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Latin Americans in Switzerland¹: Dual Citizenship, Gender and Labour Market Incorporation

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Abstract

Since the 1990s, many European and Latin American countries have changed their laws to permit the acquisition of dual citizenship. This shift has accompanied the increase in Latin American migration to Europe and poses new challenges for studies on migrants' integration, which are often based on nationality. We investigate the labour market incorporation of the Latin American-born population in Switzerland and compare the position of different groups of Latin American-born populations according to their nationality (Latin American, EU27 or Swiss). To do so, we assess the rate of overqualification for each group, separate by sex, and we implement logistic models to evaluate the impact of sociodemographic covariates on the likelihood of being overqualified. The results reflect the Swiss labour market segmentation by both nationality and sex, as the influence of the reason for migration on the labour market incorporation of these groups.

Keywords: *International migration; Latin Americans; dual citizenship; labour market incorporation; Switzerland*

Introduction

Since the last decades of the 20th century, many European and Latin American³ (LA) countries have changed their laws to permit and facilitate the acquisition and possession of dual citizenship. Far from being a decision in line with the policies of those countries before the Second World War, these changes in the legal frameworks have taken place as a way to accommodate the notion of citizenship to changes produced by the acceleration of globalization (Harpaz, 2019). In the case of the European Union, although there is some convergence regarding policies on dual citizenship, the differences between member states are still significant (Morjé Howard, 2005). Thus, dual citizenship has increasingly become a central issue of the political debate, attracting considerable public attention in many EU countries as well as in Switzerland and posing new challenges for studies on migrants' integration, which are often based on nationality.

LA migration to Europe has grown during the last 20 years, despite the slowdown and decline observed after the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008 (Bayona-i-Carrasco and Avila-Tàpies, 2019). In Switzerland, the available data reflect a significant growth (30%) of the population born in LA living in the country between 2010 and 2018 (from 107 to 139 thousand). The incidence of the growing phenomenon of dual citizenship among LAs in Switzerland reaches almost two out of three people (62%). In 2018, almost half (45%) had

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³ We define Latin-America as composed of the population born in or with a nationality of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay or Venezuela.



Swiss citizenship, and 17% had citizenship of an EU27 country. However, the relative growth of this group was very uneven when divided according to country of nationality (Table 1, Appendix). While the population born in LA and holding an LA nationality grew by 8% between 2010 and 2018, that of those with Swiss citizenship did it by 30% and the population born in LA and holding an EU27 passport multiplied by 2.4 times (146%).

Overqualification reflects overtraining of the productive force or a lack of matching between supply and demand. In both cases, it signals productivity loss with consequences for the economy and individuals (Boll et al., 2016). The existence of a community of LA origin, differentiated according to the nationality by which they reside in Switzerland, allows us to address and contrast some of the identify causes of overqualification from the perspective of dual citizenship. The objective of this paper is twofold. First, to explain the dramatic increase in the number of LA-born population holding a EU27 nationality living in Switzerland. Second, to compare the labour market incorporation of the LA-born population over the basis of their nationality. The main questions we want to address in this second part are as follows: Is there a differential incorporation of the population born in LA into the Swiss labour market associated with the different citizenships held by members of this group? Does citizenship impact labour market integration after considering confounding factors?

Theoretical background and working hypothesis

In a world marked by growing transnational inequalities, the hierarchization of citizenships implies that opportunities are unequally distributed among individuals following the logic of a "birthright lottery" (Castles, 2005; Beck, 2007; Shachar, 2009). In recent years, research on dual citizenship has moved from a paternalistic interpretation of the phenomenon to emphasizing its strategic dimension in terms of rights and opportunities, especially among the non-European population living in Europe. (Harpaz, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2017; Della Puppa and Sredanovic, 2017). From this perspective, dual citizenship is understood as a compensatory mechanism that places its holders in a better position than co-nationals without it, including in terms of access to the labour market.

Overqualification occurs when a person is employed in a job that requires a lower level of education than that held. Among the theoretical frameworks proposed to explain how overqualification arises, the human capital model (Becker, 1975) acknowledges that formal education constitutes only part of the set of skills that individuals use when entering the labour market. It has been also recognized that overqualification tends to be higher among the immigrant population (Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013), particularly among recent cohorts (Prokic-Breuer and McManus, 2016). Among the causes identified in the literature as a source of disadvantage in the labour market incorporation are the difficulties encountered by some groups regarding the recognition of degrees in destination countries (Chiswick and Miller, 2009), limited knowledge about the functioning of the labour market, low proficiency in local languages (Chiswick and Miller, 2003), discrimination in the destination labour market (Fibbi et al., 2006), migrants' matching status prior to migration (Piracha et al., 2012) and the mismatch between abilities earned before migrating and the necessities of the labour market in the destination country (Prokic-Breuer and McManus, 2016). While these studies focus mainly on the structural elements that produce overqualification and on their quantitative measurement in aggregate terms in the host country, there is another line of research that can be grouped under the title of "deskilling studies". These studies adopt a transnational view



where overqualification is approached from the perspective of the deliberate agency of migrants, as part of a migration strategy that weighs the living conditions in the country of origin and destination. The analytical efforts of this line of research focus on how migrants interpret and experienced the social downward associated with the migratory process (see Nowicka, 2012 and 2014, for the cases of Polish in the UK and Korzeniewska and Erdal, 2021 for Philippine and Polish in Norway). Both approaches also highlight the crucial role of gender and the higher prevalence of overqualification among women in several Western countries (Raghuram and Kofman, 2004; Leuven and Oosterbeek, 2011; Seminario, 2018). In Switzerland, the general degree of overqualification results from the high proportion of the immigrant population (Pecoraro, 2011), the selectivity of the Swiss immigration system and the high incidence of professional education (40%) among natives.

Based on the literature reviewed, our working hypothesis is that the likelihood of being overqualified will be higher for the LA-born population with LA citizenship than for those with a European (EU) or Switzerland nationality. Within each group, we also expect the degree of overqualification to be higher among women.

Data and methods

For this paper we rely on two different but complementary data sources: The Population Registers and the Structural Survey. While the first serves us to describe the demographic composition of the different LA-born groups, the second provides the necessary sociodemographic information to analysing the skills composition (educational attainment and language) and occupational incorporation of these groups into the Swiss labour market. The Structural Survey annually collects the information of more than 200,000 individuals aged 15 or older living in private households. In this case, the analysis is constrained to the population aged 20 to 64 in 2018 and considers only migrants entering Switzerland from 2010 onwards. After matching information between the population register and the Structural Survey, our final sample is composed by 17,676 cases.

We compute the overqualification rate (OQR), developed by EUROSTAT (2019), to assess the vertical mismatch between the educational level and employment of the LA population in Switzerland. Based on ISCO 2008 categories, overqualified workers are defined as employed persons with a tertiary degree but working in occupations for which tertiary education is not required. The OQR is calculated as follows:

$$OQR = \frac{\text{Persons employed in ISCO 4 – 9 with tertiary education}}{\text{Persons employed with tertiary education}} * 100$$

Finally, we run a set of binomial logistic models to evaluate the impact of different socioeconomic variables on the odds of being overqualified at the individual level. We run 4 separate models, divided by sex due to the observed gender differences in the occupational profile of the population (Figure 2, Appendix). In addition to age, sex and country of nationality, other covariates included in the model are marital status, type of participation in the labour market (full-time or part-time employment), year since arrival and type of municipality of residence (urban, semi-urban or rural). To control the potential effects of language skills on labour market performance, we include a variable that identifies whether the individual considers herself monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. To meet our working hypothesis, we run first separate models for men and women and secondly a join model including an interaction between nationality and sex.

Latin Americans in Switzerland: the role of the marriage market and recent intra-European migration flows

As mentioned above, almost half (45%, 63,398 people) of the LA-born population living in Switzerland have Swiss citizenship. This high share is explained mainly by the fact that LA migration has been most commonly a female-dominated phenomenon closely related to marriage (with the exception of migrants who arrived as asylum seekers during the 1970s and 1980s). By the beginning of the 21st century, 43% of the LA women in Switzerland were married to a Swiss national (Riaño, 2003). The persistent feminization of the migratory flow and its connection with the (male) marriage market is also reflected in the composition by sex of this group. By 2018, almost two in three (62%) LA-born migrants living in Switzerland were women. The other salient characteristic of the Latin-American migration to Europe is related to the high level of education of this group. The LA-born population residing in Europe stands out for the high proportion of individuals with tertiary education compared to other groups, such as Asians or Africans (Bayona-i-Carrasco and Avila-Tàpies, 2019). According to the data from the Structural Survey, between 30-40% of the LA population, regardless of citizenship or sex, has a university degree (see Figure 1, Appendix). However, it should be noted that the educational distribution is bimodal, with almost 30% of the population in the category of up to compulsory education or up to 10 years of schooling. The origin of such distribution is found in the heterogeneous composition of the population born in LA in which nationalities with educational levels and socio-economic status as diverse as that of Brazil, Argentina or Mexico are mixed with that of the Dominican Republic, Ecuador or Peru⁴.

As one of the goals of this paper is to evaluate the labour market incorporation of LAs on the basis of the different nationalities held by its members, it should be noted that according to Swiss law, spouses become eligible to apply for Swiss nationality after three years of marriage (and five years of residence in Switzerland), but they are granted immediate access to the labour market. Between 2010 and 2018, the increase in the LA population with Swiss nationality represented 43% of the total growth (32,282 people) of the LA-born population. To interpret correctly the relative growth of the different groups of LAs, it is important to understand that the LA population with Swiss citizenship mainly arises from the LA population with LA nationality that get naturalized. In other words, the growth of the LA population with Swiss citizenship subtracts individuals from the LA population with LA nationality. Most of this population transfer occurs as a result of a marital union; however, although it is difficult to document, there is also a flow of migrants from LA, especially from Argentina, who are descendants of Swiss citizens. This population has the right of protection in Switzerland and can easily access Swiss citizenship (until the third generation).

The other main component of growth has been the rapid increase in the LA population with a European nationality (also representing 43% of total growth). During the last decade, the stock of LAs with EU27 citizenship in Switzerland has increased dramatically (from 9.5 to 23 thousand between 2010 and 2018). I will argue that this increase can be explained considering 3 connected elements: First, the migratory systems established between European countries such as Spain, Portugal and Italy and Latin-America, and the long-lasting instability the region.

⁴ The distribution by occupational categories of the Latin-American born population is reflected in Figure 2 in the Appendix.



Second, the role of Spain in the LA migratory boom to Europe at the beginning of the 21st century and, finally, the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on Southern European countries.

The group of LAs with EU27 citizenship living in Switzerland is mainly composed of Spanish (42.5%, 10,000 people), Italian (27.8%, 6,542 people) and Portuguese (10.4%, 2,448 people) citizens. These three countries share historical ties with LA countries that date back to the mass migrations during the late 19th and 20th centuries in the case of Italy and to colonial times in the cases of Spain and Portugal. However, they also share, with differences in application and scope, the principle of *Jus sanguinis* for the intergenerational transmission of nationality. This means that some of the LAs arriving in Europe entered as citizens of any of these countries. This is particularly the case for many Argentines, Brazilians and Venezuelans arriving in Spain since the beginning of the 21st century with an Italian or, less commonly, Spanish or Portuguese passport and as a result of the cyclical economic and political crises in those countries. Although it is not easy to access data about the number of naturalizations by the intergenerational transmission of citizenship, a study considering the case of Italy conducted by Guido Tintori (2011) reveals that between 1998 and 2010, more than one million individuals received Italian citizenship at Italian consulates abroad (73% of the total new Italian/EU passports were released in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay alone; unfortunately, it has been impossible to find equivalent information for Spain and Portugal).

The role of Spain in the LA migratory boom to Europe has been fundamental for two reasons. First, as the main destination country; 47% of the LA-born population in Europe (4.6 million) resides in Spain (United Nations, 2019). And secondly, due to the role of this country on the “express manufacturing” of European citizens. Despite similarities between Spain, Italy and Portugal regarding their relationship with LA and the intergenerational transmission of nationality, these countries exhibit notorious differences related to the length of residency required to be eligible for a naturalization process for those arriving with a LA passport. In the case of Spain, after a modification of the immigration law in 2003, the Socialist Government changed the conditions for accessing citizenship by residency in the country for this group. Over the basis of historical ties between LA countries and Spain, it reduced the required length of legal and continuous residence from 10 to 2 years (6 years in the case of Portugal and 10 in Italy). Between 2005 and 2018, almost one million LAs naturalized in Spain, according to the data available at the Permanent Observatory of Immigration of Spain (OPM, 2020).

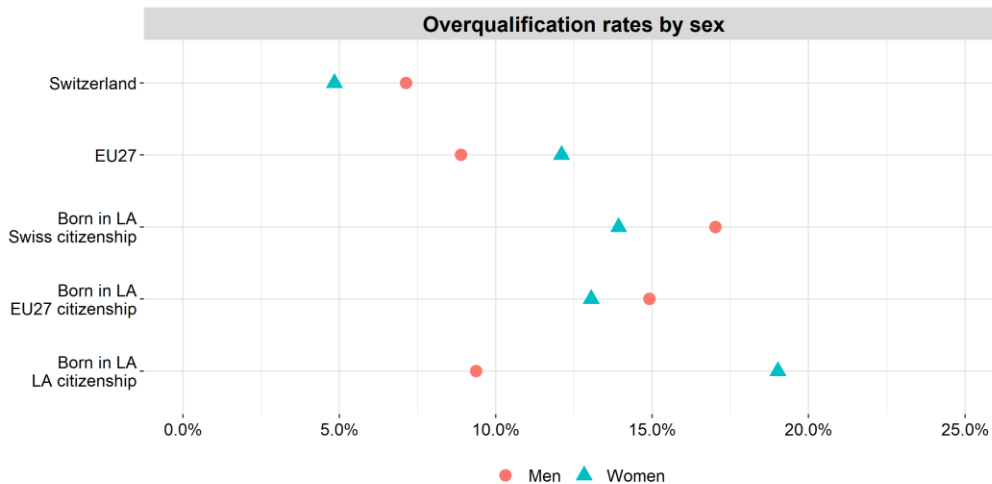
Finally, the outbreak of the financial crisis of 2008, followed by the emergence of new forms and patterns of intra-European mobility, reactivated labour migration flows from Southern to Northern European countries (Verwiebe et al., 2014). The worsening of living conditions caused by the economic crisis in countries such as Spain, Italy and Portugal increased migratory flows not only of the native population but also of people born abroad but in possession of a European citizenship that allowed them to move freely through Europe (Recaño et al., 2015; Mas Giralt, 2017; Pires, 2019). In this sense, the Population Register data reveals that 72% of LAs with EU27 citizenship who were living in Switzerland in 2018 entered the country from 2010 onwards and that half of LAs came either from Spain (35%), Italy (9.3%) or Portugal (6.1%). An important factor that influences the propensity to re-emigrate is the level of social embeddedness of the immigrant population in the host country. Although the relation between time of residence and permanent settlement is neither linear nor automatic (di Belgiojoso & Ortensi, 2013), it can be expected that LA migrants accessing

Spanish citizenship by residence face fewer social constraints and lower costs of re-emigrating than their Portuguese and Italian counterparts. Recent qualitative-oriented studies in Spain and Italy have shown how citizenship acquisition is seen among these new citizens as a safeguard for intra-European mobility in times of economic hardship (Mas Giralt, 2017; Fintonelli et al., 2018). By 2018, the LA-born population represented almost 12% of the population with Spanish citizenship living in Switzerland but just 2% of Italian and 0.9% of Portuguese citizens in the country. This population benefits from the same rights as any other EU27 citizen when migrating to Switzerland to reside and look for a job.

Overqualification rates⁵

To comparatively summarize the occupational incorporation of the different population groups born in LA, we compute the OQR (Figure 1). The OQR informs about the proportion of a population group that is overqualified for its occupational position, which is particularly relevant for a group with a general high level of education such as the one of LAs. Figure 1 reflects the higher incidence of overqualification among foreigners, the more favourable incorporation of the population of the EU27 countries compared to the LA population and the differences within the LA group based on nationality and sex. In this sense, 19% (706 cases) LA women with LA nationality were overqualified for their work, but only 9% men were (507 cases). The incidence of overqualification among LA women of LA nationality is not only higher than that of their male counterparts but also higher than that of LA women with EU27 (13%) or Swiss (14%) citizenship. In the case of men, those with LA nationality have a lower incidence of overqualification than the population in the other two groups. Next, we run a set of logistic models to investigate whether the observed differences between groups and sexes persist after controlling by a set of sociodemographic variables.

Figure 1. Overqualification rate by sex and nationality, Switzerland 2018



Source: own elaboration with data from the Structural Survey

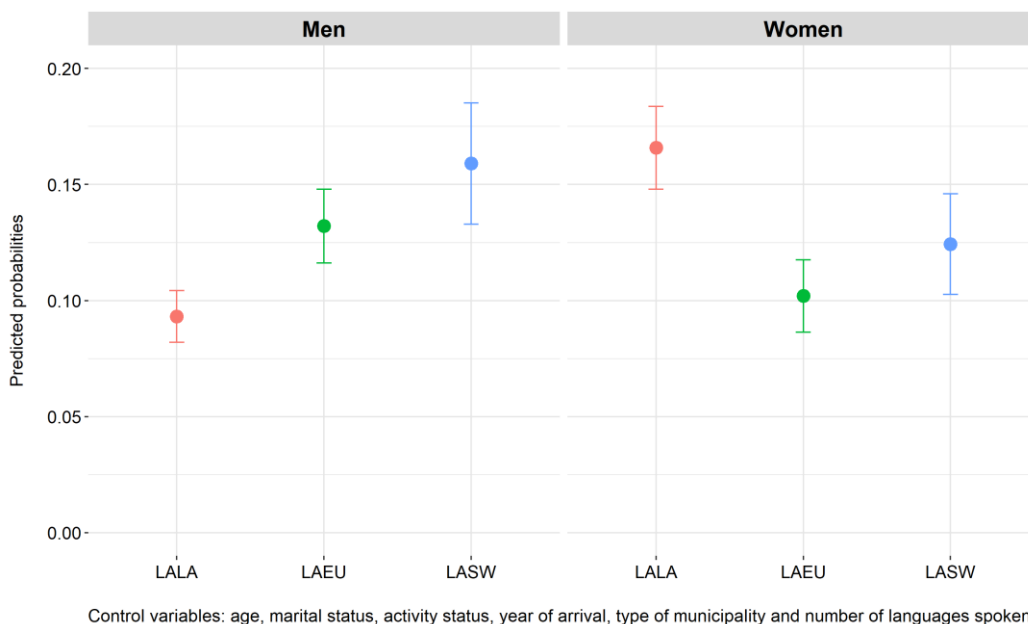
⁵ Results of this and next section draw on our sample of 17,676 Latin-American born population aged 20 to 64 in 2018 entering Switzerland from 2010 onwards.



Logistic models and predicted probabilities

Logistic regression analysis helps to understand the impact of a set of contextual and individual characteristics on the likelihood of being overqualified. In the first pair of models (Table 2, Appendix), the coefficients were calculated including solely the citizenship of the different LA populations residing in Switzerland as an independent variable. In this case, results basically mimic the ones of the descriptive analysis. When control variables are included in the models, the results show a divergent trend between men and women. While for men, the differences observed in the baseline model are accentuated, for women they meant a slight convergence between groups. The models reflect that age does not have a linear effect on the odds of being overqualified. However, the population aged 20-29 match their skills and employment better than older age groups. In consonance, the divorced/separated/widowed population is the most likely to be overqualified, particularly men. Part-time employment has a greater incidence among women in Switzerland. However, having a part-time job is not associated with the greatest chance of being overqualified for women, but it does penalize men (men with part-time work have 1.8 more chances of being overqualified than men with a full-time job). The number of languages spoken by an individual is the only information available in our dataset relative to other dimensions of human capital. While the bilingual population has lower odds of being overqualified with respect to the monolingual population, being multilingual is associated with a greater chance of being overqualified for both sexes (Table 3, Appendix).

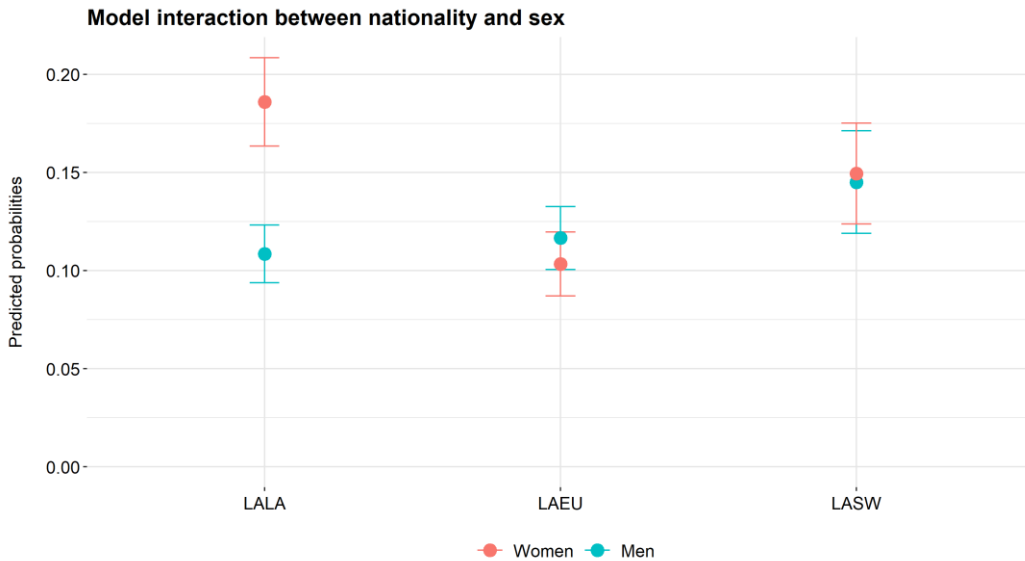
Figure 2. Predicted probabilities of being overqualified by place of nationality and sex, Switzerland 2018



Source: own elaboration with data from the Structural Survey

Figure 2 shows the predicted probabilities of being overqualified by nationality of controlled and separated models for men and women. In both cases, although there is a statistically significant difference between those holding a LA passport and the other two groups,

differences observed between EU27 and Swiss citizenship seem to be not so steep. However, the difference between LA nationals and the others groups are of opposite sign. While women with LA nationality are more likely to be overqualified, their male counterparts are less exposed to overqualification than the population with EU27 or Swiss passport of the same sex. In relation to the differences observed between the sexes within each group, the model in which we include an interaction between sex and nationality shows that these are statistically significant only in the case of the population of Latin American nationality (Figure 3), but they are not for the other two groups. **Figure 3.** Predicted probabilities of being overqualified by place of nationality and sex, Switzerland 2018



Control variables: age, marital status, activity status, year of arrival, type of municipality and number of languages spoken

Source: own elaboration with data from the Structural Survey

Concluding remarks

Although LA migration to Switzerland has been traditionally associated with the (male) marriage market, the analysis of population statistics has allowed us to show how, during the last decade, there has been a notable increase in the population born in Latin America entering the country as citizens of an EU27 member state. While the trigger for the migratory flow of Latin Americans with EU27 nationality to Switzerland is found in the outbreak of the 2008 financial crisis, its magnitude cannot be explained without previously considering both the role of Spain as the main destination country for LA migration to Europe and the particularities of its naturalization laws with respect to this group. These two characteristics have made out Spain the largest producer of European citizens via naturalization between 2010 and 2018, ahead of countries with largest foreign populations such as Germany and France (Eurostat, 2019).

In terms of overqualification, the results are consistent with those of previous research on this topic (Leuven and Oosterbeek, 2011; Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013) and reflect a higher incidence of overqualification among the foreign population than natives, as a higher incidence among Latin Americans, regardless of their nationality, than between the population



from EU27 countries. As it happens in other European countries, overqualification tends to be higher among women for the EU27 population, as it is also for LAs with LA citizenship. Our results do show the existence of a significant difference between the labour market incorporation of LAs with LA nationality relative to the other two groups. In the case of men, it is plausible to argue that the lower probability of people with LA nationality being overqualified is connected with the high selectivity of the Swiss immigration system for non-EU/EFTA citizens. While for women, the reason for migrating, linked to the marriage market and family formation, seems to explain the differences observed between groups. In this sense, it is important to consider the specificities of the Swiss context, characterized by a shortage in institutional support for childcare and the high cost of private childcaring (Adema et al., 2014). Policies regarding family migration still rely on traditional and paternalistic concepts of gender roles, and on the assumed dependency of those migrating for family reasons. The traditional perspective of the concept of family is still viewed as being part of the private reproductive sphere, as opposed to work involved in the public and economic sphere. Despite efforts made in the legislative and educational spheres towards gender equality, our results show that attitudes towards employment in Switzerland continue to be gender biased.

Among other factors that are associated with a greater probability of being overqualified and should be considered for public policy design, we highlight the negative relationship between overqualification and marital status, which exposes the separated or divorced population to a higher probability of being overqualified for their job. The negative impact of working part-time on men's probability of being overqualified should also be taken into consideration. Finally, the analysis carried out leads us to reflect about the potential impact that the growing phenomenon of dual citizenship of migrants may have on migration studies. Could this bias the results obtained over the basis of a single nationality? Although dual citizenship rates are very uneven between different foreign population groups, it seems to be particularly relevant both in the cases where the population of LA origin or the population of Spanish nationality is under study within the European context. As shown here, in the case of Switzerland, 17% of the LA-born population living in the country in 2018 were citizens of a EU27 country and 12% of Spanish citizens had been born in a LA country.

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Appendix

Table 1. Population born in Latin-America by place of citizenship, Switzerland 2010, 2018

Population	2010	2018	Relative growth 2010-18	2010 (%)	2018 (%)
Total LA-born	107521	139803	30.0%	100%	100%
LA-born Swiss citizenship	49547	63398	28.0%	46%	45%
LA-born EU27 citizenship	9552	23531	146.3%	9%	17%
LA-born LA citizenship	47427	51403	8.4%	44%	37%
LA-born other citizenship	995	1471	47.8%	1%	1%

Figure 1. Educational attainment by sex and place of nationality, Switzerland 2018

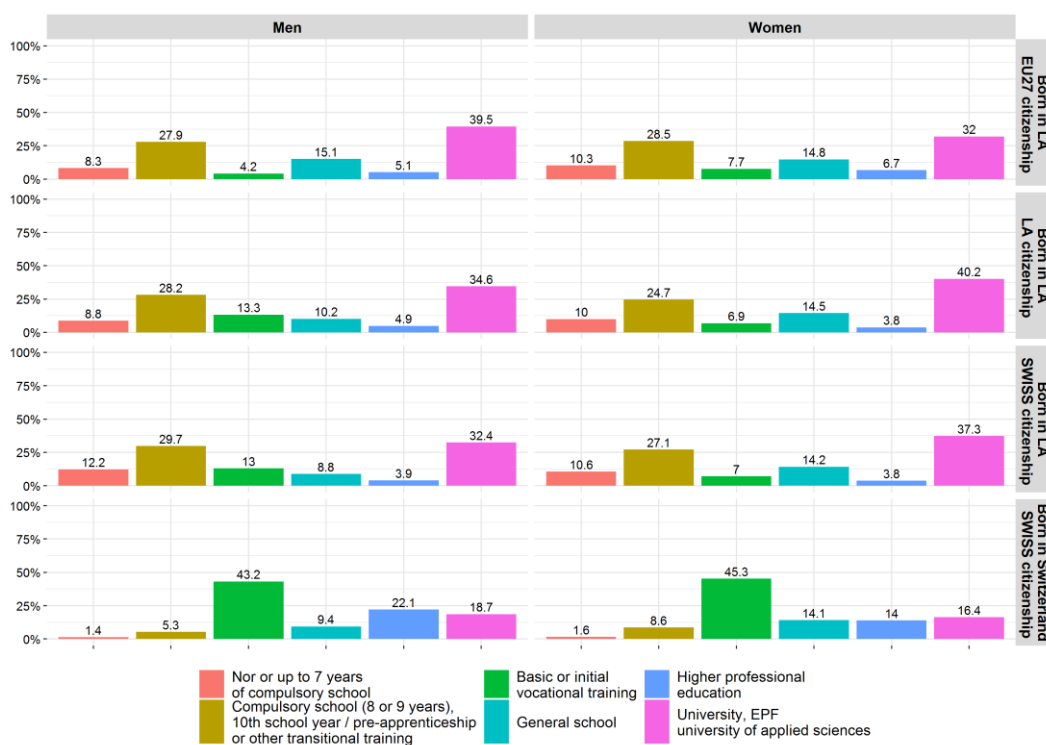
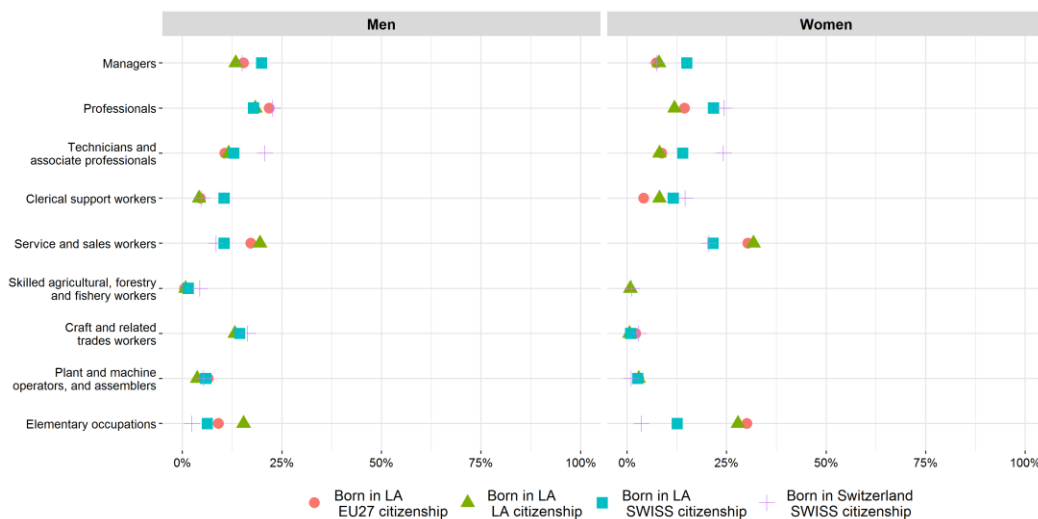


Figure 2. relative distribution of the Latin American-born population by occupational categories and nationality, Switzerland 2017/2018



Source: own elaboration with data from the Structural Survey

Table 2. Odds of being overqualified by region of nationality and sex

SEX= WOMEN	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-1.35292	0.03076	-43.982	< 2e-16 ***
Nationality (ref LA)				
EU27	-0.52239	0.05274	-9.906	< 2e-16 ***
Swiss	-0.24959	0.06936	-3.598	0.00032 ***

SEX= MEN	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-2.07032	0.04368	-47.399	< 2e-16 ***
Nationality (ref LA)				
EU27	0.11221	0.06449	1.74	0.0819.
Swiss	0.45358	0.09051	5.011	5.4e-07 ***

Sig. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 3. Odds of being overqualified by sex, including nationality and other sociodemographic variables

SEX= MEN	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-3.8971	0.15371	-25.354	< 2e-16 ***
Nationality (ref LA)				
EU27	0.2425	0.07383	3.285	0.00102 **
Swiss	0.79827	0.09871	8.087	6.11e-16 ***
Age groups (ref 20-29)				
Age 30-39	1.73362	0.14368	12.066	< 2e-16 ***
Age 40-49	1.85391	0.1517	12.221	< 2e-16 ***
Age 50+	1.7751	0.16318	10.878	< 2e-16 ***
Marital Status (ref. Single)				
Married	0.23569	0.08799	2.679	0.00739 **
Other	1.06379	0.10963	9.704	< 2e-16 ***
Municipality type (ref urban)				
Peri-urban	-1.44592	0.1859	-7.778	7.37e-15 ***
Rural	-1.41294	0.23099	-6.117	9.53e-10 ***
Activity status (ref full-time)				
Part-time	0.59802	0.07183	8.325	< 2e-16 ***
Arrival (ref. 2010-2011)				
2012-2014	-0.17777	0.07589	-2.342	0.01916 *
2014-2017	-0.68251	0.08724	-7.824	5.13e-15 ***
Languages (ref. 1 language)				
Bilingual	-0.04016	0.07518	-0.534	0.59316
Multilingual	0.75047	0.0857	8.756	< 2e-16 ***
SEX= WOMEN	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-2.330471	0.105647	-22.059	< 2e-16 ***
Nationality (ref LA)				
EU27	-0.417392	0.058005	-7.196	6.21e-13 ***
Swiss	-0.158987	0.073337	-2.168	0.0302 *
Age groups (ref 20-29)				
Age 30-39	0.670161	0.076736	8.733	< 2e-16 ***
Age 40-49	0.355127	0.084136	4.221	2.43e-05 ***
Age 50+	0.623484	0.099945	6.238	4.42e-10 ***
Marital Status (ref. Single)				
Married	0.527443	0.070104	7.524	5.32e-14 ***
Other	0.653194	0.100501	6.499	8.06e-11 ***
Municipality type (ref urban)				
Peri-urban	-0.557225	0.087056	-6.401	1.55e-10 ***
Rural	0.212559	0.08864	2.398	0.0165 *
Activity status (ref full-time)				
Part-time	-0.025208	0.050205	-0.502	0.6156
Arrival (ref. 2010-2011)				
2012-2014	-0.004328	0.060786	-0.071	0.9432
2014-2017	0.270587	0.06425	4.211	2.54e-05 ***
Languages (ref. 1 language)				
Bilingual	-0.366293	0.061371	-5.969	2.39e-09 ***
Multilingual	0.612184	0.069848	8.765	< 2e-16 ***

Sig. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

