FROM 'OLD' TO 'NEW' SOUTHERN EUROPEAN MIGRANTS IN SWITZERLAND[1]

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This paper examines the labour market integration of Spanish and Italian immigrants who entered Switzerland since the early 2000s, and compares their situation with that of their predecessors who arrived in previous decades. The case of Switzerland is interesting for its long history as immigrant receiving country. After the Second World War, large and successive unskilled immigration flows entered Switzerland, mainly coming from Italy and Spain (from 1950s to 1970s), and Portugal (1980s), the former Yugoslavia and Turkey (1980s and 1990s). As a result of the settlement process, Switzerland has become one of the countries with the highest proportion of foreigners in Europe (23.8% at the end of 2013 according to data from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office). More recently, changes in migration policies –specifically, the ratification of the *Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons* between Switzerland and the EU/EFTA countries in June 2002 - and the onset of the financial crisis of 2007, fostered the return of 'old' migration in terms of origins, as reveals the huge number of entries coming from the South-European countries, albeit with a quite 'new' demographic and socioeconomic profile. It is of central importance to distinguish the socio-demographic characteristics and the labour market performance of recent inflows of Spanish and Italian immigrants from previous ones in order to understand their impact on the economy and society in both countries of origin and destination. The main aim of the paper is, then, to provide an in-depth analysis of the impact of the skills composition on the labour market performance of recent Spanish and Italian immigrants, and compare their situation with that of their predecessors who arrived in previous decades. The structure of the paper is as follows. In the following section, we address how the relationship between immigration flows, economic conditions and migration policies in Switzerland has evolved over the last decades. The next section briefly describes the relevant literature, outlining the main hypothesis concerning the labour market incorporation of immigrants. Then, the data, variables and methods that have been used in this research are presented, followed by a discussion of the findings of our descriptive and multivariate analysis. Finally, in the last section we summarise the main results.

1. THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN ORIGIN AND DESTINATION IN THE CHANGING PROFILE OF ITALIANS AND SPANIARDS IN SWITZERLAND

The long history of migration from Italy and Spain to Switzerland, allows us to compare the labour performance of "new" South European migrants with their "old" compatriots. The interest of the study lies on the fact that these successive cohorts are very heterogeneous regarding their skill composition, due to the rising levels of education and the transformation of the labour opportunities in their countries of origin (supply-side explanation), the shift in the labour demand (from manual and unskilled to skilled and professional) in Switzerland and to the accommodation of the Swiss migration policies to the European integration process (demand-side explications). Indeed, the dialectic relationship between these parallel processes - i.e. the progression the socio-economics conditions in origin, the evolution of labour demand and the changing migration policies - explains the improvement of the skills composition of the successive cohorts of Italians and Spaniards and, as a consequence, the transformation in their occupational attainment in Switzerland.

Effectively, as it has been pointed out by Afonso (2004), the history of migration in Switzerland is highly related to its economic development and to the evolution of its migratory policies. After the Second World War, the Swiss economy started to demand unskilled workers for agriculture, factories, construction and the touristic sector. Immigration policies had been thought to import non-qualified foreign labour in a temporary basis, with the establishment of a system of time-limited work permits. As a consequence, the entrance of foreign workers, mainly from Italy and Spain, was intensive during the so-called *guest worker period*. However, although the system was designed to a rotated migration, most of migrants remained in the country. Additionally, despite the restrictive measures implemented in the mid-1960, they couldn't prevent new entrances, and the number of southern Europeans workers in the country increased until the last years of the 1970s, answering the demand of labour. With the economic crisis of the mid-1970s, the inflows of foreigners in the country decreased, and return migration start to be very common among the Southern Europeans. In the 1980s and 1990s, when immigration entrances increased again, the difficulty of finding unskilled workers in those traditional immigrant countries (due to the impressive improvement of the social and educational conditions), unskilled migration from Italy

and Spain were replaced by new inflows of non-qualified workers from Turkey, Portugal, the former Yugoslavia, and from outside the European Community (Wanner et al. 2009).

However, some authors as Afonso (2004) or Golder (1999) claimed the "disfunctionalities" of the Swiss immigration policy in the country, as it mainly facilitated the entrance of workers for the lower segments of the labour market. Effectively, at the beginning of the 1990s, the existing regulations of the quota system did not take into account the need for highly qualified foreigners for the Swiss economy in a globalized scenario. Moreover, due to acceleration of the European integration process, with the implementation of the free movement of persons, Swiss immigration policy needed to adapt to facilitate the hiring of skilled foreign human capital. As a result, in June 2002 was signed a bilateral agreement of the free movement of persons between Switzerland and the EU. Since then, the borders of Switzerland have been almost completely closed for non-European unskilled migration, remaining open for the most skilled human capital from outside the EU (Wicker et al., 2003; Piguet, 2004; Haug, 2005; Mahnig, 2005).

For most authors, the turning point between the 'old' and unskilled to the 'new' and qualified immigration in Switzerland was, indeed, the establishment of this 'two circle' model, as the change in migration policies led to a redirection of migration flows. As explained by Wanner (2004), new rupture in the migratory inflows take place during the turn of the century in Switzerland, thanks to the new entrance opportunities for highly-skilled workers. In the same vein, Favre (2011) recognize that the shift in the immigration policy brought an increase of the educational level of immigration, and the overrepresentation at the top of the occupational structure. And Afonso (2004), identified, in the beginning of the 2000s, a shift in the occupational profile of foreign labour force in Switzerland, with a recent arrival of highly skilled migrants, mainly from Western Europe and North America, who present on average higher qualifications than Swiss, and work in the most competitive sectors as banking and insurances. However, the same authors also claim that the entrances of low-skilled migrants have not stopped and that there is a bipolarisation of recent migration in terms of human capital, as well as a concentration of new migrants in the bottom of the occupational structure. Indeed, these findings are in line with the polarized pattern of occupational growth occurred recently in Switzerland pointed out by Sheldon (2005) and Oesch and Rodriguez Menés (2010). Regarding the labour performance immigrants in Switzerland, research studies is abundant, and most of them identify the lower educational profile and the disadvantages of Southern European workers in the Swiss labour market, in relation to the most privileged position of immigrants from North and Western Europe and North America. However, none of these analyses takes into account the improvement in skills-composition of more recent cohorts from Italy and Spain; neither compares the occupational attainment between old and new migrants.

Using data of 1980, 1990, 1990 Swiss Censuses, as well as the new Swiss *Structural Survey* from 2010, we will firstly address the evolution of the diverse foreign groups, in order to contextualize the historical presence of Italians and Spaniards among Swiss population, and we will describe the improvement of the educational and occupational profile of 'old' and 'new' migrants from Spain and Italy. Secondly, using multinomial logistic models we will analyze the occupational distribution of 'old' (arrived in the late 1970s) and 'new' (arrived from 2002) Spanish and Italian workers. Our aim is to examine whether the traditional over-representation of migrants from Italy and Spain among the lower strata of the occupational hierarchy is explained by their negative selectivity in terms of human capital or by the existence of segmentation dynamics in the labour force on the basis of the worker's origin. And, on the contrary, we investigate if the more privileged migrant status and an easier transferability of skills of highly educated Spaniards and Italians arrived recently in Switzerland are reflected in the improvement of their occupational status, or if there exist an disadvantage in the labour force for workers from the countries of traditional immigration. We compare the occupation attainment of Southern European immigrants with those experienced by Swiss population and other main immigrant groups in the country. We repeat the analysis for men and women separately in order to analyse if the human capital effects on the changing occupational performance of the successive cohorts of immigrants applies equally to men and women. In order to avoid biased conclusions caused by cohorts' effects and non-random return emigration, we focus our analysis in recently arrived migrants, those who arrived during the previous years to the moment of observation.

The relevance of the study lies in the possibility to test the effects of the evolution of the cohort's skills-composition in their labour integration after arrival. Some authors (for example Borjas, 1994) focus on the changing national origin composition of the immigrant's flows in order to explain the evolution of the occupational attainment of successive cohorts if the skills levels vary across countries. The specificity of our analysis is, on the contrary, to put the accent of the intra-group variation in skills levels over time in the occupational structure in destination. And Italians and Spaniards are the perfect target groups for the analysis for Switzerland. Firstly, Italy and Spain are the main traditional source countries of unskilled immigration during the guest-worker period. Secondly, these countries have experienced an impressive advancement in the socio-economic conditions since the 1980s, with a rapid increase of the percentage of population holding university degrees, in special among the young generations. Therefore, the evolution towards better prospects at home explains the inexistence of intensive immigration from these traditional source countries during more than 20 years, during the 1980s and 1990s. Thirdly, the onset of the global economic crisis since 2007 has been especially dramatic in Italy and Spain, which have been affected with high levels of unemployment and of precarious employment. This new socio-economic scenario leads to the deterioration of the professional prospects of an important share of young highly-qualified young professional, who started to find new labour opportunities abroad, being Switzerland one of the chosen destinations. Furthermore, migratory networks created among unskilled workers from Italy and Spain was ceased with the final of the guest-worker period and the return emigration at the beginning of the 1980s. Therefore, this could be an explanation of the inexistence of massive inflows since the beginning of the economic crisis of unskilled labour and the almost exclusive professional profile of new immigration from these countries, despite the high levels of unemployment in origin among the less instructed. Fourthly, as EU citizens, Italians and Spaniards possess nowadays a privileged legal status in Switzerland and an easier transferability of skills, thanks to new immigration policy and a labour demand for highly-skilled professionals. Indeed, Favre (2011) claims that the case of Switzerland is interesting because the level of occupational downgrading upon arrival for the highly skilled migrant is not as common as in other developed countries as they manage to insert in highly paid positions in Switzerland.

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

2.1 Theoretical framework

The labour market performance of immigrants has widely been analysed from different theoretical perspectives. Generally speaking, much of the literature emphasizes the importance of human capital and time of residence as central determinants of the process of economic assimilation (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1994). According to this view, upon their arrival in their host countries, migrants suffer a disadvantage relative to natives that can be more or less important and can affect different aspects of the labour market incorporation, like wages and employment. Such a disadvantage has been attributed to the imperfect portability of human capital across countries. It has, thus, been noted that migrants have difficulty transferring formal schooling, experience, and training obtained overseas (Chiswick, and Miller 2009). For instance, official recognition of academic qualifications – particularly, those acquired in less developed regions- is often an arduous bureaucratic process, which can last several years. The national origin of individuals' education and experience may also play a part, affecting the extent to which their human capital is valued in the host economy (Friedberg, 2000; Clark and Drinkwater, 2008). Moreover, some authors have highlighted the lack of country-specific skills on arrival as a key factor in explaining differences in economic success. As well as limited knowledge on the functioning of the labour market, the lack of fluency in the host country's language may represent an obstacle for immigrants in finding better job opportunities (Chiswick and Miller, 2003; Dustman and Fabri, 2003).The so-called *assimilation hypothesis* also maintains that the initial disadvantage should decline over time. As immigrants settle in the receiving country, they might adapt their skills to the requirements of the labour market, improving their knowledge of the host country's language and acquiring local education and training. This may eventually lead to migrants' economic outcomes becoming more similar to that of their native peers (Chiswick, 1978).

The human capital approach has been called into question from various viewpoints. *Segmented labour market theory* offers an alternative explanation of the migrants' disadvantage and the process of economic assimilation (Piore, 1979). According to this view, labour markets are divided into primary and secondary sector. Organisation of labour, work conditions and occupational mobility differ widely between these two sectors. The primary sector offers stable jobs, relatively high salaries, acceptable work conditions and upward mobility. In contrast, the secondary sector is often characterized by unstable jobs with low pay and poor working conditions and limited prospects for promotion. There are institutional and social barriers that prevent workers to move from the lower sector to the upper one (McGovern, 2007). The segmentation approach also maintains that shortages of labour in the secondary sector are met by migrant workers, partly through recruitment by firms and governments (Piore, 1979). In this framework, migrants' disadvantage relative to natives is expected to persist over time, regardless the length of residence and the accumulation of human capital. Thus, immigrant workers located into the secondary sector in the host country labour markets may never experience economic assimilation in terms of wage convergence and occupational attainment (Piore, 1979). The *social capital approach* offers a complementary explanation to the segmentation processes (Lusis and Bauder, 2010). While some researchers have suggested that social capital contributes to migrants' economic assimilation by providing information and access to job opportunities (Aguilera, 2002; Lancee, 2010) other authors, in contrast, argue that social capital may reinforce the disadvantage position of immigrants into the lower sectors, especially if their social networks are ethnically homogeneous (Portes,1993).

Empirical evidence on the labour market performance of immigrants in Switzerland is quite rich. However, there are no studies comparing old and recent cohorts of immigrants. Early work is based mostly on cross sectional data and focus on wages and employment differences between natives and immigrants. Based on the 1995 Swiss Labour Force Survey (SLFS), Straubhaar and Golder (1999) find differences between migrant groups regarding their demographic characteristics and economic outcomes. Their results show that nationals from northern European countries perform better than nationals from Southern and Non-European countries. The former group even tends to outperform natives. Golder (1999) uses a poled sample of the SLFS for the years 1991 and 1995 to investigate the incidence of unemployment among the first-generation immigrants, taking into account nationality and gender-specific differences. His results indicate that Swiss and male workers display significantly lower unemployment probabilities than immigrants and females. Based on the 2000 Census, Widmer (2005) investigates the causes of differences in unemployment. In an analysis of living conditions and the levels of integration of the foreign population, and based on data from Swiss Household Panel (SHP), Wanner et al. (2003) examine the labour market situation and the occupational mobility of foreign workers. Their results show an over-representation of EU nationals in high positions in the occupational structure, although the South Europeans are less likely than French and German nationals to attain high-status occupations. There are also educational- and gender- differences in occupational mobility among foreigners, particularly Italians, and relative to natives. They conclude that immigrants experience difficulties in being integrated into the labour market, particularly those coming from non-EU countries and Southern Europe. These difficulties can be linked with the educational level of different national groups, but also with discriminatory practices other studies suggest (Fibbi et al, 2003; Widmer, 2005).

In a more recent study, Liebig et al. (2012) provide a comprehensive picture of the labour market integration of immigrants using pooled cross-sectional data from the SLFS. The study reveals substantial changes in the socio-demographic composition of inflows, especially following the introduction of freedom of movement with the EU member countries in 2002. Overall, recent migrants from the EU-27 exhibit better outcomes than natives and migrants from non-EU countries, particularly females and asylum-seekers. Within the former group, there is some diversity in their socio-demographic profile and labour market outcomes. For example, recent migrants from Portugal are predominantly low-educated and employed in medium and low-skilled occupations. In contrast, migrants from EU-27 countries, excluding Portugal and Italy, are mainly highly-educated and are over-represented in highly-skilled occupations. The authors also find that migrants from EU countries are more likely to be found in jobs which match their qualifications than the native-born. They conclude

that the human capital of recent migrants is therefore more easily portable across countries. These results contrast with those obtained by Pecoraro (2011) in his work on the incidence and determinants of under- and over-qualification among immigrants. Using the 1990 and 2000 Swiss censuses and the Central Register of Foreigners, he shows that the incidence of job-education mismatch is higher among first-generation than for natives and second generation immigrants. He suggests that more recent cohort of immigrants are more likely to be over-qualified than earlier ones and, in contrast, older cohorts are more likely to be under-qualified. Using a longitudinal approach, and based on data from the SLFS, Laganà (2013) investigate the differences between immigrants and natives as regards the exit from unskilled jobs and unemployment. After providing evidence on the concentration of immigrants in the lower segments of the Swiss labour market, the author finds that recent immigrants face higher risk of unemployment, although they experience a greater mobility in and out employment. The results also show a remarkable difference between old migrant groups – Italians and Spanish- that present labour market performance similar to the natives and new groups –such as Yugoslavs- that display higher mobility in and out employment and towards higher positions in the secondary labour market. He concludes that this fact can be partly explained by the positive selection of the later group.

2.2 Research hypothesis

The main aim of the investigation is to test the "human capital" hypothesis regarding the effect of the "negative" or "positive" selectivity of skills of a particular cohort of immigrants in their to occupations in the host labour market, and the "labour market segmentation" hypothesis of the stratification of occupations by the native and migrant origin of labour force. Accordingly to the former, we hypothesize that the main disadvantages experienced by traditional immigrants arrived to Switzerland during the late 1970s from the Italy and Spain within the framework of the guest worker recruitment scheme, is due to their negative selectivity in terms of skills. Therefore, once skills (educational level and main language) had been controlled for, the disadvantages faced for these migrants in their occupational distribution tend to decrease. However, we also hypothesize the persistence of the disadvantages in the occupational attainment of "old" Italians and Spaniards once human capital characteristics had been hold constant, compared with natives and other immigrant's workers from Northern and Western Europe and North America. The segmented nature of the labour market during the guest work period, and the selective allocation of foreign labour from the South of Europe in the low status jobs, explains the lower probabilities of occupation in middle and professional jobs of recent migrants arrived during the 1970s, regardless to their educational and demographic profile. Moreover, the establishment of temporary resident permits during the guest-worker scheme could explains that recent arrived migrants, decided not to invest in acquiring the human capital relevant to the host country, or in long search for higher-status jobs if they are unlikely to remain in Switzerland long enough to enjoy the rate return of these inversions (Kalter and Kogan, 2006). Thus, the negative skill-selectivity of "old" migrants from Italy and Spain is not the only explanation for the overrepresentation of these collectives in the working class occupations during the guest-worker period. The difficulties to translate their human capital in their occupational attainment shortly after arrival stem likewise from the segmentation nature of the Swiss labour market, and from the temporary limitation of resident permits, especially for those recently arrived.

On the contrary, "new" recent arrived workers from Italy and Spain are not only positively selected in terms of human capital, due to the rapid acceleration of levels of education in their home countries, but also they arrived in a context of increasing demand for high-skilled labour force. Moreover, as EU citizens, they are positively discriminate in the Swiss labour market and society. As a consequence, we hypothesise a highly degree of accommodation between their human capital and their occupational achievement for those arrived after the ratification of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons in 2002. Therefore, for new migrant cohorts from Italy and Spain, we do not expect strong disadvantages in their occupational distribution compared with Swiss population and other immigrant groups, due to their positive selectivity and the easier transferability of their skills with the EU context.

3. DATA, VARIABLES AND METHODS

To study the occupational standing of 'old' and 'new' Southern European immigrants we rely on data from the 1980 Population Census and data from the Swiss Structural Survey for the years 2010 and 2011. The Structural Survey is an annual survey of 200,000 persons of all permanent resident population aged 15 or more living in private households. These data sources are appropriate for our analytical purposes due to their provision of detailed information on socio-demographic and labour market characteristics of individuals, and because their large sample sizes allows for distinction between the relevant immigrant groups. Both the Census and the Structural Survey data sets, however, have some limitations, which should be noted. Because irregular immigrants residing in Switzerland and cross-border workers are not covered by the official statistics, the analysis is limited to population with a residence permit. Another limitation is that the 1980 Census lacks information on migration history of the foreign-born population –i.e. acquisition of citizenship and double citizenship, type of residence permit, age at arrival or year of arrival-, so that it is not possible to evaluate and compare the relative importance of these variables for labour market performance in our reference period.

Our analyses are limited to respondents aged 20-64 years old. We consider only first generation immigrants, arrived from the age of 15, in order to avoid those arriving at a younger age as they mainly had access to compulsory school in the country. Immigrants are defined by country of nationality[2]. We distinguish the following groups: Spaniards, Italians, Portuguese, Germans, French, Austrians, immigrants from the rest of the EU/EFTA countries, ex-Yugoslavs, Turks and immigrants from the rest of Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America, Northern America and Oceania. Spaniards and Italians are compared to the rest of groups and Swiss nationals as the reference group. In addition, we only consider those foreign nationals who arrived in Switzerland during the previous five years of the respective censual observation[3]. When Structural Survey is used, we limited our sample to those arrived since the 2002, the year of entry into force of the bilateral agreement on the free movement of labour with the EU15/EFTA countries. Therefore, the focus of our research is on labour market incorporation of immigrants during the first years after arrival. By selecting only recent immigrants, we also minimize the possible bias of non-random return migration and change in the average quality of cohorts over time (Borjas, 1994; Dustmann, 2000).

In order to analyse the occupational attainment of immigrants, we estimate a multinomial logistic regression model based in the European Socio-Economic Classification (ESeC) schema collapsed into three categories: 1) Salariat (professional and managerial), 2) Intermediate, and 3) Working class. The ESeC three class model is applied according to the guidelines of Harrison and Rose (2006). Thus, Classes I and II are merged to form the 'Salariat'; Classes III, IV, V and VI combine into an 'Intermediate' class, and finally Classes VII and VIII become 'Working' class. Due to gender differences in the labour market behaviour, both for immigrants and Swiss nationals, all statistical models have been run separately for males and females. With regard to the explicative human capital variables, education is coded into three categories. The first category includes persons with lower secondary education or less; the second category consists of those who have attained upper secondary education or post-secondary non-tertiary education; while respondents in the third category hold a tertiary education certificate. In order to control the potential effects of language skills on labour market performance, we include a variable that identify whether the main language of the individuals corresponds to the predominant regional language or other official languages of the Swiss federation[4].

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[2] Although the coincidence between nationality and country of birth is very high as we only consider recent immigration, admission to Switzerland and its labour market is based on the citizenship of individuals, therefore nationality is a crucial characteristic in our analysis. Additionally, as we only considered those arrived 15 aged or above, we exclude foreign nationals born in the country.

[3] As mentioned above, the 1980 Population Census does not include information on the year of arrival. Immigrants are thus identified combining information from the place of birth and place of residence five years prior to the Census.

[4] There are four official languages: German, French, Italian and Romansh. Around 70% of the population speak German (above all in northern, central and eastern Switzerland). 20% speak French. This part of the population lives in Western

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English and other languages are also included as categories. The other independent variables that we take into account are age and age squared, family status and type of commune of residence. Marital status distinguishes between single, married or cohabiting persons. An additional dummy identifies the presence of children into the household. The variable type of commune of respondent's residence allows us to differentiate between the city centre and the urban agglomeration, as well as between isolated cities and rural areas. Finally, the models pertaining to new migrants based on data from the Structural Survey include years since migration and type of residence permit as control variables. The latter variable defines four different legal statuses of the foreign nationals: temporary, permanent, short stay/provisional and asylum seekers.

4. DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics of chosen characteristics of Swiss population and various immigrant groups defined by country of nationality. The numbers are taken from the 1980 Population Census and the Structural Survey for the years 2010 and 2011 and refer to the population aged 20-64 years. As mentioned earlier, we only focus on recent immigrants, that are those foreign nationals who arrived in Switzerland during the previous five years prior to the census observation (old immigration) and those arriving from 2002 onwards (new immigration).

The comparison between the old and new immigration reveals the impressive changes that have taken place in both the contexts of origin and destination over the last decades. Generally speaking, the Spaniards and Italians who arrived in Switzerland in recent years are younger and much better educated than their compatriots who migrated during the second half of 1970s. The proportion of old southern European immigrants (also including nationals from Portugal) with medium or higher education was lower than that of the Swiss and much lower than almost all immigrant groups. For instance, only about 3% of Spaniards and 6% of Italians hold a university education degree. In contrast, the most recent cohorts have made significant progress in terms of educational achievement, so that more than half of population reached tertiary education. However, the educational profile of new southern Europeans continues to be worse than that observed among other immigrants groups, particularly those coming from EU countries and North America. This is especially true given the high proportion of low educated people among Spaniards and Italians (about 24% and 20%, respectively).

Switzerland, called the *Romandie*. The population in Ticino on the southern side of the Alps speaks Italian. Romansh is only spoken in some valleys of Canton Graubünden.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristic of swiss and recent immigrants aged 20-64, 1980 and 2010-11

	Swiss	Spain	Italy	Portugal	Germany	France	Austria	ExYugosla.	Turkey	Other EU & EFTA	Other Europe	Africa	N. America & Oceania	Latin America	Asia
1980															
Age [a]	39.93	31.48	31.89	29.29	32.01	30.75	30.24	31.07	29.60	33.05	33.23	29.47	31.34	32.98	32.68
	12.59	*9.32*	*10.42*	*7.86*	*10.22*	*9.87*	*9.22*	*8.16*	*8.42*	*10.26*	*10.63*	*7.38*	*8.68*	*10.08*	*10.39*
Percent Women	51.9	29.3	30.1	30.5	47.5	47.4	46.4	22.2	41.1	50.4	47.9	28.2	52.3	51.9	45.3
Percent Married/Cohabitation	69.0	33.8	43.7	29.8	44.3	48.0	42.2	22.6	65.4	55.1	52.4	44.7	47.9	52.4	47.8
Percent Children into household	50.1	15.6	28.1	13.2	24.8	26.4	23.5	9.0	43.2	33.1	32.5	24.1	27.0	32.1	35.2
Percent Official language [b]	98.7	1.4	99.2	1.0	99.0	98.7	96.7	0.6	1.2	8.9	13.3	24.6	3.2	10.7	3.4
Percent Urban agglomeration [c]	70.8	78.4	75.7	77.2	81.3	80.5	77.2	65.8	69.1	87.6	93.2	94.4	75.7	91.9	85.8
Educational level (percent)															
Low	38.0	86.3	76.2	87.7	35.6	37.1	27.8	83.6	81.6	27.1	34.4	55.6	34.5	36.2	55.8
Medium	51.9	10.6	17.5	10.7	35.6	37.7	48.0	13.9	12.7	32.0	21.8	21.4	22.8	19.8	18.8
High	10.2	3.1	6.4	1.6	28.8	25.1	24.3	2.4	5.7	40.9	43.8	23.0	42.8	44.1	25.4
N	3,066,494	14,312	24,640	8,312	9,273	5,966	2,301	19,180	5,298	11,786	1,585	3,496	470	6,776	7,461
2010-11															
Age	42.29	37.81	36.85	35.74	37.03	35.71	36.52	31.66	33.24	37.68	34.01	33.25	39.02	34.79	34.31
	12.43	*9.47*	*9.12*	*9.73*	*9.12*	*9.24*	*9.24*	*9.30*	*8.63*	*9.29*	*7.88*	*7.55*	*8.95*	*7.99*	*7.78*
Percent Women	50.8	50.3	39.9	43.1	44.0	44.2	52.0	55.4	45.2	49.2	76.1	42.9	54.1	64.5	64.0
Percent Married/Cohabitation	65.0	68.0	64.7	76.3	62.5	64.2	65.7	89.6	82.5	70.8	80.9	75.6	82.3	86.6	81.5
Percent Children into household	41.5	37.5	35.5	45.9	28.5	37.5	33.6	48.8	55.9	39.9	48.8	47.9	45.6	44.8	44.5
Percent Official language	97.3	28.1	95.2	30.3	98.8	98.7	98.0	30.2	23.7	27.0	30.5	56.3	19.4	22.3	16.5
Percent Urban agglomeration	70.3	91.7	89.7	74.6	81.0	84.3	86.8	81.5	90.5	87.2	90.1	86.0	90.3	88.1	90.7
Educational level (percent)															
Low	12.4	24.3	19.7	77.5	2.8	9.5	4.0	50.6	51.3	6.6	12.0	50.2	3.5	35.6	32.6
Medium	57.3	20.4	29.8	12.9	33.8	17.0	29.3	36.0	22.8	17.5	16.4	25.1	9.3	24.5	14.8
High	30.3	55.3	50.5	9.6	63.4	73.5	66.7	13.4	25.9	75.9	71.6	24.7	87.2	39.9	52.6
N	3,532,958	6,477	23,403	31,808	104,276	32,647	7,840	15,375	4,641	46,618	7,162	14,207	11,322	15,219	20,483

Source: 1980 Population Census and 2010-11Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office. Notes: a. Means, Standard deviations (in italics); b. Official language refers to the

Gender specific patterns of employment for all immigrants groups and Swiss nationals are presented in Table 2, separately for the years 1980 and 2010-11. As regards men, inactivity is considerably less pronounced among immigrants from southern Europe and the former Yugoslavia, which can be explained by the marked labour orientation of their migration during the *guest worker* period. Among other immigrant groups, particularly coming from Africa, Asia and Western European countries, the presence of students and population undergoing training is high. As regards women, immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, Portugal and Spain have the lowest inactivity rates (between 17 to 25%), while those coming from Asia, Africa and the rest of European countries the highest, so that more than half are inactive. As in the case of men, women of all groups experience a very low risk of unemployment. Consequently, differences in inactivity bring about variations in the proportions of both males and females who are employed.

TABLE 2. Employment patterns of swiss and recent immigrnants aged 20-64 by nationality and gender, 1980 (a) and 2010-11 (b)

	Men				Women			
1980	*Inactive*	*Unemployed*	*Employed*	*Total*	*Inactive*	*Unemployed*	*Employed*	*Total*
Swiss	5.4	0.7	93.9	*100*	50.3	0.4	49.3	*100*
Spain	1.0	0.6	98.4	*100*	25.7	0.5	73.8	*100*
Italy	1.8	0.7	97.5	*100*	43.9	0.6	55.5	*100*
Portugal	1.3	0.3	98.3	*100*	21.7	0.3	78.0	*100*
Germany	24.1	0.6	75.2	*100*	49.5	0.4	50.1	*100*
France	17.8	1.4	80.9	*100*	34.2	1.5	64.3	*100*
Austria	8.3	0.6	91.2	*100*	29.0	0.7	70.3	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.4	0.4	99.1	*100*	17.7	0.6	81.7	*100*
Turkey	7.1	1.9	91.0	*100*	42.7	0.2	57.1	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	12.3	1.8	85.9	*100*	42.4	1.3	56.3	*100*
Other Europe	27.2	1.1	71.7	*100*	56.1	0.9	43.0	*100*
Africa	32.0	3.5	64.4	*100*	52.3	1.3	46.4	*100*
N. America & Oceania	16.1	2.2	81.7	*100*	42.3	1.2	56.5	*100*
Latin America	20.3	2.5	77.2	*100*	49.7	1.4	49.0	*100*
Asia	23.9	3.9	72.2	*100*	60.9	1.0	38.2	*100*
Total	5.5	0.7	93.7	*100*	39.8	0.8	59.4	*100*
	Men				Women			
2010-11	*Inactive*	*Unemployed*	*Employed*	*Total*	*Inactive*	*Unemployed*	*Employed*	*Total*
Swiss	9.2	2.9	87.9	*100*	20.9	2.6	76.5	*100*
Spain	5.2	9.0	85.8	*100*	20.7	6.8	72.5	*100*
Italy	6.8	5.9	87.3	*100*	23.7	6.5	69.8	*100*
Portugal	3.8	7.0	89.2	*100*	13.3	10.1	76.6	*100*
Germany	5.2	2.4	92.4	*100*	16.4	2.9	80.7	*100*
France	5.9	5.5	88.6	*100*	22.3	6.4	71.3	*100*
Austria	4.1	2.0	93.9	*100*	19.7	1.8	78.5	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	4.7	13.4	81.9	*100*	47.0	11.8	41.2	*100*
Turkey	16.8	15.0	68.2	*100*	57.0	10.4	32.6	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	7.0	4.2	88.8	*100*	27.8	5.8	66.4	*100*
Other Europe	16.4	16.6	67.0	*100*	44.1	11.6	44.4	*100*
Africa	12.9	25.7	61.3	*100*	40.6	18.4	41.1	*100*
N. America & Oceania	9.6	4.0	86.4	*100*	36.0	7.4	56.6	*100*
Latin America	11.8	11.5	76.7	*100*	36.0	13.0	51.0	*100*
Asia	14.1	10.9	75.0	*100*	48.9	8.4	42.7	*100*
Total	9.0	3.2	87.8	*100*	21.4	3.0	75.6	*100*

Source: 1980 Population Census and 2010-11Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

On the other hand, employment patterns of new immigration are consistent with changes in the demographic composition of inflows and the labour market situation in the receiving country. Thus, the incidence of inactivity among males is lower for all immigrant groups, with the exception of Swiss and those nationals coming from southern Europe, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. Women's participation in the labour market has also increased for almost all groups, although differences with their male counterparts are still huge. Overall, Swiss and nationals from the EU show the lowest levels of inactivity, while Turkish, ex-Yugoslav and Asian women the highest. Finally, recent immigrants, both

males and females, face a greater risk of unemployment than their predecessors. As in the case of labour market participation, nationals from EU countries, along with North Americans, experience the lowest unemployment rates.

Table 4 and Table 5 show gender specific patterns of occupational attainment for the old and the most recent immigration in Switzerland, respectively. These descriptive findings confirm the segmented nature of the Swiss labour market and the high selectivity of labour migration. As can be seen, old immigrants from southern Europe are overwhelmingly concentrated in the lower segments of the occupational hierarchy. A similar pattern is observed among Turks, ex-Yugoslavs and, to a lesser extent, African and Asian workers. It is also evident that males tend to be employed as skilled workers in lower technical occupations, whereas female immigrants are over-represented in routine occupations (for instance, cleaning and domestic service). In contrast, the proportion of immigrants, both males and females, from Western European countries and the Americas employed in salariat positions is higher than that observed among Swiss nationals and the rest of immigrants groups. The occupational distribution of the most recent immigration appears to be somewhat different. Compared to the old immigration, a significant proportion of Spaniards and Italians have had access to the higher and lower salariat occupations in line with their educational improvement. Despite this fact, their occupational attainment lags behind those of Swiss and nationals from North America and Western European countries, particularly from Germany, France and Austria. Finally, it is worth nothing the impressive occupational change among Spanish women in relation to their fellow countrymen. These descriptive results do not take into account differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of the Swiss nationals and immigrant groups. In order to control for a possible composition effect and in particular to investigate the role played by education and other variables, we now turn to multivariate analyses.

TABLE 3. Occupational attainment (esec[a]) of swiss and recent immigrants aged 20-64 by nationality and gender, 1980

	Salariat		Intermediate occupations				Working class			
Men	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	Total
Swiss	11.8	11.3	16.0	0.1	7.2	4.2	8.2	28.5	12.6	*100*
Spain	0.9	1.1	0.8	0.0	1.0	0.5	1.9	69.7	24.2	*100*
Italy	3.5	2.8	2.3	0.0	1.2	0.8	2.9	64.9	21.7	*100*
Portugal	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.0	5.3	0.4	2.2	57.8	32.5	*100*
Germany	33.6	19.8	11.4	0.1	0.9	2.5	4.0	15.3	12.4	*100*
France	18.4	15.1	11.5	0.1	2.1	3.5	6.8	20.3	22.2	*100*
Austria	20.5	15.5	7.1	0.1	0.7	2.0	4.8	25.0	24.3	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	2.9	0.2	1.7	71.7	21.8	*100*
Turkey	3.7	1.5	2.4	0.0	1.4	1.0	3.6	38.3	48.0	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	38.2	16.9	10.7	0.0	0.7	2.2	3.8	14.4	13.1	*100*
Other Europe	33.7	21.0	18.8	0.0	0.8	0.7	2.2	12.2	10.5	*100*
Africa	44.3	13.7	10.9	0.0	1.1	0.5	5.5	7.7	16.4	*100*
N. America & Oceania	38.0	19.7	12.1	0.0	0.5	1.6	6.2	10.4	11.5	*100*
Latin America	13.3	12.9	11.6	0.0	0.6	2.6	10.3	18.7	30.0	*100*
Asia	20.5	8.7	11.3	0.0	0.9	2.6	6.1	24.1	25.8	*100*
Total	11.7	11.1	15.5	0.1	6.9	4.1	8.0	29.6	13.1	*100*
	Salariat		Intermediate occupations				Working class			
Women	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	Total
Swiss	1.7	14.8	33.9	0.3	5.6	2.3	20.3	5.3	15.7	*100*
Spain	0.6	4.3	2.6	0.0	0.7	2.1	4.7	11.3	73.8	*100*
Italy	1.1	5.4	7.7	0.2	0.3	3.2	5.8	21.2	55.1	*100*
Portugal	0.2	2.4	1.6	0.0	1.8	1.4	4.6	4.4	83.6	*100*
Germany	5.8	46.2	19.0	0.1	0.8	1.6	7.9	1.8	16.8	*100*
France	3.8	30.3	19.9	0.2	0.4	1.8	11.1	1.8	30.6	*100*
Austria	1.3	32.6	15.2	0.1	0.3	1.2	9.6	3.3	36.3	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	0.8	3.7	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.7	3.1	11.9	77.4	*100*
Turkey	0.8	1.7	1.8	0.0	0.5	2.2	2.7	34.1	56.3	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	4.3	41.5	28.6	0.0	0.3	0.6	4.3	1.8	18.5	*100*
Other Europe	6.8	35.1	23.5	0.0	0.2	2.2	8.5	3.6	20.0	*100*
Africa	5.3	26.5	26.3	0.0	0.2	2.0	9.0	1.5	29.3	*100*
N. America & Oceania	6.5	28.1	23.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.7	0.7	38.8	*100*

Latin America	7.3	46.7	19.3	0.0	0.1	0.9	7.7	2.6	15.4	*100*
Asia	3.3	33.5	14.6	0.1	0.2	1.1	7.7	9.7	29.8	*100*
Total	1.7	15.0	33.2	0.3	5.4	2.3	19.8	5.4	16.7	*100*

Source: 1980 Population Census and 2010-11 Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office. Notes: a. (I) Large employers, higher managers/professionals; (II) Lower managers/professionals, higher supervisory/technicians; (III) Intermediate occupations; (IV) Small employers and self-employed (non-agriculture); (V) Small employers and self-employed (agriculture); (VI) Lower supervisors and technicians; (VII) Lower sales and service; (VIII) Lower technical; (IX) Routine.

TABLE 4. Occupational attainment (esec[a]) of swiss and recent immigrants aged 20-64 by nationality and gender, 2010-2011

	Salariat		**Intermediate occupations**				**Working class**			
Men	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	Total
Swiss	24.8	17.7	11.0	7.5	0.3	1.6	7.2	19.1	10.8	*100*
Spain	35.4	8.4	8.2	4.6	0.4	0.3	4.9	25.4	12.4	*100*
Italy	35.1	9.5	12.2	6.7	0.0	1.1	6.3	12.7	16.5	*100*
Portugal	4.2	4.5	1.7	3.7	1.8	1.6	4.7	40.8	37.0	*100*
Germany	44.7	14.9	8.6	4.9	0.0	1.1	3.3	13.8	8.7	*100*
France	45.0	16.4	9.2	6.9	0.3	1.1	4.6	7.0	9.5	*100*
Austria	48.3	17.1	10.7	3.3	0.0	1.9	3.2	7.5	8.1	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	7.6	5.5	1.0	1.5	2.3	0.6	7.1	37.1	37.4	*100*
Turkey	24.1	2.8	2.9	2.7	0.0	1.7	9.8	15.7	40.3	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	53.3	13.9	9.7	9.1	0.6	0.7	2.1	4.4	6.3	*100*
Other Europe	66.3	10.0	9.1	7.4	0.0	0.9	0.0	2.2	4.0	*100*
Africa	59.1	14.7	9.6	7.0	0.0	0.5	3.4	1.8	3.9	*100*
N. America & Oceania	31.1	9.5	10.8	3.9	1.7	1.5	9.9	11.0	20.6	*100*
Latin America	13.7	6.0	5.3	2.9	0.8	0.7	12.6	14.6	43.4	*100*
Asia	38.2	9.1	5.7	3.2	0.0	0.0	8.7	6.5	28.6	*100*
Total	26.0	17.2	10.7	7.3	0.3	1.6	7.0	18.7	11.2	*100*
	Salariat		Intermediate occupations				Working class			
Women	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	*IX*	Total
Swiss	11.1	28.4	23.2	3.6	0.2	1.1	18.6	2.7	11.2	*100*
Spain	29.8	16.2	17.2	4.5	0.0	0.0	15.1	0.4	16.8	*100*
Italy	24.0	15.1	24.1	3.3	0.0	0.8	14.7	2.2	15.8	*100*
Portugal	4.2	8.5	3.0	2.7	0.5	3.0	16.1	2.2	60.0	*100*
Germany	31.1	27.0	16.8	5.1	0.1	1.3	9.8	1.5	7.3	*100*
France	34.4	23.1	15.4	8.3	0.0	1.4	9.8	0.9	6.6	*100*
Austria	26.1	25.6	17.7	7.3	0.0	2.8	11.0	1.7	7.8	*100*
Ex-Yugoslavia	7.5	8.0	9.0	2.7	0.0	0.3	18.9	1.5	52.0	*100*
Turkey	25.9	12.5	10.3	3.7	0.0	0.0	10.2	6.3	31.1	*100*
Other EU/EFTA	22.4	23.3	17.8	2.8	0.0	1.4	10.9	1.5	19.9	*100*
Other Europe	34.9	21.7	13.9	5.3	0.1	1.2	10.8	0.7	11.5	*100*
Africa	17.6	12.6	9.8	6.8	0.6	3.2	25.6	4.1	19.7	*100*
N. America & Oceania	48.8	26.3	9.3	7.4	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.4	2.9	*100*
Latin America	13.2	11.2	9.8	2.0	0.7	1.3	19.7	2.4	39.7	*100*
Asia	25.5	12.4	10.2	1.3	0.4	2.0	10.7	1.7	35.9	*100*
Total	12.2	27.8	22.5	3.7	0.2	1.1	18.1	2.6	11.8	*100*

Source: 1980 Population Census and 2010-11Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

Notes: a.(I) Large employers, higher managers/professionals; (II) Lower managers/professionals, higher supervisory/technicians; (III) Intermediate occupations; (IV) Small employers and self-employed (non-agriculture); (V) Small employers and self-employed (agriculture); (VI) Lower supervisors and technicians; (VII) Lower sales and service; (VIII) Lower technical; (IX) Routine.

5. OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT: RESULTS FROM THE MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Table 5 (A, B) and Table 6 (A, B) depict the multinomial logistic regression models for men and women created to analyse the relative risks of Italians and Spaniards, arrived in the late 1970s and those immigrated since 2002, in having a salariat (professional and managerial) or intermediate occupation instead of being part of the working class, the baseline category (y=0), comparing with Swiss workers and other national workers. Firstly, we obtained the coefficients for national groups and then, we controlled for educational attainment and main language, in order to test if the differences observed between workers of different nationality in their occupational distribution are explained by their human capital. In successive models, we included other socio-demographic characteristics, as age, family characteristics and if the individual lives in an urban or rural commune. Finally, we also run a model specific for foreign population, controlling our results by their migratory characteristics. More concretely, we have into account the duration in years of their residence in Switzerland, and the type of resident permit. However, this information is only available in the Structural Survey and not in the 1980 Swiss Census, and, therefore, is only used for analysis for "new" migrants.

The main conclusion from table 5.a. is that in 1980 and compared to the Swiss male population, male nationals from Italy and in special from Spain were those with the lowest chances of being in salariat (respectively -1.89 and -3.09 compared to 0 for Swiss workers) or in an intermediate position, only surpassed for foreigners from Portugal, Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey. Does this disadvantage in the occupational performance disappear once we control by educational level, the main language or the rest of the socio-demographic characteristics? Results in successive models show that there is a small increase in the relative coefficients for Italians and Spaniards and also for all mentioned groups, but the differences in relation to the Swiss population (the reference category) remain almost unaltered and still being very high. On the contrary, foreign workers with a better position in the Swiss labour market were from Other Europe, Latin America, North America and Oceania, Other EU and EFTA countries, Germany, France, Austria and Asia. Their chances of being in the top of the occupational class scheme instead of being in the working class were higher than for the Swiss population. Furthermore, what is really interesting for those nationals who presented higher probabilities of holding a professional and directive job is that, once we control by human capital characteristics, the initial differences with the native population experienced a substantial decrease or even invert their sign. This is indicative of the positive skills-selection of immigrants from these origins arrived in Switzerland at that moment in the history of Switzerland. Although they had recently arrived in the country, none of them with more of five years of residence in the country, they performed better in the host labour market than local workers, as they were in aggregate terms better qualified than the latter.

However, Swiss males are who present the highest probabilities of being in intermediate occupations. This result is explained by the nature of the Swiss educational system, which privileges apprenticeship for intermediate positions. And the consequence is that foreign workers educated abroad experienced difficulties to reach any of these jobs. Therefore, our first conclusion points to a bipolarization of the Swiss immigration in terms of human capital during the 1970s, which accounts for their allocation to the bottom and to the top of the occupational scheme, whereas intermediate positions were held by nationals. This is in line with the human capital hypothesis, explaining the privileged labour positions of some collectives of foreign workers, best qualified in average than local labour force. However, our results also pointed to an occupational segmentation by origin. Effectively, even if is true that the lowest educational levels of recent cohorts of foreign workers from Italy and Spain, but also from Portugal, Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey would explain their less favourable occupational outcomes, the few of them with medium or university educational level, are also less able to translate their credentials into a good job that natives and other groups.

TABLE 5.a. Esec multinomial logistic model by gender. Old immigration, men 2010-11

1980 Men	Salariat (baseline: working class)								Intermediate (baseline: working class)							
	Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence	
Nationality (ref. Swiss)																
Spain	-3.09	***	-2.38	***	-2.35	***	-2.16	***	-3.22	***	-2.91	***	-2.47	***	-2.27	***
Italy	-1.89	***	-1.52	***	-1.64	***	-1.49	***	-2.45	***	-2.21	***	-2.27	***	-2.10	***
Portugal	-3.48	***	-2.58	***	-2.53	***	-2.28	***	-2.11	***	-1.78	***	-1.34	***	-1.10	***
Germany	1.28	***	0.63	***	0.61	***	0.69	***	-0.17	***	-0.30	***	-0.31	***	-0.20	***
France	0.40	***	-0.11	**	-0.14	**	-0.01	ns.	-0.44	***	-0.53	***	-0.54	***	-0.38	***
Austria	0.39	***	-0.01	ns.	-0.02	ns.	0.11	ns.	-1.06	***	-1.13	***	-1.14	***	-0.97	***
Ex-Yugoslavia	-3.42	***	-2.66	***	-2.61	***	-2.36	***	-2.76	***	-2.46	***	-2.02	***	-1.82	***
Turkey	-2.04	***	-1.84	***	-1.80	***	-1.58	***	-2.32	***	-2.11	***	-1.67	***	-1.47	***
Other EU/EFTA	1.32	***	0.37	***	0.09	*	0.22	***	-0.26	***	-0.45	***	-0.34	***	-0.20	***
Other Europe	1.59	***	0.40	***	0.30	**	0.37	***	0.42	***	0.17	ns.	0.43	***	0.57	***
Africa	-0.07	ns.	-0.81	***	-0.89	***	-0.74	***	-0.82	***	-0.90	***	-0.67	***	-0.46	***
N. America & Oceania	1.44	***	0.26	ns.	-0.75	***	-0.60	***	-0.25	ns.	-0.49	*	-1.06	***	-0.94	***
Latin America	1.46	***	0.38	***	-0.09	ns.	0.02	ns.	-0.10	ns.	-0.28	***	-0.31	***	-0.16	**
Asia	0.12	***	-0.62	***	-0.64	***	-0.51	***	-0.73	***	-0.78	***	-0.41	***	-0.25	***
Educ. level (ref. Low)																
Medium			1.05	***	1.05	***	1.06	***			0.53	***	0.53	***	0.60	***
High			3.96	***	3.96	***	3.89	***			1.41	***	1.41	***	1.45	***
Language (ref. Regional)																
Other Swiss					0.18	***	0.12	***					0.07	***	0.07	***
English					1.13	***	1.11	***					0.66	***	0.69	***
Other					-0.04	ns.	-0.14	***					-0.45	***	-0.47	***
Age							0.11	***							0.06	***
Age^2							0.00	***							0.00	***
Marital status (ref. Single)																
Married							0.15	***							0.03	***
In cohabitation							0.10	***							-0.08	***
Children (ref. No children)																
Yes							-0.04	***							0.03	***

*** = 10% significance, ** = 5% significance, *** = 1% significance.**
Source: 1980 Population Census, Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

TABLE 5.b. Esec multinomial logistic model by gender. Old immigration, women 2010-11

1980 Women	Salariat (baseline: working class)								Intermediate (baseline: working class)							
	Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence	
Nationality (ref. Swiss)																
Spain	-3.22	***	-2.91	***	-2.47	***	-2.27	***	-2.82	***	-1.66	***	-1.95	***	-1.93	***
Italy	-2.45	***	-2.21	***	-2.27	***	-2.10	***	-1.98	***	-1.34	***	-1.54	***	-1.53	***
Portugal	-2.11	***	-1.78	***	-1.34	***	-1.10	***	-2.96	***	-2.02	***	-2.05	***	-2.02	***
Germany	-0.17	***	-0.30	***	-0.31	***	-0.20	***	-0.15	**	1.33	***	-0.29	***	-0.27	***
France	-0.44	***	-0.53	***	-0.54	***	-0.38	***	-0.60	***	0.36	***	-0.66	***	-0.65	***
Austria	-1.06	***	-1.13	***	-1.14	***	-0.97	***	-1.01	***	0.15	ns.	-1.16	***	-1.13	***
Ex-Yugoslavia	-2.76	***	-2.46	***	-2.02	***	-1.82	***	-3.41	***	-1.74	***	-2.58	***	-2.57	***
Turkey	-2.32	***	-2.11	***	-1.67	***	-1.47	***	-3.08	***	-2.19	***	-2.19	***	-2.18	***
Other EU/EFTA	-0.26	***	-0.45	***	-0.34	***	-0.20	***	-0.13	***	0.53	***	-0.24	***	-0.19	***
Other Europe	-0.82	***	-0.90	***	-0.67	***	-0.46	***	-0.29	**	0.36	***	-0.11	ns.	-0.08	ns.
Africa	0.42	***	0.17	ns.	0.43	***	0.57	***	0.36	**	1.07	***	0.26	ns.	0.32	*
N. America & Oceania	-0.25	ns.	-0.49	*	-1.06	***	-0.94	***	-0.40	*	0.10	ns.	-1.14	***	-1.12	***
Latin America	-0.10	ns.	-0.28	***	-0.31	***	-0.16	**	-0.23	***	0.99	***	-0.31	***	-0.28	***
Asia																
Educ. level (ref. Low)																
Medium	1.34	***	1.34	***	1.28	***			1.17	***	1.16	***	1.16		1.34	***
High	3.72	***	3.71	***	3.64	***			1.73	***	1.73	***	1.73		3.72	***
Language (ref. Regional)																
Other Swiss					-0.09	***	-0.09	***					-0.18	***	-0.17	***
English					0.53	***	0.52	***					0.60	***	0.56	***
Other					-0.09	***	-0.10	***					-0.46	***	-0.49	***
Age							0.05	***							0.07	***
Age²							0.00	***							0.00	***
Marital status (ref. Single)																
Married							-0.03	***							0.13	***
In cohabitation							-0.11	***							0.12	***
Children (ref. No children)																
Yes							-0.19	***							-0.18	***
Residence (ref. City centre)																
Urban agglomeration							-0.18	***							0.00	ns.
Isolated town							-0.27	***							-0.39	***

Rural area							-0.07	***							0.16	***
Constant	-0.90	***	-1.95	***	-1.94	***	-2.44	***	0.04	***	-0.66	***	-0.64	***	-1.86	***
Pseudo-R^2	**0.0114**		**0.0871**		**0.0878**		**0.0914**									

*** = 10% significance, ** = 5% significance, *** = 1% significance.**

Source: 1980 Population Census, Swiss Federal Statistical Office

Regarding the effects of our explanatory variables, models corroborate the human capital postulates, as educational attainment plays a very strong role in determining the position of workers within the occupational scheme. Effectively, the higher the educational attainment the higher the probabilities to achieve a more prestigious job in Switzerland, instead of being in the working class. Indeed, whereas completing a secondary or medium education garnered workers higher propensity of salariat instead (1.05), the effect of having a high educational level is stronger (3.96). The effect of education qualification is not so strong for reaching an intermediate job, although is still being significant (0.53 for medium level and 1.41 for high level). Moreover, results predict better occupational positions for those who declare as main language the regional or another Swiss language than for workers with a foreign language. However, results indicated the importance of being an English speaker in order to access to the most prestigious positions of the Swiss economy. Furthermore, it must be highlighted the urban profile of the salariat labour force, comparing with the working class, although this geographical pattern is not so clear for employees in intermediate positions. Concerning the impact of family arrangements, we note that being in a couple, either married or cohabiting increased the chances of being in a professional or managerial position instead of in working class, whereas the effect was not so evident for being in an intermediate position. However, having children decreased slightly the probability of salariat whereas increases (just barely) the chance of being in a middle occupation.

Models for women corroborate that Italians and Spaniards were those foreign groups with a stronger disadvantageous occupational positions comparing with national women, and bring more evidence about the small influence of human capital in reversing this situation. However, female's models do not show any sign of bipolarization of female foreign labour force. Effectively, Swiss women were the best positioned in the labour market comparing with other groups of recently arrived immigrant women. Only Other European presented higher propensities than Swiss women of being in a salariat or in an intermediate position instead of being part of the working class. The significance of educational level, of being an English Speaker and of living in an urban area, is again validated for women. However, concerning the impact of family arrangements, we note that, contrary to what is observed for males, single women were those with the higher probabilities of being in salariat and in intermediate positions than married or cohabiting women. Finally, having children represented an additional obstacle to reach these occupational positions in the medium or top of the schema. We interpret here the effect of gender roles in the different influence of family arrangements in the occupational outcomes of men and women.

Table 6 (A, B) depicts the occupational position of the diverse groups of foreigners immigrated to Switzerland from 2002, in relation to native workers. Results are quite similar for men and women and therefore are jointly commented. Contrary to what has been observed for cohorts of migrants arrived in late 1970s, "new" immigrants arrived from Italy and Spain are not disadvantaged within the occupational scheme. Indeed, there is a small (and in some cases not statistical significant) difference in the propensity of being in salariat, instead of in working class, between local workers and Italians (0.10 for males and -0.02 for females) or Spaniards (0.12 for males and 0.15 for females). Furthermore, what is still more interesting is that once we control by educational level, coefficients turn out to be significant and negative. This is indicative that the allocation of these nationals in professional and managerial position is consequence of their favourable skill-composition, as they are better qualified on average than native population. Nevertheless, the relative position of Italians and Spaniards among the rest of national groups indicated that they still being far from reaching the most favourable position on the top of the structure of other recently arrived workers from North America and Oceania, and from the rest of neighbour countries as Germany, France and Austria. However, once we controlled for the main language, we can see than the more advantageous position of the latter groups in the Swiss occupational structure is in part explained by the fact that they are English or any of the Swiss-language native-speakers.

Then, the main conclusion is that new cohorts of immigrants coming from Italy and Spain have definitively joined the collective of highly-skilled foreign workers correctly matched in the Swiss labour market. Therefore, human capital hypothesis are confirmed for them. The other side of the story is that of migrants coming from Portugal, Ex-Yugoslavia, Turkey, Latin America and the rest of the word.

Their chances of being in a salariat position are nowadays very low compared with the Swiss and the above mentioned groups of workers. And even more significant is the small influence of the human capital characteristics of these individuals in order to reach the top occupational positions. Therefore, the segmentation nature of the host labour market by national origin remains in Switzerland, as well as the polarisation of foreign labour force. To finalize with the differences among national groups, it must be highlight the blocked nature of intermediate position in Switzerland for foreign workers remains unaltered. Only immigrants from Other EU, Other European and North America and Oceania present have higher probabilities of being holding a job situated in the middle of the occupational scheme.

Concerning the impact of the rest of the explanatory variables, results reinforced the importance of educational level and language in order to avoid the working class, as well as of having the residence in either the centre of main cities or any other urban agglomeration. And for both, men and women, having children slightly increase the chances of a salariat position, and the same occurs for those living in partnership (for women this is true only for those in cohabitation). However, marital status doesn't represent any difference in order to get an intermediate job. In the last models run only for foreigners, we control by the influence of the length of residence in Switzerland and the kind of resident permit. It is interesting to note that, contrary to the assimilation hypothesis, the longer the residence the lower the probabilities of stay out of the working class. Our interpretation is that the intensity of the "new" migratory inflows has been increased year by year since the 2002 Agreement. Finally, coefficients indicated that the most stable is your resident permit, the best is your labour performance.

TABLE 6.a. Esec multinomial logistic model by gender. New immigration, men 2010-11

2010-11 Men	Salariat (baseline: working class)										Intermediate (baseline: working class)									
	Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 5 + Years since migration, Permit		Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 5 + Years since migration, Permit	
Nationality (ref. Swiss)																				
Spain	-0.12	ns.	-0.31	ns.	0.17	ns.	0.22	ns.	-0.65	***	-0.56	**	-0.62	**	-0.10	ns.	-0.04	ns.	-0.36	ns.
Italy	0.10	*	-0.09	ns.	-0.13	ns.	-0.14	ns.	-0.40	***	0.03	ns.	-0.04	ns.	-0.09	ns.	-0.06	ns.	0.18	ns.
Portugal	-2.39	***	-1.43	***	-0.99	***	-0.87	***	-1.63	***	-1.64	***	-1.09	***	-0.61	***	-0.49	***	-0.53	***
Germany	0.69	***	0.11	**	0.10	**	0.13	***	ref.		0.02	ns.	-0.34	***	-0.34	***	-0.30	***	ref.	
France	0.92	***	0.22	***	0.19	**	0.24	***	-0.02	ns.	0.41	***	-0.01	ns.	-0.04	ns.	0.03	ns.	0.20	**
Austria	-1.98	***	-1.55	***	-1.06	***	-0.95	***	-1.60	***	-2.10	***	-1.83	***	-1.32	***	-1.20	***	-1.28	***
Ex-Yugoslavia	1.09	***	0.54	***	0.53	***	0.52	**	0.37	ns.	0.42	***	0.09	ns.	0.08	ns.	0.09	ns.	0.37	*
Turkey	-1.02	***	-1.09	***	-0.56	ns.	-0.47	ns.	-1.34	***	-1.60	***	-1.58	***	-1.01	**	-0.91	**	-1.24	***
Other EU/EFTA	1.52	***	0.68	***	0.83	***	0.92	***	0.18	*	1.04	***	0.52	***	0.74	***	0.84	***	0.58	***
Other Europe	2.35	***	1.52	**	2.11	***	2.20	***	1.23	ns.	1.60	***	1.12	ns.	1.76	**	1.85	***	1.30	ns.
Africa	-1.41	***	-1.23	***	-1.20	***	-1.15	***	-1.61	***	-1.40	***	-1.25	***	-1.17	***	-1.11	***	-0.99	***
N. America & Oceania	1.94	***	0.97	***	0.49	*	0.52	**	-0.09	ns.	1.21	***	0.60	**	0.21	ns.	0.26	ns.	0.16	ns.
Latin America	-0.15	**	-0.26	***	0.26	ns.	0.37	ns.	-0.39	***	-0.26	**	-0.27	**	0.29	ns.	0.41	*	0.15	ns.
Asia	-0.04	ns.	-0.35	*	-0.12	ns.	-	ns.	-0.80		-		-		-	**	-	**	-0.91	

Language (ref. Regional)																						
Other Swiss					0.12	***	0.05	*	0.17	ns.					0.11	***	0.05	ns.	0.06	ns.		
English					0.69	***	0.58	***	1.01	***					0.58	***	0.49	***	0.79	***		
Other					-0.76	***	-0.90	***	-0.09	ns.					-0.84	***	-0.95	***	-0.19	ns.		
Age							0.03	***	0.03	ns.							0.05	***	0.05	*		
Age²							0.00	***	0.00	ns.							0.00	***	0.00	ns.		
Marital status (ref. Single)																						
Married							0.06	***	-0.03	ns.							0.04	ns.	-0.04	ns.		
In cohabitation							0.08	***	-0.05	ns.							-0.03	ns.	-0.03	ns.		
Children (ref. No children)																						
Yes							0.12	***	0.20	***							0.09	***	0.20	***		
Residence (ref. City centre)																						
Urban agglomeration							-0.13	***	-0.19	***							-0.07	***	-0.06	ns.		
Isolated town							-0.59	***	-0.95	*							-0.43	***	-0.78	ns.		
Rural area							-0.54	***	-0.60	***							-0.25	***	-0.50	***		
Years since migration									-0.06	***									-0.04	**		
Resident permit (ref. Temporary (B))																						
Permanent (C)									0.34	***									0.18	ns.		
Short stay (F)/Provisional (L)									-0.63	**									-0.85	**		
Asylum (L)									-17.30	ns.									-17.52	ns.		
Constant	0.15	***	-1.63	***	-1.57	***	-2.38	***	-1.71	***	-0.58	***	-1.39	***	-1.32	***	-2.41	***	-2.70	***		
Pseudo-R^2	0.010		0.120		0.122		0.1273		02632													

4	6	2	

* = 10% significance, ** = 5% significance, *** = 1% significance.

Source: 2010-11 Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

TABLE 6.b. Esec multinomial logistic model by gender. New immigration, women 2010-11

2010-11 Women	Salariat (baseline: working class)										Intermediate (baseline: working class)									
	Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 5 + Years since migration, Permit		Model 1 Nationality		Model 2 + Education		Model 3 + Language		Model 4 + Age, Family, Residence		Model 5 + Years since migration, Permit	
Nationality (ref. Swiss)																				
Spain	0.15	ns.	-0.73	***	-0.06	ns.	-0.07	ns.	-0.96	***	-0.26	ns.	-0.73	***	-0.55	**	-0.06	ns.	-0.62	ns.
Italy	-0.02	ns.	-0.58	***	-0.56	***	-0.58	***	-0.88	***	-0.01	ns.	-0.58	***	-0.14	ns.	-0.56	***	-0.28	ns.
Portugal	-2.04	***	-1.22	***	-0.66	***	-0.61	***	-1.48	***	-2.00	***	-1.22	***	-1.26	***	-0.66	***	-1.31	***
Germany	0.95	***	0.14	**	0.13	**	0.13	**			0.36	***	0.14	**	0.00	ns.	0.13	**		
France	1.01	***	0.05	ns.	0.03	ns.	0.04	ns.	-0.25	ns.	0.51	***	0.05	ns.	0.20	ns.	0.03	ns.	0.01	**
Austria	0.76	***	-0.16	ns.	-0.16	ns.	-0.18	ns.	-0.34	ns.	0.47	ns.	-0.16	ns.	0.06	ns.	-0.16	ns.	0.01	*
Ex-Yugoslavia	-1.72	***	-1.55	***	-1.06	***	-0.96	***	-1.55	***	-1.63	***	-1.55	***	-1.40	***	-1.06	***	-1.24	***
Turkey	-0.29	ns.	-0.41	ns.	0.19	ns.	0.23	ns.	-0.51	***	-0.96	**	-0.41	ns.	-0.84	*	0.19	ns.	-0.80	***
Other EU/EFTA	0.70	***	-0.41	***	0.06	*	0.11	**	-0.53	*	0.02	ns.	-0.41	***	-0.46	***	0.06	*	-0.50	***
Other Europe	0.20	*	-0.94	***	-0.30	ns.	-0.28	ns.	-1.03	ns.	-0.21	ns.	-0.94	***	-0.69	**	-0.30	ns.	-0.69	ns.
Africa	-0.67	***	-0.83	***	-0.74	***	-0.71	***	-1.08	***	-0.72	***	-0.83	***	-0.54	**	-0.74	***	-0.66	***
N. America & Oceania	2.03	***	0.66	***	0.73	***	0.76	***	0.19	ns.	0.86	***	0.66	***	0.25	ns.	0.73	***	-0.20	ns.
Latin America	-1.11	***	-1.25	***	-0.54	***	-0.50	***	-1.36	***	-1.34	***	-1.25	***	-1.14	***	-0.54	***	-1.14	ns.
Asia	-0.44	***	-1.06	***	-0.44	***	-0.39	***	-1.23	***	-1.11	***	-1.06	***	-1.18	***	-0.44	***	-1.26	***
Educ. level (ref. Low)																				
Medium			1.80	***	1.74	***	1.77	***	1.07	***			1.30	***	1.24	***	1.26	***	0.77	***
High			4.00	***	3.95	***	3.95	***	3.61	***			2.19	***	2.14	***	2.13	***	2.15	***
Language (ref. Regional)																				
Other Swiss					0.00	ns.	-0.04	ns.	-0.04	ns.					0.14	**	0.11	*	-0.04	ns.

English					-0.03	ns.	-0.10	ns.	0.41	***					0.12	ns.	0.05	ns.	0.51	***
Other					-1.01	***	-1.07	***	-0.27	ns.					-1.05	***	-1.11	***	-0.27	ns.
Age							0.04	***	0.11	ns.							0.09	***	0.14	*
Age²							0.00	***	0.00	ns.							0.00	***	0.00	ns.
Marital status (ref. Single)																				
Married							0.01	ns.	-0.26	ns.							0.04	ns.	-0.15	ns.
In cohabitation							0.15	***	-0.12	ns.							0.12	***	-0.05	ns.
Children (ref. No children)																				
Yes							0.06	**	0.09	***							-0.08	***	-0.01	***
Residence (ref. City centre)																				
Urban agglomeration							-0.14	***	-0.23	***							0.01	ns.	0.05	ns.
Isolated town							-0.20	**	-0.14	*							-0.29	***	-0.59	ns.
Rural area							-0.33	***	-0.42	***							-0.20	***	-0.25	***
Years since migration									-0.04	***									-0.04	**
Resident permit (ref. Temporary (B))																				
Permanent (C)									0.42	***									0.43	ns.
Short stay (F)/Provisional (L)									-0.90	**									-1.02	**
Asylum (L)									-13.99	ns.									-15.03	ns.
Constant	0.20	***	-1.93	***	-1.86	***	-2.70	***	-2.88	***	-0.14	***	-1.35	***	-1.28	***	-3.06	***	-3.43	***
Pseudo-R²	0.0076		0.1154		0.1179		0.1204		0.2632											

* = 10% significance, ** = 5% significance, *** = 1% significance.

Source: 2010-11 Structural Survey, Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

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