Chapter 6

Focusing on the Young: Integration in Switzerland

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The apprenticeship system is a key mechanism for labour market integration in Switzerland and is therefore considered crucial for young immigrants arriving in the country. Vocational training schools play an important role in integration in Geneva, Neuchâtel and Zurich, linking employers, migrants and the public policy system. In addition, mentoring and networking activities are a popular mechanism to support access to placements. However apprenticeships may not provide for all training needs and a not-for-profit organisation in Neuchâtel provides an alternative training model effective in meeting more short term skills shortages. Discrimination persists however, amongst local employers in Switzerland, and there are concerns that tackling training needs may not be a sufficient tool for labour market integration without the existence of a strong anti-discrimination legislation in the country.

This chapter analyses initiatives which have been taken forward at the local level to support the integration of immigrants into the labour market in Switzerland. More specifically, it focuses on the integration of young immigrants, examining local initiatives to support the integration of this target group in Geneva, Neuchâtel and Zurich. The key theme for analysis is the role of education and training in supporting access to employment and wider social integration, focusing on direct training initiatives, and schemes to promote networking and mentoring in order to bridge the gap between young people, training institutions, and employers. In each case the role of the national, regional and local policy context in supporting the effectiveness of these initiatives is analysed.

The policy context

The concept of integration is central to this study both in its inception and throughout the process of gathering information and analysis. It has its roots both in traditions of sociological analysis and in paradigms of the politics of migration, settlement and cultural diversity in established nation-states. In the case of Switzerland it has recently become the central term of debate, and of governmental policy with regard to those whom the Swiss state designates as "foreigners". Since the late 1990s, no doubt influenced by policy discourses in the European Union, the Swiss federal government has declared an interest in exploring the concept of integration as the guiding idea in questions of the social and political incorporation of immigrants and their descendants.

A second feature of Swiss policy is indexed by their adoption of the discourse of "civil society". Although the federal government in Switzerland has been a key player in the recent initiation of debates and policies regarding integration, it sees the policy as one to be taken up by the cantons and communes, and by voluntary organisations and active citizens in such a way that the pursuit of integration finds its way into daily routines and community living. This is partly because the federal level has only recently had a policy mandate to address the position of immigrants in society, which was previously dealt with at lower levels within the highly decentralised political system. This situation introduces a distinction between integration at the level of the civic state by contrast with integration into local communities. The first, civic integration, is indexed by the granting of citizenship and citizenship

rights to newcomers for settlement, and the second, communal integration, is indexed by the social incorporation of newcomer individuals and groups into the life of local communities. Of course in Switzerland, as a highly decentralised system of governance, civic integration is also the responsibility of cantons. The distinction therefore has to be made at the local level between formal legal (citizenship, nationality) forms of integration, and integration into employment and community activities.

Until recently, policies relating to refugees and asylum, and policies relating to the integration of immigrants were dealt with by two separate offices at the federal level. Refugee questions were dealt with by the Federal Office for Refugees (FOR); while immigration, emigration and integration were handled by the Federal Office of Immigration, Integration and Emigration (IMES). In 2004 these two offices were amalgamated into a single office, the Federal Office for Migration (FOM). This combines quite different functions such as policing external borders and dealing with citizenship and integration within the country and accordingly the merger has been controversial.

The Federal Office for Migration works to co-ordinate integration policies and implementation at federal, canton, and communal levels. In addition the extra-parliamentary Federal Commission for Foreigners (see Box 6.1) has been elected by Council to advise the Federal Office for Migration and to promote integration through publicity, publications, debate and support for local integration projects.

Box 6.1. Federal Commission for Foreigners

The Federal Commission for Foreigners has a key role in stimulating debate about integration in Switzerland. In 2000 a new ordinance (Ordinance VlntA) to regulate the tasks and structure of the Federal Commission for Foreigners and the latter's relations to the Federal Office for Migration was approved. The ordinance also oversees the granting of government financial assistance for the promotion of integration (the 2005 budget amounts to 14 million Francs) and since 2001 approximately 600 integration projects have been funded annually. The Commission takes the view that "integration presupposes equal rights and chances" and that while migrants must "make efforts to become integrated in Swiss society" Swiss nationals must also "be willing to practice openness and respect towards migrants".

The federal government has also addressed the question of reform and revision of laws and ordinances which currently govern immigration and foreigner policy. The 1931 Aliens Law merely establishes the principal aims of aliens policy and all specific regulation is carried forward by ordinances. A

proposed new "Foreign Nationals Act" will therefore be a "regularising" piece of legislation. The distinction between admission for EU and EFTA nationals and "Third State" nationals, for example, will be embodied in the Act. The new act, debated in Parliament in 2005, and expected to come into force in 2006, will be subject to a referendum of popular opinion in September 2006. The concept of a *legal right* to permanent residence after a stay of ten years has already been rejected, but those permanently resident for five years *may* be granted a permanent residence permit if they are seen to have successfully integrated. An important general aim of the legislation is to promote integration in Switzerland, thus recognising in law that the federal state and the cantons have a role in the promotion of the integration of foreigners. The new Act will also amend Asylum regulations in a number of important ways including what is referred to as "third state regulation". This means that asylum seekers may be returned to a safe third country in which they resided before seeking to enter Switzerland.

In Switzerland, as in other countries, employment is viewed as a critical arena for "including the excluded". In a recent document produced by the Federal Commission for Foreigners it is stated that "a major part of integration occurs at the workplace; being employed also means social recognition" (Egger, 2003). Unemployment, under-employment, and absence of tradable employment skills are seen as both problems in themselves and central to the social incorporation of immigrants, especially young immigrants. Employment is regarded, by policy-makers, as having both material and moral rewards, 1 the latter in the shape of social recognition and the regulation of daily routines. It is this area of employment and social integration which, above all, the present study was mandated to examine. Other areas which could be explored in a wider vision of integration would include the political discourses which mark off a national majority, defined in ethnic, linguistic, or religious terms, from foreigners, newcomers, and ethnic or cultural minorities; incorporation into key institutional arenas such as the justice system, public employment as teachers, police, and health workers; residential integration; and inter-marriage/partners.

The legal context: Swiss citizenship and integration: the category "foreigner"

Historically Switzerland grew as an amalgam of territories which split from neighbouring states or empires, and therefore retain broad cultural distinctions. Each of the cantons of the Swiss confederation can be assigned to one of the German, French or Italian speaking blocs, with cantons which share a common language being contiguous. Nonetheless, there is a powerful sense of what it is to be Swiss in public discourse, and this is firmly linked to the concept of citizenship. 20% of the population (a total of 1 495 008 people

in 2004) does not have Swiss citizenship, despite the fact that a high proportion of this group are second and third generation foreigners who are relatively well established in Switzerland. The Council of Europe has suggested that, "Only about 2% of persons of foreign origin residing in Switzerland have received citizenship despite the fact that over half of noncitizens in Switzerland have resided there for over 20 years" (Council of Europe, 1998). More than a fifth of the permanent foreigner population with an autorisation de sejour or d'establissment were born in Switzerland, with 58% of those who are born abroad have been living in Switzerland without a break for 10 or more years. Two thirds of children or adolescents classed as "foreign" (some 237 000 persons) were born in Switzerland. The Council of Europe suggest that if all the persons possessing long term (c) residence permits in Switzerland obtained citizenship, the percentage of non-citizens in Switzerland would have fallen to around 5%.

The low number of immigrants with Swiss nationality can be explained by the fact that naturalisation is difficult to obtain in Switzerland. Recent legislative proposals to make naturalisation easier were rejected by a referendum (2004) of all Swiss nationals, a referendum which was accompanied, as with subsequent campaigns, by dramatic and tendentious advertising by far right groups. The federal government is seeking to reduce the costs of naturalisation, however, currently seen as one of the major obstacles. The federal statistics for 2005 includes a section on this question, headed "Foreigners: may be born in Switzerland but not naturalized". The report goes on to say that "more than half of residents without a Swiss passport have either been living in Switzerland for more than 15 years or were born here. Measured against the 2.5% naturalization rate there is still a large integration deficit" (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2005).

Work permits and mobility

Based on the provisions of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons, the nationals of EU/EFTA States have a right to legal residence in Switzerland. They are subject to the same employment and working conditions as Swiss citizens and permanently resident foreigners. At the same time the stance towards possible entrants from non-EU/EFTA (except for refugees and asylum seekers) is much more restrictive. What are termed "third state" nationals are subject to a preference for Swiss nationals, the preferential admission of migrants from EU/EFTA states and a quota system. In practice it is very difficult for third-state nationals to gain admission and work permits in Switzerland unless they are exceptionally well qualified persons in high demand sectors with a scarce supply of specialists.

Whilst entry for EU and EFTA nationals is based the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons, Third state nationals are subject to the

requirement to obtain a residence permit. Permits issued to Third state national are as follows:

- B Annual residence permits: holders of these permits are foreigners usually staying in Switzerland for a longer term, with or without employment.
- C Permanent residence permits: held by foreigners to whom a permanent residence permit has been granted after a stay of five or ten years in Switzerland
- L Short term residence permits: held by staying in Switzerland for a limited period, usually less than one year.
- **G** Border commuter permits: held by commuters having domicile in the foreign border zones employed in neighbouring Swiss zones.

Non-EU/EFTA nationals may be admitted for training courses (as "stagiaires") and trainee permits are issued by the federal state. All other permits are issued by cantons. EU and EFTA nationals who are not working in Switzerland are not exempt from the requirement of having a residence permit, although this permit will be given to them if they have sufficient resources and meet other requirements.

The characteristics of the immigrant population

The foreigner proportion of the population of Switzerland has grown steadily from the 1960s (9.3%) to 2004 (20.2%) despite a brief fall in the 1980s. The range of source countries of immigration to Switzerland has become considerably more diverse in recent years. In the decades after the war neighbouring countries (France, Germany, Austria and Italy) very much preponderated among the suppliers of migrant workers. Others came from Spain and more recently Portugal. In 2003, of 94 049 immigrants, 67 581 were from European countries, with other sizeable contributors being African countries (5 420) South America (3 957) and Asia (11 638). In addition there were in 2003 over 21 000 asylum seekers from multiple sources including the Balkans, Somalia, Angola, Iraq, Turkey and Sri Lanka. Further, the type of migrant arriving has been changing, with an increasing proportion of new migrants entering for "family re-unification". The foreigner population is unevenly distributed across the country, being greatest in the areas bordering France, Italy and Germany/Austria and lowest in the long East-West middle belt of the country. The canton of Geneva has the highest proportion with 37.8% and the lowest - Uri - has only 8.5%

Socio-economic and educational disadvantage.

During the first wave of immigration to Switzerland, following World War II, immigrant workers were typically expected to work temporarily for short

periods and return to their country of origin.² In time, Switzerland relaxed legislation which made it difficult for migrants to stay (such as a ban on family reunification, and eligibility to unemployment benefit) and the next waves of migration involved more permanent migrants who, in many cases, brought their families over too. The long-term presence of immigrants and their children has raised new policy challenges in Switzerland, including the question of integration, as described above, and the educational attainment and social mobility of second and third generation immigrants. At the same time, the insecurities of the current global market place have meant that unemployment is rising in Switzerland, and patterns of employment are becoming increasingly temporary and fragmented.

Overall, the foreigner and immigrant population in Switzerland appears to experience poorer economic circumstances and lower educational outcomes than Swiss nationals. This can be measured in terms of educational achievement, pay, levels of unemployment, and representation of, for example, young people in institutions of higher education and teacher training.³ It is also clear that the degree of disadvantage is related to recentness of migration and country of origin, those emanating from neighbouring countries such as France, Germany, and Austria performing equal to or better than Swiss nationals. The recent arrivals doing less well include those from former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Portugal, with those from Italy and Spain occupying an intermediate position.⁴

Type of employment and working conditions

While there continues to be a demand for workers in both high skill and low skill areas, the low skill areas are filled disproportionately by foreigners and immigrants in Switzerland. Whilst immigrants from northern and western European countries (like Germany, Austria and France) are likely to have educational outcomes and occupations similar to or better than the Swiss nationals, more recent immigrants from Southern Europe and the Balkans are more likely to be employed in sectors associated with lower pay and status (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2004a). Buttet, Gfeller and Meyer (2005) highlight the proportional share of migrant employment in certain economic sectors (construction, hotels, agriculture, restaurants) in which employment is more "unstable and insecure". The comparison of Swiss nationals with non-nationals within the labour force in the sector "restaurants, catering, and personal services", for example is as follows: Swiss nationals 7%, West and North Europeans 7%, Southern Europe 20%, Balkans 19%). This, of course, is not an unusual pattern of migration⁵ whereby inmigrant workers often take up work which is unwanted or least-wanted by indigenous workers.

To be offset against this is the fact that, as in other advanced economies, the proportion of people working in agriculture and industry continues to fall, and the proportion in managerial and professional work and routine clerical and service work continues to rise. The fact that current policies are designed to attract higher skilled immigrant workers to Switzerland represents a tacit recognition of the shift in the nature of labour demand. In addition to restricting Third Country National immigrants to highly skilled specialists, Switzerland is encouraging high skill professionals from European Union and EFTA states to work in Switzerland, along with professionals from other countries, an acknowledgement that they are unable to fill high skill professional positions without accepting foreign workers, particularly for international organisations who have their base within the country.

It should in fact be noted that there are considerable differences between the labour market contexts in each of the case study areas of Geneva, Neuchâtel and Zurich. The demand for multilingual and highly skilled professional positions is particular felt in Geneva, which is the main base for international organisations within the country. Geneva also has a particularly strong service sector. In contrast Neuchâtel has a stronger manufacturing bias, while Zurich has a more mixed economy with a particularly strong financial sector.

Unemployment

Rates of unemployment in Switzerland have been and remain significantly higher for foreigners by contrast with Swiss nationals. In 2003 the unemployment rate for foreigners was recorded as 6.6% against 2.7% for Swiss nationals, and whilst they are 25% of the working population, foreigners are 42% of the unemployed at this date. Rates of unemployment, as in many developed economies, are higher for young people (15-24 years old) and in this age group too rates are higher for foreigners (7.7%) compared with Swiss nationals (3.0%). Females are also more likely than males to be unemployed.

In a study confined to French-speaking Switzerland, Buttet *et al.* (2005) equally found considerably higher rates of unemployment among foreigners (all ages) and significant differences between nationality groups. In fact unemployment rates for Oceanic groups (3.5%) and Canada and the United States (3.8%) were lower than the rate for Swiss nationals (5.8%) and the rate for those from EU and EFTA countries (7.7%) was not much higher than the Swiss. The higher rates are to be found, for example, among those from Africa (30.2%), from other (non EU/EFTA) European countries (19.7%) and former Yugoslavia (17.1%). Of the six cantons designated as French speaking, the average unemployment rate was highest in Geneva (9.6%).

The type of sectors in which migrants work also has an impact on their unemployment rates. Buttet, et al. (2005) note the importance of poorer education and qualifications among some foreigners in unemployment but also point out that in general foreigners find work in sectors which experience higher unemployment rates, and are under-represented in low unemployment sectors. For example, prior to their unemployment, a high proportion of unemployed foreigners had a job in personal services, including hotels and restaurants. Foreigners employed as teachers (and other low unemployment occupations) are far less likely to be unemployed than foreigners in general. Buttet et al. describe the disproportionate representation of foreigners in specific sectors as "a form of ostracism from the indigenous labour market with respect to certain nationalities". The immigrant status and the weak labour-market positions of immigrant workers are also linked: workers who are non-citizens have to re-apply for residence and work permits through their current employers, leaving them in a weak bargaining position.

Social mobility

While in some countries the poor labour market success of first generation immigrants is balanced by the relative success of their children (through factors such as strong educational performance), 6 social mobility between generations in Switzerland would appear to be less marked. The OECD Thematic Review of the Transition from Initial Education to Working Life (OECD 1999) found that the second generation within Switzerland was strongly influenced by the socioeconomic situation of their parents, stating that the, "level of acquisition of skills that are useful in the labour market and in everyday life (also) reflects social stratification more closely in Switzerland than is the case elsewhere. The differences in skills... by the father's educational attainment, are considerably wider than in the other countries examined". This pattern of unequal generational transmission fits with evidence of comparatively low educational mobility in Switzerland. The study Education at a Glance (OECD 1999) compares eleven countries with highly developed economies with respect to "the relative chance of having completed tertiary education, for individuals with parents of different educational backgrounds". In Switzerland, "a young person whose parents hold a postsecondary degree is four to five times more likely to obtain such a degree in turn, than someone whose parents did not finish upper secondary school". The report identified that the population without secondary finishing qualifications consists largely of foreigners.

Illegal residents or "clandestins"

The number of illegal residents in Switzerland is not known. All references to the size of this population (also referred to as "sans papiers" and

"clandestins") are estimates. The Swiss Federal Office for Migration has estimated a population of roughly 90 000 (2004) whilst NGOs have claimed that the figure might be as high as 300 000. Illegal residents, and particularly their children, are often taught within institutions of post-compulsory education and cantons may offer education without regard to status. But as it is not possible to take up employment, it is difficult for young people in this situation to be offered in-company placements or apprenticeships. They often therefore remain in full time education or take up work illegally in low skill sectors such as tourism, hospitality, cleaning and seasonal agriculture. The issue of illegal employment is gaining in political importance in Switzerland, leading to a publication on the issue by the Federal Office for Migration in 2004, which emphasized the link between illegal immigration and labour market demand.

Tackling discrimination

A number of studies have highlighted evidence of discrimination against immigrants by employers in Switzerland. In 1999, Golder and Straubhaar used earnings data to illustrate discrimination against immigrants in income, while in 2003 Fibbi *et al.* provided research-based evidence of discrimination in the recruitment of individuals with an immigrant background. This latter study was based on an International Labour Organisation (ILO) methodology which tested employer responses to applications from people with different ethnic backgrounds. The results of the study show that whilst there is some (minimal) discrimination against the Portuguese, there was a high degree of discrimination against applicants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia, the other two main groups represented in the study. A comparison of responses to applications by immigrants from former Yugoslavia in French-speaking and German-speaking Switzerland show a higher rate of discrimination in German-speaking Switzerland.

By comparison with other European countries, the United States and Canada, Switzerland's legislation against racial discrimination is relatively weak being based on the declaration (1995) of what is described as an 'antiracism penal norm' in the Swiss penal code (article 261). There is no antidiscrimination legislation and a person believing that they have been discriminated against in applications for employment has little or no legal redress. The role of the Federal Commission against Racism is largely to disseminate information and to assist in the circulation of materials designed to promote equal opportunities and the condemnation of public incitements to racial hatred. The Commission is very active in public pronouncements against xenophobia, racism and right-wing extremism. In 2004, along with Swiss Muslims, the Commission condemned the appearance in the press of an advertisement purporting to show that Muslims would soon become a

majority in Switzerland. The advertisement, placed by a group close to the Swiss People's Party, came just a few weeks prior to a referendum on liberalisation of naturalisation laws. Whatever its declaratory powers and capacity to lead public opinion – which is considerable, the Commission cannot function as a body to protect individuals who have been discriminated against in labour markets or in other fields such as housing.

The governance context

The governance of Switzerland is grounded in a federal system in which the "local" states, the cantons, have a considerable degree of autonomy and discretion. The general model, with regard to foreigner and integration policy, is that the federal state establishes regulations and laws which the cantons must follow whilst retaining significant discretion in how they implement them. This is true in a number of areas relevant to foreigners and integration such as the granting of residence permits, permission to change residence and occupation, the fostering of local debate and integration projects, and the implementation of naturalisation regulations. For example, cantons prepare the reports on the basis of which decisions about granting naturalisation will be made, and vary in the manner in which examinations and enquiries for naturalisation are carried out. Whilst people who have resided in Switzerland for twelve years may apply for naturalisation, cantons differ in the application of this rule. For example, in the canton of Nidwalden, "applicants must have spent all the generally required 12 years in this canton. In Geneva, two years' residence is sufficient" (Efionayi et al., 2005). The federal conference reporting in 2004 on "juridical obstacles to the integration of foreigners" also highlighted variation in the timescales for the authorisation of settlement and the application of criteria to permit family reunification, pointing out that this variation has caused a degree of dissatisfaction amongst those subject to the uncertainties of the use of cantonal discretion, particularly as such discretion is sometimes perceived as "arbitrary, influenced by political considerations, and not subject to clear rules or criteria" (Swiss Federal Office for Professional Education and Technology, 2004). The discretionary power of cantons in issuing permits is also seen as constituting an obstacle to geographical and occupational mobility for immigrants because "it limits immigrants in the choice of their place of residence and in the possibilities of finding employment" (Efionayi-Mäder et al., 2003).

Cantons also vary in the degree to which they pursue policies to address language and cultural difficulties among pupils in their education systems. The Conference of Canton Directors of Public Instruction (CDIP) adopt recommendations with respect to measures designed to assist pupils whose first language is not the principal canton language but they cannot guarantee that these recommendations will be pursued with equal vigour across all

cantons. Similarly cantons vary in whether they permit failed asylum seekers to take part in training courses.

The federal government has recently sought to foster some consistency between integration policies in the cantons through the appointment of "integration delegates", whose job it is to form a link between key institutions at the canton level and the federal agencies, whilst also participating in national debates attended by all delegates. Although all cantons have now appointed delegates, some cantons were readier in their response than others. Some cantons, like Geneva and Neuchâtel, have adopted integration measures into cantonal law.

It should be noted that each of the cantons reviewed in this chapter has a very different geography; while Geneva is an urban canton, Neuchâtel is largely rural and Zurich is a mixed canton with both dense urban areas and rural areas.

Local initiatives to support the integration of young people into the labour market

The remainder of the chapter will outline and assess local responses, initiatives and programmes designed to address barriers to labour market integration in Switzerland looking at the following two types of initiative in turn:

- Education and training initiatives to support access to post-compulsory vocational training.
- Initiatives to support networking, mentoring and to bridge the gap between young immigrants and the employment market.

Education and training initiatives to support access to post-compulsory vocational training

The key arena for local and state interventions to support the integration of young people in Switzerland is the system of vocational schools which provide post-compulsory education to help people first enter the labour market. With federal and canton-level support vocational schools are implementing programmes designed to strengthen training for under-skilled young people and to assist in their "insertion" into the labour market. In order to provide a context for such interventions, this section will begin with a brief explanation of how the educational system works in Switzerland.

The Swiss educational system makes a broad distinction between "compulsory" and "post-compulsory" instruction. Compulsory education takes the pupil from school entry at usually four or five years old (depending on canton) to the official school leaving age at about fifteen. Post-compulsory education is pursued typically between sixteen and twenty years old and

embraces three possibilities: apprenticeship, advanced technical education, and university study. The majority of young people in Switzerland proceed from compulsory schooling into vocational education based on the dual system of training and apprenticeship. They may attain a basic federal certificate after two years and an advanced federal certificate after three or four years. Some of those who have attained the advanced certificate may progress to higher vocational education and training. When a professional baccalaureate is obtained in addition to an advanced federal certificate the student may gain direct access to a University of Applied Sciences. In 2003, 10% of students took a professional baccalaureate.

The cornerstone of a large part of vocational training is the "dual system" embracing a combination of periods of vocational school instruction with work-based learning through an apprenticeship. The apprenticeship remains a central element not only of training but also of long-term entry and acceptance into a sphere of employment. As such the system has not only economic and employment value but also a certain symbolic and moral value and it is evident that the apprenticeship retains its high value in the Swiss social order. OPET describes the dual system as the "most common form of vocational education and training' and reports that in the year of the report there were 88 479 16-year olds of whom 77 823 started vocational education and training. The courses, it argues, are "tailored to professional qualifications" leading to actual jobs in areas where there is demand. This strength of the dual system has, they suggest, led to Switzerland having one of the lowest youth unemployment rates in Europe; this claim was also acknowledged in the OECD review of the transition from initial education to working life for Switzerland.8

The education and training system in Switzerland is delivered via federal guidance and part-funding but is largely managed by the cantons who are responsible for implementation. The federal office supplies 25% of the funding and is responsible for course recognition, quality control, and conformity with ordinances governing education and training. The cantons supervise apprenticeship schemes, and the marketing of them, run vocational and fulltime education vocational schools, and provide information and careers advice. About three quarters of students/trainees in vocational training enter commercial apprenticeships (as against full-time vocational school based courses) but proportions of young people in apprenticeships are higher in German speaking areas (86%) as against French speaking areas (72%). It should be considered that the differences between French and German speaking cantons may be culturally related. In France, apprenticeship does not play the same role as in Germany. School-based transition, also of the vocational kind, is more common in the French-speaking cantons than in the rest of the country.

Although post-compulsory education (after 15 years old) is not required by the state, in practice it is becoming the norm. Students who have little or no post-compulsory education are therefore increasingly at a disadvantage in the labour market. The federal government recently led a campaign to persuade employers to create more apprenticeship openings after some concern that the number offered was falling and that the numbers of people in the relevant age-groups had peaked. This campaign had some success in 2003 in reversing the trend in falling apprenticeship places, and the most recent evidence shows that the number of apprenticeships on offer, year-on-year, has stabilised, with some small growth possibly due to increased offers in Frenchspeaking Switzerland. 9 However vocational schools were still reporting difficulties in finding apprenticeships. Switzerland has a smaller proportion of its young people than in comparable countries entering the university sector and gaining university level qualifications. This is partly but by no means wholly offset by the numbers in non-university tertiary education (advanced technical and vocational).

Public sector initiatives

Some students enter post-compulsory education in Switzerland without having satisfactorily completed basic education and lacking basic skills. Educational leaders say this may be especially so among foreigners, and even more so among recent immigrants, and places them at considerable disadvantage in the post-compulsory system. Because of this, local schools for vocational education are being forced to devote resources (with some state funding support) to offering "catch-up" education to students entering post-compulsory education without sufficient command of such skills. One such vocational school is managed by department of public instruction (DIP) of Geneva, which is taking forward a programme known as the "Schooling of migrant pupils" covering primary education (4-12 years old), secondary education (12-15 years old) and post-compulsory education (15-19 years old).

Vocational schools in Geneva operate in one of the most multi-ethnic environments in Switzerland. Whilst in 2003 the foreigner population of Switzerland was 20.4% of the total, in Geneva it was recorded as 37.8% (160 344 persons), almost double the national proportion, and 25% higher than Bern. This can at least partly be explained by the fact that the city hosts a large number of international organisations, along with the strong international focus of the University of Geneva. As the managers of the education system in Geneva recognise, the high foreigner population makes for very considerable language diversity: the school population of Geneva covers some 150 languages. Among pupils attending classes in the canton of Geneva, more than 40% of pupils speak a language other than French (the language of the canton) in the home, whilst in areas of the city of Geneva itself this figure is 75%.

Given the diversity of languages a main task of "integration" for the DIP lies in providing training in the French language and language improvement is found at all levels of the curriculum. One of the difficulties which the vocational school faces is the fact that students in the same age-group, who might be expected to be following the same courses, are highly varied in their level of skill in French, particularly as the target group includes both longer term residents of Switzerland and recent arrivals. The diversity of needs within the classroom is made even greater by the fact that the programme also trains non-immigrant Swiss who have fallen behind during their compulsory schooling, with these young people being educated alongside people of immigrant origin.

Given the diverse educational needs of the target group, the vocational school has been forced to develop an intensive and sensitive teaching environment, including small group teaching and the allocation of students to teachers with a full awareness of "the migration problematic" and intercultural understanding. In the past, some students have arrived in cohorts, and required special classes (for example during the exodus of asylum seekers from Kosovo, who began arriving in Switzerland in 1999; some 500 young people arrived in Geneva). The Department of Public Instruction is aware that the children of illegal immigrants to Geneva are among their pupils, but are committed to providing them with education, although access to apprenticeships – which continue to form the gateway to employment in many areas of the Swiss labour market – may not be possible for this group.

In Switzerland unemployment has historically been low, but rose rather sharply in the 1990s (reaching a high of 5.2% in 1997), fell at the end of the 1990s, and has then risen again since. 10 Throughout this period unemployment rates in Geneva have tended to be higher than the national average and companies are relatively resistant both to creating new apprenticeship opportunities and to taking on anyone who does not fulfil their ideal criteria for the job. In this climate, and with the Swiss economy still facing only modest growth predictions, vocational schools face a difficult task in trying to place youngsters who have had a weak start to their educational career. It is important to note that in Geneva, there are at least three streams in the labour market: university and specialist trained managers, professionals and business people; a middle rank of apprenticeship-trained workers with varying levels of skill; and an informal labour market which operates outside the apprenticeship and training system. Young immigrants are particularly at risk of falling into the latter group, with some young people being actively encouraged to take up work in the informal sector in immigrant-operated businesses such as the "ethnic" catering trade. One further obstacle facing the DIP is that staff are conscious of prejudicial attitudes towards foreigners and recent immigrants, however tackling this issue was seen as beyond the scope of the training project.

In responding to these multi-level challenges, the vocational school is, at least in part, guided by federal government's recent concern for developing an integration policy. The head of the DIP attends national meetings with equivalent officials from other cantons, who exchange views, and make recommendations to be followed at the cantonal level. A key federal message which has been adopted by this training initiative is that integration is achieved through language learning, vocational training and integration through apprenticeship and employment. It is further understood that language learning requires small classes, specialised staff, and individual attention.

Outcome data from the Geneva programme "education for migrant pupils" were not available but it is possible to make some observations about the appropriateness of the training offered given the context, and the characteristics of the target group. As noted above, the degree of diversity with which the Geneva education system is trying to cope is greater than anywhere else in the federation and language teaching, personal counselling, and intensive small group classes absorb the major energies of the programme. While no data is available as to the numbers of migrant pupils successfully entering apprenticeships evidence suggests that staff find it very difficult to assist the "insertion" of students into apprenticeship-based careers, and the staff themselves state that they find the unemployment in the canton to be a serious obstacle. In these circumstances there is little that the staff can do but concentrate on the basic skills of the students.

The vocational school has directly addressed the question of finding placements for its students by employing a vocational school-enterprise link worker whose task is to co-ordinate with employers. The link worker organises internships based on three eight-hour days per week on half normal apprenticeship pay. However, students report that they are frequently left on their own to find placements. Again no precise data exists on the annual success rates of the scheme but approximately one quarter are lost to the system either because the vocational school loses track of them or because they leave for jobs in the informal sector for which formal training and qualifications are not required.

Post-compulsory training in Neuchâtel: the Jet programme

The canton of Neuchâtel has also developed a post compulsory training programme aimed at young migrants. Geneva and Neuchâtel cantons are both French-speaking cantons, with a western border with France. But Neuchâtel has a much smaller population (just over 165 000 in comparison with over 400 000 in Geneva) and a significantly lower proportion of foreigners – 22.9% in

2002. Whilst in Geneva almost one quarter of the canton's population have a "most-spoken" language other than French, in Neuchâtel the corresponding figure is less than 15%. Geneva's economy is, crucially, also much more service-based. In Neuchâtel (2001) 36% of jobs were in the secondary (industrial) sector, compared with only 16% in Geneva, evidence of a much stronger industrial tradition in Neuchâtel. These labour market differences may at least partly explain different success rates between post compulsory programmes in the field of vocational training, although the historical and governance context in Neuchâtel has also played an important part.

Given its industrial background, the Neuchâtel region has a long tradition of receiving immigrants in response to manpower need, and established mechanisms for welcoming such migrants and providing assistance. Cantonal laws give voting rights to established foreigners and since the 1980s there has been cantonal legislation to promote equal opportunities. As part of the new federal level integration policy, Neuchâtel has appointed an "integration delegate", that is a cantonal official whose job it is to maintain links with federal policies and agencies and to act as a focal point for the development of integration policies in Neuchâtel. In addition to supporting training programmes for young immigrants, the integration delegate, for example, has worked with local housing authorities to attempt to avoid concentrations of specific groups in certain buildings/housing areas. Courses are provided for the public sector and schools on equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies, and during 2006 Neuchâtel has funded a large programme of 400 events to raise public awareness of integration and identity issues.

The organisation providing post-compulsory training to migrants in Neuchâtel, the Centre Professionel du Littoral Neuchâtelois, is organised to provide education and training at levels from the elementary to the advanced. Courses are provided in *pré-apprentissage* (additional preparation before entering apprenticeship stage), école professionnelle (vocational training in the dual system) and école supérieure (advanced technical and vocational training).

The part of the CPLN structure concerned with pre-apprenticeship programmes is EAM, the Vocational school of Skills and Trades. EAM delivers transitional courses for young trainees otherwise known as the JET programme ("les classes des jeunes en transit"). The JET programme is directed at students who have recently arrived from outside Switzerland. These are mostly students who do not have sufficient command of French to take on vocational training immediately, nor enter academic-style courses. The emphasis is on "integration" in language, and Swiss society and culture. Students are welcome throughout the academic year and can follow two modules known as JET 1 and JET 2.

JET 1: learning skills and language (1 year).

• JET 2: integration into a work setting (1 year).

Even on the pre-apprenticeship courses CPLN exercises some selection, excluding those with the most abiding personal problems, as well as those with limited French language ability. Students entering the programme must live in the canton of Neuchâtel, be between 16 and 20 years old, have a minimum knowledge of French (i.e. not be absolute beginners) and take a preliminary course of two weeks duration. The students learn French, mathematics and social skills and receive close attention from staff that circulate in classes offering help. Staff monitor attendance, progress and good behaviour. Indeed a small number are expelled or excluded from the scheme each year (five have been excluded in the current year).

Local familiarity and respect

It is clear that the JET programmes (as well as CPLN generally) are well respected locally and staff are well known to local and regional employers. This places them in a good position to persuade employers to accept trainees on apprenticeship schemes in the dual system. The sense of a local familiarity is, for example, much greater here than in Geneva where (in a more cosmopolitan situation and a more quickly changing labour market) vocational schools are less in direct touch with employers. Former students return to the vocational school to take part in festivals and publicity events, and black footballers have visited the vocational school to talk about racism in Switzerland. This indicates a strong awareness of the importance of identifying positive mentors and role models for young migrants.

Staff are conscious that asylum seekers and illegal migrants face particular difficulties accessing the labour market. Some of these students do not have work permits so the vocational school cannot insert them into the dual system, but as in Geneva they do provide training and support. The vocational school also expressed a greater difficulty in finding apprenticeships for non-Europeans as opposed to Europeans.

In general, however, the school is largely successful in finding placements for its students. The JET programme has the advantage that it is more targeted than the pre-apprenticeship training course visited in Geneva, with a focus on a carefully streamed group of recent migrants, without the inclusion of other class members such as Swiss learners who have experienced problems within the mainstream education system. This means that the group have developed a reputation for being dynamic and enthusiastic, increasing the positive reception of migrants in the wider vocational school and within local companies.

As in Geneva, most placements are within the private sector. However the canton has been particularly innovative in trying to expand the public sector

employment of immigrants, establishing in law that it is not necessary to have Swiss nationality to become a civil servant except in some specific services. In addition, increasing public sector employment has been included as one of the recommendations prepared by canton's integration delegate, and the cantonal working group on integration for 2006-9.

In a region with a large number of small enterprises, a large foreigner population, a tradition of accepting foreigners; plus a high degree of policy consciousness, the JET programme, with the exception of the most intractable cases, could provide a model which other regions might follow.

A business model

Whilst the vocational schools of Geneva and Neuchâtel work within the mainstream education and training system to support vocational insertion for migrants, another model has been developed in Neuchâtel which offers a more entrepreneurial approach, and is able to adapt more quickly to ongoing industrial change and short-term employer demands.

The Neuchâtel region is particularly noted for watch and clock-making. However in the 1970s the watch industry was severely affected by the "quartz revolution" and overseas competition. Between 1970 and 1980 employment in the Swiss watch industry fell from 90 000 to 47 000. Although the industry recovered, partly by manufacturing quartz watches, and the industry is now relatively healthy, it has never recovered its former position. Industry and commerce in the Neuchâtel region has had to adapt and change, and technological innovations in particular have lead to growing demand for a more specialised workforce, making training particularly important.

The Neuchâtel Centre for Professional Integration (Couvet)

Situated in a former factory in Couvet, the Centre neuchâtelois (CNIP) is now an important regional training centre, primarily providing training for adults to give them new skills and to assist in their "reinsertion" into the labour market. It describes itself as providing training in practical and artisan skills as well as theoretical and cultural subjects. The practical training includes mechanical skills, electro-technical, assembly, and watch polishing. The centre is equipped with a considerable array of machines which support hands-on practical training. The centre also provides education in French language, mathematics, information and bureaucratic know-how. Some 70% of trainees in the centre at any time are "foreigners", frequently adult workers who have been made redundant from previous enterprises, but young migrants are also supported. There is a particular focus on retraining and re-skilling people for industrial and artisanal activities.

The centre has developed using an independent "social enterprise model". They have undertaken considerable loans from the Swiss federal government in order to invest in renovating the factory, and purchasing machinery. The centre also has on-going income from the public employment service (who provide payments for each unemployed trainee) and, to a very small degree, from the marketing its own products. This independence from the formal training system allows the centre to take a significant "demand led" approach, responding to employer needs by providing short and intensive training "close to the realities of industry", in day and evening classes. The lack of core public funding is not without its problems however – the income from the employment service is inherently unstable, as the service pays *per* individual trainee, whilst they are unemployed. If, for example, a trainee manages to find a job, this source of income is lost immediately.

The centre keeps in close touch with business enterprises for exchange of know-how and the search of possible placements, whilst also maintaining contact with the economic development department of the cantonal government. The centre places strong emphasis on the certification of competences gained through the training. At the end of each training period each person receives a declaration of their chosen option, modules followed, level reached; and an evaluation dossier containing a very precise description of the modules, and the quality of work carried out. The evaluation of a trainee covers the learning of practical skills e.g. manual skills, as well as intellectual qualities such as the ability to concentrate, memorise materials and use abstractions. Behaviour, personal style, team work and motivation are also felt to be important to the working environment, and are therefore also tested and validated as part of the training modules. The certification of these elements provides an important point of reference for potential employers who have expressed a particular interest in the way people work, rather than just the skills employed.

A number of those who come to the centre have in fact borne injuries or poor health as a legacy of former heavy work, including back injuries. This in some cases excludes them from the training on offer. However, the centre does provide additional support to trainees with personal difficulties which may prevent them accessing employment. Within limits, for example, the centre can offer help with alcohol-related and health problems, offering counselling, encouragement and support. The centre finds it important to offer life-training in addition to skill-training or, in the institutions own terms, "savoir-être" in addition to "savoir-faire". The social and psychological support follows a systematic induction aided by interviews and aptitude testing, all designed to assess trainees and minimise absenteeism.

With some 120 worker/trainees in CNIP at any time, the indicators of success are good. Despite its insecure financial basis, the centre exudes an air

of brisk realism, energy and dynamism. Of those who leave for employment, 60% are still in employment six months later. The close contact maintained by staff with local employers, puts them in a strong position to recommend trainees for employment and to follow up their progress after leaving CNIP. The success of the centre can also be attributed to key features of its training systems: the flexibility of courses lasting from a few weeks up to two years: the professional testing and assessing of trainees for both work skills and social and personal skills; the thoroughness of personnel systems; and the high staff-trainee ratio (1/3 with 40 staff to 120 trainees). The centre also provides special help for asylum seekers, and supports the recognition of qualifications gained overseas.

In some respects it is clear that CNIP is developing training as a business as well as gearing trainees for business. Thus trainees are mostly but not all "locals", some come for instruction from France, thus exploiting a market for training itself. The principal threats to CNIP may come from the need to constantly keep up with new skill demands, the effects of technological change in industry which, for example, can make machinery redundant, the burden of start-up loans, and the delicate balance of income and expenditure.

Initiatives to support networking mentoring and to bridge the gap between young immigrants and the employment market

It has been widely recognised that a key factor in the educational, employment and business success of immigrants and minority groups is access to networks and resources, and the networks that lead to resources. In countries with large established majorities, people have acquired social capital in the shape of social connections to contacts that can inform them of opportunities and make discretionary decisions in their favour. Social theorists have used the term "network society" to capture the way in which people mobilise a "network logic" in order to plot their careers, and this has been applied to "youth transitions", the central concern with respect to the integration of young immigrants into the labour market. 11

If training-into-work transitions were the focus of the first two projects described here, and the business model characterises the third, the fourth and fifth projects are articulated around "networks" and "mentors" as models for inserting young immigrants into the world of work. As already observed, a marked strength of the two Neuchâtel projects was their ability to connect with local employers and draw upon a good reputation in the community. The fourth project Interface Enterprises, based in Geneva, has been designed to create real links between employers and young people seeking apprenticeships, whilst a fifth project – *Incluso* based in Zurich – is a mentoring scheme placing a young immigrant with an experienced volunteer who was established in a company or organisation.

Interface Enterprises

Interface Enterprises in Geneva was created in 1998 partly in response to demands from employers for an organisation which would process the high number of demands from vocational schools and other educational institutions for work experience placements in particular sectors and skill areas. This would have the effect of shielding the enterprises from individual demands. Interface Enterprises was formed by the canton of Geneva and is managed jointly by the cantonal Department of the Economy, Employment and External Affairs and the DIP. The aim was to create an organisation which would act as a bridge between businesses (who may offer work experience, apprenticeships) and educational organisations.

Interface Enterprises records offers of internships by businesses in a database which is accessible to members of staff in educational institutions who are working with trainees looking for placements. The staff then match the profile demanded by the employer or company with that offered by the trainee. In seeking out placements, of short and long duration, with businesses in the region, Interface is appealing to companies to be public partners in skill development in the working population and to act with "corporate responsibility". The project can claim some 6 000 partner companies and 14 000 potential training opportunities. A high proportion of their clients are young immigrants.

Interface performs the role of "monitoring" companies, keeping in contact and checking on the experience of trainees, and in some cases challenging discriminatory behaviour. The project has also recently set up two new initiatives to provide particular support to young migrants. For example, the PASSWORK project aims to help young migrants build local social networks which will help them to access employment, through "word of mouth". In many OECD countries, a significant percentage of employment is advertised through informal connections and social networks, and immigrants do not always have access to such networks. The PASSWORK project (which was developed following an idea from a young migrant) seeks to redress this balance. A second project being developed by Interface Enterprises aims to encourage immigrant enterprises to offer placements to young migrants. While this may prove useful, it is also the case that immigrant-led enclave businesses such as niche restaurants are often self-driven – being arenas where immigrants do have networks.

The success of Interface Enterprises is hard to judge given that it is virtually impossible to know how many successful trainees would have found placements leading to career development without their intervention. Although the database of "opportunities" has more than 150 users it is not freely available to, say, all job/training seekers at a readily-available online site.

Also, because it is not online there are some difficulties in ensuring that partners receive regular updated versions of the database and the system itself could be made easier to use. While Interface may put a placement-seeker in contact with a company they do not have the resources to support more vulnerable and less "work ready" individuals – who may need guidance in pursuing and sustaining a placement opportunity. Also, arguably, the most marginalised recent migrants are beyond the reach of this project, and other projects like it because of being outside of the education and training system. To help such groups would require outreach workers and organic links with associations and communities (again one of the aims of the Passwork project).

Incluso – Mentoring project by the Caritas Zurich for young migrants looking for employment

A second project to support the networking of young migrants is operational in the canton of Zurich. Zurich, like Neuchâtel, has developed a more supportive policy context for integration initiatives following the introduction of the federal level integration strategy. The canton has established its own integration programme, partly funded by the Federal Commission for Foreigners, and partly by the canton. Zurich also has a cantonal appointee for integration and foreign nationals, a position which was created following a review of the history of migration in the canton, migration policy, and the local experiences of migrants. The appointee argues that integration cannot be achieved in a top-down manner. That is to say, integration must be "worked at" in all spheres of life, through voluntary organisations and the personal relations of all Swiss and all foreigners. The aim is to "embed" integration in daily life, and, in effect, to 'mainstream' Swiss institutions with integration aims and initiatives. The canton in particular supports a community development approach, targeting all members of a local population. Their reluctance to only target migrant groups stems from the fact that migrants share some of the problems experienced by other people suffering poverty and exclusion in the region. Similarly, the canton does not work through immigrant associations, or delegate "integration work" to immigrant associations, on the grounds that the public in general should take responsibility for integration. However, projects with "intercultural leaderhip" are prefered in the bidding process for the cantonal integration programme.

The canton operationalises its community development approach through a series of local "antennae" which are in fact regional offices and contact points. Such antennae help identify problems, spread positive messages, and help with the coordination of integration projects. In the spirit of supporting broader community development, one recent pilot project involved the organisation of events open to the whole community which

centred on the theme of being "proud of who we are". Another pilot provided more specific help to migrants by setting up a "writing workshop" run by volunteers to help immigrants to deal with bureaucracy, complete forms, and gain access to authorities. The canton is also trying to spread positive messages about integration, and is carrying out a number of publicity projects designed in part to overcome resistance to "integration" aims. They feel the need to take into consideration the fact that some communes report being "overwhelmed" by newcomers. The canton also financially supports German as a second language classes for immigrants.

A number of local charities and NGOs provide support for immigrants in Zurich, one of which, Incluso Zurich, has developed a more targeted approach, supporting young migrant women into apprenticeships through mentoring. Since the second quarter of 2002, Caritas, a Catholic charitable organisation ¹³ has been running the project, which started by supporting women from all age groups, and now focuses in particular on younger women. The project originated in Bern under the auspices of the Bern Information centre for Foreigners, and was carried forward by CFD (Christlicher Friedendienst – Christian Peace Project) an NGO dedicated to the empowerment of women and the promotion of equality in access to labour markets for migrants.

As stated above, the aim of the project is to help young female migrants to gain access to apprenticeships. The project links up a professional woman who is already in an occupation with a young migrant in search of an apprenticeship so that they can work together as a "pair" or "tandem". Training is provided, and the mentor and the young migrant are encouraged to develop a personal relationship in which the mentor can talk to the young migrant about the Swiss workplace and how access to labour market opportunities is structured. It is intended that both mentor and mentee will benefit from the experience, with both learning from the other.

The Incluso project works directly with both employers and individuals seeking apprenticeships, maintaining contact with some six schools in Zurich, and working with 15 and 16 year olds up to 20 year olds. The project supports 60 "tandems" each year and there is a package of support for mentors including an introduction session, training and feedback. Not all mentees remain in the scheme, and there has been some concern as to the low motivation and high drop out rates of some migrants, with a number of girls marrying or returning to their home country. Incluso report that 50% of the migrant women in these tandems manage to access apprenticeships or internships.

In some cases the mentors not only develop strong relationships with the mentees but also form links with employers on their behalf. However this is restricted by the fact that the professional women chosen rarely come from the particular sector which the young migrant is interested in, and so may have limited contacts within the field. There was a strong awareness within the Incluso project that employers may be "narrow-minded" in attitudes to foreigners and the background presence of the mentor is seen as a form of spur to good civic behaviour by employers. The mentor-employer relationship is intended to act as persuasion of the employer to act with regard to integration objectives, and to avoid discrimination.

Two case studies taken forward by the Incluso project include a Bosnian young woman with an F permit (issued to asylum seekers who have not been granted asylum but cannot be returned home) who was seeking training in care work. She had a low education level and no high school degree. The mentor helped to instil self-belief in the mentee and she ultimately achieved a placement in a care home. Another young trainee, a Sri Lankan, had particular ambitions to become a technical draughtswoman. The mentor was initially sceptical about what seemed to be a high target, especially for someone with less than perfect German, however the trainee succeeded in getting an apprenticeship largely through her strong perseverance. In this case, it was more difficult to judge how crucial the mentor's help had been, although the mentee appreciated the support in building her confidence.

Lessons from local initiatives

It is clear from analysis of projects in other European countries, many of them sponsored by the European Union, that business enterprise models, network models, and mentoring schemes have a record of success in generating employment and in improving employment and employability among minorities and excluded groups. In that sense there is less to be gained here from assessing whether, for example, networking schemes "work", but whether there are, on the one hand local features of projects which affect their viability, and on the other hand, national and structural conditions which exert a particular influence on the effectiveness of local schemes in Switzerland.

Vocational school based schemes

The benefit of local vocational school-based schemes is that vocational schools are in touch with large numbers of young people and can therefore potentially reach a broad spectrum of the age groups entering post-compulsory education. Insofar as their "clients" are members of the Swiss majority, the vocational schools are well-placed to carry integration and anti-discriminatory messages to them. The vocational school at Neuchâtel was inventive and imaginative in addressing xenophobia and racism. Where their actual or potential students are foreigners and recent immigrants, they have

an institutional stake in maintaining the broadest possible reach of the courses and programmes that they offer. In short they have incentives to reach out to communities who are less likely spontaneously to demand post-compulsory education.

Since vocational schools are important local institutions there is every prospect that the vocational school and its staff are known to local employers. This credibility and networking in the local community may not be a feature of all vocational schools but where it is, as in Neuchâtel, it is very important. Vocational schools are also in a good position to add other functions to their purely educational and training function; this applies particularly to, for example, special language training and counselling functions where young immigrants may require personal help. The vocational schools in both Neuchâtel and Geneva had invested in the provision of these functions.

It is also clear that the vocational schools are embracing the integration paradigm as it is advanced and debated at the federal level. Vocational school directors have a tradition of meeting professionally with colleagues in other cantons and communes and are using this as an opportunity to exchange experience and expertise in the area of integration. Vocational schools also benefit from the work of the integration delegates who are being appointed in the cantons.

However, at least three questions face the Swiss vocational school system in its response to the integration agenda. One is the possibility that apprenticeships, the heart of post-compulsory vocational training, are less suited to the work environment than they were once were. Some observers suggest, for example, that apprenticeships were better suited to the skill requirements of an industrial economy, than to an economy based on information technology and both high and low-skill services, although they add that the Swiss system needs to adapt rather than undertake radical change (OECD, 1999b). If this were to be the case, the local economy within each canton would have an important impact on the effectiveness of preapprenticeship schemes put in place. The percentage of young adults who enter the labour market through apprenticeships is lower in Geneva, for example, than other cantons in the confederation, perhaps due to the city's relatively high reliance on services. This may be adding an additional barrier to the labour market for migrants whose education is concentrated in the dual system.

There have also been several recent years when the number of apprenticeships on offer has itself declined in Switzerland (OECD, 1999b). Although this was partly reversed by a national campaign to induce employers to offer apprenticeships, it is clear that local vocational schools in general are having more difficulty than usual in finding apprenticeships with employers.

Another question facing the vocational schools is how much they can invest in the education of students whose prior preparation was (possibly seriously) inadequate, or who need intensive help. The dilemma is that if vocational schools direct intensive integration work towards the most intractable cases it is on the one hand costly and on the other hand uncertain of success. While some initiatives (for example the CNIP project) are carrying out intensive personal work with trainees, others are clearly screening out difficult cases.

A third question facing vocational schools in their work to promote student places for apprenticeships is what to do when employers are inclined to discriminate against immigrant and foreigner applicants for positions. A number of the local initiatives reported discriminatory attitudes towards some of their students or clients. Given the lack of a federal anti-discrimination law, the only tool open to local vocational schools is persuasion, often on an individual basis. However, because vocational schools have valued local reputations and are respected in the business community, they are well-placed to gain more consistent collaboration from entrepreneurs in such issues. Equal opportunity agreements, for example between vocational schools and employers in the implementation of apprenticeship and internship schemes, can formalise commitments to fair treatment. Vocational schools could also work with other local partners to persuade business partners to head "flagship" equal opportunity employment programmes.

To conclude, therefore, vocational schools are now particularly well-placed to carry forward the integration agenda. This not only because they are well established institutions with a large clientele, but also because they stand in a crucial intermediary position between individuals, local communities, employers, the canton, and the federal state. Their links with federal institutions and participation in national conferences enables them to closely follow the national policy agenda. At the same time, their closeness to local communities enables them to carry this agenda forward with sensitivity to local conditions. Arguably, vocational schools could become an even greater player in local integration policy, if anti-discriminatory and integration measures were to be mainstreamed into broader educational practice.

The business model

If the vocational schools demonstrate what can be achieved by institutions which are embedded in the national education and training system, the Couvet factory-based project (CNIP) demonstrates what can be achieved outside of this system through enterprise, drive and the application of business principles. Because it itself operates with a business ideology, the CNIP is particularly well placed to understand and respond to local business needs. In particular, the flexibility of the training offered, and the consistent

validation of competencies of interest to local employers has helped this project to deliver a particularly well adapted service, leading to successful employment outcomes for migrants. However, the challenges facing CNIP include the fact that the financial future of the enterprise, with its dependence on loans, can not be guaranteed.

Networks and mentoring

The observation that people gain access to jobs, positions, promotion and resources through taking advantage of networks of personal and organisational contacts has become standard in sociology and social policy, and widespread in the theory of social practice. It is clear that newly arrived migrants are one group who may face the difficulty of not having networks of this kind, or at least not networks that can lead them to sought-after resources. The local initiatives in Switzerland which provide mentoring and networking support to migrants, are therefore an important step towards assisting their inclusion and integration into the labour market. Indeed, mentoring in particular has become a widely practised form of social policy delivery across many European countries and in a wide variety of contexts.

There are however critical aspects of networking and mentoring schemes which are likely to affect their success. Mentoring schemes depend by their nature on one to one relationships so that, with a finite number of mentors available, the scope of some schemes may be limited, and it can be particularly difficult to match mentees with mentors within the specific professional sphere or sector they are interested in. There is also the question of training of mentors and funding for training – on a volunteer basis mentors may be dependent on their own good sense and good will. This can mean that the support given often takes the form of personal advice and confidence building. It is important that local initiatives working in this area refer to established good practice (for example practices adopted by Europe-wide mentoring associations ¹⁴), thereby developing their expertise and ensuring that mentees receive more professional and objective advice.

An over-reliance on mentoring schemes at the local level could also lead to problems in the Swiss environment. The underlying assumption of mentoring schemes, that the main thing which young migrants lack is "connections" and know-how, begs the question of whether "lack of connections" is the *principal* barrier to immigrant employment as against weak educational background, or possible discrimination by employers. One of the conclusions of a recent study by Fibbi *et al.* (2003) is that, given the pervasiveness of discrimination, the "marginal labour market position" of young immigrants cannot be attributed solely to characteristics of the immigrants themselves. This suggests a need to adopt measures to address discrimination and the actions/opinions of majority actors rather than simply use a "deficit model" in relation to the personal

confidence and contacts of immigrant young people. Mentoring schemes may need to be taken forward within a wider holistic approach which also incorporates work with employers and the majority in society. Further, while it is undoubtedly useful to help migrants to access local "word of mouth" networks which may lead to employment, ultimately it may be useful to reduce the local importance of such networks, through encouraging employers to adopt greater transparency in their recruitment process. Informal recruitment mechanisms are now widely regarded as discriminatory in the UK and in discrimination tribunals have been taken to be an indication of unfair practices (see Price, 2003).

Finally, by focusing on networking between individuals, the local initiatives reviewed in Switzerland currently seem to be missing an opportunity to support networking at other levels within society. In many European countries, for example, immigrant associations constitute an important network - or form of social capital - on which disadvantaged individuals can draw (Tillie, 2004). These associations are regularly drawn into the planning process for implementing integration projects and initiatives, with governments recognising that programmes of regeneration require making connections with community groups in order to embed the programmes in the areas they affect. 15 The "partnership" approach also involves voluntary agreements between public sector agencies and private sector business with the full involvement of potential target groups in enhancing labour market integration (Shaw, 2002). In the United Kingdom, for example, the education sector frequently works with community groups, including immigrant and ethnic minority groups, and one of the striking successes has been the development of supplementary schools where local organisations develop supplementary education classes outside the standard school institution. 16 Such an approach reflects research into strategies for improving educational outcomes for ethnic minority youth which show that success is associated with supplementary education and mentoring systems, as well as increased liaison with minority organisations and parents (Tikly, 2002).

In the first phases of Switzerland's migration history, immigrant associations played an important role in providing support to migrants, particular in the case of the Italian immigrants associations which had strong links back to the host country. However, policy makers at the cantonal level currently appear to be slow in drawing immigrant associations into planning and practice partnerships. The National Federation of Immigrant Associations (see Box 6.2) has however become an important focus for the articulation of immigrants' perspectives at a national level, and state that they are starting to achieve better representation and participation locally within the cantons.

Box 6.2. The Forum for the Integration of Migrants (FIMM Suisse)

The Forum for the Integration of Migrants (FIMM Suisse) is the umbrella organisation of associations for immigrants in Switzerland. It was founded in November 2000 in Bern. The communities of more than 50 nationalities are today represented in FIMM by some 300 delegates. In forming itself, the proponents had to transcend the particular interests of specific immigrant communities in order to create a universalist ethos of immigrant representation. FIMM seeks to establish itself as a body to be routinely consulted on policies affecting immigrants, equality and the struggle against racism and xenophobia. The organisation has now adopted a Charter for Integration which covers its fundamental principles including the primacy of individual rights over communal rights. It demands equal opportunities and a universalist concept of citizenship. It has already established a place in national policy formation and seeks to establish a constructive role at the level of cantons and communes. See www.fimm.ch.

Conclusions and issues for consideration

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this report, at both the local, cantonal and federal levels

The federal government is clearly articulating significant new directions in the deployment of integration policies in Switzerland, emphasising respect, openness and equal opportunities. Due to the decentralised system within Switzerland, however, the federal level cannot guarantee the consistent implementation of these policy messages across all cantons, which differ considerably in laws, regulations, practices and political climate.

Switzerland has a distinguished record in the management of vocational training and in (low) youth unemployment, which has provided a strong route into employment for young migrants and other young people in Switzerland in the past. However, as with most advanced economies, Switzerland recognises that globalisation brings new demands on skills and vocational training. The future success of programmes to support employment access will depend on an adaptive response to such labour market change. This last would include giving consideration to whether newer forms of employment, including the fast-expanding service sector, the IT sector, and new employers such as call-centres, are as well covered by apprenticeships as more "traditional" forms of employment. The lower level of apprenticeship subscription in Geneva might suggest that they are not. It is necessary to consider whether apprenticeship is always the most suitable format for labour market entry in such sectors. Other approaches which could be developed at

the local level include shorter periods of work experience which give migrant trainees an introduction to the more immediate competencies they may need in the Swiss labour market.

Vocational school-based interventions to support migrants at the local level have the benefit of a familiarity with local employers, government structures and contact with a large and broad base of training-age young people. This clearly places them in a very favourable position for the implementation of integration policies. However their success may well depend on a high degree of flexibility in response to multifarious needs in the young immigrant population and a commitment to maintain and build on their relationship with the local business sector, particularly in terms of helping to tackle discrimination. In particular, vocational schools should encourage positive recruitment practices amongst local employers providing apprenticeships, showcasing those employers who operate good practice in this area.

Equal opportunities and anti-discriminatory measures should in general be regarded as a key element of integration policies. In the absence of national legislation outlawing discrimination, public bodies, communal organisations and the cantons can take on a major "demonstration role". That is to say cantons and other public agencies can, a) mount publicity campaigns advocating equal opportunities and advancing positive messages about foreigners, b) work with local employers to encourage non-discriminatory recruitment practices and showcase local good practice and c) initiate their own equal opportunities programmes, including programmes to recruit foreigners into public sector employment.

The public sector offers a particular opportunity for the provision of training and employment to young immigrants in Switzerland, at the federal, cantonal and local levels. Within the European Union, the Council of Europe recommends that member states "ought to offer the opportunity of competing at all times possible for posts in the public sector", although European countries obviously vary in their implementation of this measure. In Switzerland, public sector employment is mainly held by Swiss nationals or, in rare cases, to holders of permanent residence permit. However, the canton of Neuchâtel has taken the initiative to promote public sector employment for immigrants in its recent legislation and planning. There are a number of good reasons for pursuing this measure at the local level in Switzerland as a whole. The first is that public sector employment represents a significant sector in the labour market. The second is that the public sector can implement equal opportunity and integration in an arena which its own agencies control, including the development of training courses aimed at disadvantaged groups within the labour market. The third is that non-nationals are also recipients or clients of state services, and so increasing the representation of non-nationals

within the public sector may increase the appropriateness of the services on offer

The implementation of integration measures at the local level in Switzerland will also require an effective system of monitoring and reporting back. One structure which might take on this task is the national conference of integration delegates representing cantons. Delegates could be asked or required to report on progress towards the labour market integration of immigrants and foreigners along a set of key dimensions. This would require record keeping of data (by birthplace and/or nationality status) on such dimensions as unemployment rates, employment rates, wages, successful completion of educational targets at different levels (completion of compulsory education; entry into apprenticeships; entry into higher technical and university education) and employment in public sector jobs. Longitudinal surveys and data collection are particularly useful in measuring labour market integration over time, particularly as achieving full labour market integration (in terms of employment that is appropriate to a person's skills, with equivalent pay and conditions to a native-born Swiss) can often be a relatively long-term process.

Both vocational schools and cantons should also seek immigrant organisations as allies. If, for example, vocational schools face special difficulties in the training of young immigrants, associations of immigrant communities may be well placed to offer advice and information, as well as taking a role in outreach activities, such as advertising the value of postcompulsory education to some of the least advantaged among immigrant and foreigner populations. Immigrant associations and the national federated body of immigrant associations (FIMM) could also be included as representatives on local public bodies. Where integration measures are pursued at the local level (for example the mentoring scheme in Zurich) good practice would be to include the representation of immigrant association(s) on management boards which oversee and review the progress of the projects. Charities in particular play an important role in the implementation of projects and could therefore be asked to ensure that FIMM or particular immigrant associations are represented on their boards of control. The same could be said for development agencies and other agencies involved in economic development. The canton of Zurich's prioritisation of projects with intercultural management in the bidding process for their integration programme is a strong step in this direction.

The business model of intervention, as in Neuchâtel, promises the prospect of real gains in the training and re-training of immigrant workers. The Couvet project, with its business efficiency, entrepreneurship, and well-designed training modules could be a model for other programmes, particularly as regards the flexibility of the training on offer and the precision

with which skills and competencies were measured. The sustainability of such approaches is clearly an issue, however.

It remains to be seen whether more targeted approaches to meet the needs of migrants should be developed at the local level in Switzerland. While the vocational school in Neuchâtel raised the positive profile of migrants due to the tight focus on highly motivated recent migrants through their JET programme, a number of policy makers showed resistance to taking on such targeted approach. A key feature of Zurich's cantonal policy on integration was, for example, the aim to embed projects and programmes in local institutions and communities, and to treat the problems experienced by migrants as "problems of exclusion" rather than necessarily "problems particularly experienced by migrants". This resonates with the federal government's call to situate the "integration project" in civil society, and to ensure that integration is as mainstreamed as possible. However, a certain amount of targeting may be necessary in Switzerland to tackle the issues experienced by recent migrants (particularly language and acculturation to the labour market) as opposed to second or third generation migrants. In much of the debate about integration no clear distinction is made between recent immigrants and those born in Switzerland, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between these groups in research and data sources. This also makes it less easy to develop evidence based policy to tackle the particular problems experienced by the different generations. If, as suggested above, delegates were to report nationally on the success of integration measures in education and employment, it would be useful to make a distinction between foreigners, long-standing immigrants, and recent immigrants.

Finally, mentoring is clearly a popular approach within Switzerland to labour market integration, predicated on the idea that immigrants lack certain contacts and know-how within Swiss society. Mentoring has wide support in many European countries, however it is important that such projects are closely geared to labour market structures and needs, and that parallel work is carried out to tackle discrimination and to ensure that migrants are linked up to sustainable opportunities within the labour market. In the longer term, ensuring that vacancies are advertised in the most transparent and widespread way possible locally may be the most effective mechanism for ensuring that immigrants have equal access to information on employment opportunities.

Notes

- 1. See for example Levitas (2005).
- 2. See for example Sheldon (2001).

- 3. For evidence of educational inequalities see OECD (1999b) and for an account of obstacles to socio-economic success see Swiss Federal Office for Professional Education and Technology (2004).
- 4. For educational progression see for example, Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2004a. In secondary level 2, Swiss nationals are three times as likely as "former-Yugoslav, Turkish, Portuguese" to be in teacher training or "Écoles préparant à la maturité".
- 5. First outlined by Castles and Kosack (1973).
- 6. Note for example educational and employment performance among some immigrant groups in the second generation of immigrant populations in the UK: see Modood *et al.* (1997). For a summary of the social profile of the "second generation", children born of immigrants, based on the Federal Population Census of 2000, see Fibbi *et al.* (2000). This volume contains summary data on second generation naturalization, country of origin, place of birth, principal language, educational level, economic activity, unemployment, and socio-economic status.
- 7. For Swiss federal data on illegal immigrants see Swiss federal Office of Migration (2004).
- 8. See OECD (1999b).
- 9. The most up to date information can be found in the now annual "Baromètre des places d'apprentissage" based on a survey of enterprises. See Swiss Federal Office for Professional Education and Technology (2005a).
- 10. See Swiss Federal Statistical Office (2004b); OECD (1999b) and AMOSA (2004).
- 11. See Kelly and Kenway (2001).
- 12. In Geneva in particular the concern for young workers/trainees was not expressed as "for foreigners", the term used in much public discourse and data, or immigrants, but specifically for recent immigrants, asylum seekers and illegal migrants lacking residence or work permits. A substantial proportion of these latter categories, including recent asylum seekers, were from non-European country origins.
- 13. For more details, see www.topbox.ch.
- 14. See for example The European Mentoring and Coaching Council, launched in 1992.
- 15. See for example ODPM (1997).
- 16. See the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA) and its support for "Supplementary and Mother-tongue schools", at www.qca.org.uk/.

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ISBN 92-64-02895-1 From Immigration to Integration Local Solutions to a Global Challenge © OECD 2006

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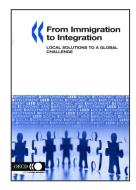
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From:

From Immigration to Integration Local Solutions to a Global Challenge

Access the complete publication at:

https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264028968-en

Please cite this chapter as:

Fenton, Steve (2006), "Focusing on the Young: Integration in Switzerland", in OECD, *From Immigration to Integration: Local Solutions to a Global Challenge*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264028968-9-en

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