Swiss-born families	24.5	28.7	30.1	16.6	98.2	1.8
In immigrant families	28.7	29.3	27.1	14.9	44.2	55.8
EU-25	27.1	29.0	27.9	16.0	55.0	45.0
EU-15[a]	27.1	29.1	27.8	15.9	54.2	45.8
Italy	22.0	27.8	30.8	19.3	48.5	51.5
Germany	30.4	29.5	26.1	14.0	73.9	26.1
Portugal	31.8	31.1	24.5	12.6	15.2	84.8
France	28.5	29.6	27.3	14.6	74.3	25.7
Spain	22.9	27.5	30.6	18.9	41.0	59.0
Austria	26.6	28.7	28.1	16.6	82.0	18.0
United Kingdom	28.7	30.2	27.7	13.4	66.5	33.5
Non-EU-25	30.2	29.5	26.5	13.8	34.4	65.6
Republic of Yugoslavia	28.4	30.4	27.3	14.0	8.6	91.4
Turkey	26.8	29.4	28.0	15.8	20.7	79.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	26.3	29.8	28.2	15.8	8.6	91.4
TFYR Macedonia	25.5	27.3	29.8	17.4	5.7	94.3
Sri Lanka	48.4	30.5	14.9	6.2	8.1	91.9
Croatia	24.3	29.5	28.8	17.4	20.9	79.1
United States	29.6	31.0	27.2	12.1	73.6	26.4

Source: 2000 census.

a. EU-15 = EU members prior to 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Of the children living in families in Switzerland, the shares according to age are similar among all children and among children in immigrant families, though there is a slightly higher proportion of children in the younger age ranges among immigrant families and a slightly higher proportion of children in the older age ranges among Swiss-born families.

Among the children in immigrant families, approximately 75 per cent were born in Switzerland (Table 4, column 1). The place of birth varies according to citizenship and the length of the immigration flows from particular countries of origin. For this reason, the share of children born abroad is lowest among those communities characterized by long-term immigration flows to Switzerland, such as Austrians (only 11.5 per cent born abroad) and

Italians (8.5 per cent). The share of children born abroad is higher in countries of origin with more recent immigration flows to Switzerland and among groups that immigrate together with their families, typically asylum-related immigrants. Among the former countries are Bosnia and Herzegovina (40 per cent), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (54 per cent) and the Republic of Yugoslavia (46 per cent). The share of children born abroad is also greater among highly qualified groups such as immigrants from the United Kingdom (26 per cent) or the United States (35 per cent).

Table 4: Family Profile of Children 0 to 17, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Second-generation (Swiss-born) children*	*Children of a Swiss-born and a foreign-born parent*[b]	*Children of parents born in separate countries*[a]	*Children with a parent in Switzerland less than five years*[b]	*Children who have moved in the last five years*[b]	*Children with only one parent who is a Swiss citizen*[b]
All children	89.7	17.0	21.7	6.2	4.2	8.0
In Swiss-born families	99.0	—	—	0.6	0.5	2.0
In immigrant families	75.1	42.5	54.2	14.6	10.4	17.1
EU-25	84.4	55.9	67.3	10.6	6.5	23.0
Italy	91.5	55.3	66.2	5.1	2.5	22.7
Germany	83.8	72.9	81.8	16.6	8.9	32.0
Portugal	71.8	17.4	26.9	8.6	7.7	7.5
France	83.7	71.0	84.2	15.8	10.1	27.5
Spain	87.5	43.7	58.9	4.6	3.4	19.4
Austria	89.3	84.6	93.2	9.1	4.3	35.3
United Kingdom	74.3	60.9	78.7	22.5	16.0	21.6
Non-EU-25	66.4	30.0	42.0	18.4	14.1	11.7
Republic of Yugoslavia	54.0	8.3	18.5	20.2	17.3	3.5
Turkey	79.8	13.7	21.2	11.4	7.0	7.9
Bosnia and Herzegovina	59.9	6.7	21.8	8.6	6.4	3.5
TFYR Macedonia	46.0	5.8	18.4	21.4	18.6	2.3
Sri Lanka	73.9	7.9	12.1	18.4	11.3	2.4
Croatia	71.2	17.7	37.2	5.9	3.7	6.4
United States	64.9	65.4	82.5	26.6	21.1	17.0

Source: 2000 census.
a. Share among children living with both parents.
b. Share among children aged 5 or older.

The proportion of children born to at least one parent who arrived in Switzerland during the last five years varies from around 5 per cent among Italians and Spaniards (long-term immigration) to more than 20 per cent among children from the former Republic of Yugoslavia or from countries of origin outside Europe that have emerging immigration flows (Table 4, column 4). Given that the data in Table 4 refer to 2000, it is clear that only a small share (3 per cent) of Italian and Spanish children in Switzerland in 2000 had been living outside Switzerland five years earlier, in 1995.

4. CURRENT NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP POLICY

Among children in immigrant families, 43 per cent have one Swiss-born parent and one foreign-born parent (Table 4, column 2). Except in the case of Italy, this share climbs to above 70 per cent among immigrants from countries bordering Switzerland.

Only 17 per cent of the children in immigrant families live with one parent who is a Swiss citizen and one parent who is not a Swiss citizen (Table 4, right-hand column). This share is small despite the more significant shares of Swiss-born parents and children. This might be due to the fact that collective applications for naturalization of all family members are preferred to individual applications. It is therefore unusual for one parent in an immigrant family to maintain citizenship in a foreign country, while the other parent becomes a naturalized Swiss citizen.

Working somewhat against this effect was the repeal, in 1991, of a law allowing foreign women who had married Swiss men to receive Swiss citizenship automatically. Now, by law, the foreign spouse of a Swiss citizen becomes eligible (upon application) for naturalization only after at least five years of residency in Switzerland and three years of marriage.

Nonetheless, because marriage to a Swiss citizen represents a means of obtaining permanent residence, matrimonial immigration accounts for a large share of the immigration flows from some countries to Switzerland. Thus, the naturalization rate is relatively high among countries characterized by significant family-related or marriage-related immigration to Switzerland, such as Cameroon (81 per cent) and Mauritius (89 per cent) (not shown in Table 4). Likewise, families with only one parent who is a Swiss citizen are more common among groups characterized by more recent marriage-related immigration, such as immigrants from Morocco (31 per cent), the Russian Federation (39 per cent) and Ukraine (58 per cent), but also Austria and Germany.

As may be clear from this issue of marriage-related immigration, the high proportion of foreigners among the population of Switzerland is partly caused by fairly restrictive legislation on naturalization and citizenship. The conditions that must be fulfilled to acquire citizenship are the most exacting in Europe (Federal Office for Migration 2006a). The Swiss passport may be obtained by filiation through a Swiss mother or father holding Swiss citizenship or through naturalization. Naturalization is particularly restrictive because there are no *ius soli* provisions (right [*ius*] of citizenship based on birth within the national territory [*soli*]). Individuals born in the country do not necessarily have any claim to citizenship even if they are able to meet the legal requirements. No automatic mechanisms exist to ensure access to the polity by foreigners. Naturalization occurs on a voluntary basis and is also subject to explicit approval at three levels: the city, the canton and the country. It is a selective process: first, not all people satisfying the requirements apply for naturalization, and, second, not all applicants are successful (Achermann and Gass 2003). Because of the difficulties, the number of naturalized citizens has been relatively low in Switzerland, particularly through the 1990s (see below).

Thus, Swiss citizenship is not automatically assigned to the Swiss-born children of immigrants. Indeed, a project aimed at facilitating naturalization at least for the children and grandchildren of immigrants born in Switzerland was rejected through a public referendum on the question in 2004.

Similarly, the traditionally restrictive attitude towards family reunification is plain in a new alien Law (*Loi sur les étrangers*, 16 December 2005). The law includes, for example, regulations on family reunification that are more restrictive on the foreign kin of non-EU

nationals and Swiss nationals than on the foreign kin of EU nationals. This is possible because of bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the EU. For example, the right of family reunification is recognized for the child of a non-EU national and a Swiss national until the child reaches 18 years of age, while the corresponding age is 21 for the child of an EU national (Spescha 2007). It has been contended that the Swiss regulations violate the European Convention on Human Rights, of which Switzerland is a party (Spescha 2007).

Despite such barriers, the number of naturalizations increased fivefold after 1992 (for example, see Heiniger et al. 2004). The average number per year in 1990–1994 was 10,000, rising to 20,000 in 1995–1999 and reaching almost 35,000 in 2000–2005. In 2006, 47,600 naturalizations were registered. This was an historical peak. Of the 442,500 naturalizations granted between 1986 and 2006, 59 per cent were granted in 2000–2006.

Since the mid-1990s, about 70 per cent of all naturalizations have involved children and young people. The naturalization rate among girls is two times the rate among boys. Because of this rising trend, the number of young Swiss citizens with an immigrant background has sharply increased. The children involved in longer term immigration flows, such as Italians and Spaniards, once refrained from ever applying for naturalization because of the difficulties of the procedure (Ossipow 1997). Much of the increase in naturalizations since 2000 has arisen because many of the young people involved in more recent flows have been applying for naturalization once they have met the lengthy residence requirements (12 years). The young people involved in recent flows from Turkey, the former Republic of Yugoslavia and non-European countries are now acquiring Swiss citizenship five times more frequently than young people from the EU.

Fibbi et al. (2005) have undertaken a systematic analysis of the 2000 census to explore the educational achievement and labour market performance of naturalized young people relative to their non-naturalized and Swiss-born counterparts. They focus on youth in immigrant groups from major countries of origin, including Croatia, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and the Republic of Yugoslavia.

They find that naturalization in Switzerland is socially selective. Immigrant group variations tend to fade away if one takes social origin and length of stay into account. Nonetheless, among youth with immigration backgrounds, naturalized young people perform the best in education and the labour market. In many cases, if they are Swiss-born, they fare better than Swiss youth without immigration backgrounds.

This performance all too often passes unseen by society, however. The acquisition of Swiss citizenship means that the results achieved by these young citizens become invisible. The new citizens no longer show up as nationals of their countries of origin in standard statistics based on nationality.

Because of the unprecedented rates of naturalization exhibited by young people of immigrant origin, it is becoming difficult to describe the social reality of Switzerland accurately on the basis of traditional concepts such as citizen, foreigner and immigrant. Cultural and social differences are becoming internalized within the social and civic fabric.

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND LITERATURE REVIEW: INCLUSION AND OTHER SOCIAL ISSUES

5.1 Definitions and methodological clarifications

In the sociological literature, a taxonomy has been proposed to account for the specific challenges faced by the children in families of immigrant origin. The designations in this taxonomy are as follows (Rumbaut 2002):

- 1.0 generation: all foreign-born persons who have arrived in the country of settlement as adults or, in some cases, older adolescents;
- 1.5 generation: all foreign-born persons who have arrived in the country of settlement as children or adolescents;
- 2.0 generation: persons born in the country of settlement and having two foreign-born parents;
- 2.5 generation: persons born in the country of settlement and having one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent;
- 3.0 generation: persons of foreign origin born in the country of settlement and having parents who were also born in the country of settlement.

Although interesting and useful, this system of classification is difficult to implement in Switzerland, where the taxonomy is usually derived from designations of formal nationality. Moreover, the concept of a second generation has no legal or institutional basis in Switzerland, although, during the 1990s, youth of immigrant origin coined a similar term, *secondos*, to designate themselves (Bolzman et al. 2003a). This term, still current, embraces children of immigrants born in Switzerland and children of foreign-born parents who immigrated to Switzerland at a young age.

The 2000 census, which was conducted in December 2000, allows a precise definition of immigrant families based on the place of birth of the parents and children. For the purposes of our study, only those children have been taken into account as children of immigrant origin if they were born between 1983 and 2000 (and thus were under 18 at the time of the census) and were living with at least one foreign-born parent. Children living in collective arrangements, such as private schools, have been excluded because there are no means of classifying them reasonably according to origin.

We define origin as: (1) the child's place of birth; if the child was born in Switzerland, we refer to (2) the mother's place of birth and (3) the father's place of birth. We classify foreign-born children or children who have at least one foreign-born parent as children in immigrant families. If both parents are foreign born, but were born in different countries, the mother's place of birth is used to indicate the child's country of origin. We have also used citizenship as a proxy for place of birth if information on the place of birth is not available. These criteria mean that our category, children in immigrant families, corresponds to children of the first and second generation in Rumbaut's taxonomy of immigrant generations.

Family structure is considered according to the definitions supplied in the census. During the 2000 census, each member of a household had to declare his or her relationship to the head of the household, generally the father or mother. The relationships recognized in the census are partner (married or not), parent, child, or other. In the census, child therefore means the child of the head of household or the child of the partner of the head of household. It has not been possible to distinguish between traditional families and recomposed families. If we discuss a father's education, we are therefore referring either to the child's father or to the man who is the partner of the child's mother. The same applies to similar formulations such as mother's education or father's labour force participation.

No information is available regarding the immigration status of parents born in Switzerland or on the number of persons belonging to the third (3.0) generation (see above). Nor is information available according to ethnic group.

Besides national origin, we also use other indicators to assess the social and cultural background of children and the position of parents in the labour market, as follows:

- The *duration of the stay in the country* is determined on the basis of the answer to the census question "where were you living five years ago?". In this case, we have taken into consideration only children who are 5 years of age or older (for example, see Table 4).
- *Parental education* is defined according to the typology used in the Swiss census. The census typology considers three main categories: lower secondary education (or less), higher secondary education and tertiary education. Our data do not allow us to make a distinction between the first and second stages of tertiary education, nor to cover post-secondary non-tertiary education.
- *Working hours* and *part-time or full-time work* are determined according to the answers provided to relevant questions in the census form. Every person who is an active participant in the labour market was asked to declare (1) if the work is part time or full time and (2) the average number of hours worked per week. In the case of part-time work, we have computed activity rates by comparing the number of hours worked by individuals per week and the standard number of hours generally worked by participants in the sector per week.
- *Employment status* (employed, unemployed) is self-declared. The data therefore do not necessarily reflect actual labour force participation rates, unemployment rates, or entitlement rates for social benefits.
- The *socioeconomic position* of the parents is based on a scale with eight positions. If the mother and the father have different positions, we select the higher position.

5.2 Family environment

5.2.1 *Size and structure of the family*

There are considerable differences between Swiss and foreign children in terms of family environment, particularly the share of children living in one-parent families. Among children in immigrant families, this share is only 8.6 per cent; among Swiss children, it is 12.5 per cent (Table 5). This is probably because one-parent families immigrate less frequently than two-parent families or adults living alone.

Table 5: Children according to Family Structure, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Two-parent family*	*Mother-only family*	*Father-only family*	*No sibling 0–17 at home*	*One, two, or three siblings 0–17 at home*	*Four or more siblings 0–17 at home*	*At least one grandparent at home*
All children	89.1	9.7	1.3	22.2	75.9	2.0	1.4
In Swiss-born families	87.5	11.0	1.4	20.4	77.9	1.7	1.2
In immigrant families	91.4	7.5	1.1	24.9	72.7	2.4	1.7
EU-25	91.6	7.4	1.0	28.1	71.0	0.9	1.3
Italy	94.1	4.9	1.0	27.5	71.9	0.5	2.0
Germany	90.7	8.5	0.8	25.2	73.4	1.4	0.8
Portugal	92.5	6.5	1.0	34.2	65.6	0.2	0.8
France	88.4	10.3	1.3	26.9	71.9	1.3	1.0
Spain	91.2	7.6	1.2	33.4	66.1	0.5	1.8
Austria	90.0	9.2	0.8	25.8	72.8	1.4	1.1
United Kingdom	91.1	7.8	1.1	20.3	77.2	2.4	0.7
Non-EU-25	91.3	7.5	1.1	22.1	74.2	3.7	2.1
Republic of Yugoslavia	94.8	4.1	1.1	15.4	76.7	7.9	2.8
Turkey	92.9	6.1	1.0	21.5	76.6	1.9	2.5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	91.7	7.5	0.7	23.2	76.1	0.7	2.2
TFYR Macedonia	96.5	2.5	1.0	16.2	80.4	3.4	2.3
Sri Lanka	95.0	4.1	0.9	23.2	76.3	0.4	1.5
Croatia	91.5	7.6	0.9	25.6	73.4	1.0	2.1
United States	89.7	9.0	1.2	20.9	76.8	2.3	0.9

Source: 2000 census.

Because the bond between foreign-born parents living together in a new country is strengthened as a result of the immigration experience, immigration also decreases the likelihood of divorce and separation (Nauck and Schönpflug 1997, Kohlmann 2000). Divorce rates are lower among foreigners than among Swiss. Among 45- to 49-year-olds, the divorce rate among foreigners is 8 per cent, while it is 10 per cent among Swiss men and 15 per cent among Swiss women (Wanner 2004). Low levels of divorce in the country of origin characterize some groups of immigrants, who generally maintain this behaviour following immigration. This is especially true of immigrants from Southern Europe and the Balkans.

The share of two-parent families also varies among immigrant groups. The share is larger among families from TFYR Macedonia (96.5 per cent), Sri Lanka (95.0 per cent), the Republic of Yugoslavia (94.8 per cent) and Italy (94.1 per cent). The countries of origin are also characterized in these cases by low divorce rates and high levels of immigration as family units.

In contrast, lower shares of two-parent families are observed among Eritreans (73.5 per cent), Somalis (72.3 per cent), Haitians (68.2 per cent) and various other groups of African origin such as immigrants from Cameroon, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Togo (75–80 per cent). The relatively larger shares of one-parent families among African groups are difficult to explain, however, given our lack of information about the immigration status of the families. In most cases, the children in these one-parent families are living with their mothers.

According to our data, 22 per cent of all children have no siblings 0 to 17 years of age at home; 76 per cent have one to three siblings at home, and 2 per cent have four or more

siblings at home (Table 5). The differences between Swiss children and children in immigrant families are smaller than the differences among children in immigrant groups. The number of children without siblings 0–17 at home varies between 10 per cent among groups with high fertility rates (Chadian and Somali families, for example) and 57 per cent among Ukrainian families. High proportions of children without siblings are observed among Bulgarian and Russian families (49 per cent). This result reflects fertility differentials. Demographic data suggest that there are large variations in total fertility rates according to the mother's citizenship, from 1.2 children among German immigrant women to 4.2 children among Somali immigrant women (Table 6).

Table 6: Total Fertility Rates and Number of Births according to Citizenship of the Mother, Switzerland, 1980–1999

Citizenship	*Total fertility rate*				*Number of births*			
	1980–1984	*1985–1989*	*1990–1994*	*1995–1999*	*1980–1984*	*1985–1989*	*1990–1994*	*1995–1999*
Somalia	4.29	4.14	3.50	4.20	199	360	439	625
Angola	2.52	3.29	2.80	3.62	153	299	393	504
Sri Lanka	2.01	1.67	2.14	3.01	803	1,307	2,623	4,807
Iraq	3.21	3.41	3.27	2.85	145	232	324	308
Tunisia	1.85	2.24	1.63	2.80	94	155	218	400
Republic of Yugoslavia	2.55	2.53	2.76	2.60	15,365	18,413	21,853	21,407
TFYR Macedonia	3.13	2.71	2.64	2.40	5,344	5,587	5,186	4,854
India	1.82	1.76	1.98	2.28	248	283	401	518
Viet Nam	2.11	1.49	1.63	2.08	256	264	359	506
Morocco	0.88	0.55	1.05	2.00	95	161	335	890
Turkey	3.03	2.31	2.19	1.99	6,863	6,896	7,628	7,249
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2.11	1.93	1.92	1.99	3,549	4,064	4,340	4,305
Philippines	0.96	1.10	1.19	1.92	234	336	442	773
Croatia	1.92	1.67	1.79	1.85	3,313	3,637	3,996	3,714
Dominican Republic	2.47	1.82	1.59	1.79	420	604	711	888
Brazil	1.38	1.16	0.94	1.70	539	757	780	1,532
Portugal	1.74	1.34	1.45	1.70	8,612	9,520	11,812	13,458
Netherlands	0.99	0.94	1.15	1.69	398	445	739	1,342
Belgium	1.26	1.16	1.26	1.64	300	353	484	663
United Kingdom	1.24	1.19	1.30	1.61	837	882	1,109	1,464
United States	1.02	1.09	1.24	1.53	416	553	728	942
France	1.03	0.99	1.12	1.51	1,962	2,084	2,817	4,471
Austria	0.91	0.71	0.85	1.39	698	660	1,039	2,032
Switzerland	1.51	1.50	1.47	1.33	312,971	324,435	321,332	272,033
Thailand	1.55	0.99	0.95	1.33	389	539	661	967
Italy	1.73	1.38	1.26	1.29	15,560	13,327	13,450	14,176
Spain	1.73	1.30	1.15	1.24	5,206	4,208	3,856	4,165
Germany	0.85	0.74	0.85	1.23	2,396	2,615	4,118	7,368

Source: Wanner and Peng (2005).

Large families, namely, those with at least four children in a household, are rare in all groups. Large families are most frequent among immigrants from Chad, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Sudan (14 per cent), Iraq (15 per cent) and Somalia (34 per cent). This reflects high fertility rates.

The share of families with grandparents living in the household, though still relatively small, is larger among groups from Eastern Europe. This may be rooted in the common practice among Eastern European families whereby grandparents care for children; it may also be explained by recent immigration, which foster pooling of family resources in order to cope with the new environment.

5.2.2 Educational attainment among parents

Among all children in Switzerland, 19 per cent are living with fathers (Swiss or immigrant) who have completed lower secondary education, 47 per cent with fathers who have completed upper secondary education and 34 per cent with fathers who have completed tertiary education (Table 7). Among children in immigrant families, the corresponding shares are 36, 34 and 29 per cent. This indicates that, overall, the fathers of these children have a lower level of education than the fathers of Swiss children (8, 54 and 37 per cent).

Table 7: Children according to the Level of Education of the Parents, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Father completed lower secondary education or less*	*Father completed upper secondary education*	*Father completed first stage of tertiary education*	*Mother completed lower secondary education or less*	*Mother completed upper secondary education*	*Mother completed first stage of tertiary education*
All children	18.8	46.8	34.3	27.7	58.6	13.7
In Swiss-born families	8.3	54.3	37.4	17.4	71.3	11.2
In immigrant families	36.3	34.4	29.3	45.4	36.6	18.0
EU-25	30.7	35.8	33.5	34.9	44.6	20.4
Italy	45.5	37.3	17.2	43.8	47.3	8.8
Germany	5.2	36.9	57.9	9.9	57.2	32.9
Portugal	73.1	21.6	5.3	82.5	15.1	2.4
France	12.1	43.1	44.8	19.9	47.1	33.0
Spain	44.6	35.6	19.7	50.8	39.2	9.9
Austria	9.8	51.9	38.3	20.6	63.4	16.1
United Kingdom	9.8	30.2	60.0	16.3	43.3	40.4
Non-EU-25	42.2	32.9	24.9	56.2	28.3	15.5
Republic of Yugoslavia	57.5	30.8	11.7	74.8	19.5	5.7
Turkey	70.7	20.6	8.8	80.0	15.9	4.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	45.7	44.0	10.2	59.8	33.1	7.0
TFYR Macedonia	63.1	28.6	8.3	84.5	12.6	2.9
Sri Lanka	79.1	15.0	5.9	81.0	15.1	3.9
Croatia	35.7	48.7	15.7	46.3	43.1	10.5
United States	4.6	20.2	75.1	9.1	35.7	55.2

Source: 2000 census.

The disparities among immigrant groups are huge. The immigrant communities from Portugal, Turkey and the Balkans generally show low educational attainment. For example, 73 per cent of children in immigrant families from Portugal have fathers who have completed only lower secondary education. The share of children with fathers who have completed tertiary education is less than 10 per cent in each of these immigrant groups. Among the

children in families of Italian or Spanish origin, the shares are slightly higher: around 45 per cent have fathers who have completed lower secondary education; 36 per cent have fathers who have completed upper secondary education, and 18 per cent have fathers who have completed tertiary education. Since the end of the 1990s, a growing share of the heads of household immigrating from Italy and Spain are highly educated. Thus, the fathers of 38 per cent of the children in families of Italian immigrant origin who arrived between 1995 and 2000 had completed tertiary education, which is substantially higher than the 10 per cent before 1995 (Wanner 2004). Meanwhile, the share of children with fathers who have completed tertiary education is higher among immigrant groups from France and Germany (45 and 58 per cent, respectively) than among indigenous Swiss families (37 per cent).

Because Swiss laws are especially strict on immigration from non-European countries, individuals from these countries are more likely to be allowed to immigrate to Switzerland if they are highly qualified. Highly skilled individuals have more opportunities to obtain the documents necessary to enter, reside and work in Switzerland. Moreover, enrolment in a Swiss tertiary educational institution represents a path to entering the country and, sometimes, remaining (although laws became more strict in limiting the stay of foreign students). For this reason, the share of children with fathers who have completed tertiary education is high among a wide range of African and Asian immigrant groups. It is above 60 per cent in the case of Burundi, Egypt, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, the Sudan and Taiwan (China).

The educational level of the mothers in both Swiss and immigrant families has traditionally been lower than that of the fathers. This has been caused by gender-based discrimination in access to education in the countries of origin. Among immigrant mothers, 45 per cent have completed lower secondary education, 37 per cent upper secondary education and 18 per cent tertiary education. Among only two Eastern European immigrant groups – Russians and Ukrainians – is the share of mothers who have completed tertiary education higher than the corresponding share among men. Among immigrant mothers in Switzerland, 63 per cent of the Russians and 54 per cent of the Ukrainians have completed tertiary education. This is partly explained by the high level of educational attainment in the countries of the former Soviet Union and by the preference for highly qualified immigrants in the laws and regulations on immigration in Switzerland. (Among immigrant mothers from Japan and the United States, for example, over 50 per cent have completed tertiary education.) Moreover, among Russian and Ukrainian women, marriage is often the main motive for immigration, and highly educated women tend to have more opportunity to meet and marry Swiss men.

5.2.3 Parental employment

Table 8 provides estimates of the participation in the labour market by the parents of children in Switzerland. A majority of the children (86 per cent) have at least one parent in full-time work, while 9 per cent have no parent in full-time work, but at least one parent in part-time work. The share of children in the latter group is larger among Swiss families (11 per cent) than among foreign families (7 per cent). This may be explained by the larger share of children in one-parent households among Swiss families.

Both parents are unemployed in the case of 3 per cent of all children in immigrant families, while the parents of another 3 per cent are not participating in the labour market because they are studying. These shares are slightly higher than the corresponding shares among Swiss families. Overall, they confirm that most children in immigrant families live in households in which at least one parent is working. The unemployment rate varies according to country of origin and is above 10 per cent among some non-European groups and, especially, among women. (Note that the definition of unemployment used in the census is broader than the definition used in standard labour data.)

Table 8: Children according to Employment among the Parents, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*At least one parent employed full time*	*At least one parent employed part time (none full time)*	*Parents who are unemployed*	*Parents not seeking employment: education*	*Parents not seeking employment: other reasons*	*Fathers, unemployment rate*	*Mothers, unemployment rate*
All children	86.1	9.4	2.6	1.7	0.2	1.7	7.0
In Swiss-born families	85.8	11.0	2.3	0.9	0.2	0.6	3.3
In immigrant families	86.6	7.0	3.2	2.9	0.2	3.6	12.3
EU-25	88.6	7.7	2.2	1.2	0.2	1.7	6.4
Italy	89.7	6.4	2.3	1.3	0.2	2.1	6.7
Germany	85.6	11.1	2.1	1.0	0.2	1.1	5.1
Portugal	92.5	4.1	2.0	1.3	0.1	1.9	7.1
France	86.7	9.1	2.6	1.4	0.2	2.0	6.5
Spain	90.0	6.2	2.4	1.3	0.1	1.8	5.6
Austria	88.0	8.5	2.2	1.1	0.1	1.2	5.4
United Kingdom	87.7	8.8	2.2	1.1	0.2	1.5	6.7
Non-EU-25	84.7	6.3	4.2	4.5	0.3	5.3	18.0
Republic of Yugoslavia	85.6	3.9	5.1	5.2	0.3	6.0	22.8
Turkey	83.8	5.1	5.0	5.8	0.2	7.7	20.4
TFYR Macedonia	91.0	2.8	3.3	2.7	0.2	3.4	24.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	86.7	4.9	3.9	4.2	0.2	5.3	13.8
Sri Lanka	91.4	3.7	2.2	2.6	0.1	2.9	24.3
Croatia	90.7	5.7	2.2	1.3	0.1	2.5	7.8
United States	85.6	10.6	2.2	1.3	0.3	1.2	8.4

Source: 2000 census.

In Switzerland, around 95 per cent of all children live with a father who is employed full or part time (Table 9). The fathers of only around 5 per cent are not employed (in the meaning of the census) because of retirement, unemployment, physical disability, or other reasons. This proportion is higher among children in immigrant families (9 per cent) than among Swiss children (2 per cent). The proportion is also higher among children from non-EU countries (12 per cent) than among children from EU countries (6 per cent). A higher share of children with fathers who do not work may be observed among immigrant groups from Afghanistan (39 per cent), Iraq (58 per cent), Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (43 per cent) and Somalia (46 per cent) mainly because asylum seekers have only limited access to the labour market.

Among children in immigrant families, 87 per cent live with fathers working full time, while 4 per cent live with fathers working part time. The share of Swiss children who live with

fathers working full time is 93 per cent. The share of children with fathers who are employed is lowest among immigrant groups from non-European countries, such as Somalia. Obstacles preventing the fathers from participating in the labour force may partly explain this. In many cases, the fathers are students and are therefore not allowed to work over 20 hours a week.

Around 23 per cent of children in immigrant families live with mothers who work full time, while 43 per cent live with mothers who have no paid work, and 35 per cent live with mothers who work part time (Table 10). The share of Swiss children living with mothers who work full time is significantly lower (11 per cent), while the share with mothers working part time is higher (50 per cent). The difficulties involved in obtaining part-time employment explain these differences. Immigrant women are more frequently employed in jobs with less flexibility in the hours (for example, jobs in industrial production rather than services).

Table 9: Employment Status of Fathers, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Father does not work*	*Father works <20%*	*Father works 20–49%*	*Father works 50–69%*	*Father works 70–99%*	*Father works full time*
All children	4.8	0.2	0.4	1.0	3.0	90.5
In Swiss-born families	2.2	0.2	0.4	1.0	3.5	92.7
In immigrant families	8.9	0.3	0.5	1.1	2.1	87.1
EU-25	5.5	0.2	0.4	1.1	2.4	90.3
Italy	6.7	0.2	0.4	1.1	1.4	90.2
Germany	3.6	0.3	0.6	1.7	4.7	89.1
Portugal	6.6	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.7	91.8
France	5.3	0.2	0.4	1.2	3.3	89.7
Spain	6.0	0.2	0.4	0.8	1.5	91.2
Austria	3.5	0.2	0.4	0.9	2.6	92.3
United Kingdom	4.6	0.2	0.7	1.3	3.2	90.0
Non-EU-25	12.2	0.3	0.5	1.1	1.8	84.1
Republic of Yugoslavia	15.7	0.2	0.4	0.8	0.9	82.1
Turkey	17.1	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.9	80.4
Bosnia and Herzegovina	13.7	0.2	0.4	0.9	1.0	83.8
TFYR Macedonia	10.1	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.8	88.1
Sri Lanka	5.7	0.2	0.3	0.6	1.5	91.7
Croatia	8.1	0.2	0.2	0.8	1.2	89.5
United States	4.2	0.2	0.6	1.8	4.2	89.1

Source: 2000 census.

Table 10: Employment Status of Mothers, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Mother does not work*	*Mother works <20%*	*Mother works 20–49%*	*Mother works 50–69%*	*Mother works 70–99%*	*Mother works full time*
All children	40.0	11.4	13.6	12.8	6.6	15.5
In Swiss-born families	38.6	14.5	16.0	13.4	6.4	11.1
In immigrant families	42.3	6.4	9.8	11.9	7.1	22.6
EU-25	36.2	8.1	12.2	14.6	8.2	20.7
Italy	36.2	8.6	14.1	15.9	7.8	17.3
Germany	40.7	11.8	14.4	14.3	7.0	11.8
Portugal	28.4	4.2	7.7	10.2	7.9	41.5
France	37.2	5.4	9.6	17.4	10.8	19.6
Spain	29.8	6.6	10.9	15.8	9.4	27.5
Austria	38.4	12.4	15.0	13.3	6.6	14.3
United Kingdom	45.3	9.7	10.2	13.5	6.8	14.5
Non-EU-25	48.0	4.8	7.5	9.3	6.0	24.4
Republic of Yugoslavia	53.8	3.3	6.1	6.2	4.5	26.1
Turkey	49.2	3.9	6.6	8.3	4.5	27.5
Bosnia and Herzegovina	30.0	3.4	6.8	9.5	7.9	42.3
TFYR Macedonia	59.1	3.3	5.7	5.4	3.1	23.4
Sri Lanka	52.5	4.0	8.6	9.6	5.5	19.8
Croatia	23.4	4.6	8.9	13.8	9.6	39.6
United States	47.0	9.0	11.3	12.1	6.4	14.2

Source: 2000 census.

The shares of children living with mothers who work full time are high among immigrant families from Bosnia and Herzegovina (42 per cent), Cape Verde (49 per cent), Croatia (40 per cent) and Portugal (41 per cent). Less than 10 per cent of the children in immigrant families from Iraq, Japan, Jordan, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Somalia live with mothers who work full time. Children with mothers who work part time are more common among immigrant families from the EU-25, especially countries in Western Europe such as Italy (over 45 per cent). Part-time work is less frequent among mothers from non-European countries. This is explained by the difficulties involved in finding part-time employment.

5.2.4 Family socioeconomic status

Indicators on level of employment provide useful information on the socioeconomic status of families in various immigrant groups. Groups characterized by the immigration of highly skilled individuals (immigrants from Belgium, the United Kingdom, other northern European countries and the United States) generally include a substantial share of managers and other mid- or upper-level staff (Table 11). Other groups include fewer managers. The parents of about 50 per cent of the children in immigrant families from Cape Verde and Portugal are unskilled workers, for instance.

Table 11: Socioeconomic Status of the Family, Switzerland, 2000

per cent of children

Family origin	*Manager, professional*	*Self-employed, including farmers*	*White collar, upper position*	*White collar, intermediate position*	*White collar, lower position*	*Skilled worker*	*Unskilled worker*	*Not active*
All children	6.6	16.9	13.9	23.6	16.3	8.2	9.2	5.2
In Swiss-born families	6.4	20.4	14.1	26.5	17.1	8.1	3.8	3.6
In immigrant families	7.0	10.5	13.6	18.1	14.7	8.4	19.4	8.3
EU-25	7.7	12.6	16.4	20.1	15.4	6.7	16.7	4.3
Italy	4.8	13.6	8.5	17.8	19.3	8.5	22.8	4.7
Germany	11.2	14.0	28.3	24.3	12.6	3.8	2.3	3.6
Portugal	1.7	6.0	2.3	10.8	14.5	10.9	49.4	4.5
France	9.4	13.1	21.5	24.3	15.4	5.9	5.7	4.7
Spain	4.9	10.0	10.0	18.4	18.4	8.0	25.6	4.7
Austria	7.2	18.6	14.2	27.8	16.7	7.1	4.5	3.9
United Kingdom	15.6	11.6	33.5	19.9	9.6	2.7	3.1	4.0
Non-EU-25	6.3	8.2	10.7	15.9	13.8	10.2	22.3	12.6
Republic of Yugoslavia	3.5	5.0	1.9	11.3	11.9	15.7	33.6	17.1
Turkey	4.3	8.2	3.1	9.5	10.0	8.9	38.1	17.8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4.1	4.3	1.6	12.6	20.8	17.1	26.7	12.7
TFYR Macedonia	3.4	5.4	1.2	10.0	10.6	18.9	39.9	10.7
Sri Lanka	2.2	3.0	1.4	7.2	17.3	4.9	55.7	8.3
Croatia	5.3	7.4	5.3	16.8	25.0	14.4	20.7	5.1
United States	20.4	10.8	38.0	16.6	6.7	1.4	1.8	4.4

Source: 2000 census.

5.2.5 *The language shift*

Four national languages are recognized in Switzerland: French, German (mostly the Swiss-German dialect), Italian and Romansh. The territorial principle governs the official use of the various languages, that is, each canton or city recognizes one of the national languages as the official language at the local level.

Data on the use of languages therefore cover not only immigrants and foreign residents, but also indigenous Swiss. The 2000 census provides insights on the inclusion of local languages in family linguistic repertoires among speakers of other languages. In the French-speaking areas of the country, for example, two in three non-native speakers use French regularly in daily life. This is also more or less the case of Italian in the Italian-speaking canton of Ticino. In German-speaking areas, however, only 38 per cent of Italian speakers and 53 per cent of French speakers use German regularly (Lüdi and Werlen 2005). (Learning one of the other national languages is obligatory at school. Most Swiss are therefore at least to some extent bilingual.)

In German-speaking areas, 28 per cent of first-generation immigrants – Germans and Austrians are here excluded – say that German is the language they use most and know best. In French-speaking areas, a considerably higher share (41 per cent) of first-generation immigrants – French are not included in this share – regard French as their main language.

Language shift – the process whereby a speech community of one language shifts to another language – is extremely common. Among youth of immigrant origin, 61 per cent in the German-speaking areas and 80 per cent in the French-speaking areas indicate that the local language is the language they know best (Lüdi and Werlen 2005). The French-speaking areas are more successful in exerting an assimilative linguistic pressure. The diglossia that marks the German-speaking areas – the Swiss-German dialect is used for oral communication, while standard German is used in writing – may partly explain the smaller language shift there.

5.2.6 Family integration strategies and family dynamics

Our statistics do not allow us a better understanding of the ways in which immigrant families function. This seems to vary according to origin, but also according to type of family, the degree of the family's integration in society and the way in which the family perceives life within the country of settlement. Lanfranchi (1995) has developed a theory to explain how individuals and families in immigrant groups cope with the reality around them. He proposes a typology of immigrant families that transcends the conception of origin by focusing on coping strategies, of which he identifies three main ones that are applied by immigrant families, as follows:

- future bound: handle the situation in an independent way despite adverse conditions;
- fossilized: withdrawal from reality and a tendency to focus on the inner self; withdrawal into the familiar community; inability to focus on the future;
- retrograde: focus on a future that entails the family's ultimate return to the country of origin; life in the country of settlement is suspended through arrangements that are only provisional.

Studies conducted specifically on groups from various countries of origin provide information on the ways in which families are organized. One study carried out during the 1990s focused on the relationships between parents in families of Italian and Spanish origin and their grown children (Bolzman et al. 2003b). It found that families undertake extraordinary efforts to ensure that their children acquire solid educational credentials and that the children repay these efforts by performing relatively well in school in comparison with Swiss children of similar social backgrounds. Reducing the educational gap does not, however, imply that youth in immigrant families become culturally assimilated (Bolzman et al. 2001). The second generation tends to maintain practices and behaviours that are distinctive within their communities: adult children live in the homes of their parents longer; prenuptial cohabitation is less common; women, especially mothers, are more likely to participate in the labour market, and, above all, family relationships are closer and more intense and persist throughout the adult lives of the children.[3] These traditional features of family life among Italian and Spanish immigrant families do not constitute hindrances to social integration. Indeed, immigrant families tend to support and share in the efforts and

[3] Data from 2000 show that, at the age of 25, 63 per cent of Swiss men and 80 per cent of Swiss women no longer live with their parents. Among Swiss-born foreigners, however, the pattern varies according to nationality. Individuals in the Italian and Spanish immigrant groups leave the parental household later than the Swiss. By the age of 25, only 51 per cent of men and 68 per cent of women of Italian origin have left home. Meanwhile, immigrants from Portugal and former Yugoslavia tend to leave the parental household earlier than the Swiss (Wanner et al. 2005).

burdens faced by children and youth in the household. Nonetheless, second-generation youth of Italian and Spanish origin also show behaviour similar to the behaviour of their Swiss counterparts. They marry at a similar age and adopt similar gender roles within the couple, although they are also intensely cooperative in reaching decisions with spouses, which is similar to the behaviour of their parents (Fibbi 2005). Half of their marriages are exogamous, mainly to Swiss spouses.

A more recent study explores families from Portugal and former Yugoslavia that include teenagers and compares them with Swiss families (Fibbi and Lerch 2007). It finds that immigrant families are often characterized by greater internal cohesion relative to Swiss families. This is partly caused by the immigration process, which modifies the relations within couples and, possibly, generations (Allemann-Ghionda and Meyer-Sabino 1992, Nauck 1985). The transmission of values within these families operates on a selective basis: collectivistic values that assign higher priority to the needs and interests of the group above the individual are transmitted, while the values of individualism that view the individual separately from the family are not. Parents socialize their children so that they focus on achievement, but they do this independently of the values of individualism. The combination allows the immigrant parents to reconcile family continuity and the orientation towards the society of the country of settlement. Despite the claims to the contrary, intergenerational relations in immigrant families are generally warm and affectionate and are not conflictual. The intergenerational tensions that do arise typically involve boys rather than girls. Boys also tend to perform less well at school than girls, and they are more commonly caught up in deviant behaviour (see elsewhere below).

There are numerous cultural characteristics that remain prevalent among families following immigration. For instance, recent research has tackled the issue of forced marriages in Switzerland. Through interviews conducted in 50 of the 2,138 centres in Switzerland that are active among victims of domestic violence, 140 cases of forced marriage have been identified. Some believe more research in these centres would probably discover thousands of cases (Fondation Surgir 2006). Forced marriages generally involve young women and teenage immigrants from Afghanistan, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Lithuania, Pakistan, Romania, Sri Lanka, Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa. While some of the marriages were concluded before immigration, others involve young women who have grown up in Switzerland. Political sensitivity on this issue is fuelled by concerns about human rights, as well as the efforts of government authorities to limit the breadth of family reunification.

5.3 Educational attainment among children

Immigration poses a wide range of challenges in educational achievement. However, because the census data do not permit a thorough examination of this topic, we have additionally reviewed the literature to learn about the performance in school and the challenges faced there by children in immigrant families.

Educational performance varies among immigrant groups. As a rule, youth in groups involved in longer term immigration flows are more successful than youth in groups involved in more recent flows. Although many immigrants in the older flows have come from groups

with low qualifications, longer term immigrants in these flows – both parents and offspring – have gained a consolidated legal status and have a longer acquaintance with the country and therefore possess a better understanding of local languages and educational systems. Moreover, especially the children are less likely to have experienced firsthand the enormous stresses that may be associated with the immigration experience.

Various studies have shown that second-generation children of Italian and Spanish origin perform fairly well at school even in comparison with Swiss children with similar family backgrounds. While non-naturalized Swiss-born youth generally perform less well than do indigenous youth, naturalized Swiss-born youth outperform their indigenous Swiss counterparts. The selective naturalization mechanism clearly tends also to favour the entry of more highly qualified youth into the Swiss polity (Bolzman et al. 2003a, Fibbi 2005, Fibbi et al. 2005, Mey et al. 2005).

In a survey on new immigrants, Fibbi and Lerch (2007) find that 25 per cent of young people from Serbian- or Croatian-speaking areas of the former Yugoslavia and 10 per cent of Portuguese-speaking young people lack upper secondary education, which represents a serious handicap on the labour market. This is surprising given that immigrant parents from the former Yugoslavia are generally better educated than their Portuguese counterparts. Evidently, immigrant families from the former Yugoslavia are more susceptible to downward intergenerational mobility in terms of education outcomes.

Different patterns of integration appear to be at play among these two groups. The Portuguese are labour migrants who, despite severe disadvantages in educational attainment, tend to be successful in seizing the opportunities offered in the labour market and in gradually ascending the socioeconomic ladder. Serbian- and Croatian-speaking youth in families that have recently immigrated from the former Yugoslavia constitute a more disparate group that is united only by the use of an (almost) common language. They represent a more recent immigration flow; half the group arrived in Switzerland through the policy on political asylum. It might be misleading to believe that the differences between these two groups may be reduced solely to length of stay and knowledge of the local language, however. A possible partial explanation for the variation in educational outcomes may be the animosity that speakers of Serbian or Croatian face. These youth have encountered considerable problems in social integration. This has contributed to their generally disappointing school performance.

The extensive survey organized through the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which is administered by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development among 15-year-olds in a wide range of industrialized countries, provides a sound and comprehensive means of examining the academic achievements of youth of immigrant origin beyond the country group approach. The PISA survey of 2003 reveals that students who have grown up speaking a language other than the local language perform less well in certain subjects, such as mathematics, relative to indigenous Swiss students (Table 12). A significant gap in literacy between children in migrant families and indigenous Swiss children was also found by the previous PISA survey, in 2000. Both surveys show that students born in Switzerland to foreign-born parents (generation 2.0) perform better than foreign-born students in foreign-born families (generation 1.5), but less well than Swiss-born students in Swiss-born families. Whereas several countries of settlement (for example,

Australia and Canada) perform better than Switzerland on this indicator, the gap in performance between the native born without an immigration origin and second-generation children in immigrant families is wider in the major European countries of settlement (France, Germany and the Netherlands) than in Switzerland (Zahner Rossier 2004).

Table 12: Average Performance of 15-Year-Olds in Reading, Mathematics and Science, by Origin, Switzerland, 2003

mean values

Subject	*Swiss-born children of Swiss-born parents*	*Swiss-born children of foreign-born parents*	*Foreign-born children of foreign-born parents*
Reading	543	462	422
Mathematics	515	484	453
Science	531	462	429

Source: PISA 2003 International Database.
Note: The results show scales with an average score of 500 and a standard deviation of 100.

According to the Swiss labour force survey 2007, around 5.6 per cent of Swiss youth aged 18 to 24 enter the labour market without any post-compulsory schooling. Almost four times as many of their counterparts in the immigrant community, 21.8 per cent, do the same.[4]

Many studies seek to explain the poor average educational and vocational performance of youth of immigrant origin relative to Swiss indigenous youth. Many find that a relatively disadvantaged socioeconomic background and language difficulties are common handicaps in school among these youth (Hutmacher 1987, Ramseier and Brühwiler 2003). Other characteristics of people in this situation are sometimes mentioned as possible complementary factors, including the effects of traditional gender roles and the unwillingness to invest in education by parents who consider immigration a temporary expedient (Niederberger 2002). These explanations are controversial, however (Fibbi 2005).

Research conducted in Switzerland and other European countries during the 1990s radically modified the approach to the problem. Studies began examining whether the school system and the vocational education and training systems were partly responsible for the disappointing academic performance of students. Research was also conducted to explore the issue of discrimination against youth of immigrant origin in Swiss social institutions.

In the following subsections, three studies are examined that focus on the obstacles faced by youth of immigrant origin at various stages in education. The first study, Lanfranchi and Jenny (2005), deals with the assignment of pupils to special classes in primary school. The second, Häberlin et al. (2004a), deals with access to the most competitive tracks in lower secondary school. The third, Häberlin et al. (2004b), deals with the transition from school to vocational training.

[4] Note that the survey does not distinguish among individuals by birthplace, but by nationality, whether Swiss or foreign. It does not distinguish between first- and second-generation youth. See <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/infothek/erhebungen__quellen/blank/blank/enquete_suisse_sur/00.html>.

5.3.1 Access to special classes

During primary school in Switzerland, all pupils are taught the same curriculum.[5] However, special classes are available for children with learning difficulties and children with physical disabilities or mental handicaps. Over the last 25 years, the number of pupils attending these special classes has increased, and children in immigrant families have become overrepresented. The share of very heterogeneous school classes (*classes très hétérogènes*, *sehr heterogene Abteilungen*) – that is, classes in which students of immigrant origin or students who do not speak the local language at home constitute more than one third of the pupils – has risen sharply, from 36 per cent in 1980 to 67 per cent in 2005.[6] Youth in immigrant families are clearly a greater presence. This is generally viewed as a consequence of the personal problems, learning difficulties and behavioural troubles associated with these youth. Systemic factors have rarely been taken into account.

To address systemic factors, Lanfranchi and Jenny (2005) have analysed the decisionmaking process among teachers and school psychologists during the transfer of primary school pupils from a normal class to a special class. They surveyed 860 teachers and school psychologists in various cantons in German-speaking areas of Switzerland. They asked these people to review vignettes describing cases of learning difficulties and cases of behavioural trouble among children with social and cultural backgrounds that varied markedly. Members of school staffs were asked to select among several possible solutions in each of the cases. The flavour of the findings may be readily summarized through the following quotation:

> A child named Anton, whose father is a manual worker and who demonstrates difficulties in reading, writing and counting, is up to three times as likely to be assigned to a special curriculum class as is a child named Mike, showing similar problems, whose father is a medical doctor. The probability that a child named Bekir, whose father comes from Kosovo and who exhibits behavioural troubles, ends up in a special curriculum class is twice a high as that for a child named Lukas with similar troubles who holds a Swiss passport. Mike and Lukas and their parents will be offered counselling more often than will Anton and Bekir. (Lanfranchi and Jenny 2005)

School psychologists play a crucial role in the transfer process. Because of their professional background and the tools they use, their evaluations and their decisions seem to be less affected by stereotypical perceptions relative to the corresponding decisions of teachers. Thus, according to Lanfranchi and Jenny, an adverse Pygmalion effect – students perform less well simply because they are expected to do so – penalizes youth of immigrant origin.

5.3.2 Access to advanced tracks in lower secondary school

School policy in Switzerland is regulated by each canton. There are therefore as many school systems, 26, as there are cantons. Despite all the possible cantonal variations, there is an initial structural filter affecting all pupils in compulsory schooling at the end of primary school and the beginning of lower secondary school, that is, in Switzerland, between the fifth

[5] Primary school here refers to level 1 of the International Standard Classification System of Education Levels.
[6] See <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/15/02/key/ind5.informations.50306.html>.

and seventh grades. Lower secondary school consists of two main educational tracks.[7] The first has stricter requirements (the advanced curriculum) and leads to the gymnasium and higher education, while the second has less strict requirements (the basic curriculum) and leads to vocational training. This early division is therefore crucial to the future educational and professional opportunities of children. Between 1980 and 2005, the share of youth of immigrant origin assigned to the basic curriculum in lower secondary school rose from 45 to 49 per cent, while the corresponding share of indigenous Swiss youth declined from 35 to 25 per cent.[8]

Häberlin et al. (2004a) have analysed the selection process for the two educational tracks in lower secondary school to determine if it relies on criteria that adequately measure student performance. To do this, they have conducted a survey among 1,360 students in sixth grade to identify relevant differences according to region, gender and other factors. In broad terms, they have found that the assignment to the basic and advanced curriculum tracks conforms to a principle of merit if school performance is either significantly above or significantly below average, but not if the performance is closer to the average. Thus, for example, among students at identical average performance, 83 per cent of indigenous Swiss girls are channelled to the advanced curriculum track, whereas this is the case of only 70 per cent of indigenous Swiss boys, 65 per cent of girls in immigrant families and 37 per cent of boys in immigrant families. In other words, at similar levels of performance, indigenous Swiss girls are more than twice as likely as boys in immigrant families to gain access to the advanced curriculum track. The authors cogently argue that the merit principle is ignored in two of three cases during the assignment process, thereby implying that assignment is generally arbitrary.

[7] Lower secondary school here refers to level 2 of the International Standard Classification System of Education Levels.
[8] <www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/15/02/key/ind5.indicator.50302.513.html?open=507#507>.

5.3.3 Access to post-compulsory education and vocational training

The share of youth with no education beyond compulsory schooling has increased from 5.5 to 9.1 per cent over the last 10 years.[9] In 2006, 10 per cent of boys and 8 per cent of girls were in this category. Youth in immigrant families were four times more likely than indigenous Swiss youth to be in this category (21.8 and 5.6 per cent, respectively). Among all young people who continued in the education system beyond compulsory schooling, two in three took up vocational training.[10] The most common path to a vocational qualification in Switzerland is the dual apprenticeship (*formation professionnelle duale*, *duale Berufsbildung*) whereby a student attends a state school for one or two days a week and works for an employer who trains the student for the other three or four days a week. The dual apprenticeship therefore requires the student to find an employer and fulfil a work contract while also following a training course.

The transition from school to vocational training tends to be more complex for youth in immigrant families. A longitudinal study undertaken as a follow-up on the PISA survey found that, a year after completing compulsory education, three in four indigenous Swiss youth and youth belonging to groups in older immigration flows had entered general secondary school (Meyer 2003). Among youth in more recent immigration flows from the Balkans, Portugal and Turkey, only 56 per cent had done so. Two years after completing compulsory school, around 10 per cent of the first group had dropped out of general secondary education, while, among the second group, 20 per cent had dropped out. Thus, youth in the second group are less likely to enter post-compulsory education, and, if they do enter, they are more likely to drop out.

Häberlin et al. (2004b) have analysed the conditions governing the access by youth in immigrant families to apprenticeships, which are a common means of professional training in Switzerland. They conclude that, with identical school qualifications (the same curriculum at the lower secondary level and the same success as measured by grades), the probability that a young person with two Swiss-born parents will find an apprenticeship is significantly greater than the corresponding probability associated with a young person in an immigrant family (Table 13).

Table 13: Probability of Finding an Apprenticeship, by Family Origin and at Identical School Qualifications, Switzerland, 2001

Privileged group (a)	Disadvantaged group (b)	Factor by which (a) has a greater probability relative to (b)
Youth with two Swiss-born parents	Youth with at least one Swiss-born parent	1.5
Youth with two Swiss-born parents	Swiss-born youth with two foreign-born parents	1.9
Youth with two Swiss-born parents	Foreign-born youth	4.4

Source: Häberlin et al. (2004b).

[9] Post-compulsory education and vocational training here refer to level 3 of the International Standard Classification System of Education Levels.

[10] See <http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/15/02/key/intro.html>.

They argue that youth in immigrant families often lack useful social and cultural resources. Personal relationships between the apprentice-to-be and the employer-to-be are important to success in the search for an apprenticeship. A large social network is a great advantage in learning about vacancies and gaining entry among potential employers. Social relations are often more decisive than school tracks, grades, or the advice of vocational counsellors. Indeed, the authors have discovered that the need of a student to rely on a vocational counsellor to contact potential employers may be taken as an indicator of a lack of social relationships and therefore of difficulties in finding work. Not knowing the job-seeker personally, a potential employer tends to judge the candidate on the basis of stereotypes, which may prove detrimental to the candidate. Only students with outstanding school records succeed in reducing or overcoming such handicaps.

Some students of immigrant origin attempt to bypass these disadvantages by opting for vocational training in school only, that is, they choose not to join the dual apprenticeship programme. This is especially the case among girls (Bolzman et al. 2003a). This allows the students to obtain good vocational training, without being confronted by the problems inherent in employer selection. Among youth of immigrant origin, girls generally perform better than boys in vocational training. The evidence for this conclusion began emerging in the 1970s among Italians (Häfeli et al. 1979) and has been confirmed among new immigrant groups, such as immigrants from Kosovo and TFYR Macedonia (Lanfranchi 2002).

5.4 Youth and the labour market

5.4.1 Access to the labour market

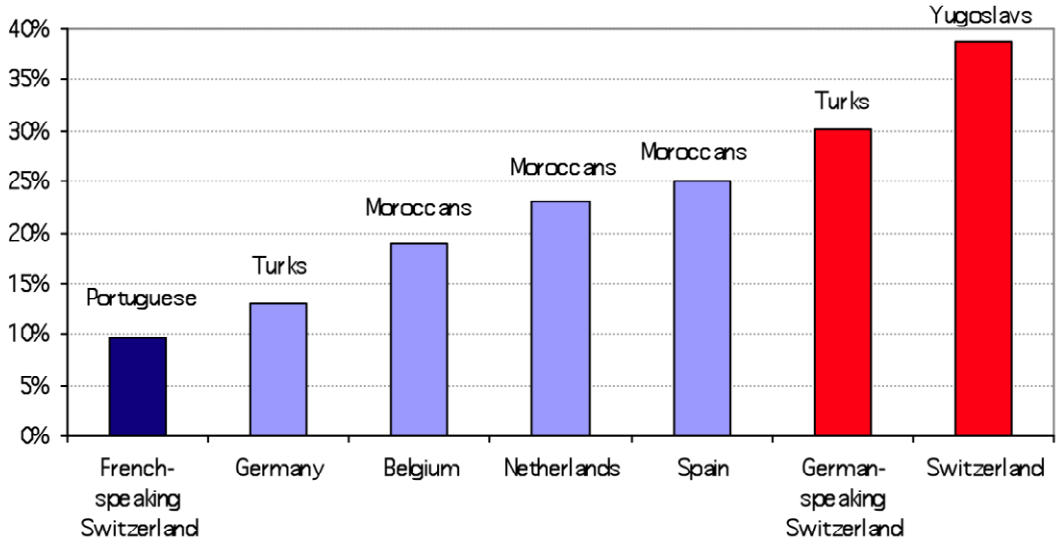
Fibbi et al. (2003a, 2003b) carried out a study that sought to explain the higher unemployment rates among youth in immigrant families by testing the hypothesis that these youth face discrimination in their efforts to gain access to the labour market. The study relied on the practice testing methodology used widely by the International Labour Organization (Bovenkerk 1992). The researchers responded to selected job listings in newspapers. They sent out two letters for each job offer. They signed each of the two letters using a different fictitious name. One of the fictitious candidates was a Swiss citizen born in Switzerland; the other was a foreign-born immigrant from Portugal, Turkey, or the former Yugoslavia who had a long-term Swiss work permit allowing the immigrant, in theory, to compete on the labour market on an equal footing with citizens. Both bogus candidates were between 18 and 20 years of age, had attended Swiss schools, possessed the required Swiss professional certifications, and were otherwise identical in qualifications, experience, sex and all other reasonable employability characteristics. The study was carried out in the French- and the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

Fibbi et al. (2003a, 2003b) reviewed the answers obtained by the bogus Swiss and immigrant candidates. If a potential employer invited the Swiss candidate to a job interview, but rejected the immigrant candidate, they considered this as evidence of inequality of treatment. They found disturbing rates of discriminatory treatment of the applications from young men from Turkey or the former Yugoslavia: an average rate across Switzerland of 30 per cent for immigrants from Turkey and 39 per cent for Albanian-speaking immigrants.

The study found that, although varying in intensity among immigrant groups, youth in immigrant families from all non-EU countries are confronted by significant discrimination, which compromises their access to employment even if they hold linguistic, educational and professional qualifications that are identical to those of their Swiss counterparts. Immigrant groups from the EU, such as Portuguese immigrants, meet with less obvious discrimination, though many are still effectively hindered from gaining access to employment.

Because similar studies have also been carried out in other European countries under the patronage of the International Labour Organization, we may compare the results obtained in Switzerland with those obtained in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. The findings on Switzerland lie at the two extremes: Portuguese immigrants do not experience particular discrimination in French-speaking Switzerland, while the two non-EU immigrant groups are subjected in Switzerland to the highest rate of discrimination (Figure 1). The discrimination rate affecting immigrants from Turkey is two times greater in Switzerland than in Germany. No other immigrant group faces more severe discrimination than Albanian-speaking youth who are seeking work in Switzerland.

Figure 1: Immigrant Discrimination Rates in Selected European Countries



Source: Fibbi et al. (2003a).

The marginalized position on the labour market of youth involved in recent immigration flows is caused by difficulties encountered in education and training and by a lack of linguistic competence in local languages, but it is also partly the product of discriminatory practices among teachers and employers.

All the studies we have surveyed that have focused on the treatment of people in immigrant families in education, vocational training and the labour market seem to agree in concluding that understanding the way institutions respond to youth helps elucidate the poor performance in school and on the labour market by youth in immigrant families.

5.4.2 Risk of unemployment

Data for 2006 show that the risk of unemployment among youth aged 15–24 who are foreign nationals is twice the corresponding risk among Swiss youth in the same age group (Table 14). Unlike the situation in educational performance, girls appear at a disadvantage on the labour market. The risk of unemployment of young women who are foreign nationals is three times the corresponding risk among young Swiss women. As in other areas of the Swiss economy and social environment, recent immigrants from the Balkans are more likely than the immigrants in earlier immigration flows to be affected by unemployment.

Table 14: Unemployed Young People Aged 15–24, by Citizenship and Gender, Switzerland, 2006

per cent

Gender	*Swiss*	*All foreign youth*	*From Southern Europe*	*From EU-candidate countries and the western Balkans*
Men	6.7	12.1	10.6	11.1
Women	5.5	15.3	12.5	18.8
Total	6.1	13.6	11.4	14.4

Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2006).

No study has as yet focused exclusively on the issue of unemployment among children aged 20 or younger in immigrant families. Fibbi et al. (2005) have undertaken a statistical analysis of 2000 census data that focuses on 23- to 34-year-olds. Their study sheds some light on the risk of unemployment among various immigrant groups, and they make a distinction between Swiss- and foreign-born youth, as well as between naturalized and non-naturalized youth.[11]

We note three main findings on youth in immigrant families. First, educational achievement does not guarantee a foothold in the labour market; youth of foreign origin are not always able to cash in on their educational credentials. The risk they face of unemployment is always greater than the risk among the Swiss even if educational achievement is taken into account.

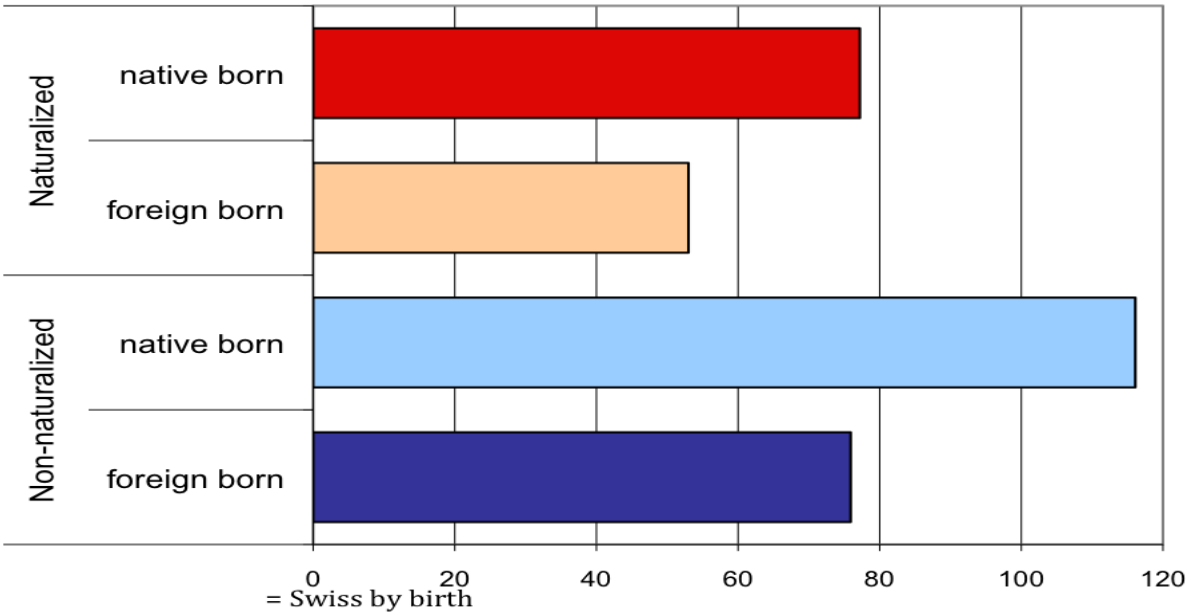
Second, Fibbi et al. (2005) have carried out a regression analysis to highlight variables such as educational attainment, family background and household environment. The results indicate that generalizations are difficult among the various immigrant groups. Thus, the observed differences between people in the Turkish immigrant group and people in the former Yugoslavia immigrant group on the one hand and people in the Portuguese immigrant group on the other confirm the results of the study on discrimination in labour access that affects these two groups differently (see Figure 1 elsewhere above).

Third, naturalization is not as useful in facilitating the search for employment as one might expect. This may be illustrated through the example of immigrants of Turkish origin in Figure 2. Among all immigrant groups and on the basis of equivalent educational backgrounds, job-seekers who are Swiss by naturalization face a higher risk of

[11] For a detailed analysis of the census data on unemployment among foreigners, see Widmer (2005), who, however, does not analyse by age groups.

unemployment than job-seekers who are Swiss by birth even though the two sets of job-seekers are equal under the law.

Figure 2: Risks of Unemployment among Turkish Men Aged 23–34, by Nationality and Place of Birth, Switzerland



Source: Fibbi et al. (2005).

By and large, the great majority of the youth in earlier immigration flows have achieved structural integration in Switzerland.[12] Meanwhile, the youth in more recent flows are confronted by the personal challenges inherent in immigration, but also by a more or less unfriendly welcome in the country of settlement. As they follow the path to structural integration, these youth must face many obstacles.

5.5 Children and health

Health issues among immigrants have been the object of growing interest in Switzerland. Most studies have focused on adult health and, especially, access to the health care system, including the awareness and understanding of preventive and curative health care messages.

Bollini and Wanner (2006) deal specifically with health issues among children in immigrant families, particularly infants. Their aim is to compare the outcomes of pregnancies among immigrant communities and the indigenous Swiss population. They rely particularly on indicators of child health. They have drawn attention to the high infant mortality rates and low birthweights among infants born to women in immigrant families from Africa, Sri Lanka and Turkey. They have also carried out regression analyses on merged birth and mortality data adjusted for birth parity, sex of the newborns and birthweights, but not for social class or the level of parental education. They find that citizenship is a significant factor in child mortality and the incidence of low birthweights. Moreover, while all indicators on pregnancy

[12] Indeed, they may have benefited from more recent inflows because of their social mobility (Fibbi 2005).

outcomes have improved over the last 30 years, the improvement has been less significant among some groups of foreign origin, and a sizeable gap remains relative to Swiss nationals.

Bollini and Wanner explore possible explanations using meta-analysis. The analysis stresses the role of social integration policies and inadequate health policies in influencing health outcomes (lack of interpreters, lack of specific services for immigrants and so on). The authors have also conducted focus group interviews with women in various immigrant communities. The focus groups have highlighted the difficulties faced by women in immigrant families in Switzerland. The difficulties may vary according to nationality and the length of stay in the country.

> The participants in our groups identified stress due to precarious living conditions, ill-adapted work during pregnancy, inadequate communication with health care providers (severely limiting access to health care in the most extreme cases), and feelings of racism and discrimination in society. In addition, lack of information about reproductive health was reported especially by Turkish ladies. (Bollini and Wanner 2006)

5.6 Children and poverty

Because no study has tackled the issue of poverty among immigrants or among children in immigrant families, we have been obliged to adopt an indirect method in our data analysis and literature review.

Social security provisions appear to protect the elderly efficiently against poverty, but several observers have noted over the last 10 years that children are increasingly being affected by poverty. Leu et al. (1997) claimed that children are the group at the greatest risk of poverty.

In his study on child poverty, Falter (2005) does not distinguish between Swiss nationals and foreigners. Nonetheless, we may assume that most of the poor in the study are people of immigrant origin. This is so because the median wage among foreigners in Switzerland in 2004 was 17 per cent less than the median wage among Swiss nationals, and, in 1999, the share of the working poor among foreigners was double the share among the Swiss, 12.2 to 6.2 per cent, respectively (Streuli and Bauer 2000).

Falter sets the poverty line at CHF 2,100 (2001 prices) according to the standards of the institution charged with welfare coordination, the Swiss Conference of Social Assistance Institutions.[13] Because the sample is designed primarily for an analysis of household income and consumption, poverty rates are also reported by household (the middle rows in Table 15).

> At the individual level, we can observe that poverty declined slightly between 2000 and 2002. Child poverty has followed the same 'trend' over the period. It is worth noting that child poverty rates are higher than the overall poverty rate. . . . It is interesting to compare child poverty with the poverty rates of the elderly (individuals aged 60 or

[13] Falter's research is based on data from the statistics on income and living conditions survey. Only the data concerning consumption are shown here, since they include the mandatory payments for social insurance. Falter discusses equivalence scales in detail and proposes his own method for calculating them. We retain the official calculations in our review, however.

more). The rationale . . . is that while an efficient safety net has been built in order to protect older people from poverty, the young may be the population facing the highest poverty risks. According to the CSIAS norms [Swiss Conference of Social Assistance Institutions], elderly and children indeed face similar poverty risks. However, disaggregating the children by age categories reveals important differences. It turns out that youngest age categories (0–6 years old and 7–14 years old) display high poverty rates while teenagers have relatively low poverty rates. Such results can be explained by the fact that younger parents earn less than older parents, children's age being a proxy for the age of the parents. One should also consider the fact that parents of [young] children, especially women, tend to reduce their labour supply. On the other hand, once the children have grown up, one usually witnesses an increase in the female labour supply in Switzerland. (Falter 2005: 11–12)

Table 15: Absolute Poverty Rates, by Age Group and Household Size, Switzerland, 2000–2002

per cent

Indicator	*2000*	*2001*	*2002*
All population, individuals	14.17	13.90	13.16
Child poverty, individuals	18.45	18.08	16.81
Households	13.12	12.31	12.56
Households with children	15.34	15.92	14.73
Children, aged 0–6	21.18	19.92	18.93
Children, aged 7–14	18.48	17.73	16.70
Youth, aged 15–18	10.96	14.46	10.93

Source: Falter (2005).
Note: The results are expressed in percentages according to monetary measures of monthly expenditure.

Focusing especially on child poverty and using different indicators, Falter comes to the conclusion that the share of children who may be described as poor whatever the definition used is approximately 4 per cent. This figure may be considered a lower bound for the child poverty rate in Switzerland given that between 22 and 27 per cent of children fall among the poor in at least one of the several definitions of poverty one might use. We might consider the latter shares as an indicator of vulnerability to poverty.

5.7 Youth and deviant behaviour

Since the late 1990s, police statistics and court records have been showing a rise in deviant behaviour among all youth. Research studies confirm this trend. Zurich cantonal police data indicate that there was an increase of 400 per cent in violent offences by young people between 1990 and 1997. This contrasts sharply with the slight decline in violence registered in the 1980s.

The data suggest that the share of foreign youth suspected of involvement in violent offences rose almost sevenfold between 1990 and 1997. Those most affected were young people in recent immigration flows, namely, from Turkey and, especially, from the former Yugoslavia. Court statistics on convictions among youth tend to confirm these conclusions (Eisner 1998). Ammann (2006) also finds high delinquency rates in Zurich among youth in immigrant families from Yugoslavia in 1995–2000.

Finally, studies on self-reported violence have come to similar conclusions. A survey carried out among ninth graders in Zurich reveals a higher level of self-reported delinquency relative to Swiss indigenous youth for some categories of offences by second-generation youth, as well as by youth of the 1.5 generation (Table 16).

Table 16: Self-Reported Delinquency according to Immigrant Status, Student Survey, Zurich, 1994

index among students

Index categories	*Swiss born with at least one Swiss-born parent*	*Swiss born with foreign-born parents*	*Foreign born with at least one foreign-born parent*
Serious offences against property	0.16	0.38	0.33
Group violence	0.32	0.76	0.71
Serious violence	0.09	0.20	0.20

Source: Eisner (1998).
Note: The table shows the average number of offences cited based on a score of 1.0 for 'once' and 3.0 for 'several times'.

A similar survey on self-reported delinquency conducted in 2003 among 14- to 16-year-olds in Vaud, a French-speaking canton, shows that delinquency rates are significantly higher among foreign youth than among Swiss youth for 9 of 22 types of deviant behaviour, including absenteeism, running away, shoplifting, car theft, theft from a vehicle, bodily injury and drug dealing. Swiss youth consume more hashish and alcohol than foreign youth (Killias 2004). However, the overall difference between students of Swiss or foreign origin is small relative to the overall increase in deviant behaviour since 1992.

The recent official report on integration laments the lack of reliable criminal data at the federal level that would permit the rigorous monitoring of delinquency among youth, including youth in immigrant families (Federal Office for Migration 2006b). The 2007 report issued by the Federal Office of Justice (2007) on youth violence acknowledges this problem. According to the report, the "available statistics allow the assumption that a minor's tendency to violent behaviour has increased in recent years. Practitioners are persuaded that serious acts of violence among young people have increased." Because of the lack of data, the report fails to be more precise.

Inadequacies in parental control, problems in school, social disadvantage arising from poverty or poor housing conditions, and diversity in cultural background are blamed for youth violence (Federal Office of Justice 2007). A cantonal chief of police has argued that convictions have increased in the same proportion among adults as well and that the share of violent offences by young people (10 per cent) is smaller than the share of similar offences by the Swiss resident population across all age ranges (Guéniat 2007). The share of violent offences involving young people and resulting in convictions and sentences was around 13 per cent in 2005. The rate has been stable at this level for several years.

Similar trends have been observed in several European countries with important immigrant populations, although the immigrant group most affected by the phenomenon varies across countries. This seems to lend support to the theory attributing delinquency among immigrants to anomic tensions and conflicts among youth in immigrant families (Killias 1989). However,

other explanations must also be sought because, as the data show, similar structural disadvantages do not lead to similar deviant behaviour, that is, crime rates differ despite similar circumstances across marginalized groups. Moreover, the immigrant groups from the same countries of origin are not involved in serious crimes to the same degree across European countries, as might be expected based on theories of cultural conflict (Sellin 1934). The evidence on the causes of deviant behaviour among youth in immigrant families points to the interplay among social dynamics in the country of origin, specific types of immigration and the structural conditions in the country of settlement (Eisner 1998).

The public debate on deviant behaviour tends to focus on juvenile delinquency, particularly delinquency among youth in immigrant families. News stories in the media paint a generally grim picture of violence and sex offences among youth in immigrant families from the former Yugoslavia (Venutti 2006). During the campaign leading up to the 2007 federal elections, the issue was highly politicized. Some political actors called for the expulsion of immigrants who were repeat offenders, the punishment and banning of their families and the revocation of citizenship among repeat offenders who had become naturalized citizens.

6. CONCLUSIONS

During the 1990s, the Government regularly acknowledged that immigration was a structural feature of Swiss society for both economic and demographic reasons. This awareness, which arose during a significant economic downturn, prompted a fresh federal policy that targets mainly newly arrived immigrants through programmes designed to improve their language skills, educational attainment and vocational training. This policy may be justified in light of the significant recent immigration flows. However, our analysis of the difficulties encountered by youth in immigrant families points to the need for a policy of integration among established immigrant groups as well.

The differences observed between various groups of foreign origin seem to lend themselves in the public debate to explanations focusing on a cultural approach, whereby cultural background becomes the reason for a specific outcome. The change in the policies on integration since 2001 and the movement towards explicit demands that immigrants conform to western values suggest that there has been a substantial boundary shift (Zolberg and Long 1999). The traditional opposition between Swiss citizens and foreigners is being replaced by divisions opposing Swiss citizens, nationals and immigrants from EU countries, and non-EU immigrant groups.

As a result of a consolidation in the presence of immigrants in recent decades, the phenomenon of integration, the rise in the number of mixed marriages and the growing number of naturalized immigrants, expressions of cultural diversity have emerged in forms other than traditional Swiss *Vielfalt* (diversity) based on the territorial distribution of speakers of the four national languages, and Swiss of immigrant origin are now occupying positions as legitimate stakeholders in society. The challenge ahead is to ensure that equality within the heterogeneous social and political fabric of society is protected not only formally, but also in practice. This will entail the development of new laws and regulations to accommodate the various groups making up the population. Equality in opportunity will be the crucial issue in coming decades.

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