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Successful Pathways for the Second Generation of Migrants

Second Generation Migrants in Switzerland (including an exploratory fieldwork in the Ticino Canton)

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1. Introduction

The notion of "second generation migrants" (herein SGM) made its first appearance in the Swiss political debate in the 1980s following the release of a report from the Federal Commission for Foreigners which stated: "By second generation of foreigners, we mean children born in Switzerland of foreign parents with immigrant background, as well as children who entered Switzerland for family reunion, insofar they have done in our country the most part of their schooling"[1] (CFE, 1980). At the time there was the official recognition that: "these young people grown up in Switzerland have largely adapted to our way of life and they are considered foreigners only on paper"[2] (Feuille fédérale, 1982, vol. II, 142).

'Secondos' and 'Secondas' have become a popular denomination after the children of immigrants in Switzerland started used this self-categorisation in 2002 (Wessendorf, 2007a). The social understanding of this notion compounds native and foreign-born young people, with migratory background, both naturalised and non-naturalised. The introduction of new questions in the Census – nationality at birth ('Swiss' or 'foreign') and year of naturalisation – allows distinguishing youth according to place of birth and naturalisation status (Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner, 2007).

Purpose of this short research report is to shed light on the current status of the SGM in Switzerland with some peculiar focus on their educational and labour path in the Ticino Canton. Research turns around questions of how far the SGM in Switzerland have really "adapted to the Swiss way of life": can they still be called "foreigners only on the paper" (when we refer to the non-naturalised) in comparison with the above official discourse of the 1980s? What about their educational and employment outcome in Ticino in comparison with the native Swiss?

This preliminary report relies on a review of the extensive literature on SGM in Switzerland as well as some twenty in depth interviews in the Ticino Canton. The autobiographical narrative approach refers to the work of Juhasz and Mey (2003) and Juhasz (2009).

2. Switzerland: recent patterns of immigration

The transformation of Switzerland into an immigration country took place at the same time as the industrial take-off during the second part of the nineteenth century. The proportion of foreigners in the total population increased from 3 per cent in 1850 to 14.7 per cent in 1910 (Mahnig & Wimmer, 2003). It was not until the 1888 that Switzerland's net migration became positive.

Since the Second World War, Swiss migration policy has been dictated by the need for unskilled labour. This led to the introduction of the system of 'quotas' (*Kontigentierung*) that depend on the demands of the labour market. Rotation of the labour force ('guest worker system') insured that immigration was temporary and prevented immigrant groups from durable settlement in the country.

[1] "Par deuxième generation d'étrangers, il faut entendre les enfants nés en Suisse de parents étrangers ayant immigré, de meme que le enfants entrés en Suisse dans le cadre du regroupement familial, dans la mesure où ils ont accompli dans nostre pays la plus partie de leur scolarité" (original in French).
[2] "Ces jeunes élevés en Suisse se sont largement adaptés à notre mode de vie et ne sont lus étrangers que sur le papier" (original in French).

In 1970, the federal government set up the Central Aliens Register (RCE – Registre central des étrangers) for monitoring and recording the influx of foreign workers. Until recently Switzerland has been, however, reluctant to acknowledge the stabilization of foreigners which already started in the 1970s (Wanner, Fibbi & Efionayi, 2005).

The quota system does not, however, fully reflect immigration in Switzerland in practice. Changing migration patterns, family reunification and the growing number of asylum-seekers have transformed the breakdown of the foreign population (Gil-Robles, 2005). Contrary to the suspiciousness towards the aliens, Switzerland has in fact one of the highest immigration rates in Europe. This phenomenon is due in part to the comparatively restrictive naturalisation law which does not allow the automatic granting of Swiss nationality to native born children of immigrants (Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner, 2007).

According to the 2000 census, 22.4 per cent of the total population of 7.4 million is foreign born and 20.5 per cent, or nearly 1.5 million, are foreigners (defined as persons with a foreign nationality). Switzerland used to be a destination country for employment-seeking French, Germans, and Italians. In the latter half of the 20th century however, it has hosted a large number of Eastern European dissidents, Yugoslavian refugees, and asylum seekers from the Middle East, Asia and Africa (D'Amato, 2008; Kaya, 2005).

The distribution of the foreign population according to citizenship (Table 1) shows an increase in the number of migrants from the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and non-European countries. Between 1970 and 2000, the number of Italian and Spanish migrants decreased whereas the number of Yugoslavians, Turks, and Portuguese increased significantly. Sri Lanka, India and China are the main Asian countries of origin, with most Sri Lankans seeking asylum and most Indians and Chinese coming as students (Kaya, 2005).

Table 1. Evolution of the foreign population in Switzerland 1970–2000 by citizenship

	1970		1990		2000	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Total number of foreigners	1,080,076	100	1,245,432	100	1,495,549	100
Germany	118,289	11.0	86,197	6.9	112,348	7.5
Austria	44,734	4.1	30,172	2.4	29,849	2.0
France	55,841	5.2	52,715	4.2	62,727	4.2
Italy	583,850	54.1	383,204	30.8	322,203	21.5
Spain	121,239	11.2	124,127	10.0	84,559	5.7
Portugal	3,632	0.3	110,312	8.9	142,415	9.5
Former Yugoslavia	24,971	2.3	172,777	13.9	362,403	24.2
Turkey	12,215	1.1	81,655	6.6	83,312	5.6
other European countries	56,993	5.3	83,721	6.7	99,279	6.6
Africa	5,121	0.5	24,768	2.0	49,873	3.3
America (North and South)	18,425	1.7	30,357	2.4	51,124	3.4
Asia	8,327	0.8	62,937	5.1	92,145	6.2
Oceania	1,063	0.1	1,763	0.1	2,994	0.2
Unknown	25,376	2.3	727	0.1	318	0.0

Source: Wanner (2004), Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO), 1970, 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

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 (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009).

3. Brief overview of Second Generation Migrants in Switzerland

The lack of quantitative studies on the integration of immigrants in Switzerland before the 1990s is partly due to the absence of relevant datasets and the economic situation prevailing at that time; even in presence of a large potential flow of immigration, the unemployment rate was very low up to the beginning of the 1990s. Therefore the integration of immigrants was not a central issue for researchers. With the rise of unemployment (especially among foreign workers) and the development of new datasets, studies on integration of immigrants have grown in importance since the early 1990s (Pecoraro, 2009).

In this context, many children in well-settled immigrant families also appear to experience social exclusion. Policies and programmes aimed at social integration seem to lag behind. Despite the extraordinary rapid growth in the number of children in immigrant families, this segment of the population is entirely absent from policy discussion and social programme development, and the scarcity of information available on the status of these children is also highlighted in research reports (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009).

According to the most recent data available nationwide (the 2000 census, see Table 2), one third of the Swiss population was comprised of immigrants and their offspring. In other words, the presence of 2.4 million migrant adults and children in the country is directly or indirectly due to immigration: two-thirds had immigrated, whereas one third was born in the country to at least one foreign-born parent[3]. One in four foreigners belongs to the second or third generation, and one in ten Swiss citizens (530,000) acquired their Swiss passports since arriving in Switzerland. The increase in the Swiss population since 2002 is due only to naturalisations. Most of the naturalised persons have retained their previous nationality: they are dual nationals (Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner, 2007).

[3] The definition of "children with at least one foreign born parent" is different from the mainstream definition of "migrant" in Switzerland which is based on nationality (see Pecoraro, 2009). 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. Still the changing and more extensive patterns of immigrant family belonging would suggest a reframing in approaching the SGM scene in Switzerland (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009)

Table 2. 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: Fibbi and Wanner (2009), 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.

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. The 2000 census enumerated 350,000 children who were foreign citizens (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009).

3.1. According to family origin

Children in immigrant families originating in Italy were the first group among the children in immigrant families from the EU-25 followed by families from Germany, Portugal, France, Spain and Austria (Table 3). Four of these six countries of origin share borders with Switzerland, while 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 other 19 countries of the EU-25 are less developed, and the number of children in families from these countries is lower.

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 2, note a). Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Turkey likewise account for significant groups. Asylum seekers from all these countries ended up in Switzerland and thus a great number of members of families of foreign origin in Switzerland arrived or were born in Switzerland in this context.

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. As far children in immigrant families from Africa, the Americas and Asia are concerned, there is probably an underestimation for some groups (especially families originating from Latin American countries) since those families lacking residence permits do not respond to the census (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009).

Table 3. 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: Fibbi and Wanner (2009), 2000 census

3.2. According to citizenship

As far citizenship is concerned, 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 4). Fibbi and Wanner (2009) note that 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 instead 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.

Table 4. 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: Fibbi and Wanner (2009), 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 (Fibbi and Wanner, 2009).

3.3. According to family profile

About 75 per cent of the children in immigrant families were born in Switzerland (Table 5, column 1). Fibbi and Wanner (2009) remind that the place of birth varies according to citizenship and the length of the immigration flows from peculiar countries of origin. As a result, the share of children born abroad is lowest among those communities characterized by long-term immigration flows to Switzerland, such as Austrians (i.e. 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. The former countries include Bosnia and Herzegovina (40 per cent), the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (54 per cent) and the Republic of Yugoslavia (46 per cent).

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 5, column 4).

Table 5. 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: Fibbi and Wanner (2009), 2000 census

a. Share among children living with both parents
b. Share among children aged 5 or older

43 per cent of children in immigrant families have one Swiss-born parent and one foreign-born parent (Table 5, 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 5, right-hand column). According to Fibbi and Wanner (2009) the limited per cent of this share might be the consequence of the fact that collective applications for naturalisation 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 naturalised Swiss citizen.

3.4. According to rates of naturalisation

Historical data show that a fairly balanced proportion of men and women of all ages have acquired Swiss citizenship (Piguet and Wanner, 2000). Among young people between 20 and 24 (Table 6), naturalisation concerns more men than women in spite of the resultant national service obligations.

Table 6. Proportion of naturalised youth aged 20-24 by origin, gender, birthplace and naturalisation status

	Men	Women	Native born (2G)	Foreign born (1.5G)	Total
IT	34.5	25.5	28.3	16.8	25.8
PT	5.5	3.9	15.6	3.2	4.1
TR	25.0	20.8	31.8	15.0	21.3
Y. AL	3.8	3.6	10.0	3.5	3.8
Y. SC	15.3	16.1	51.5	9.1	16.7
HR	29.0	26.5	55.8	12.3	26.8

Source: Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner's (2007) computations of Federal Population census 2000.
IT = Italians; PT = Portuguese; TR: Turks; Y.AL = Albanian-speaking Yugoslavs; Y.SC = Serb-Croat-speaking Yugoslavs; HR = Croatians.

Naturalisation rates differ quite markedly from group to group, from more than 25 per cent for the Italians and Croatians to only 3.8 per cent of the Albanian-speaking Yugoslavs. Descriptive data on naturalisation behaviour show that native-born (2G) tend to apply successfully for naturalisation more often than foreign-born (1.5G) in all origin groups. According to Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner (2007) because of the demanding character of length of stay (12 years of residence) much of the variation seems due to the average period of presence in Switzerland of the origin group.

3.5. According to school attainment

Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner (2007) used as an indicator for school success the proportion of persons having attained or being enrolled in tertiary education. Educational performance parallels the average length of stay of the various groups (Table 7, column 1).

Table 7. Proportion of youth aged 23 and 24 with or in tertiary education, according to origin, place of birth and naturalisation status

	TOTAL (average for the origin group: naturalised and non-naturalised, 2G and 1.5G)	Swiss-born (2G) (naturalised and non-naturalised)	Naturalised (2G)	Naturalised (1.5G)
CH	29.6	29.5	30.3	
IT	20.3	21.5	34.4	33.5
PT	6.0	16.4	28.6	31.1
TR	10.2	14.5	22.4	25.0
Y.AL	3.6	0.0	20.0	11.3
Y.SC	7.6	21.0	32.8	20.9
HR	14.7	23.8	32.5	28.4

Source: Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner's (2007) computations of Federal Population Census 2000

CH = Swiss; IT = Italians; PT = Portuguese; TR = Turks; Y.AL = Albanian –speaking Yugoslavs; Y.SC = Serb-Croatian-speaking Yugoslavs; HR = Croatians.

Marked differences fade remarkably away when only Swiss-born young people are taken into account (Table 4, column 2), as length of stay in the immigration country affects educational outcomes. Performance of Swiss-born (2G) is definitely better than the average in the group: Serb-Croatian-speaking (2G) have three times more chances, Portuguese 2.5 times, and Croatians and Turks 1, 5 times more chances than the average in the respective group. Among Italians, this difference is less sharp proving that the proportion of Swiss-born is relatively high in this origin group. Among Swiss born-youth with migratory background, the naturalised distinguish themselves as good performers: Italians, Serb-Croatian speaking Yugoslavs and Croatians all fare better than the Swiss average (30 per cent) whereas Portuguese, Turks and Kosovars converge toward the Swiss average. Finally, the acquisition of nationality is strongly associated with better school qualifications, since naturalised foreign-born (1.5G) youth fare (column 4) noticeably better than average in their origin group (column 1). Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner (2007) argue however that the latter generally lag behind their naturalised country(wo)men born in Switzerland (2G), with the exception of Portuguese and Turks. As a consequence, even among groups with higher propensity to naturalise, naturalisation is socially selective, as has been observed in previous studies for Italians and Spaniards.

Research was also implemented to explore the issue of discrimination against youth of immigrant origin in Swiss social institutions. In this regard, Fibbi and Wanner (2009) have mentioned three studies 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. Stereotypical perceptions and resulting penalizing self-perceptions (a so-called "adverse Pygmalion effect"), arbitrary assignments in measuring the performances of students of immigrant origin and discrimination in access to students' apprenticeship are among the cases affecting the educational performance of youth of immigrant origin mentioned in all these works.

3.6. According to access to the labour market

Fibbi et al. (2003a, 2003b) carried out a study in the French- and the German-speaking parts of Switzerland that sought to explain the higher unemployment figures among foreigners by testing the hypothesis of discrimination in accessing the labour market. Using the "practice testing" methodology standardized by the International Labour Organization (Bovenkerk, 1992), the study compares Swiss youth to immigrant youths who were born abroad but had been educated in Switzerland and hold current Swiss apprenticeship qualifications.

Fibbi et al. (2003a, 2003b) reviewed the answers to selected job offers 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. The study shows disturbing rates of discriminatory treatment of applications for young men of Turkish and Yugoslavian origin: an average rate across Switzerland of 30 per cent for immigrants from Turkey and 39 per cent for Albanian-speaking immigrants. According to the study, 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 group from the EU, such as Portuguese immigrants, meet with less obvious discrimination, though many are still effectively hindered from gaining access to employment.

According to Fibbi and Wanner (2009) the marginalized position on the labour market of youth involved in recent immigration flows is caused by difficulties 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 surveyed by the two authors 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 the understanding the way institutions respond to youth helps elucidate the poor performance in school and on the labour market by youth in immigrant families.

Last but not least, 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 8). 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. Furthermore, recent immigrants from the Balkans are more likely than the immigrants in earlier immigration flows to be affected by unemployment.

Table 8. 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: Fibbi and Wanner (2009), Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2006)

Though in terms of school achievement the naturalized youth are the best performing ones among people with migratory background[4], the same does not hold true in terms of chances on the labour market. Naturalised people of all origins face higher risks of unemployment in comparison to Swiss-by-birth, all other conditions being equal. Unemployment of second-generation youth with qualifications acquired in Swiss schools is quite high; recently immigrated groups are more exposed to this risk than established ones. In view of Fibbi, Lerch and Wanner (2007) the latter outcome lends further plausibility to the already advanced hypothesis of unfair treatment in the host society towards these immigrant groups.

4. Pedagogical approaches based on autobiographical narratives in Switzerland

At the best of our knowledge research carried out in Switzerland on SGM using the (auto) biographical narratives as a methodological tool is relatively recent as the already mentioned researchers' attention to this specific group of the Swiss population. Some relevant work can be mainly attributed to Juhasz and Mey (2003) and to Wessendorf (2007, 2008, 2009). Their interest lies in the reconstruction of memories and belonging of SGM in Switzerland (Juhasz and Mey, 2003) intergenerational transmission of belonging, citizenship, locality and transnational practices among Italian and Yugoslavian immigrant families in Switzerland (Wessendorf, 2007, 2008 and 2009; Juhazs, 2009).

The interviews in Juhasz (2009) had been accomplished by the method of biographical-narrative interview mutuated by the narrative interview technique of Rosenthal (2002, 2003). In this regard, the interviewees were asked to tell their life story without predetermining a theme or a structure by the interviewer. Detailed narrative questions about citizenship and ethnicity were asked later on, after the biographical narration had been finished and once the thematic fields concerning the life story had been deepened. The principle of reconstruction of Rosenthal (2002, 2004) (instead of coding and subsuming text passages under categories) was also utilized in the context of analysis of the interviews.

Juhazs (2009) thus follows suit Rosenthal's understanding of the dialectical relationship between the present and the past (Rosenthal, 2004) when investigating Yugoslav families in Switzerland. In this view, the present structures not only what and how things can be remembered, but also how experiences are narrated. At the same time, the life history structures the memory as well as the presentation of the life history. Rosenthal (2002: 178) argues that: "even if the past has to be distinguished from its understanding in the present, this does not imply an understanding of the past as the 'objective reality' and the present as the 'subjective meaning'. Life history and life story are instead understood as interpretations.

Juhazs (2009: 332) moreover adds that "(...) the reconstruction of the life story and the life history aims at reconstructing the structure of both in order to contrast them and, in doing so, reconstruct the 'objective' structure of the case".

[4] When the naturalised youth are Swiss born, they may even fare better than the native Swiss.

5. An exploratory research on Second Generation Migrants in the Ticino Canton[5]

The following section originates from a fieldwork targeting second generation migrants in the Italian speaking Ticino Canton. The research took place in between April and June 2010. A limited sample of 20 young adults with immigrant background has been selected for interviews following suit the same sample survey of the Bridge project.

The surveyed group include young adults born in Switzerland from foreign parents (2G) and those either arrived in Switzerland in their early childhood (1.75G) or no later than their 16 years birthday (1.50G) who had part of their full schooling in Switzerland.

The sample of second generation migrants has been selected through personal networks, snowball techniques and also thanks to the assistance of a local trade union which offered office space for interviews at their unemployment offices located in Lugano and Locarno.

The rationale behind this fieldwork was to select interviewees who represented as far as possible the heterogeneity of the different migrant groups settled in the Ticino Canton. One tentative effort was also aimed at including only few young adults of older migrant groups as Italians and Spaniards, considering the available literature on both these groups as well as the number of similar studies already implemented in other regions of Switzerland.

In a similar vein, some peculiar attention went also in avoiding interviews to young Italian "border commuters" in the light of the particular characteristics of the Ticino Canton's job market and the reliance on a consistent number of these transnational workers.

The survey questionnaire was adapted to the Swiss context on the basis of the developed research tools of the Bridge project. While respecting the framework of the Bridge questionnaire, some room was left for questions aimed at reaching the autobiographical scope of the project's intercultural approach.

Purpose of the fieldwork was to investigate the educational attainment and access to employment of the surveyed second generation migrants. It goes without saying that the limited sample is not representative of the overall situation of this group of young adults from immigrant families in the Italian speaking region of the Ticino Canton.

The sections that follow result from the elaboration of the gathered data as well as the following brainstorming among the interviewers that took place in June 2010 at the premises of the University of Lugano (USI).

5.1. Brief profile of the interviewed second generation migrants

The most interesting interviews seem those where some unresolved situations tend to emerge (for example, the practice of wearing the veil in the workplace). One of the recurrent themes of many collected interviews is then the issue of the border commuters and the so-called "unfair competition" that they are thought to practice in the labour market of the Ticino Canton.

[5] Laura Vagliviello from the University of Lugano (USI) kindly contributed to the fieldwork in the Ticino Canton as well as in discussing and elaborating the collected data. The sections starting from "5.1. Brief profile of the interviewed second generation migrants" were originally drafted in Italian.

The profile of respondents is often characterized by a duality of identity and the presence or absence of awareness of cultural differences. There is a marked dichotomy "between those who feel integrated and those who are not". At the same time some willingness to integrate "at any cost" is not missing. For these second-generation young adults (SGM) there seems not to be "any form of violence in accepting and pursuing their integration". Following this view, some sort of imposition and violence is instead attributed to those who impose them the burden of integration.

Therefore the integration process does not look as a "mutual exchange on equal terms". Migration and integration are in fact perceived as "functional" to the economic and social fabric of the Swiss society. Nonetheless these SGM show a strong willingness and openness to dialogue, and they manifest a deep wish to display the characteristics and traits of their culture of origin. The same willingness and openness has been instead perceived as absent in many natives bringing to the conclusion that: "reciprocity seems not to exist".

Being able to speak the language of the family of origin doesn't really represent an advantage for the respondents because most of these idioms belong to countries with which Switzerland does not have any "commercial relation".

For those who migrated to Switzerland, some help at the time of arrival came from ethnic networks (and not from trade unions or NGOs) composed of friends and country fellows of their parents or relatives. Later in time knowing people help in the search for a job (and this has been emphasised in such a small region as the Ticino Canton where 'everybody knows each other' and connections are particularly strong).

The following sub-paragraphs present some relevant information per topic concerning the sample of interviewees (12 men and 8 women) starting from their citizenship.

5.1.1. Citizenship

Though being residents in Switzerland, the majority of the SGM interviewed (Figure 1) are foreign nationals (10 respondents). Those who have Swiss citizenship are the second group (8 respondents) followed by those with dual citizenship (2 respondents).

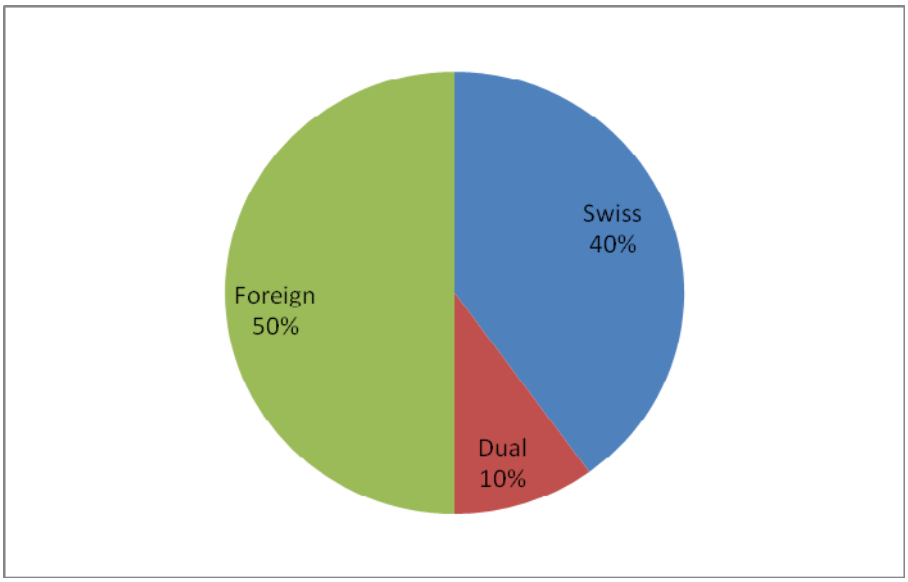

Figure 1: Citizenship

5.1.2. Employment

Currently most of the interviewees do have a job (11 respondents), while 9 respondents are either unemployed or they are searching for a job (Figure 2). Among the latter, several respondents were interviewed while approaching the unemployment office of a local trade union to collect their unemployment benefits.

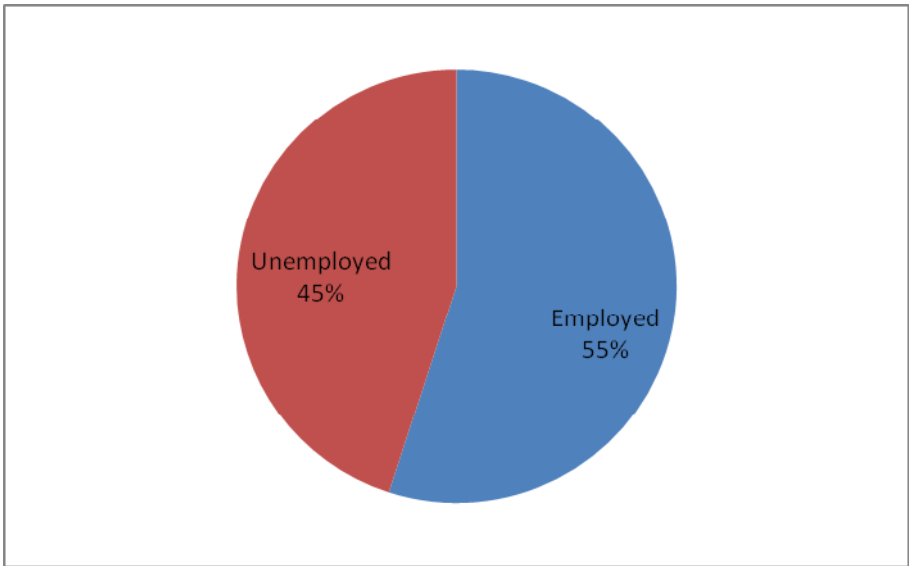

Figure 2: Employment status

5.1.3. Training and job's coherence

Only 6 persons have been employed or have been previously employed in a job coherent with their educational training. Most of the respondents have jobs or have done jobs that do not have much to do with their educational training (Figure 3).

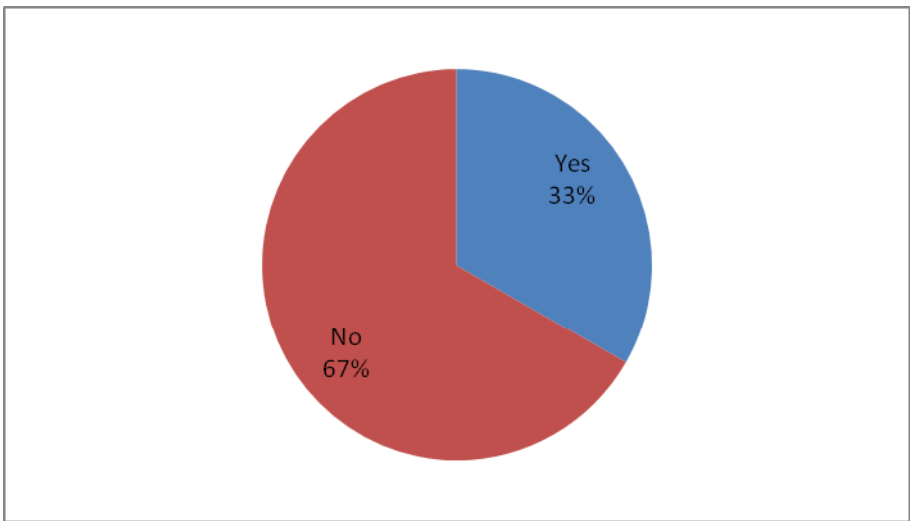

Figure 3: Training and job's coherence

5.1.4. Discrimination

When it comes to discrimination, the number of cases under investigation shows two different scenarios:

1. The occurrence of discrimination during *school-age* (and some of the narrated episodes have been diminished or justified in terms of "childish actions");
2. The emergence of discrimination during *working-age* (though in presence of infrequent episodes during schooling, discrimination later occur when accessing the labour market).

Discrimination is mostly due to the presence of symbols like wearing the veil and it is less obvious as far the skin colour is concerned. In the latter case more negative episodes belong to the school age. Some cases of discrimination are unfortunately attributed to native Swiss with high level of education. Finally, one quite recurring form of indirect discrimination to be mentioned is the non-recognition of diplomas and qualifications.

Stories of "self-discrimination" and "self-victimisation" (often inside the family) need to be reported as well. These experiences remind to mimetic attitudes as far the "dominant culture" and at the same time some concealment of the foreign origins (e.g. the Balkans).

A short review of our SGM biographies can assist in the reconstruction and understanding of these experiences of discrimination.

Recurring themes out of the interviews to the SGM in Ticino include:

- Disorientation upon arrival or in Switzerland (for the interviewed 1.75 and 1.5G)
- The presence or assistance by ethnic networks (which helped their parents or relatives)
- A school curriculum often in relation and preparation for the world of work (i.e. trade schools and apprenticeships)
- The perceived gap between ambitions, expectations and the actual work
- Language problems, lack of recognition of degrees and diplomas, discrimination per religious symbols when accessing the labour market
- The duality of belonging (the concept of 'bridge' between cultures).

In short, 10 cases of discrimination are ascribed to the work environment, while 7 occurred during schooling (Figure 4). Finally, three respondents report minor episodes of discrimination in their daily life in the Ticino Canton.

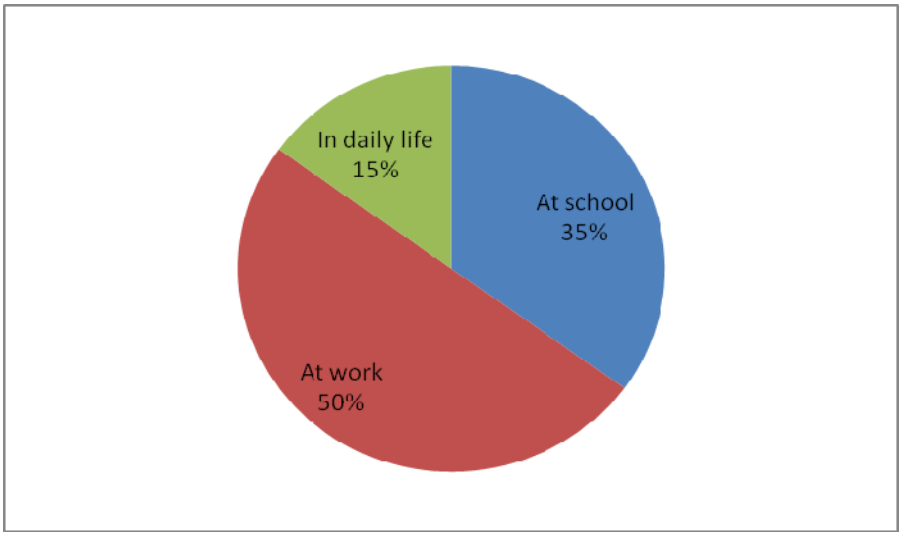

Figure 4: Discrimination

5.1.5. Differences between different SGM groups

The present section includes an analysis of the perceived differences in terms of identity between the sample of SGM born in Switzerland, naturalised in Switzerland or still in possession of the citizenship of the country of origin either their own or that of their parents.

- The interviewed *SGM born in Switzerland* feel like Swiss notwithstanding the constant exposition "within their home walls" to the culture of origin;
- The *naturalised SGM* feel like in a ambivalent situation (in between two cultures) and thus they maintain links with the country of origin together with marked social relations in Switzerland;
- Those *SGM* who have only the *citizenship of their own or their parents' country of origin* are proud to belong to their "own world" always to be displayed and defended despite the occurrence of some episodes of discrimination in Switzerland. The latter SGM tend also to suffer from "self-discrimination".

5.1.6. Gender differences

There are not marked differences in the occurrence of discrimination between male and female groups. Some negative perceptions need however to be mentioned in this context (particularly as far certain ethnic groups like, for example, the Brazilian women who are stigmatized by certain persons for the sex work that some of these women sometimes do or are forced to do).

Self-discrimination seems more present in female cases. These are women who claim to have more difficulties in finding a job than their male counterparts. Men (and especially the younger) seem more easily adaptable to do any job. With advancing age, however, needs tend to change and factors like family and children come to play.

5.1.7. Cultural diversity

Cultural diversity does not bring any advantage at work, but only on a personal level as shown in Figure 5. Only 4 respondents were able to enjoy some advantage at work because of their cultural origins. While almost all respondents (16) reported positive aspects related to their cultural origin in their personal sphere.

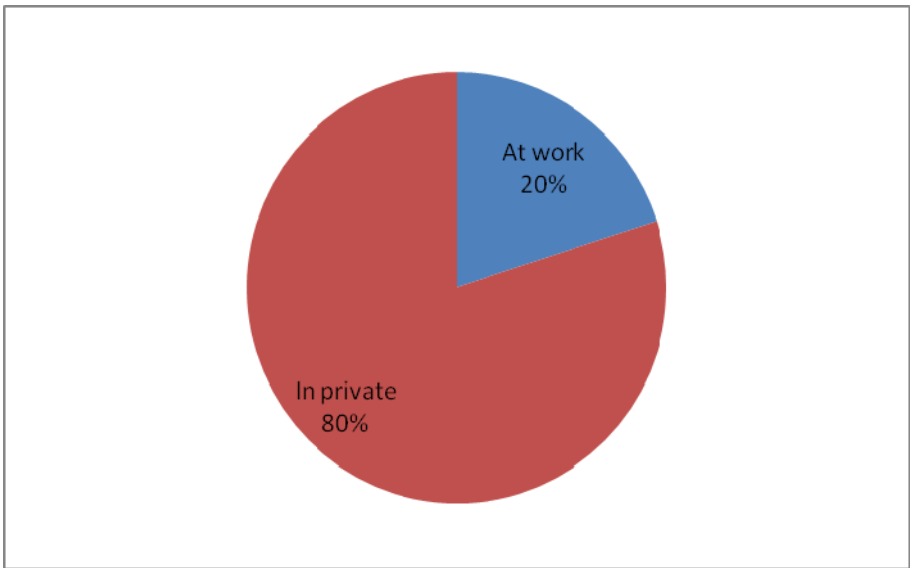

Figure 5: Diversity as an asset

5.2. Positive actions

What do the SGM interviewed in Ticino suggest us in terms of "positive actions" to counteract past and present discrimination and thus help abolishing stereotyping against youth of immigrant origins?

A short summary of their answers by theme is listed herein:

- need of dialogue and communication between parties;
- need for exchange of competencies;
- invitation to the Swiss society to open up and accept confrontation.

5.3. Education of adults of immigrant origin and teacher training

In light of the characteristics and aims of the Bridge project, open questions and related advice for implementing educational measures addressing either the SGM or teachers for migrant training in the Ticino Canton are shortly described below.

The section includes preliminary conclusions as well as further elaboration resulting from the gathered data and the small brainstorming between interviewers at USI.

Firstly, what the interviews' analysis may possibly suggest in terms of education of adults of immigrant origins and training of their teachers?

- Discrimination results from the lack of knowledge
- In view of a missing "knowledge building", workshops for mutual learning should be set up
- Discrimination originates also from a process of "categorisation on the surface"
- Stereotyping should then be eliminated

As a consequence, which intercultural competencies to further develop?

"Positive experiences" in life stories of the interviewed SGM are attributed to the self, the ego tenacity, while the "negative experiences" are usually attributed to others. As a result, it would be useful to work on attitudes and hope for greater mind openness.

Secondly, how to encourage the participation of Swiss natives? A stronger effort for participation and integration even of those reluctant Swiss people would be a desired outcome. The risk to be avoided is, in fact, the preparation of educational tools for one party only. Therefore, it would be desirable to test and validate the interests and needs of one party and those of the other.

Finally, is this lack of dialogue and communication between parties one possible result of a prevailing dichotomy "culture vs. economy" in the Swiss society? If things are indeed like that, it would be useful for strengthening the Swiss social cohesion to try to build up a "bridge" between cultures and possibly to switch towards an "economised culture", but a more "cultured economy" at the same time.

6. Concluding Remarks

Second generation migrants in Switzerland are not anymore "foreigners only on the paper" as it was in the early 1980s when the SGM definition appeared for the first time in the official discourse. Almost thirty years passed by and in the meantime many of these foreigners got older, set up their own families, had children, and eventually they might have changed their citizenship status going through naturalisation.

We have already briefly mentioned the extent and limits of the selective naturalisation process in Switzerland, thus it is now useful to briefly highlight the gap between the dictate of the "law" and the still present "reality". Many SGM are, in fact, still "foreigners": some of them "only on the paper", other are grown up as "foreigners" in their immigrant families or they have internalized this concept. At last, many SGM do feel in between their origins and acquired status in Switzerland.

As we have seen, official paper meaning might have changed, but discrimination is not. Switzerland is actually in need of official legislative tools to tackle this phenomenon. Immigrant integration as well as discrimination were "non issues" in the official discourse until very recently. In this regard, the availability of more consistent data thanks also to the ongoing EU harmonisation processes, and the resulting growing attention of social scientists helped in casting new light on old issues.

The short quantitative review in Switzerland and the exploratory qualitative research carried out in the Swiss-Italian Ticino show many similarities in the SGM identity building, suffered discrimination in accessing the labour market as well as the need for more communication in a way to close distances and bridges between parties. Though the SGM seem open and ready for a constructive dialogue, this is not enough if the same does not hold true for the overall Swiss society.

In the educational realm, training tools to work out self-discrimination and self-victimization on the SGM side need to be matched with specific training tools aimed at "knowledge building" and particularly addressed to those less sensitized Swiss natives. These educational tools should then be matched with ready-hand legislative measures as well as effective policies at different level of governance which address the entire community. Before this virtuous course of actions, the need for a widespread recognition of the changing nature of the Swiss society, its heterogeneity and the richness of its multicultural character is, however, an indispensible pre-requisite for any successful educational or policy practice.

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