Spatial and temporal changes in fertility in Switzerland since 1981 : some possible explanations for observed trends

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SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CHANGES IN FERTILITY IN SWITZERLAND SINCE 1981. SOME POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR OBSERVED TRENDS

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1. Introduction

The study of trends in fertility has numerous points of interest at the present time when replacement of the population is no longer guaranteed by the level of births and society has proved so far unable to alter these levels or trends. For these reasons, an analysis of variations in fertility, in both space and time, can only help towards a better understanding of the phenomenon, the estimation of likely trends in the future, and the proposal of suitable population policies.

The present study is part of a systematic analysis of the phenomena of population changes, with the aim of validating demographic indices. Its focus is the changes in fertility over the last 15 years, in a context of generally low fertility. It is based on an analysis of the trends in fertility across regions and with time. The results lead us to consider the following paradox: while fertility has remained stable in Switzerland since the 1980s, with nevertheless a slight decrease in level, the differences between the cantons have been greatly reduced. This tendency towards uniformity in fertility between cantons contrasts with the growing inequalities between cantons in other aspects of social and economic life. Indeed, the principal sociocultural indicators seem to suggest that overall, the disparities between cantons have increased or been maintained (for example, unemployment and income levels; Office fédéral de la statistique, 1996). It therefore is interesting that levels of fertility, which could be influenced in part by these classical socio-economic factors, should be converging towards a value of about 1.5 children per woman.

This article has three components. We first present, in a descriptive manner, some indices of cantonal fertility. Next, we apply multivariate statistical analyses, with the aim of understanding the trends in these indicators. Finally, a discussion of the results provides clues towards an explanation of the observed trends and comments on the likely future trends in fertility in Switzerland as a whole and in the cantons.

2. Data and methods

This study is based on statistics of natural population changes, which provide information on births and marriages among women residing in Switzerland. These events have been categorized by the canton of residence, the civil status of the mother, the age of the mother at the birth of the infant and the rank order of the infants born to a married mother. The reference population is provided by the annual compilation of population statistics from ESPOP, which since 1 January 1981 has published annual estimates of the total numbers of women, categorized by canton of residence and age.

These data have allowed us to calculate the following 10 indices of instantaneous fertility, for each canton and each year[1]:

- Total fertility rate (TFR), which is the sum of the fertility rates by age for women aged 15 to 49 years,
- Mean age of women at marriage (AGEMAR),
- Mean age of unmarried mothers at the birth of a child (AGEHM),
- Mean age of married mothers at the birth of the first child of the couple (AGERG1),
- Mean age of mothers at the birth of a child (AGEFEC),
- Proportion of first births among births to married mothers (PROPRG1),
- Proportion of births outside marriage (PROPIL),
- Index of first birth fertility (TFR1), among married women,
- Index of second birth fertility (TFR2), among married women,
- Index of third and higher-order birth fertility (TFR3), among married women.

These indices reflect either the level or the time scale of fertility. Using these data, we have examined the disparities in fertility between the cantons for 1981 and for 1995, as well as the variations observed over this period.

As a first step, we present the changes in the main cantonal indices. Next, in order to obtain a better interpretation of the data-set and to group the observations (26 cantons and 10 indices), we have carried out a principal component analysis, which provides us with an overall statistical view of the main spatial disparities and the changes in space and time. This analysis enables us to identify the main variations in fertility.

The principal component analysis reveals the covariances of the different variables. The principal components (or factors) of the matrix of data are linear combinations, not correlated with each other, of the regional variables

1 The entire set of tables is available from the Population trends section of the Federal Office of Statistics.

(Vollé, 1985). If a certain structure exists within the set of indices, as is probably the case for fertility, a limited number of principal components (two or three) will suffice to explain a large proportion of the variance of these indices.

After having calculated the principal components that explain most of the variance in the different indices, a projection of the cantons upon a plane defined by the first two components has enabled us to identify the relationships between these indices and to define the characteristics and temporal changes of the level and timing of fertility.

3. Demographic aspects of the changing differences in fertility between cantons

The indices of fertility for each canton in 1981 and 1995 are tabulated in Annex 1. Here we shall discuss three of them, namely the level of fertility expressed by the total fertility rate (TFR), the timetable of fertility, expressed by the mean age at childbearing, and the proportion of births that occur outside marriage.

In 1981, the TFR showed wide differences between cantons (Figure 1). Four out of the 26 cantons were characterized by a level of fertility of more than 2 children per woman, whereas six cantons had a level below 1.5 children. The national mean was 1.55, with a range from a maximum of 2.5 children per woman in Appenzell Innerrhoden (I.Rh.) to a minimum of 1.1 children per woman in Basel City. The difference between these two extremes in 1981 was 1.4 children, and the variance amounted to 0.098.

Between 1981 and 1995, the TFR for the whole country fell from 1.55 to 1.48 children. The majority of the cantons, with the exception of six relatively urban ones (Geneva, Neuchâtel, Vaud, Basel City, Fribourg and Zurich), exhibited a decline in fertility. Among those cantons in which a rise in fertility occurred, Basel City, which in 1981 had the lowest level, saw its TFR climb by 12% from 1.09 to 1.22. The rural cantons, which had the highest levels in 1981, experienced the greatest fall (reaching 30% in Obwald and Nidwald).

The effect of these changes has been a great reduction in the spatial variations in fertility (Figure 2, in which the categories and scale of tints are the same as in Figure 1). This reduction is most marked in the greatly decreased variance (from 0.098 to 0.021) and the much lower separation between the highest value

Figure 1
Total fertility rate in the Swiss cantons in 1981

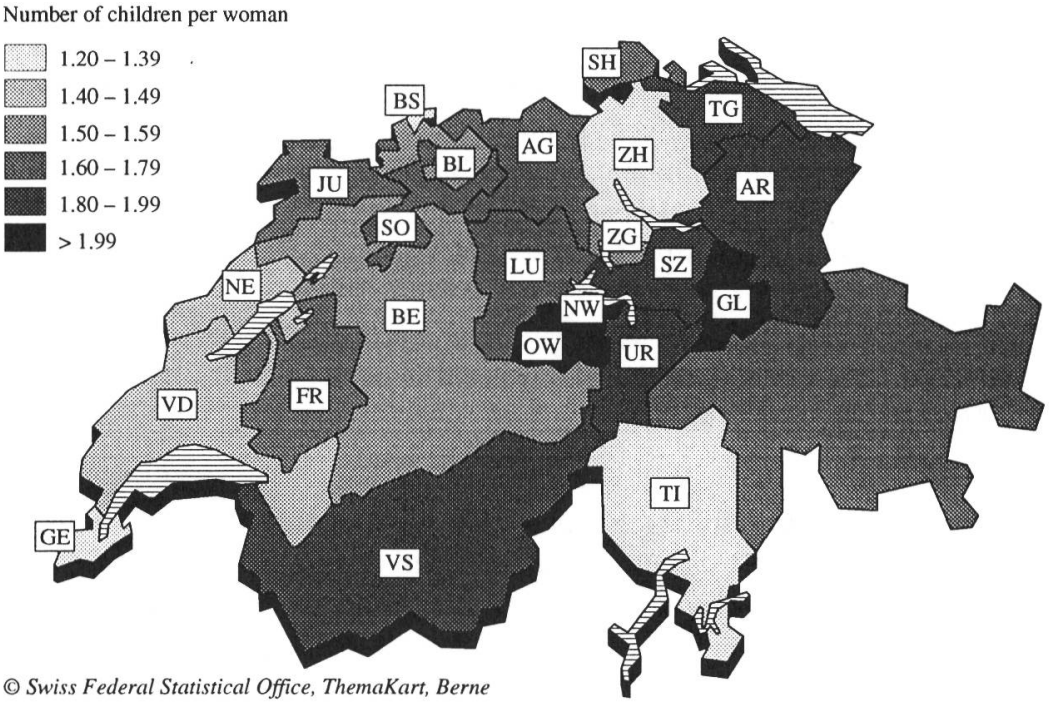
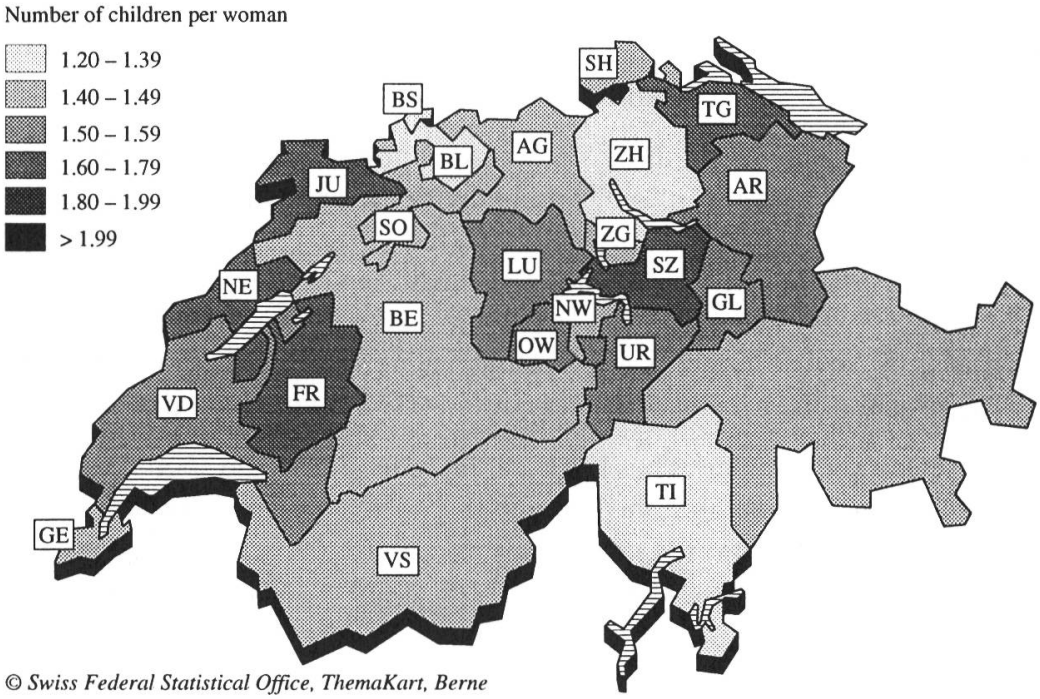


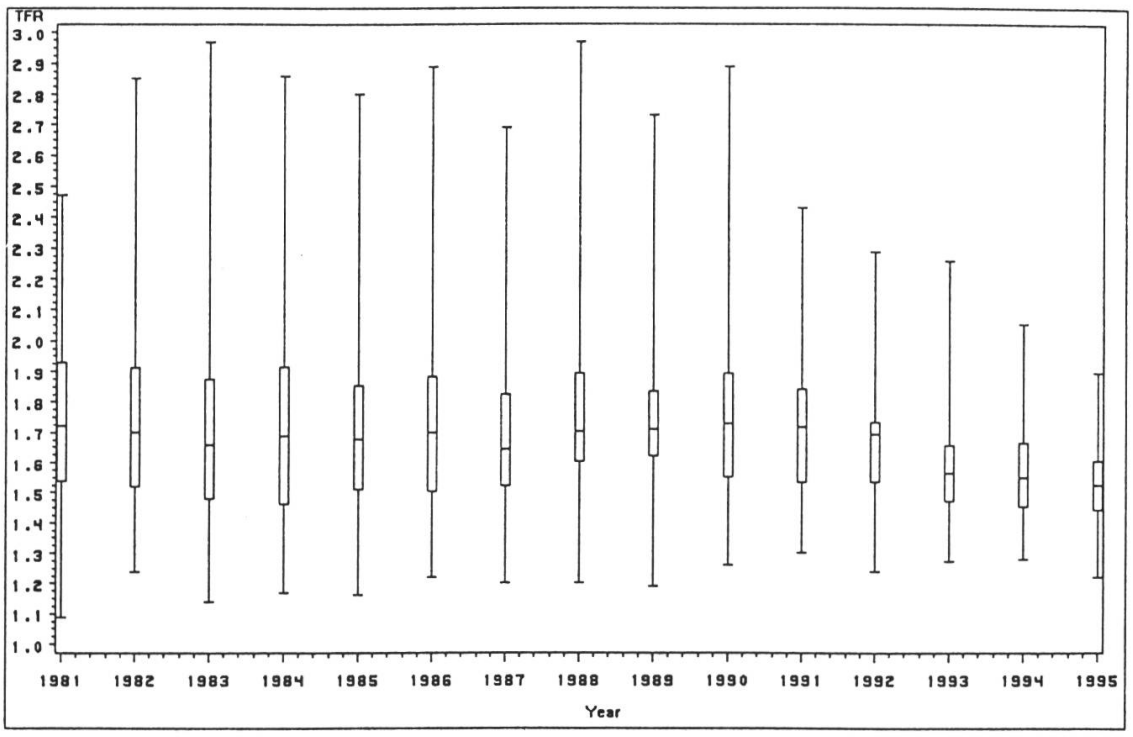
Figure 2
Total fertility rate in the Swiss cantons in 1995



(Appenzell I.Rh., 1.9 children per woman in 1995) and the lowest (Basel City, 1.2 children per woman), the difference having dropped from 1.4 to 0.7.

Figure 3 summarizes the evolution of the TFR across the cantons for each year from 1981 to 1995, showing clearly this phenomenon of homogenization, from both above and below. It should be interpreted as follows: the median value of the TFR is indicated by the horizontal line within the box that represents the values included between the 25th and 75th percentiles, while the extreme values are linked by the vertical line for each year.

Figure 3
Trends in the total fertility rate in the Swiss cantons
between 1981 and 1995



As regards the mean age of mothers at the birth of a child, the mainly urban cantons were characterized in 1981 by a relatively high age (maximum 28.7 years in Geneva), while the lowest was seen in the Jura (26.9 years), with a difference of 1.8 years between these extremes (Figure 4). This timing has changed considerably over the study period, with a marked increase in the mean age of mothers at childbearing, which rose to above 30 years in Geneva (30.1 years), while the lowest was in Glarus, at 28.0 years (Figure 5). The difference between the two extremes slightly increased during this period, while the variance remained stable.

It should be noted that the mean age of mothers at the birth of a child is strongly correlated with other indicators of the timing of fertility (in particular the mean age at marriage and the mean age of mothers at the birth of the first child). The age of women at marriage has in fact risen over the period under consideration more rapidly than the age of childbearing. This rise probably provides the explanation for most of the increase in the age at giving birth. In Switzerland, marriage is still most usually the indicator of entry into the reproductive phase of life. Thus, while extramarital births have in recent decades become a widespread phenomenon in Europe, they remain the exception in Switzerland. They now constitute more than half of all births in Iceland and Sweden and in most other countries amount to between 15 and 40%. In Switzerland there is a much lower level, the proportion being below 7%. In Europe, only Greece (with 2.8% extramarital births) has a lower rate than that seen in Switzerland (Lévy, 1996).

There has nevertheless been a slight increase in extramarital births in Switzerland. The relative levels in the different cantons have varied year by year, but have remained fairly stable. In 1981, the maximum and minimum rates were those of Basel City (10.4%) and Uri (2.7%), respectively. In 1995, they were those of Basel City (11.9%) and Appenzell I.Rh. (3.3%), the latter being the only canton to show a reduction in this proportion over the period studied.

Although the proportion of extramarital births has remained low, other aspects of this phenomenon have seen very significant changes. Thus the mean age of unmarried women at the birth of a child rose from 23.8 years in 1981 to 28.1 years in 1995. This parameter was generally high in mainly urban cantons, with the highest in 1981 seen in Geneva (27.4 years). In Uri, extramarital births occurred very early (19.8 years), and were probably in the large majority of cases accidental. Between 1981 and 1995, the mean age rose in all cantons, the range in 1995 extending from 30.2 years in Neuchâtel to 26.3 years in Appenzell I.Rh. In most cases, these births now occur within the context of unmarried couples living together. Again, there has been a trend towards

Figure 4
Mean age of mothers at the birth of a child
in the Swiss cantons in 1981

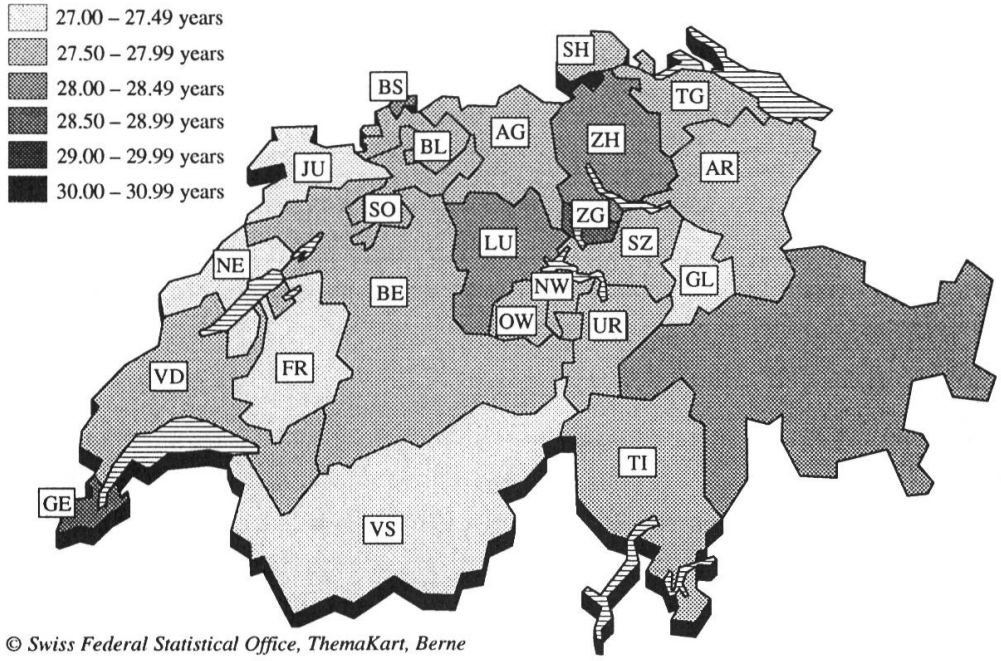
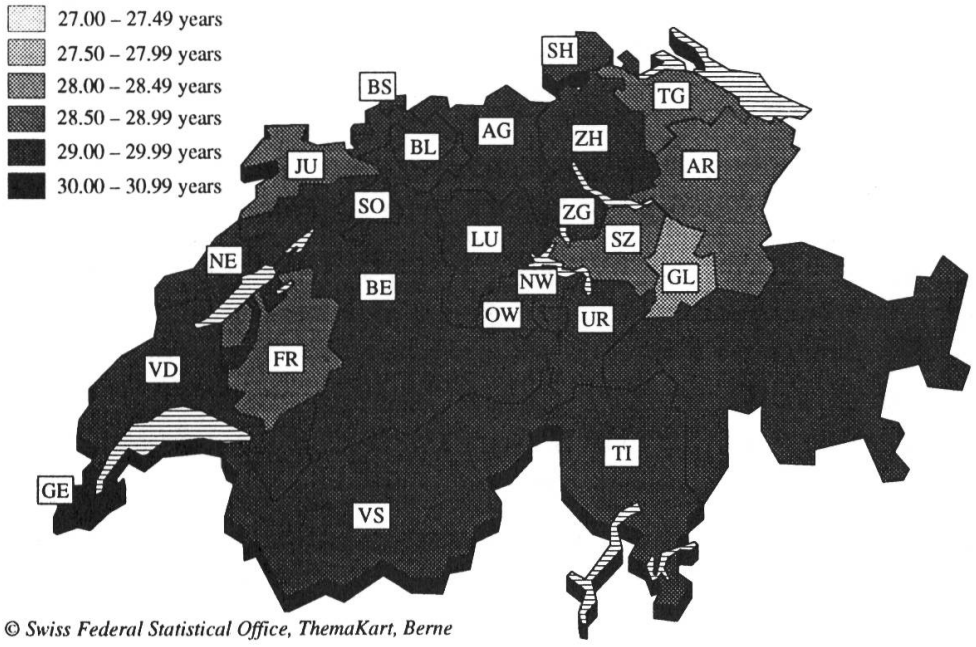


Figure 5
Mean age of mothers at the birth of a child
in the Swiss cantons in 1995



uniformity in this respect across the cantons, with a considerable reduction in the spread between the extremes and in the variance.

4. Spatial differences and changes over time in fertility between cantons: possible explanations based on an exploratory multivariate analysis

The descriptive approach presented above, based on three indices of fertility in the cantons, provides some clues that it is necessary to substantiate through a statistical analysis. This section presents a principal component analysis carried out using the data from 1981 and 1995.

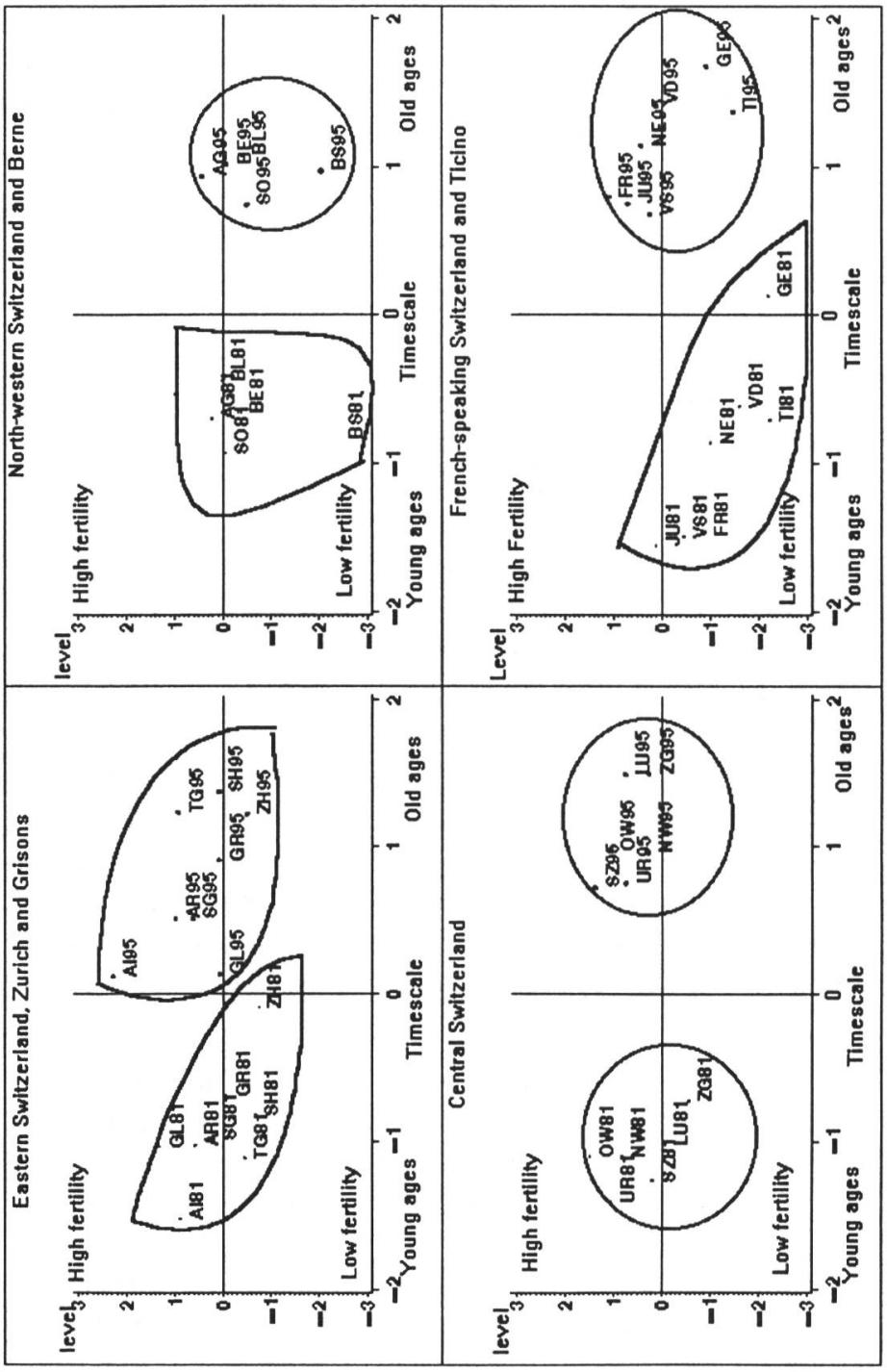
This analysis was carried out starting from the 10 calculated indices. It enables us to summarize the available information in two factors. After Varimax rotation, the first factor explains 43.3% of the total variance, and the second 35.8%. Thus the two first factors together explain 79.1% of the total variance. The indices of mean age of mothers at marriage and age at birth (all births, births to married mothers, first births) are positively correlated with the first component, which represents the timetable of fertility. The second component reflects the level of fertility for second or higher-order births. The indices of second and of third birth fertility positively correlate with this factor, while the proportion of first births negatively correlates with it.

Figure 6 illustrates the placing of the various cantons on the factorial plane formed by these two components in 1981 and in 1995. The cantons are represented by their official abbreviations, followed by the year of measurement. No canton retains the same position on the first factorial plane across this time period, all having experienced a change of either the level or the timetable of fertility.

The cantons have in general moved from the lower left part of the factorial plane towards the upper right. The interpretation of this movement implies on the one hand a delay in the timetable of fertility and on the other a modification in the level of fertility and of the distribution of births according to order among married women. In terms of the timetable (movement from left to right), one sees a similar effect for all 26 cantons. For the second factor, only 15 cantons have moved upwards, five having stayed at about the same level, while the remaining six have moved down.

Figure 6 illustrates the trend towards uniformity with regard to both timetable and level of fertility. In 1995, the canton of Appenzell I.Rh., which is placed far from the other points, constitutes an exception. The group comprising

Figure 6
Position of the Swiss cantons on the first factorial plane, after rotation. 1981 and 1995



Basel City, Ticino and Geneva also lies somewhat separate from the 22 other cantons. The positions of these three cantons are practically the same.

The move towards uniformity in the characteristics of the cantons has taken place in two ways. One has been a systematic delay in the timetable of reproductive life, and the other has been a reduction in the differences between the indices of level of fertility.

5. Discussion

It is necessary first to examine the various types of bias that influence any analysis of fertility in Switzerland and its cantons. One consideration is that the population statistics do not allow distribution of the observed births according to residential status (permanent or temporary) of the population; thus the set of births taken into account here includes those to women with short-term residence permits and those who are seeking asylum, who do not form part of the permanent resident population. However, this problem with the basic data cannot greatly influence the TFR across the entire population.

Another problem lies in the fact that the TFR for each canton is closely linked with the migratory movements that occur around the time of cohabitation and marriage. The mobility that accompanies the founding of a family may be of several types. This has the potential to influence the results of this study, particularly in the comparison of levels of fertility between cantons. For example, in the case of Basel City, the low level of fertility can be explained in part by the departure of couples from the city at the time of marriage to live in surrounding communes that lie within the canton of Basel Country.

The analysis of the cantonal fertility patterns provides valuable information on a complex phenomenon, for which it is difficult to interpret the observed trends. Who, in fact, would have predicted in 1981 that fertility would continue to decline gently for 14 years; can we now foresee how it will evolve over the next decade? All the models that have been applied to explain trends in fertility by identifying its determinants or by studying the behaviour of parents (for example in relation to the employment market, the participation of women in economic activity, or the value of a child) seem to have been doomed to failure.

The data for each canton were not hitherto calculated systematically in Switzerland (see Bureau fédéral de statistique, 1977), but will be in future. They provide additional information for various analyses of fertility, as well as some indications of explanations for the trends. In the light of the difficulties faced

by classical demographic analysis, a spatio-temporal analysis has the merit of bringing out some clear features of fertility in Switzerland.

First, we may examine extramarital births. Switzerland now is among the European countries with the lowest rates of such births, although only a quarter of a century ago, its rate was higher than those of western European countries such as Belgium and the Netherlands that today have around 13% of extramarital births. In most cases, couples marry before the birth of their children, and this habit persists in contrast to surrounding countries where marriage is no longer considered an essential step in the establishment of a family. Thus Switzerland is now one of the rare countries where a high rate of premarital cohabitation is associated with a low rate of extramarital births.

However, although the proportion of extramarital births has remained fairly low, other characteristics of such births have changed considerably. In the early 1980s, in many cantons, having a child outside marriage was an unusual occurrence and probably often an accidental one involving younger women (the case of the canton of Uri, with a mean age of childbearing among unmarried mothers of 19.8 years, exemplifies this situation). In other cantons, notably the more urban ones, the mean age of unmarried mothers at birth of a child was close to that of all mothers. Here, such births were rather associated with a renunciation of marriage or a delay in marriage that was not associated with any modification in the scheme of fertility (i. e., extramarital births within a consensual union).

The situation across the different cantons has now probably become more uniform, with a reduction in accidental fertility among women aged less than 20 years, and thus an increase in the age at extramarital childbearing. This increase essentially reflects a change in behaviour towards marriage, without a corresponding change in fertility. This implies that there has been a move, within a limited part of the population, towards a situation where marriage is no longer a prerequisite for establishing a couple.

Nevertheless, more than 9 births out of 10 still occur within married couples, and in general at later ages. The rise in the age of fertility is a phenomenon that is common to all cantons, and also almost universally to regions of Europe where decreasing fertility is observed. This delay is evident in all four indices of age of fertility (mean age at birth outside marriage, mean age at marriage, mean age at first birth, and mean age at any birth), and thus shows the association between the various steps in the formation of a family, forming a coherent timetable of fertility. The age at childbearing will probably be the principal factor to watch during the coming years, not only because the effects of timetable can artificially modify a horizontal index such as the TFR, but particularly

because we have no way of saying with any certainty when or at what level this timetable is likely to stabilize.

In contrast, and this is probably a strong feature of spatial analysis, the situation regarding the level of fertility, expressed here by the TFR, seems relatively clear. The cantons are converging towards a figure of 1.5 children per woman, the rates rising in the urban cantons and falling in the rural ones. The presence of foreign women with higher fertility in the towns is not sufficient, on its own, to explain the increase in TFR in the urban cantons. We must thus look elsewhere for the reasons behind the convergence of rates, which concerns not only first births but also those of second, third or higher order, and which does offer some clues.

One possibility is that the recent trends in fertility rates in Switzerland are explicable in terms of the development of the second transition in fertility, namely the recent transition that originates mainly, according to Lesthaeghe (1995), from a weakening of the social control of institutions. Certain cantons had reached a "fertility equilibrium" before 1980, while others have arrived at this situation more recently, and some have not yet done so. This is probably due to the different tempos of the social processes leading to lower fertility. The equilibrium rate of fertility appears to be stable and uniform, at a level of nearly 1.5 children per woman, which is well below the rate needed to ensure population replacement.

On the other hand, it should be noted that no factor has proved capable of modifying this trend towards uniformity over the last 14 years. Economic and social conditions, that have seen profound structural changes over the period and have transformed the organization and pattern of society, and the demographic transformations that have led to a reorganization of the family, do not seem to have had any influence on the level of fertility or on its evolution. Indeed, the influences of cultural, linguistic and religious differences on fertility, that were described for Switzerland by Lesthaeghe (1982), appear to be gradually fading away. The fertility rates in the various cantons are converging irrespective of the socio-cultural context. These observations probably reflect a growing independence in the phenomenon of fertility of couples with respect to the environment in which the family develops.

We therefore probably need to look elsewhere for the factors determining past and future trends in fertility. It might be possible to identify such factors by comparing cantons that have recently completed their transition of fertility with those which, over the period studied, showed a stable rate of fertility. One can thus examine the different tempo of this second demographic transition, which took place first in the urban cantons, and only later in the rural ones. It

is probable that other factors, such as lifestyle changes or individual goals, need to be taken into consideration to explain how it was possible to adapt to a new equilibrium in fertility. In this respect, it would seem that the trend to uniformity in fertility might to some extent reflect a comparable trend to uniformity in the attitudes and lifestyle of young adults across the whole of Switzerland.

In conclusion, this demographic analysis, carried out from a spatio-temporal viewpoint, has allowed us to show how the whole set of cantons have adopted a level and pattern of fertility that was already becoming established 15 years earlier in the urban cantons.

One question that remains unanswered addresses the future. What will be the fertility characteristics of the years to come? Our results tend to suggest that the level will remain around that seen today, subject to minor modifications. But this hypothesis, which seems the most probable, is not inevitable. Certain countries are seeing even lower levels of fertility than those now recorded in Switzerland, and others, especially the USA and Canada, are experiencing a rising level. A reversal of the present pattern of fertility might quite well be brought about by individual or social circumstances that would probably be much more far-reaching than the socio-economic factors more often mentioned.

In this context, the development of political measures in support of the family in Switzerland should probably be based upon much wider concepts than mere financial considerations. The factors on which such measures ought to be applied need to be first identified through studies of the organization and functioning of the family. For this purpose, the Swiss survey of the family (Csonka, 1996) should provide a valuable source of data for an exploratory analysis of the mechanisms of fertility.

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Annex 1: Principal indices of fertility in the Swiss cantons in 1981 and 1995

Indices of fertility in 1981

	TFR	*AGEMAR*	*AGEHM*	*AGERG1*	*AGEFEC*	*PROPRG1*	*PROPIL*	*TFR1*	*TFR2*	*TFR3*
Switzerland	1.55	25.1	25.4	26.4	27.9	44.9%	5.2%	0.74	0.55	0.26
Zurich (ZH)	1.36	25.6	25.2	26.7	28.4	47.7%	5.4%	0.64	0.48	0.17
Berne (BE)	1.54	24.8	23.6	25.8	27.7	45.3%	4.3%	0.67	0.52	0.24
Lucerne (LU)	1.76	24.8	23.0	25.6	28.2	39.3%	4.1%	0.53	0.45	0.34
Uri (UR)	1.97	24.4	19.8	25.3	27.8	36.6%	2.7%	0.58	0.53	0.44
Schwyz (SZ)	1.93	24.3	23.5	25.3	27.5	40.1%	3.3%	0.57	0.48	0.31
Obwald (OW)	2.25	24.5	23.1	24.9	27.7	36.4%	3.8%	0.64	0.56	0.43
Nidwald (NW)	2.06	24.9	20.5	25.9	27.9	39.1%	3.5%	0.64	0.50	0.37
Glarus (GL)	2.02	23.4	24.1	24.8	27.3	42.3%	2.9%	0.76	0.60	0.33
Zug (ZG)	1.58	24.8	22.6	26.6	28.6	42.1%	4.4%	0.54	0.43	0.26
Fribourg (FR)	1.65	23.4	23.1	25.0	27.2	42.2%	4.9%	0.54	0.47	0.22
Solothurn (SO)	1.65	24.4	23.5	25.3	27.6	44.2%	4.2%	0.65	0.51	0.25
Basel City (BS)	1.09	26.0	24.3	26.1	28.2	51.9%	10.4%	0.52	0.32	0.12
Basel Country (BL)	1.56	24.8	24.7	26.0	27.9	45.0%	4.2%	0.66	0.55	0.20
Schaffhausen (SH)	1.65	24.2	24.8	25.0	27.6	46.1%	4.9%	0.71	0.49	0.23
Appenzell A.Rh. (AR)	1.96	23.7	24.0	25.3	27.5	41.5%	4.6%	0.67	0.53	0.32
Appenzell I.Rh. (AI)	2.47	24.0	20.2	25.3	27.4	39.2%	6.9%	0.62	0.52	0.44
St. Gallen (SG)	1.80	24.1	23.8	25.3	27.8	40.3%	5.2%	0.60	0.50	0.33
Graubünden (GR)	1.77	24.7	23.9	25.9	28.0	44.7%	5.0%	0.64	0.49	0.27
Aargau (AG)	1.73	24.6	23.9	25.8	27.9	42.8%	4.2%	0.64	0.54	0.25
Thurgau (TG)	1.89	24.1	23.8	25.3	27.6	41.2%	4.9%	0.59	0.50	0.28
Ticino (TI)	1.32	25.1	25.4	26.5	27.9	48.3%	7.6%	0.47	0.37	0.12
Vaud (VS)	1.40	24.9	26.0	26.1	27.8	48.3%	6.7%	0.55	0.42	0.13
Valais (VS)	1.81	23.4	23.7	25.1	27.3	41.8%	4.2%	0.54	0.46	0.25
Neuchâtel (NE)	1.41	24.1	26.7	25.3	27.1	47.3%	5.1%	0.60	0.49	0.14
Geneva (GE)	1.25	26.0	27.4	27.2	28.7	54.6%	7.6%	0.59	0.37	0.09
Jura (JU)	1.71	22.9	23.5	24.5	26.9	38.6%	5.0%	0.56	0.53	0.33

Indices of fertility in 1995

	TFR	*AGEMAR*	*AGEHM*	*AGERG1*	*AGEFEC*	*PROPRG1*	*PROPIL*	*TFR1*	*TFR2*	*TFR3*
Switzerland	1.48	27.3	28.5	28.2	29.4	44.1%	6.8%	0.73	0.51	0.24
Zurich (ZH)	1.39	28.1	28.7	28.4	29.6	45.8%	7.2%	0.61	0.48	0.20
Berne (BE)	1.45	27.7	27.8	28.2	29.4	42.9%	6.8%	0.59	0.52	0.24
Lucerne (LU)	1.58	27.5	28.4	27.9	29.4	40.6%	5.1%	0.62	0.55	0.33
Uri (UR)	1.55	27.3	28.2	27.6	29.1	39.1%	4.6%	0.59	0.54	0.35
Schwyz (SZ)	1.69	26.9	27.3	27.5	28.9	41.1%	4.5%	0.69	0.58	0.35
Obwald (OW)	1.58	27.5	27.8	28.1	29.5	41.3%	3.8%	0.64	0.53	0.35
Nidwald (NW)	1.43	27.9	27.0	28.2	29.6	38.8%	4.1%	0.56	0.54	0.27
Glarus (GL)	1.57	26.7	27.1	26.2	28.0	45.1%	5.7%	0.70	0.50	0.27
Zug (ZG)	1.45	28.3	29.6	28.8	30.0	43.4%	5.1%	0.61	0.52	0.25
Fribourg (FR)	1.67	26.7	27.2	27.5	29.0	43.6%	5.2%	0.71	0.60	0.27
Solothurn (SO)	1.41	27.3	28.2	27.7	29.1	44.0%	7.3%	0.59	0.47	0.24
Basel City (BS)	1.22	29.0	28.3	28.0	29.1	48.2%	11.9%	0.53	0.38	0.15
Basel Country (BL)	1.37	27.9	28.1	28.5	29.5	44.6%	6.4%	0.58	0.49	0.21
Schaffhausen (SH)	1.44	28.0	29.1	28.1	29.3	43.0%	5.2%	0.61	0.51	0.24
Appenzell A.Rh. (AR)	1.70	26.6	27.9	27.2	28.7	41.2%	4.8%	0.70	0.51	0.41
Appenzell I.Rh. (AI)	1.89	26.3	26.3	26.2	28.6	33.8%	3.3%	0.63	0.61	0.59
St. Gallen (SG)	1.58	27.0	26.5	27.5	28.9	39.3%	5.5%	0.60	0.54	0.35
Graubünden (GR)	1.44	27.5	27.4	28.0	29.5	40.1%	6.5%	0.55	0.54	0.25
Aargau (AG)	1.49	27.5	28.1	28.0	29.3	44.3%	5.2%	0.64	0.51	0.25
Thurgau (TG)	1.65	27.0	27.3	27.5	28.9	40.7%	5.5%	0.66	0.59	0.31
Ticino (TI)	1.26	28.1	29.4	28.6	29.9	52.0%	8.8%	0.61	0.43	0.12
Vaud (VS)	1.59	27.4	29.4	28.4	29.7	47.4%	7.8%	0.71	0.55	0.21
Valais (VS)	1.49	26.4	27.6	27.7	29.1	42.7%	5.5%	0.61	0.56	0.24
Neuchâtel (NE)	1.59	26.7	30.2	27.7	29.3	43.6%	7.4%	0.66	0.59	0.23
Geneva (GE)	1.42	28.3	29.2	28.9	30.2	48.8%	10.8%	0.64	0.48	0.15
Jura (JU)	1.65	26.2	28.6	27.4	28.9	41.0%	6.9%	0.64	0.59	0.30