



SIRIUS

Skills and Integration of Migrants,
Refugees and Asylum Applicants
in European Labour Markets

Policy Barriers and Enablers

WP3 report

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SIRIUS

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Table of Content

Part I – Comparative report

Table of Content	3
Executive Summary	14
1. Policy Barriers and Enablers – A Comparative Approach.....	19
1.1 Introduction.....	19
1.2 Labour Market Integration of Migrants: Policy Perspective	23
1.2.1 Identified Integration Barriers and Enablers	23
1.2.2 Labour Market Integration and Policy Discourses	27
1.3 Integration Policies	29
1.3.1 Development of Integration Policies for Migrants	30
1.3.2 Who Provides Integration Training	31
1.3.3 Contents of Integration Training	32
1.3.4 For Whom is Integration Training Intended	36
1.3.5 Evaluation of Integration Training.....	40
1.3.6 Settlement Policies	41
1.3.7 Mandatory Integration and Integration Tests.....	43
1.3.8 Integration Training for Asylum Seekers	44
1.4 Conclusion.....	47
References	49

Part II – EU and Country reports..... 51

2 EU.....	52
2.1 Introduction.....	52
2.2 Methodology	53
2.3 EU Policy Discourses on the Inflow of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers and Their Labour Market Integration	55
2.3.1 Framing LMI: Brave Trade Unions and the Rising Civil Society.....	55
2.3.2 Barriers and Their Origins: The Failure of the State.....	60
2.3.3 Labour Market Integration Enablers and Suggested Remedies.....	61
2.4 Assessment of Policy Measures: Cities and Packages	64
2.4.1 Overview of Existing European Policies.....	65
2.4.2 Labour Market Integration Policies: Shared Management	66
2.4.3 Funding	66
2.5 Meta-analysis of Existing Literatures about Labour Market Integration in the EU ..	69

2.5.1	Comparative Analysis.....	69
2.5.2	Qualifications and Sanctions	70
2.5.3	Actors' Voices.....	71
2.5.4	Approaching the Issue.....	71
2.6	Assessing Labour Market Integration through Policy Interviews with EU Level Stakeholders	72
2.6.1	Overview of Stakeholder Interviews	72
2.6.2	Different Migrant Categories: Oversimplification of their Needs.....	73
2.6.3	European Union versus Member States	74
2.6.4	Informal Market: Evil or Good?.....	75
2.6.5	Access to Information	75
2.6.6	Younger Migrants and Vocational Training	76
2.6.7	Women: Age and Gender.....	76
2.6.8	Conclusive Remarks: A Policy Making Mirage?	77
2.7	Conclusion.....	77
	References.....	79
	Appendices.....	82
	ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis.....	82
	ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy	97
	ANNEX III, Interviews	98
	ANNEX IV, Interviews	99
3	Czech Republic	105
3.1	Introduction.....	105
3.2	Discourse Analysis	106
3.2.1	Main Discourses in the Czech Policy	106
3.2.2	Conclusions of Discourse Analysis	111
3.2.3	Barriers and Enablers on the Labour Market	112
3.3	Assessment of Policy Measures.....	116
3.3.1	Policy Overview.....	116
3.3.2	Assessment and Research	117
3.4	Interviews Analysis	121
3.4.1	Work and Working Conditions.....	122
3.4.2	Skills	123
3.4.3	Administration.....	124
3.4.4	Integration services	126
3.4.5	Women and Youth.....	126
3.4.6	Wider Society	127
3.5	Conclusion.....	128
	References.....	131

Appendices.....	134
ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis.....	134
ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy	139
ANNEX III A, Interviews	142
ANNEX III B, Interviews	143
ANNEX IV, Summaries of Conducted Interviews	145
4 Denmark	175
4.1 Introduction.....	175
4.2 Overview of the Framing of MRAs and Integration Issues in Danish Policy Discourses 176	
4.2.1 Methodology – Policy Discourse Analysis.....	176
4.2.2 The Framing of Labour Market Integration of MRAs in the Danish Policy Discourse.....	177
4.2.3 Implications of the Danish Policy Discourses on Labour Market Integration of MRAs 184	
4.3 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAs..	185
4.4 Overview of Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAs in Denmark	187
4.4.1 Effective Initiatives in Regard to Financial Incentives	187
4.4.2 Guidance and Clarification Programmes.....	189
4.4.3 The Effect of the new Employment-Oriented Integration Strategy	189
4.4.4 Getting MRA Women into Work	190
4.4.5 The Barrier of not Being Unified with your Family	192
4.4.6 Knowledge Gaps	192
4.5 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through interviews	192
4.5.1 Methodology – Interviews.....	192
4.5.2 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	195
4.6 Conclusion.....	204
References	206
Appendices.....	210
ANNEX I - Texts analysed in section 1 on framing	210
ANNEX II - Policy and service taxonomy	229
ANNEX IIIA - Interviews	231
ANNEX IIIB - Interviews	233
ANNEX IV - Summaries of conducted interviews.....	235
5 Finland	248

5.1	Introduction	248
5.2	Overview on the Framing of MRA and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse	249
5.2.1	General Framing of Labour Market Integration Issues	249
5.2.2	Framing of Labour Market Integration Barriers and Enablers	251
5.3	Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRA ...	254
5.4	Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA	256
5.5	Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	261
5.5.1	Information about Finland	262
5.5.2	Integration Service, Training and Courses	263
5.5.3	Finding Work in Finland	266
5.5.4	Recognition of Skills and Qualifications	268
5.6	Conclusion	269
	References	273
	Appendices	275
	ANNEX I - Texts analysed in discourse analysis	275
	ANNEX II – Description of texts included in discourse analysis	294
	ANNEX III - Policy & service taxonomy	296
	ANNEX IV A – Interviews	302
	ANNEX IV B - Interviews	303
	ANNEX V - Summaries of conducted interviews	306
6	Greece	321
6.1	Overview on the Framing of MRA and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse	321
6.1.1	Brief Methodological Overview	321
6.1.2	From Entry and Reception to the Access in the Labor Market	321
6.1.3	Legal Aspects, Labor Rights, Discrimination and Barriers to Access the Labor Market	321
6.1.4	The Role of Migration for Economic Growth and Overall Employment Level	323
6.1.5	Discourse and Implementation of Policies	324
6.2	Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRA ...	325
6.3	Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA	328
6.4	Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	330
6.4.1	The Main Findings of the Interviews	330
6.4.2	Analysing the Strength and Weaknesses of the Past and Existing Policies and Services	332
6.5	Conclusion	333
	References	337

Appendices.....	340
ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis.....	340
ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy	371
ANNEX III A, Interviews	378
ANNEX III B, Interviews	379
ANNEX IV, Summaries of conducted interviews	381
7 Italy.....	396
7.1 Introduction.....	396
7.2 Methodology	397
7.3 Discourse Analysis	397
7.3.1 Identifying Relevant Work	397
7.3.2 Data Extraction and Data Analysis.....	399
7.3.3 Summarising the Evidence.....	400
7.3.4 Overview on the Framing of MRAs and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse 400	
7.3.5 Discourse Analysis Conclusion	412
7.4 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAs..	414
7.4.1 Introduction.....	414
7.4.2 Immigration Policies	415
7.4.3 Education Related Policies.....	416
7.4.4 Employment Related Policies.....	417
7.4.5 Welfare Related Policies	417
7.4.6 The Consistency between Actual Policy Responses and Policy Rhetoric.....	418
7.5 Overview of Existing Analyses and assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAs.....	419
7.6 Overview of Assessment of Strengths and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	420
7.6.1 Introduction: National Sample and Experiences in the Field	420
7.6.2 Main Themes and Policies Perceived as Barriers or Enablers by Stakeholders and Past Beneficiaries	422
7.6.3 The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Past Policies and the Existing Policies and Services	427
7.7 Conclusion.....	429
References	432
Appendices.....	434
ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis.....	434
ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy	445
ANNEX III A, Interviews	447

ANNEX III B, Interviews	448
ANNEX IV, Summaries of conducted interviews	450
8 Switzerland	463
8.1 Introduction	463
8.2 Overview of How MRAAs and Integration Issues are Framed in the Policy Discourse 465	
8.2.1 Methodology	465
8.2.2 Key Subjects in Public Discourses, Barriers and Enablers of Integration	466
8.2.3 Key Barriers	467
8.2.4 Key Enablers	470
8.3 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Concerning the Integration of MRAAs 471	
8.3.1 Policies at the Federal Level	472
8.3.2 Labour Market Integration at the Cantonal Level: Canton of Geneva	474
8.4 Overview of Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAAs	476
8.5 Overview of Assessment of Strengths and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	482
8.5.1 Methodology	482
8.5.2 Eight Barriers and Two Enablers for MRRA Labour Market Integration	482
8.6 Conclusion	493
References	499
Appendices	505
ANNEX I: Texts analysed in discourse analysis	505
ANNEX II: Policy & service taxonomy	519
ANNEX III A: Interviews	534
ANNEX III B: Interviews	535
ANNEX IV: Summaries of conducted interviews	539
9 United Kingdom	564
9.1 Introduction	564
9.2 Methodology	564
9.3 Framing the Labour Market Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers 565	
9.3.1 Deserving and Undeserving	566
9.3.2 Open and Integrated Country	567
9.3.3 The Cost of Migration – Welfare and Labour Market Chauvinism	568
9.3.4 Filling Vacancies, Addressing the Social and Economic Structure and Being an Opportunity for the UK	569
9.4 Barriers and Facilitators of Labour Market Integration	570

9.4.1	Migrants.....	570
9.4.2	Refugees	573
9.4.3	Asylum Seekers	574
9.5	The Suggesting Remedies to Overcome the Barriers and Enabling Facilitators..	574
9.5.1	Migrants.....	575
9.5.2	Refugees	579
9.5.3	Asylum Seekers	581
9.6	Comparing Remedies for the Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers into Labour Market	581
9.7	Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAA .	586
9.7.1	Immigration Policies	586
9.7.2	Employment Policies	587
9.7.3	Education Policies	588
9.7.4	Welfare Policies.....	590
9.8	Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA	590
9.8.1	Migrants.....	591
9.8.2	Refugees	592
9.8.3	Asylum Seekers	593
9.9	Overview and Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews	595
9.9.1	Immigration Policies	596
9.9.2	Employment Policies	597
9.9.3	Education and Training Policies	601
9.10	Conclusion.....	603
	References	606
	Appendices.....	608
	ANNEX I - Texts analysed in discourse analysis	608
	ANNEX II - Policy & Service Taxonomy	634
	ANNEX III A - Interviews	655
	ANNEX III B - Interviews	656
	ANNEX IV – Summaries of Conducted Interviews.....	657

List of tables and figures

Table 1.1 Foreign population in SIRIUS countries.....	20
Table 1.2 What does integration training consist of.....	35
Table 1.3 Target groups of integration training.....	37
Table 1.4 Customization of integration training.....	39
Table 1.5 Settlement policies in SIRIUS countries.....	42
Table 1.6 Integration test.....	44
Table 1.7 Access to official integration measures at an early stage for asylum seekers.....	45
Table 1.8 Systematic assessment of asylum seekers' skills and previous qualifications during asylum procedure.....	46
Table 7.1 Searches.....	398
Table 7.2 Documents.....	399
Table 7.3 Barriers of Integration of Migrants in the Italian Labour Market.....	406
Table 7.4 Barriers of Integration of Refugees and Asylum Seekers into Italian labour market.....	408
Table 8.1 Barriers & Enablers for MRAA Labour Market Integration in Swiss Policy Discourses.....	471
Table 8.2 Barriers & Enablers for MRAA Labour Market Integration (according to the views of policy stakeholders and past beneficiaries of policies).....	493
Table 9.1 Frames and Actors.....	582
Table 9.2 Barriers of Integration of Migrants in the UK Labour Market.....	584
Table 9.3 Barriers of Integration of Refugees and Asylum Seekers into UK labour market.....	585
 Figure 1.1 Unemployment rate in SIRIUS partner countries.....	 20
Figure 1.2 Public expenditure on activation policies in SIRIUS countries.....	34

List of Acronyms

ACRE	Alliance of Conservatists and Reformists in Europe
ALDE	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party
ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
AMU	Arbejdsmarkedssuddannelser (Adult Vocational Training)
ANCI	National Association of local municipalities (Associazione nazionale Comuni Italiani) (Italy)
ANEL	Right Wing Party (Greece)
ANPAL	National Agency for Active Labour Policies (Agenzia Nazionale Politiche Attive Lavoro) (Italy)
ASGI	Association on Immigration Juridical Studies (Associazione di Studi Giuridici sull'Immigrazione) (Italy)
BAME	Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
Business Europe	Confederation of European Business
CARA	Centre of reception for asylum seekers (Centri di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo) (Italy)
CAS	Emergency accommodation centre (Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria)
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CDA	Centre of reception (Centri Di Accoglienza) (Italy)
CII	Inter-Institutional Collaboration (Switzerland)
CIP	Cantonal Integration Programme (Switzerland)
CCME	Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (UK)
CPIA	Provincial Center for Adult Education (Centro Provinciale per l'Istruzione degli Adulti) (Italy)
CPSA	First aid and reception centre (Centri di Primo Soccorso e Accoglienza) (Italy)
CSR	The European Business Network for Corporate Responsibility
DA	Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening (Danish Employers' Confederation)
DBI	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (UK)
DE	Dansk Erhverv (Danish Chamber of Commerce)
DI	Dansk Industri (Danish Industry)
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EKA	Athens Labor Center
ELY	Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment
EPP	European People's Party
EQF	European Qualifications Framework

ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
EU	European Union
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
FSO	Federal Statistical Office (Switzerland)
GFM	Greek Forum of Migrants
Golden Dawn	Extreme-Right Party (Greece)
GSEE	General Confederation of Greek Workers (Greece)
HO	Home Office (UK)
HSM	High-skill migration
IGU	Integrationsgrunduddannelsen (Basic Integration Education in Denmark)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISMU	Iniziativa e Studi sulla Multiethnicità (Initiatives and studies on multiethnicity) (Italy)
Kela	The Social Insurance Institution of Finland
KINAL	Party issued from an initiative to merge centre-socialist parties (Greece)
KKE	Greek Communist Party
KL	Kommunernes Landsforening (Local Government Denmark)
LMI	Labour Market Integration
LO	Landsorganisationen i Danmark (Danish Confederation of Trade Unions)
MAC	Migration Advisory Committee (UK)
MHLGC	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (UK)
MLI	Migrant labour market integration
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
MRAs	Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers
MS	Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (ActionAid Denmark)
M5S	Five Star Movement (Movimento Cinque Stelle) (Italy)
Nea Dimokratia	Right Wing Party (Greece)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NHS	National Health Service (UK)
OAED	Public Employment Service (Greece)
ODW	Overseas Domestic Workers (UK)
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAM	Finnish Service Union United
PAME	Coordination Centre within the Greek trade union movement, founded on the initiative of the Communist Party of Greece
PD	Democratic Party (Partito Democratico) (Italy)
PES	Party of European Socialists
POTAMI	Centre Party (Greece)
SAK	The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions

SECO	State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (Switzerland)
SEM	State Secretariat for Migration (Switzerland)
SERI	State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (Switzerland)
SEV	Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (Greece)
SIB	Social Impact Bonds
SIMHE	The Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland
SIRI	Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration (Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration)
SPRAR	National system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees (Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati) Italy)
STAR	Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering (Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment)
SYRIZA	Coalition of Radical Left Party (Greece)
TE-office	Employment and Economic Development Office in Finland
TUC	Trade Unions Congress (UK)
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Valvira	National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health in Finland
VET	Vocational Education and Training (Switzerland)
VPRS	Vulnerable People Resettlement Scheme (UK)
3F	Fagligt Fælles Forbund (United Federation of Danish Workers)

Executive Summary

The **SIRIUS research project** looks at the enablers and barriers of labour market integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Our research is organized into several work packages, and this report details the findings of the third SIRIUS work package, focusing on migrant labour market integration (MLI) policies and services. Migrants, asylum seekers and refugees for a variety of reasons discussed in this report, tend to be less successful in host country labour markets than natives. The objectives of migrant labour market integration (hereinafter MLI) policies are 1) helping migrants to overcome handicaps and skill deficits to better succeed in host country labour markets 2) better matching migrants' characteristics to employer needs by, for example, training them or guiding them to labour shortage occupations. Our report covers policies in the SIRIUS partner countries, namely the Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Finland, Italy, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, and thus we present a wide variety of different national contexts. In addition, we also detail European Union specific policies and programmes.

The research of this **work package was divided into two main tasks** which are a) policy discourse analysis and B) assessment of existing policies and their outcomes.

- A) As part of the work package, a **policy discourse analysis** was conducted by the SIRIUS national teams, to identify and analyse how issues of labour market integration are discussed by policy-makers and policy actors. By analysing the findings of the discourse analysis together with the assessment of policies, which forms the second part of the work package, we evaluate the consistency between policy rhetoric and policy goals.
- B) The second part of the work package consists of a **policy assessment** in which the barriers to labour market integration and existing policies to remedy them are identified, categorised and evaluated. This was performed using a meta-analysis of the existing national literatures, and interviews with policy experts, implementers, and beneficiaries of MLI policies.

One finding evident from our report is that refugees and asylum seekers are often less well prepared to join European labour markets than other forms of migrants. Among other reasons, this is because labour migrants come precisely because they have good job prospects, while refugees and asylum seekers flee to Europe despite perhaps not having good prospects. Migrants that are not seeking asylum move in a given country because they have connection to the host country or because they have a job waiting, or they think they have a good chance to get one. Asylum seekers move to run away from danger and probably are not thinking about what kind of job there will be for them in a given country; even if they know there is no job waiting, they still go. Therefore the "fit" of non-asylum system migrants to the host country labour market is going to be better, on average.

The most important barrier brought up for most migrants is the **lack of language skills**. This also explains the central role of language learning in integration training programmes. In all SIRIUS countries, language courses are offered to migrants and/or refugees as part of integration training. There are, however, major differences in to which migrant groups the courses are offered, and on what terms. Another central topic related to language courses is the **availability and quality of language courses**. Interviews with MRAs in all SIRIUS

countries indicate that **language training is a key and by MRAs highly valued element of integration training**, and those who for whatever reason did not participate in the integration training programmes often feel like they miss the language training element of these programmes. In the SIRIUS countries, a lack of suitable courses still functions as barrier to language learning.

Legal and administrative barriers often inhibit migrant labour market integration. Difficult to comprehend, ineffective and slow administrative procedures in, for example, asylum application and work permit processing, are diagnosed as a barrier to the integration of migrants in most SIRIUS countries. These processes sometimes appear to have been made intentionally difficult for migrants, relating to a **general climate of xenophobia** evident in the policy discourses of some actors, which is diagnosed by interviewees as a barrier to labour market integration. Administrative barriers are also closely connected to the issue of a lack of (institutional) coordination. In all of the SIRIUS countries, **lack of cooperation** amongst various integration policy implementers is diagnosed as a barrier to integration.

A central barrier to labour market integration in all the SIRIUS countries is the **lack of recognition of skills and previous qualifications of MRAs**. There are processes in SIRIUS countries by which qualifications can be certified, however in none of the SIRIUS countries is it perceived as well-functioning. In others, such as Denmark, there do not seem to be a functioning formal process of certificate recognition. Besides a lack of recognition of skills, also an actual **lack of skills** is identified in the SIRIUS countries as preventing integration into the labour market. In some cases, the problems of lack of skills and lack of recognition of skills were difficult to disentangle; MRAs in countries with MLI implemented through strong active labour market policies involving career guidance (in our sample, Denmark, Finland and Switzerland) sometimes felt themselves pushed by case workers towards unsuitable occupations. On the other hand, in countries with less regulated labour markets (UK and Czech Republic) or large informal sectors (Italy and Greece), MRAs ended up working in low skilled occupations due to the way work permits or benefits systems functioned, or due to ethnic labour market segmentation. Some of them felt it was difficult to break out of this and pursue opportunities more suited their skills and ambitions. Therefore, for different reasons depending on national institutional contexts, **MRA skills are underutilized resulting in brain waste**.

Lack of skills is also connected to a **lack of information** which is commonly diagnosed as a barrier in the SIRIUS countries. Often a lack of information is connected to a **lack of networks**, which is also identified as a barrier in most of the SIRIUS countries. Our findings were contradictory on the issue of whether lack of networks was a major problem.

Besides lacking networks, also various **cultural aspects** are noted as barriers to labour market integration. Differences in gender roles in the workplace and household, as well as religious and cultural values were in some cases presented as influencing MRAs' decisions regarding their employment. In some cases, aside from actual cultural barriers, the stereotypes held by natives about what the cultural barriers might be can hinder integration.

Migrant labour market policy is essentially Active Labour Market Policy (ALMP) for migrants. ALMPs are policies enhancing the employability of job seekers; some of these are targeted at migrants specifically.

The core of MLI policies are **integration training/programmes**, which are generally offered to some migrants for a limited time period only, usually form the core of migrant labour market integration policy. In the SIRIUS countries, official integration training programs are usually managed by officials such as government institutions, municipalities, public employment services and other local authorities. Moreover, in most SIRIUS countries, NGOs have an important role in the implementation of integration policies and services.

ALMP usually involves matching and career counselling services, job market skills training, and sometimes job training or work experience programmes. MLI programmes include some or all of these, and additionally may offer language courses and orientation training in local workplace culture, as well as mechanisms for translation of foreign degrees and professional certifications into local equivalents. In Denmark, Finland and Switzerland, MLI policies can be characterized as “top-down”, with the basic framework set out by legislation, in Denmark and Finland, and by multi-stakeholder canton-level initiatives, in Switzerland. These policies are then implemented by bureaucracies, either centralized or municipalities or cantons, who may engage other actors, such as NGOs and employers, to help. A common character of the Southern European integration policies has been that they have generally been elaborated from the bottom up. In Greece NGO’s play a very significant role in the implementation of integration policy (see the Greece country report for more details), while Italian policies suffer from a lack of central government funding (see the Italian country report for more details)

Besides language learning, **integration training/programme can also include aspects such as labour market skills**, which teach how to approach employers, and how to create job search materials such as CVs. Usually, also job matching and career counselling services are offered as part of the integration programme. These services sometimes push migrants and refugees to jobs that are deemed low status (such as cleaning and driving), or which are otherwise perceived as suitable for non-natives (such as health care). **There is a tension between public policy goals of trying to push MRAs into work as quickly as possible, and finding jobs that match the ambitions and potential of individual MRAs. In some cases, there were also indications that employment services case workers undervalued MRAs potential to work in skilled jobs.**

In all the SIRIUS countries there are groups of migrants that are excluded from the integration training programme. **As a rule asylum seekers that have not yet received refugee status are excluded from most MLI programmes, as are undocumented migrants.** In many countries, economic migrants are excluded, since they are already considered integrated if they have employment. The integration programme is only available to newly arrived refugees in the Czech Republic, Denmark and the UK. In Finland on the other hand, the integration training eligibility is contingent only on the migrant or refugee being a job-seeker. Similarly, in Greece integration services are offered at local offices called "Kentra Koinotitas" to various migrant populations and not only refugees. In Switzerland integration training has traditionally only been available for those in the asylum process, but recently availability has been broadened in certain cantons and communes to other migrants as well.

Asylum seekers are usually not targeted by MLI measures, since until they get the decision on their asylum application it is unsure whether they will be able to stay in the host country. Waiting times for asylum decisions have increased, since the rise in the numbers of asylum seekers coming to Europe since 2014, and therefore speeding up integration process has become seen as more urgent, to prevent that asylum seekers are idle and draw public benefit

for an extended period. Amongst the SIRIUS countries, whereas integration training is generally available for refugees, asylum seekers largely have to rely on assistance provided by the asylum centres and by NGOs. In all reports, it was made clear that **the long processing time and enforced idleness of the application period was a problem, both for the asylum seeker, and from the perspective of public finances**, indicating that, as already is the situation in Germany, Sweden and Norway, asylum seekers with good prospects for having their applications accepted should be allowed to work and given access to MLI programs.

Part I – Comparative report

1. Policy Barriers and Enablers – A Comparative Approach

Ilona Bontenbal, Nathan Lillie - University of Jyväskylä

1.1 Introduction

Integration policies and services are practical measures aiming to help migrants, refugees or asylum seekers find employment, or to improve their prospects for finding a job matching their career goals and potential. Our focus here is on migrant integration as public policy, so government activities are at the centre of the analysis, although the implementers of these policies are often private or third sector organizations. Furthermore multi-stakeholder and social partner initiatives are considered in this report. Integration policies are sometimes organized on a national level, and sometimes on a local level, and the European Union (EU) is also important in funding and organizing migrant labour market integration activities. Migration policy legislation, discussed in the previously published SIRIUS Report #2, sets out the goals and means of migration policy, but it is important also to look at the practical implementation and outcomes of these policies, and this is the subject of this report. Our report covers policies in the SIRIUS partner countries, namely the Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Finland, Italy, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, and thus we present a wide variety of different national contexts. In addition, we also detail European Union specific policies and programmes.

The SIRIUS project looks at the labour market integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (hereinafter MRAs), even though each of these groups has a different legal situation and often are subject to different MLI policies. It is important to keep in mind which policies are targeted to which groups: we refer to MRAs when we mean all three groups, and only then, and otherwise specify which of the three groups we are referring to in a given situation.

The **SIRIUS research project** looks at the enablers and barriers of labour market integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Our research is organized into several work packages, and this report details the findings of the third work package, building on our previous research in work packages one and two: Work package one analyses the labour market position of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the SIRIUS countries. Work package two details the legal frameworks of each SIRIUS partner country relevant to inhibiting or enabling integration. Work package three focuses on migrant labour market integration (MLI) policies and services

Table 1.1 Foreign population in SIRIUS countries

	Total foreign population (millions) 2017	Percentage of foreign-national population 2017
Czech Republic	0,51	4,38 %
Denmark	0,48	8,44 %
Finland	0,24	4,42 %
Greece	0,81	7,52 %
Italy	5,05	8,33 %
Switzerland	2,1	24,96 %
UK	6,09	9,25 %

Data: EUROSTAT; Belegri-Roboli et al., 2018.

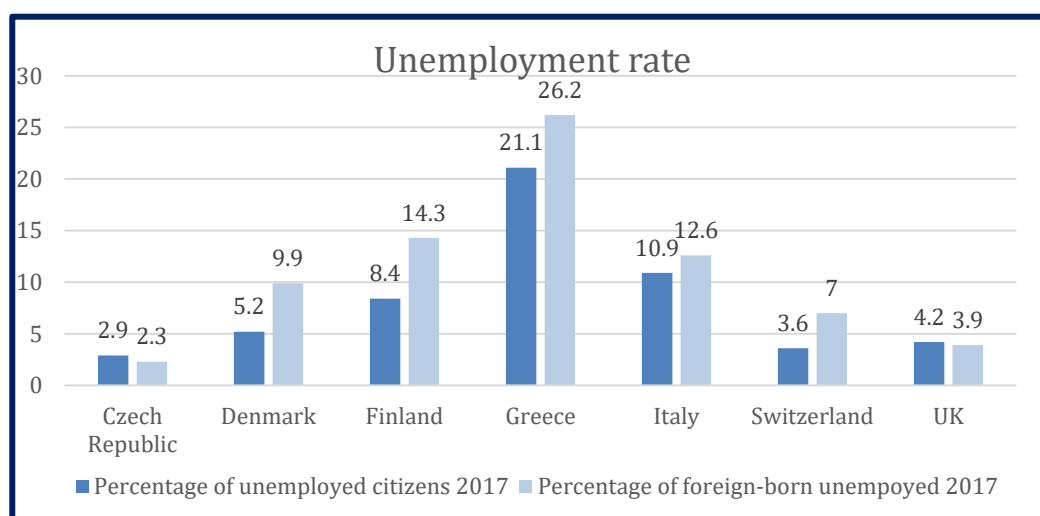
Table 1.1 depicts the foreign population of the SIRIUS partner countries. As a total figure, the largest number of migrants is found in the United Kingdom, but as a proportion of the total population the largest percentage of migrants is found in Switzerland. The Czech Republic and Finland both host few migrants relative to their total population. Besides looking at these specific countries and their policies, the work package strives to provide general policy lessons, and to reveal general trends in integration policy.

Migrants, for a variety of reasons, tend to be less successful in host country labour markets than natives. For example, migrants tend to have higher unemployment rates and lower average incomes compared to native born citizens. (SIRIUS Report WP1.) Moreover, the gap in economic performance has been found relatively persistent over immigrant generations (Rinne, 2012, pp. 2), suggesting there is ethnic labour market segmentation. For this reason, one could argue that migrant labour market policies have not been particularly successful, and from the perspective of realizing equality of opportunity perhaps this is so. However, based on the SIRIUS project discourse analysis and interviews, the objectives of migrant labour market integration (hereinafter MLI) policies can be more accurately described as 1) helping migrants to overcome handicaps and skill deficits to better succeed in host country labour markets 2) better matching migrants' characteristics to employer needs by, for example, training them or guiding them to labour shortage occupations.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the unemployment rate of migrants in the SIRIUS partner countries. In the UK, the Czech Republic and Switzerland the percentage of unemployed among foreign born is slightly smaller than among all citizens. In the other SIRIUS countries, namely Denmark, Finland, Greece and Italy, the unemployment percentage of the foreign-born is noticeably higher than that of all citizens. The gap is especially large in Finland and Denmark. For more information about the labour market position of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, see report one of the SIRIUS research¹.

¹ Belegri-Roboli et al., (2018) [WP1 Report: Labour Market Barriers and Enablers](#)

Figure 1.1 Unemployment rate in SIRIUS partner countries.



Data: EUROSTAT; Belegri-Roboli et al., 2018.

MLI policy can be assessed by the degree to which it reduces migrant unemployment, and by the degree to which it helps migrants find work or pursue education appropriate to their abilities and career goals. It is a specialized form of active labour market policy (ALMP). ALMP refers to general policies which seek to more efficiently match labour supply with labour demand, reducing unemployment, and aiding employers in recruiting suitable workers. It usually involves matching and career counselling services, job market skills training, and sometimes job training or work experience programmes. MLI programmes include some or all of these, and additionally may offer language courses and orientation training in local workplace culture, as well as mechanisms for translation of foreign degrees and professional certifications into local equivalents.

MLI has become especially important since the stark rise in asylum seekers coming to Europe since 2014/2015². Refugees and asylum seekers are often less well prepared to join European labour markets than other forms of migrants. Among other reasons, this is because labour migrants come precisely because they have good job prospects, while refugees and asylum seekers flee to Europe despite perhaps not having good prospects. Refugees and asylum seekers often need more comprehensive education programmes and assistance, raising political questions about at what point they should have access to these programmes, as well as to host country labour markets. However, it is not just the recent wave of refugees and asylum seekers that struggle to find their place in the labour market; established migrants also have higher unemployment rates and lower earnings than native-born citizens (SIRIUS Report WP1).

In WP3, we identify and assess the policy factors that facilitate or hinder the access and integration of post-2014 migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, into the labour market. At

² Note however that the Czech Republic was not affected by the migration crisis as strongly as the other SIRIUS countries and thus its integration policies have not been under similar pressure.

the core of this work package is an examination of the functioning of integration policies and services in each SIRIUS country. We investigate the effects these policies have on the job prospects and careers of migrants, and how they are publically discussed by policy makers and other social actors. We identify best practices and policy dilemmas to further develop the integration policy framework.

Based on the research described above, each national team produced a national report. The national reports can be found in part II of this report. The research in each SIRIUS partner report (and the EU) was based on common guidelines. In the national reports, each SIRIUS team elaborates on the research that they have done, analyses the findings and indicate best practices that will serve to develop future integration policy. The analysis of this integrated comparative report is based on the findings of these national reports.

The purpose of the integrated report is to summarize and compare the findings of the national report and to highlight best practices and policy dilemmas in labour market integration policy. This integrated report consists of a comparative assessment of the barriers and enablers to labour market integration for post-2014 migrants, asylum seekers and refugees focusing upon policies and service design. In the comparative report an integrated analysis on integration policies and migrant active labour market policies is provided. The report also includes a comparative analysis of the barriers and enablers found in each national report and a

The research of this **work package** was divided into two main tasks which are a) policy discourse analysis and B) assessment of existing policies and their outcomes.

- A) As part of the work package, a **policy discourse analysis** was conducted by the SIRIUS national teams, to identify and analyse how issues of labour market integration are discussed by policy-makers and policy actors. In the discourse analysis, national teams have looked into what policy makers and actors consider as integration barriers and enablers, and how they frame labour market integration related issues. Each national research team analysed a large number of texts produced by a variety of political actors such as parties and state executives, government institutions which implement migration policy, third sector organizations, and social partners. We coded these with qualitative data analysis software according to the types of frames used. Discourses from 2014-2018 were included. By analysing the findings of the discourse analysis together with the assessment of policies, which forms the second part of the work package, we evaluate the consistency between policy rhetoric and policy goals.
- B) The second part of the work package consists of a **policy assessment** in which the existing policies are identified, categorised and evaluated. Each national research team collected data on MLI policies, which were categorized into a taxonomy in each national report. In addition, a qualitative meta-analysis of existing research was conducted. Each team also conducted a series of semi-structured interviews of migrants and experts. Expert interviews were with policy-makers, policy implementer staff and national experts and migrant interviews were with past beneficiaries (i.e. those migrants that settled in the country earlier than 2015 but not before 2008). In the interviews, questions were asked about which integration policies have helped migrants and how. Also, issues concerning the future of migration, discrimination, career development and labour market activation courses were asked about and analysed. Special attention in this work package is given to the integration policies concerning women and young people.

comparative analysis of the frames found in each national report. In the end some concluding and overarching remarks will be made.

1.2 Labour Market Integration of Migrants: Policy Perspective

In this chapter, the policy related barriers and enablers that were found in the research conducted by the national teams are analysed in an integrated way. Besides identification of barriers, also the way they are discussed by policy makers and policy implementers in the SIRIUS country contexts is analysed in an integrated way.

1.2.1 Identified Integration Barriers and Enablers

Although there are significant national differences in policy solutions, which will be further discussed in chapter 1.3 of this report, we find that many of the barriers to the integration of MRAs are similar across our sample of European countries. In other words, although there are large differences in the national context most of the challenges remain the same. Certain issues such as a lack of language skills, lack of recognition of qualifications, lack of networks, and discrimination, were found to prevent labour market integration in all the SIRIUS countries. This suggests that policies found successful in one country could also help solve similar issues in other countries.

The most important barrier brought up for most migrants is the **lack of language skills**. Learning the host society language is commonly seen as central to the employment prospects of migrants both by the migrants themselves, as well as by policy makers and implementers. This also explains the central role of language learning in integration training programmes. In all SIRIUS countries, language courses are offered to migrants and/or refugees as part of integration training. There are, however, major differences in to which migrant groups the courses are offered, and on what terms. The availability of language courses will be further discussed in subchapter 1.3.3.

In the SIRIUS countries, free of cost language courses are generally made available for some group of migrants. Refugees are usually offered free language courses, while asylum seekers and other migrants generally are not. However, in some countries such as Greece and Finland, free language courses are also available for certain other migrants. In most SIRIUS countries, NGOs have a central role in providing language courses for migrants. The role of NGOs in integration will be further analysed in work package four of the SIRIUS research³. In most SIRIUS countries, most migrants start learning the local language from zero, because migrants rarely have the opportunity to study the target language before migrating, especially if they are forced migrants. This affects the time that learning the language takes. Taking the time to learn the language in a classroom setting often means taking a long time away from the labour market, which then slows the MLI process. In some countries, there has been a push to accelerate the integration of migrants into the labour market by shortening the integration training period. Some policy implementers find this problematic, since it reduces the possibilities to learn the language properly in a classroom setting. A language policy implementer in Finland noted that: ” - *If you are pushed there too early, it just slows down the*

³ To be published in September 2019

integration process. - - *There should be an understanding of what is the process of learning a language and what is integration, not so that let's just send everyone to the working life quickly, like that's a solution for everything.*" (Finnish report, implementer, Interview 14). Others argue that language learning can occur while being employed or studying. In Denmark for example the "job first" approach practically means that migrants should become part of the labour force as soon as possible, and that a lack of language skills should not prevent this, since, as Minister of Immigration and integration Inger Støjberg, noted in 2017: *"It is among colleagues that one learns Danish and gets to know the Danish values"* (Danish report). The Danish report concludes, however, that the "job first" perspective undervalues the potential contribution of MRAs by assuming any job they can do is likely only to require minimal language skills. In the Finnish context, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment has emphasized that language requirements for certain jobs should be re-evaluated, and that no unnecessary language requirement should be demanded. Thus although a lack of language skills is generally seen as a major barrier, also some contrary perspectives were noted in some of the national report according to which migrants should be able to enter the labour market without having mastered the host country language first.

Another central topic related to language courses is the **availability and quality of language courses**. It seems that overall, in many of the SIRIUS countries, a lack of suitable courses still functions as barrier to language learning. The Greek report for examples notes: *"How can we talk about job integration when there are no language programmes?"* (Greek report, work consultant in NGO, Interview 12). In the Finnish report on the other hand a policy maker notes: *"I get a feeling that those courses are ready-made and people have to adjust to the courses instead of courses having to adjust to people."* (Finnish report, implementer, Interview 1). A central aspect that should be improved is that there should be stronger recognition of the heterogeneity of migrants with different skill levels, learning capacities and language learning needs.

Legal and administrative barriers often inhibit migrant labour market integration. Difficult to comprehend, ineffective and slow administrative procedures in, for example, asylum application and work permit processing, are diagnosed as a barrier to the integration of migrants in most SIRIUS countries. These processes sometimes appear to have been made intentionally difficult for migrants. For example, the UK government's "hostile environment" is aimed at preventing migrants from coming to the UK, but it also changes the labour market behaviour of migrants that are already in the country. Those dependent on a specific type of visa may not be able to shift jobs and as noted by one interviewee *"it is very difficult to move from one work visa to another work visa"* (UK report, Past Beneficiary 6). Moreover, those with no eligibility for public funds may be willing to tolerate exploitation in their workplaces. Similar issues with visa administration are also found in the Czech Republic, where Kafkaesque administrative procedures are a feature of the immigration experience; this problem is compounded by the lack of integration support for all non-refugee migrants to the Czech Republic. As noted by the Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations *"Instead of clear, well-founded and lawful conditions, the migration is regulated rather by processual obstructions and administrative barriers"* (See Czech Report).

Administrative barriers and immigration systems which restrict the presence of a migrant in the host country, or restrict his or her right to work, obviously work at cross purposes with MLI programmes. This is at odds with the general consensus that **integration processes should be sped up**. In some of the SIRIUS countries, such as in Greece, there is concern that slow

administrative procedures push migrants into informal work; if migrants cannot work legally, they may be forced to seek work under the table. As the Greek report notes, following an official (and legal) path to find a (first) job is a rare exception for migrants (See Greek Report). Administrative barriers are also closely connected to the issue of a lack of (institutional) coordination. In all of the SIRIUS countries, **lack of cooperation** amongst various integration policy implementers is diagnosed as a barrier to integration.

The way that **discrimination and exploitation** of labour rights functions as a barrier to labour market integration varies somewhat between the SIRIUS countries. In some countries such as Greece, Italy and the Czech Republic, large groups of labour migrants work in certain ethicized labour market segments. Migrants in those segments are well integrated in terms of being employed, but have little prospect of moving into more desirable jobs. Discrimination is seen as a central barrier by MRAs, unions and many policy implementers. In Finland, labour exploitation is not perceived to be a pervasive phenomenon, but discrimination is widespread in labour recruitment. The difference in emphasis likely has to do with the different kind of labour markets in the SIRIUS countries. In those countries with a large informal sector (Italy, Greece, Czech Republic) migrants can easily find informal sector jobs, which however, tend to be precarious and exploitative. In countries with smaller informal sectors but tightly regulated formal sectors (Finland, Denmark and Switzerland), offer more formal sector work opportunities, and MRAs are less likely to go into the informal sector, but jobs can be difficult for migrants to access. In the UK, formal sector work is less highly regulated than in the continental economies: this may explain the high employment rate but low earning of UK migrants.⁴

Besides discrimination, in all our country cases, there is a **general climate of xenophobia** evident in the policy discourses of some actors, which is diagnosed by interviewees as a barrier to labour market integration. For example in the Czech case both state actors and NGOs have identified the attitudes of the majority of the Czech population as a problem to integration: *“Xenophobic populism is on the rise and most of the politicians are silent and some even promote it as a public figure and as such legitimize racist and xenophobic opinions as acceptable”* (Czech report, Migration manifesto by NGO) The Greek report even describes negative xenophobic encounters that migrants have had with public officials: *“- - the employee [at the public employment service] was treating him in a bad way such as he was thinking that we are foreigners and we do not have rights”* (Greek report, past beneficiary, interview 13).

A central barrier to labour market integration in all the SIRIUS countries is the **lack of recognition of skills and previous qualifications of MRAs**. There are three aspects to this problem: 1) the formal recognition of degrees and professional certificates, which would allow a foreigner to legally practice an occupation, 2) the weight given by prospective employers to certificates granted by unknown (to them) foreign institutions and 3) the problem of recognition of informal skills, such as previous work experience. As for the first, there are processes in SIRIUS countries by which qualifications can be certified, however in none of the SIRIUS countries is it perceived as well-functioning. In others, such as Denmark, there do not seem

⁴ Foreign-born males have lower earnings than native-born males in the UK; earnings of foreign and native born females are similar. This is despite foreign-born workers being on average more educated than native born workers, which is true of both genders (Migration Observatory, reporting Labour Force Survey statistics from 2017)

to be a functioning formal process of certificate recognition. Although there is strong emphasis in the rhetoric of policy makers in many of the SIRIUS countries, (analysed more specifically subchapter 1.2.2.), according to which the previously acquired skills that migrants bring with them can greatly enhance the economy of the host society, in practice these skills are often unutilized or underutilized. The Swiss, Finnish and UK reports note that in reality many migrants completely change their working domain and start again from the beginning, often in a new field completely, in the host society. The Danish report tells of refugees and migrants who experience considerable frustration at being unable to break into the fields where they have advanced training, and being steered by case workers to unskilled and unsuitable work. This leads to brain waste.

There are various reasons why it is still difficult for migrant to use their previously acquired skills and qualifications. In many of the SIRIUS countries the process of converting foreign qualifications into host country qualifications is difficult, expensive and complicated. The recognition of previous skills and qualification is generally not effectively streamlined into asylum application or integration training procedures. In the Danish case, the integration services themselves seem biased to undervalue the skills of migrants, and push educated migrants toward less skilled work. In Finland, some migrants felt themselves steered toward working in certain fields, such as health care and practical nursing, in which it is thought that migrants might find opportunities. Some interviewees in the Czech Republic felt they were discouraged from following the occupation in which they were qualified.

However, besides a lack of recognition of skills, also an actual **lack of skills** is identified in the SIRIUS countries as preventing integration into the labour market. Many of the emigration countries from which MRAs come do not have functioning universal comprehensive education systems, and furthermore for some refugees and asylum seekers their education may have been disrupted by the same forces that caused them to flee. Various kinds of vocational education policies, apprenticeship policies and other education policies are utilized to ensure that MRAs reach skills levels that enable their employment.

Lack of skills is also connected to a **lack of information** which is commonly diagnosed as a barrier in the SIRIUS countries. Lack of information about integration service possibilities, employment opportunities, education opportunities and workplace norms, can impede labour market integration.

Often a lack of information is connected to a **lack of networks**, which is also identified as a barrier in most of the SIRIUS countries. As noted in the Danish case for example, it can be difficult for newcomers to establish networks. This can then hinder integration since for migrants personal networks are sometimes the only way to be hired. The role of networks in finding work is found especially central in the Greek context and as one interviewee notes *"It's easier to find jobs through friends and acquaintances than the state"* (Greek report, past beneficiary, Interview 3). However, the Greece report illustrates that it is especially the compatriot networks that migrants have found useful. Moreover, for example in the Swiss case, networks were identified by MRA interviewees as the most important thing that had helped them integrate into the labour market. Interestingly in the Finnish case, migrant and refugee interviewees did not consider networks to be crucial and it was mostly the policy makers and implements who were emphasising the role of networks.

Besides lacking networks, also various **cultural aspects** are noted as barriers to labour market integration in the national reports. For example, the UK report found that the UK government has expressed concern regarding the differences in gender roles in the

household, as well as religious and cultural values, as things that may affect people's decision regarding their employment. Besides actual cultural barriers, also the idea that natives have about cultural barriers can hinder integration. The Danish analysis found that MRAs are for example believed not to understand the importance of being punctual and prompt, not to be able to participate in social life at a Danish workplace and to have gender norms which prevent migrant women from entering the labour market.

In addition to the mentioned barriers, the fact that in many OECD countries, foreign-born experienced the immediate impact of the economic downturn more intensively than their native-born counterparts has had a detrimental effect on unemployment rates and economic success. Low-skilled workers especially have struggled to recover from the downturn and have experiences rising unemployment rates and falling participation rates at the same time. Moreover, it seems that especially migrant youth have had a particularly hard time recovering from the economic crisis. (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 62, 64.) Another contributing factor is that migrants are overly represented in jobs involving routine tasks, which exposes them more at risk to being displaced by automation (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 78).

1.2.2 Labour Market Integration and Policy Discourses

Discourse analysis can reveal the logics behind policies, telling us the reasons why policy makers and implementers do what they do, and allowing us to see ideologies and reasoning of the actors and coalitions on different sides of political debates. Discourse analysis reveals MLI policy in many countries as a discursive battleground, reflecting the political contentiousness of migration as a topic. Migration is not a contained policy arena in its own right, but also bringing in elements of human rights, labour rights, labour market policy and national competitiveness. Our discourse analysis reveals these elements coming into play, although which elements are emphasized depends very much on the positioning and messaging of the actor in question.

This discourse analysis was conducted via a coordinated inquiry by the SIRIUS team, using frame analysis over a similar sample of documents culled from the websites of selected national organizations in seven European countries: Switzerland, UK, Greece, Finland, Italy, Denmark and the Czech Republic, as well as EU-level political actors. The documents were coded for frames related to MLI.

Unsurprisingly, many of the frames we discovered were closely connected to policy dilemmas identified in expert and migrant interviews, as well as the national literatures on MLI, and mainly related to improving policy effectiveness. Others were more related to justifying the presence of migrants in the labour market, or to classifying them as "wanted" or "unwanted" due to their perceived labour market value. Still other discourses were concerned about the welfare and fair treatment of migrants and refugees on the labour market.

Among the discourses in various SIRIUS countries, a general consensus can be noted according to which labour market integration is seen as a key dimension, on which other forms of integration depend. This is partly because wage employment is generally seen as a key to full social participation, and that thus only by doing "decent" work is it possible to become a full citizen (Forsander, 2004, pp. 218); this is true for both migrants and natives (Somers, 2008), but finding decent work is considered more problematic for migrants. From the

perspective of the public economy, the employment of migrants is important because, for many actors, political consensus to tolerate their presence depends on their being net contributors, paying more taxes than they receive in social benefits. As an interviewee from the Danish report states, *"We want them [refugees] to be self-reliant and not depend on social benefits from the welfare state"* (Denmark Report, Ministry, Interview 1).

The discourse analysis makes clear that not all SIRIUS countries share the same policy goals in regards to migrant integration. In, for example, the Czech Republic, the notion that migrant integration is an appropriate area for public investment is contested. Dominant actors such as the government and employers take a shorter-term perspective, considering migrant labour as an exploitable resource. Similarly, there is a strong emphasis from the UK government on "deserving" migrants who presumably bring skills and entrepreneurship, but who do not require public support or resources: this perspective is not shared by other UK actors such as employers organisations and unions. Moreover, in Denmark, the entire need to integrate all migrants is contested by the Danish People's Party, which frames integration as a goal only for some migrants: asylum seekers, refugees and family migrants sponsored by refugees are expected to stay in Denmark only temporarily, which is, according to the People's Party, why they should not be integrated. The presumption that "decent work" for migrants and refugees should be a goal to be achieved through public policy is not universal. Nonetheless, in most SIRIUS countries, as well as at the EU level, the discourse does tend toward a consensus that there is a role of public policy in reducing the barriers to full labour market participation for migrants and refugees.

Except in the Czech Republic, there was at least some degree of consensus around the desirability of providing language and other MLI training to migrants. This was the case even in the UK, where the discourses of high level policy makers often were at counter purposes to those of policy implementers: regional government and policy implementers tended to see the practical problems of labour market integration as important, while the agenda set by the national government was more ideological and judgemental. In the UK and Denmark, anti-migration discourses tended to undergird policies which made labour market integration more difficult, because of coercive measures which increased migrant precarity. However, this was not the case in all SIRIUS countries, as actors who were sceptical of migration generally also sometimes took the view that those migrants who were accepted should be supported in entering the labour market. In the Czech case, public provision of MLI services was advocated only by certain groups such as NGOs, and appeared as something of anti-hegemonic discourse, sharing space with concerns over migrant labour rights. Liberal viewpoints valuing migrants as an exploitable yet disposable resource vied with anti-migration discourses to define the views of more powerful actors, such as the government, employers and political parties. This Czech liberal discourse was similar to that of, for example, the Danish and UK government, which regard migrants as a burden and therefore only desirable as long as they did not draw on public services.

In some countries, there was evidence of consensus focused discourses, and these correspond to the higher level of participation of social actors and particularly labour market organizations in the formulation of public policy. For example, in Finland and Denmark (and at the EU level), unions and employers publish joint documents as "social partners" which tend to focus on issues such as skill acquisition, on which both groups share the same interests. Similarly, Switzerland's migration policy arena involves various "multi-stakeholder" initiatives.

Nonetheless, unions and employers show a different in emphasis. Unions show greater concern for exploitation and social rights of migrants, while employers are often more concerned with loosening up rules to allow them to access migrant workers, and promoting up-skilling. A potential area of disagreement is initiatives designed to promote work experience for migrants and/or refugees, which involve paying reduced wages, employers receiving wage subsidies, or working for free. These, unions point out, might be considered labour exploitation. The Danish trade unions were particularly concerned about this, although it has also been a concern for the Finnish unions.

In some countries, regional government held different opinions, or at least had a different emphasis, than the national. Particularly interesting was the case of the Scottish government, which was much more interested in promoting smooth MLI processes, and much less sceptical of migration generally, than the UK government. In Switzerland, federalism was perceived as problematic for implementing coherent policies.

The European Union is not prominent in any of the national level discourses in the SIRIUS countries. In some countries, such as in Greece and the Czech Republic, EU project have a significant role in filling the resource gap, between the insufficient efforts of local governments, and the needs of migrants. There is a discrepancy between the role of the EU in providing integration resources, and national discussions which do not acknowledge this role.

The asylum and refugee situation in European countries has been the most pressing and current migrant- related topic now for several years. The focus of policy makers and implementers has been on dealing with the situation at hand, which is also illustrated in the discourse that they produce. Discourse regarding the increase of asylum applicants and the challenges this poses has in many ways overridden other migration issues on the agenda. Thus, immediate reception of asylum seekers is more discussed than, for example, the integration of refugee, let alone labour migrants.

Policy implementers, such as government bureaucracies charged with managing integration programmes, and NGOs, tend to frame MLI integration in terms of a problem which can be managed through appropriate policy measures. They emphasize specific and identifiable barriers to integration can be overcome. The frames brought forth by policy implementers are quite similar from country to country and also match the discussions with policy implementers in the interviews. The policy measures to improve integration, recommended by policy makers and implementers, include e.g. improving access to language learning, shortening integration training times, and placing MRAs in labour market orientated training or subsidized work programmes.

Other concerns tend to be specific to local policy problems introduced either by poor functioning of institutions, or by anti-immigrant forces seeking to undermine programmes perceived to be of benefit to migrants.

1.3 Integration Policies

In the previous chapters, the central barriers identified in the national reports to labour market integration, as well as the way that labour market integration is discussed has been analysed. In this chapter, emphasis is on the various policies that have been designed to overcome the

various barriers that are noted by policy makers, implementers and MRAs. Integration training or integration programmes are commonly used as a way to prepare migrants and refugees, and occasionally asylum seekers as well, for entry into the labour market of their host country. Integration training is a form of active labour market policy that is generally only offered to some MRAs for a limited time period right after migration to the host society.

The gap in economic performance between immigrants and natives provides the justification for policy interventions to speed up labour market integration (Rinne, 2012, pp. 1), and to prevent the development of ethnic labour market segmentation. Active Labour Market Programmes (ALMPs) are policies and services the purpose of which is to enhance the employability of job seekers. They can be divided into services that are targeted at the general population and services targeted at migrants specifically. When ALMPs are targeted at migrants or have a central role in the integration of migrants into the labour market they function as migrant labour market integration policies. Integration training/programmes, which are generally offered to some migrants for a limited time period only, usually form the core of migrant labour market integration policy

1.3.1 Development of Integration Policies for Migrants

Integration policies are shaped by *inter alia* the economic development and welfare state of each country and its history of migration flows. Since MLI policy is essentially ALMP for migrants, it is not surprising that in many SIRIUS countries it is managed in a similar way to ALMP (Finland, Denmark, and UK). More recently, the growth of anti-migration sentiments has in some SIRIUS countries, most notably Denmark, made integration policies more punitive. The introduction coercive immigration policies, a major factor in the UK, but also in some respects in Finland, also inhibit labour market integration. Due to the historical path dependency, different European countries have thus produced different integration policies, but these are also significantly shaped in their implementation by current political sentiment.

The current diversity of many European societies is based on post-colonial and guest worker migrations of the post WWII period. Especially in Northern and Western-Europe, unskilled and semiskilled workers came to fill jobs in the service industry, construction and manufacturing, to meet the needs of the post-war booming economies (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 59). From among the SIRIUS countries, the UK, and Switzerland fall into this category⁵. The restriction of migration only became a topic of debate in Europe after the mid-1970s and integration issues took even longer to become part of the political agenda (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 57). Migrants were often seen as short term guest workers rather than permanent citizens, who would need integration and settlement policies. In reality, many of the guest workers ended up settling, sometimes creating enclave communities of ethnic minorities. The need for developing integration policies was further required by the shifting industrial structure of Europe. European industry no longer required as many unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers. This meant that in many cases employment no longer automatically formed a channel for economic inclusion for immigrants. As with other groups disadvantaged in the labour market, ALMP policies sought to remedy this and help immigrants integrate successfully (Forsander, 2004, pp. 221.)

⁵ In Denmark, mass migration began later, and inward labour migration was restricted during the 'guest worker' period of the 1950s and 60s. Although it was part of the pan-Nordic and later EU free movement regimes, it did not host large scale migrations as a result.

The other SIRIUS countries have a shorter history of mass immigration, and for these countries it was not until the 1980s and 90s that they became countries of net immigration. These changes occurred for a variety of reasons, including economic growth, opening to EU free movement, and the fall of state socialism in Eastern Europe. Finland was a country of net emigration until the early 1980s, and did not host significant numbers of migrants until the 1990s. Southern European countries, such as Italy and Greece found themselves with inadequate policy frameworks to meet the challenges brought on by migration. Large economic sectors such as agriculture and home care have become dependent on migrant labour working informally.

In Central and Eastern European countries, the number of immigrants has been relatively small and so have the policy responses. Policy initiatives are largely EU-driven and accession to the EU has pushed countries to develop their policies in this area (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 64, 71.) Of the SIRIUS countries, Czech policy can be characterized in this way. However, the Czech Republic, due to economic growth and labour shortages, now hosts large numbers of labour migrants, whose integration prospects suffer from a lack of integration programmes. Formal publically funded integration programmes in the Czech Republic are on a small scale, and targeted only for refugees.

Integration has long been supposed to depend on national citizenship models, such as the exclusionist, assimilationist and multicultural models, which reflect the way in which national societies respond to the introduction of “others”. Carrera points out that these models have been eroded and no longer explain integration policies (Carrera 2006). In fact, migration regimes in Europe have become more similar, partly due to common regulation within the European Union. Simultaneously also local governance appears to be rising in importance. (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 72–73.) In fact, we see historical trajectories which reflect in part the policy failures of these models. In particular, we see the inability of exclusionist regimes to prevent long-term settlement of guest workers, the inability of assimilationist regimes to overcome the social exclusion of migrants, and the inability of multicultural regimes to prevent a right-wing populist backlash against migration.

Current integration policy attempts to both learn from these historical lessons, but the possibilities reflect the policy instruments of the welfare states in which integration policies are developed.

1.3.2 Who Provides Integration Training

In the SIRIUS countries, official integration training programs are usually managed by officials such as government institutions, municipalities, public employment services and other local authorities. Moreover, in most SIRIUS countries, NGOs have a important role in the implementation of integration policies and services on a practical level. The role of NGOs and CSOs in the provision of integration services will be further discussed in work package 4 of the SIRIUS research.

In Denmark, Finland and Switzerland, MLI policies can be characterized as “top-down”, with the basic framework set out by legislation, in Denmark and Finland, and by multi-stakeholder canton-level initiatives, in Switzerland. These policies are then implemented by bureaucracies, either centralized or municipalities or cantons, who may engage other actors, such as NGOs

and employers, to help. A common character of the Southern European integration policies has been that they have generally been elaborated from the bottom up. In Greece NGO's plays a very significant role in the implementation of integration policy (see the Greece country report for more details), while Italian policies suffer from a lack of central government funding (see the Italian country report for more details). Integration policies thus started from the local and regional level, which is also why policies have been different from one area to another. Since the 2000's, there has however been effort to produce centralized national frameworks (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 61–63).

Outsourcing to private service providers has been a notable trend in ALMP around Europe (Greer 2017), and this trend is also seen in the way integration services are outsourced to outside contractors in SIRIUS member countries. In some cases, also NGOs fill in where state service capacity is insufficient, as in Greece or the Czech Republic. NGOs also provide ALMP-type services to asylum seekers in Finland, because they are not eligible for the official program before receiving their asylum decision. In some cases, it is about government contracting out of certain services, as in the UK or Denmark where contracting to third sector organizations is a matter of public policy. The European Union also operates its migrant integration projects on this basis, funding projects in which other organizations provide integration services to migrants.

1.3.3 Contents of Integration Training

Across the SIRIUS countries, MLI programmes share common elements, including a strong emphasis on language classes. They also often offer civics courses familiarising immigrants with the receiving country's norms, history, values and cultural traditions, vocational training and labour market skills training. These tend to be common elements in the integration trainings of other (non-SIRIUS) countries as well (Carrera, 2006, pp. 3). In some of the SIRIUS countries, integration training is organized on a national level based on specific legislation, albeit it is often implemented by local actors, and it is thus at least somewhat similar in all parts of the country. In other countries, such as in Switzerland, integration measures are decided on and organized by local authorities.

In the SIRIUS countries, language learning forms the central aspect of integration training. Learning the local language is more or less unanimously seen as a key indicator of integration and a major determinate of labour market success. In most of the SIRIUS countries free of cost language courses are available for those migrants that take part in integration training. In Finland, for example language training takes up to 2/3 of the hours designated to integration training (OECD, 2018).

Outside the context of integration training programmes, in some countries, such as for example in Denmark, subsidized language lessons are also available to all non-Danes legally residing in Denmark. These language courses are targeted at a wider audience than integration training in general. Interviews with MRAs in all SIRIUS countries indicate that language training is a key and by MRAs highly valued element of integration training, and those who for whatever reason do not participate in the integration training programmes (if for example, they are ineligible by reason of being employed), often feel like they miss the language training element of these programmes. Provision of subsidized language lessons is a way to fill this gap.

Besides language learning, integration training/programme can also include aspects such as labour market skills, which teach how to approach employers, and how to create job search materials such as CVs. Usually, also job matching and career counselling services are offered as part of the integration programme. However, according to interviewees, in certain SIRIUS countries (i.e. Finland, Denmark, Switzerland), these services sometimes push migrants and refugees to jobs that are deemed low status (such as cleaning and driving), or which are otherwise perceived as suitable for non-natives (such as health care). In addition to these services, in for example the Czech Republic, the integration programme, (which is however only available for those with refugee status, who are few) can also cover the cost of recognition of qualification. In other words, integration programmes can include various different kinds of services, which endeavour to enable the integration of MRAs into the labour market.

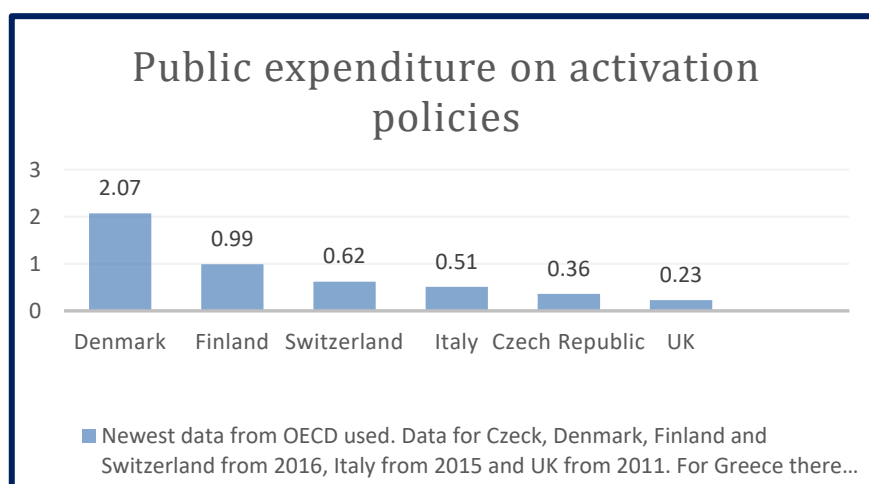
Since integration programmes are generally only targeted at the unemployed, there generally needs to be a mechanism in place to ensure the income of migrants during the training. During the integration training, migrants generally have access to welfare benefits which are either integration training specific (as in the Finnish case) or similar to those that native citizens get during unemployment.

There is a wide range of different kinds of ALMPs in use in the SIRIUS countries, including language and introduction courses, job search assistance, vocational training, training programmes such as labour market training, and subsidised public and private sector employment. These are policies that are also generally used in other countries (Butschek & Walter, 2014, pp. 1). The practical funding and executing mechanism of ALMPs and integration training vary between countries and generally substantial government spending is involved. In addition to nationally organized integration policies the European Commission's also (co-) funds numerous integration initiatives and supports migrant integration by providing resources in countries and regions where insufficient resources are available. The Commission's Action Plan on Integration provides a framework to help EU member countries in planning their integration measures for third-country nationals. However, integration policies still mostly remain a national competence (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 81). As with other social policy areas, there are large differences between member states in the extent, form and effectiveness of their MLI policies.

The opportunities provided by MLI policy, and more specifically integration training, depend in large part on the ALMP infrastructure of the country in question. In Finland and Denmark, there are well developed ALMP bureaucracies designed for job seeking citizens, and these also have a key role in providing employability services for migrants and refugees. Similarly, employment services programmes have a role in integration in the UK. As a result, trends impacting on the ALMP services generally also affect the services provided to migrants. One trend is a tendency toward making benefits contingent on compliance with the demands of the employment bureaucracy. For example, in Finland, a migrant's "integration" benefit can be reduced due to non-compliance and in Italy, non-compliant migrants can lose their residence permits.

Figure 2 illustrates the public spending of SIRIUS countries on activation procedures as a percentage of the GDP. Public spending on activation measures is highest in the Nordic countries. Notably, the UK has the lowest spending on activation measures. There is no available data on the amount spend on activation policies in Greece.

Figure 1.2, Public expenditure on activation policies in SIRIUS countries



New immigrants can find it difficult to assess and evaluate the numerous publicly offered active labour market programmes available (Joona & Nekby, 20012, pp. 576). The research indicates that a lack of information regarding integration procedures is also a serious problem in most SIRIUS partner countries. The Swiss report for example notes that the majority of the consulted past beneficiaries agreed with the view of the stakeholders, claiming that it has been extremely complicated to understand information related to the laws, the rules and the administrative procedures in Switzerland, especially because of the technicality of the language and the complexity of the system. Moreover, also the Finnish report notes that most of the migrant interviewees felt that they did not receive basic information or that the information that they received was not sufficient. To stop a lack of information from preventing migrants entering the labour market, counselling and coaching of unemployed migrants is offered as part of the integration programmes and the active labour market programmes in all SIRIUS countries.

Programmes that are closer to the regular labour market, such as wage-subsidised employment and work experiences, are thought most effective for improving subsequent employment outcomes (Nekby, 2008, pp. 15, 47; Rinne, 2012). Similarly, Heinesen et al. (2013), Clausen et al. (2008) and Liebig (2007) note that, in the Danish context, the effects on employment are especially positive for subsidized private sector employment programmes, which however are the type of ALMP least frequently offered to migrants in Denmark.

Besides Denmark, among the SIRIUS countries subsidized private sector employment is a part of integration policy in Finland, the UK, Italy and Switzerland. Effects on employment were however also found significant for company-based training, direct employment programmes and other programmes (Heinesen et al. 2013; Clausen et al., 2008; Liebig, 2007). Also Butschek and Walter (2014) note that wage subsidies work better for immigrants than training programmes but that despite this immigrants seem under-represented in this type of programme. They emphasize that e.g. in the German case, immigrants compared to natives, are more often assigned to trainings, public works programmes and job search assistance programmes than to wage subsidy programmes (Butschek & Walter, 2014, pp. 3, 12–13). Rinne (2012) on the other hand notes that a part of the reason why wage subsidies are relatively effective might be that they are typically employed only at a small scale (Rinne, 2012,

pp. 19–20). However, as noted previously, these policies are sometimes opposed by unions due to the danger they will “crowd out” employment on collectively bargained wages and conditions.

The following table 1.2 displays the type of integration programmes/introduction programmes used in the SIRIUS partner countries.

1.2 What does integration training consist of	
Czech Republic	The programme consists of a consultation during which the needs of the individual are identified and based on this an individual plan is agreed upon. The main topics covered in the plan are often centred around finding housing and on job counselling. The integration programme can cover both the cost of recognitions of qualification or some specific courses. The programme usually also involves finding language courses and covering their costs. In general the programme consist of intermediation of other services. Its complexity and time span is rather unique in the Czech context.
Denmark	Language lessons are free for refugees and subsidized for non-refugee migrants. Alongside language education, municipalities in Denmark also provide vocational training programmes, skills building initiatives and courses geared towards upgrading the skills/qualifications of MRAs to match the needs of the Danish labour market.
Finland	Training is organized in modules including: Finnish or Swedish language courses, labour market skills, communication skills, society skills and mentoring. Also, other voluntary chosen studies that improve a person's vocational and labour market skills can be included, as well as an apprenticeship/ internship period. For those without adequate literacy, training can include reading and writing courses for adults. Trainings organized by municipalities tend to have less labour market focus than trainings organised by Employment offices.
Greece	At "Kentra Koinotitas" the integration program includes language courses of A1 level of Greek and A2 level of Greek including elements of Greek civilization and History. Lessons for computer skills are also included and vocational guidance is provided. NGO'S also sometimes provide English courses.
Italy	There is neither an integration law nor a real integration plan/programme for migrants. However, according to the Integration Agreement (Presidential decree n. 179/2011), there is a central government commitment to organize the integration process of over 16-years old migrants who require the permit of stay (for one year or more) in occasion of the first entry in Italy. In particular, central government provides free compulsory language and civic integration courses, with the objective to provide the migrant with a better knowledge of the Italian language and culture as well as of the main Italian constitutional principles. Apart from this, the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) provides a wider range of integration services for unaccompanied minors, refugees and (until the “Salvini decree” of 2018) asylum seekers who are hosted in second line reception centres: teaching of the Italian language, cultural mediation, legal counselling, health

	assistance, psychological support, accompaniment to the job search. Within the SPRAR system, specific projects are financed for people with mental or physical disabilities, and through the Agency Italia Lavoro Spa, the Ministry of Labor supports initiatives for the socio-occupational integration of vulnerable migrant groups, fostering the creation of individualized pathways aimed at encouraging employment. In addition to the system of integrated services offered by the SPRAR system, training internships are another important service that facilitates entry of foreigners into the labour market
Switzerland	There is no one integration training system at the federal level. The existence of training and its form and content will differ according to the cantons, and in many cases, according to the communes. In the Canton of Geneva, persons coming from the asylum procedure have attended 2 days trainings until 2017. Since 2018, different integration workshops have been organised by the institution in charge of the integration scheme (the same that is in charge of social assistance in the canton of Geneva). Together the various workshops form the "integration path", which is available for all migrants coming from the asylum framework, since February 2019. For other migrants, there are workshops organized by various associations and local language courses combined to integration information available. Some communes provide workshops to new arrivals but there is no federal policy regarding mandatory integration training measures.
UK	Integration services are available only to refugees which are part of resettlement programmes. Integration programs include English classes, employability services, housing support, training and education support and advice.

1.3.4 For Whom is Integration Training Intended

Integration training programmes are mostly targeted at newly-arrived migrants (Rinne, 2012, pp. 6). This is also the case in the SIRIUS countries: In the UK integration training is generally available for 5 years after migration⁶, in Finland for 3 years (which can be extent to five), in Italy for 2 years (which can be extent to three), in Denmark for two years and in the Czech republic for one year. In Switzerland, according to the new integration path implemented since 2018, integration training is organized in the framework of four courses which in total last a few days. Similarly in Greece, the duration of the integration training is dependent on the duration of each course.

However, there is great variation regarding for whom the integration trainings are available. Often introduction programmes are not offered to all newly-arrived migrants but instead they are targeted at specific groups such as refugees and tied-movers to refugees (Nekby, 2008, pp. 40). As with ALMP programmes generally, often receiving an out-of-work benefit is contingent on being in good standing in the ALMP programme. These programmes offer not on the carrot of access to free training and support, but the stick of benefits cuts (or in some cases even losing residency status).

⁶ Only targeted at certain migrants (refugees that are part of integration programmes) and not all newly arrived migrants.

EU and European Economic Area (EEA) nationals are often exempt from any obligation to participate in obligatory integration programmes. Furthermore, immigrants on short-term work permits, highly skilled work permits, or scientists, researchers and professors, students and asylum seekers, are usually exempted as well from these programmes (Carrera, 2006, pp. 10). Often, the mechanism used to encourage migrants and refugees to participate in integration programmes is making receipt of a state benefit contingent on it. If immigrants do not claim state benefits, such as income support or family support, they are also not obliged to participate. As Carrera points out, there is a connection between integration obligations and economic status (poverty) and the level of dependency (Carrera, 2006, pp. 11, 19.)

There is variation among SIRIUS countries in eligibility for integration programmes. Sometimes, the integration programme is only available to and targeted at newly arrived refugees, as is the case in the Czech Republic, Denmark and the UK. In Finland on the other hand, the integration training is targeted at all unemployed migrants or recipients of income support, and eligibility is contingent only on the migrant or refugee being a job-seeker, rather than on the motive for migration. Similarly, also in Greece integration services offered at local offices called "Kentra Koinotitas" are targeted at various migrant populations and not only at refugees. In Switzerland integration training has traditionally only been available for those in the asylum process, but recently availability has been broadened in certain cantons and communes to other migrants as well. However, in all the SIRIUS countries there are groups of migrants that are excluded from the integration training programme. What these groups are varies from country to country but as a rule asylum seekers that have not yet received refugee status are excluded, as are undocumented migrants who do not have a residence permits. Moreover, in many countries, economic migrants are also excluded from integration training, since they are already considered integrated if they have employment.

Table 1.3: Target groups of integration training

1.3 Who are targeted in integration training	
Czech Republic	Holders of asylum or subsidiary protection (please note that this is a very small group annually and the majority of migrants don't have access to any long term and structured integration programme)
Denmark	The primary target of MLI programmes are refugees. This is because most non-EU, non-refugee labour migrants enter Denmark on the basis of a work permit issued in relation to a particular job. However, non-refugee migrants who have acquired permanent residency or have a non-employment related residency in Denmark, say by way of a family reunification visa/permit, are able to access some of the MLI programmes available through the municipality that are not earmarked solely for a refugee target group.
Finland	All unemployed migrant job-seekers and recipients of income support who have a residence permit are eligible (however note limited time period).
Greece	Regarding Kentra Koinotitas the population targeted is migrant population and refugees. Regarding the actions from NGO'S all the legally reside non-nationals are targeted.

Italy	The Integration Agreement targets over 16-years old foreigners who require the permit of stay (for one year or more) in occasion of the first entry in Italy .The SPRAR system targets unaccompanied minors, refugees and (until the “Salvini decree” of 2018) asylum seekers.
Switzerland	The "first information path" for migrants coming from the asylum framework in Geneva is open to all the asylum seekers, refugees and temporarily admitted persons arriving in Geneva. In the rest of the Country, targets will differ according to the cantons or communes.
UK	Integration programmes are only available to refugees that are part of the resettlement scheme.

According to Sarvimäki & Hämäläinen, who have looked at integration plans in a Finnish context, the employment and earnings of immigrants have significantly increased since the introduction of an individual integration plan for migrant (Sarvimäki & Hämäläinen, 2016). When integration plans are individually designed and agreed upon, the heterogeneity of MRAs and their different backgrounds tends to be taken more into consideration. The way that integration training/programme is individualised to meet the needs of migrants varies between SIRIUS countries. In those countries with greater investment in ALMP programmes, such as Finland and Denmark, the courses and services included in the integration training are individually designed, and sometimes jointly agreed upon by the plan recipient and the case worker.

The Swiss report predicts that future programmes for asylum seekers and refugees will involve a higher degree of customization. From 2019 onward, they plan to implement individual integration plans. Individual integration plans have been found to be effective in helping with integration. In countries such as Greece the lack of systematic integration services leads to a individuals following *de facto* their own individually designed plans, or using whichever services are available. In Italy, while customized integration plans appear to be a goal in principle, none of the MRAs interviewed had experienced this as such, and the plans appear to be underfunded.

Table 1.4: Customization of integration training

1.4 The customization of integration to suit the needs of specific clients	
Czech republic	There is individual plan for each participant and due the low number of participants (between 100- 200 each year) the programme can be individualised.
Denmark	Refugee and non-refugee migrants who receive social/unemployment benefits are required to meet with assigned case handlers at their municipality's job centre in order to (re-)integrate into the Danish labour market. In principle an integration plan is agreed upon by the case handler and the migrant in keeping with interests, qualifications, skills and aspirations of MRAs. However, the Danish team's fieldwork demonstrates that, since 2015, the 'employment first' integration policy has resulted in municipal authorities 'pushing' MRAs to take on any kind of job, rather than match them with jobs that are best suited to their skills/qualifications.
Finland	For unemployed job seekers the integration plan is made at the local PES office and for others at the municipality. It states the necessary integration measures and can for example include a plan for integration courses.
Greece	There is not something like an integration plan or a contract. There is lack of a systematic and more organized integration plan for each person. It can be said that since the integration programmes are not obligatory it depends on the individual to design his own integration plan.
Italy	The Integration Agreement and the SPRAR system have different levels of individualization. The Integration Agreement is not customized to suit the needs of specific clients. The SPRAR system targets unaccompanied minors, refugees and (until the "Salvini decree" of 2018) asylum seekers, with the possibility of individualized integration plans. So, among our interviewees, only refugees who are hosted (or have been hosted) in the SPRAR centres could be offered with individualized integration plans. However, in reception centres the quality of services offered depends on who manages them and not always there are real individualized integration plans. Often, indeed, the integration services are provided to all the people hosted in the SPRAR centres, but without specific individual plans.
Switzerland	In the framework of the integration agenda, migrants coming from the asylum procedure will also have access to an integration assessment with an integration plan. This is targeted also to MLI.
UK	The plan, specifically in small areas are very person centred and try to suit the needs of the people. It is instead different when the integration programme is provided in larger urban areas.

1.3.5 Evaluation of Integration Training

The success of the various functions included in the integration training have been evaluated and based on earlier research it seems that some parts of the integration programmes are more important for labour market success of migrants than others. Svantesson & Aranki for example find, in a Swedish context, that some activities of the integration programme, such as labour market practice (i.e. internships and unpaid or subsidized job placements) have a positive effect on future employment, while other activities do not. Based on their results it seems that those immigrants who have had some kind of contact to the labour market during their introduction programmes have a higher probability of getting employed. (Svantesson & Aranki, 2006.) Also Eronen et al 2014, note based on research in the Finnish context, that employment rates are generally higher amongst individuals who have participated in policies that directly enhance skills that are utilizable in the labour market (Eronen, 2014, pp. 73). A focus on job market skills is increasingly being taken into account in the design of European integration policies. Language courses, for example, are increasingly tailored to specific vocations and provided directly on the job (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 79.)

Another development in recent years has been the aspiration to accelerate the integration process. The duration of some integration programmes have been shortened in e.g. France and Denmark (International Migration Outlook, 2017, p. 82). In both the interviews and the discourse analysis conducted in the SIRIUS parent countries, the desirability of shortening integration training programmes in order to encourage MRAs to enter into the job market more quickly is being debated. The rise in asylum applicants seems to have put the efficiency and speed of integration measures under scrutiny and pressure. Also, some actors assert that it makes more sense to learn the language through engagement in the work setting, rather than via integration programme course work. However, in our national reports, we find that some MRAs complain that with language skills only at the A2 or B1 level, they can usually only work in unskilled positions. The Swiss report, for example, notes specifically that MRAs find it difficult to find language learning support at more advanced levels, and the integration programmes only are designed to raise their language skills to the A2 level. Similarly in the Finnish report as well, some interviewees note that it is difficult to find suitable language courses to reach professional proficiency.

In Denmark the push to speed up the integration programmes has manifested in the “job first” idea, previously discussed in the discourse analysis. According to Danish reports interviews with programme beneficiaries, this sometimes results in highly qualified programme participants being pushed into unsuitable less skilled employment.

Although some aspects of integration programmes have been found useful in the integration of migrants into the labour market there also seem to be some common problems. Nekby (2008) notes that introduction programmes generally seem to be troubled by lock-in effects, weak ties to the labour market, a lack of cooperation and coordination between the various actors responsible for integration, isolated rather than coordinated and comprehensive measures, and poor language instruction that are not connected to labour-oriented measures (Nekby, 2008, pp. 41, 48.) In addition, integration programmes may act as a starting point of so-called “programme careers” that are composed of multiple and sequential participations in various labour market programmes (Rinne, 2012, pp. 6).

We did not evidence of “programme careers” in the interviews with MRAs in the reports; while not all MRAs were happy with their career trajectories, and some felt they had not received appropriate support, there also did not seem to be perpetual clients of the job market services.

1.3.6 Settlement Policies

One issue discussed in the academic literature, but which did not appear as very important in the country reports is geographic settlement policies. These have been seen as an example of how integration policies can function as barriers to integration. Most famously, there is the example the Swedish settlement policy of newly arrived refugees in place between 1985 and 1994. Swedish settlement policy restricted where newly arrived immigrants were allowed to settle. It was also combined with a MLI policy focused on income support rather than activation. The result was substantial long-run earning losses and increased idleness and welfare dependency for the immigrants affected by the policy (Edin et al., 2004). When migrants are located into areas where there are no job prospects for them, this predictably tends to inhibit labour market integration. Similarly, the Swiss policy of allocating refugees among the cantons, with no regard for their language skills (i.e. a refugee with good German might be placed in an Italian speaking canton), serves to reduce the labour market success of those migrants thus disadvantaged (Auer 2018). It is still in effect, but did not play a major role in the experiences of the interviewees for the Swiss report.

On the other hand, there are policy reasons for dispersing migrants into different parts of the country, that generally have to do with dividing the financial and political costs of receiving refugees, and preventing ethnic enclaves from arising. Based on the analysis it seems that migrant distributing policies are widely used in the SIRIUS countries. However, these are mainly related to asylum seekers who are appointed to asylum centres in different areas. In most countries migrants, including asylum seekers who have received a positive decision on their asylum application, are then free to decide where they want to move. Only in Switzerland is there an obligation to reside in the canton of settlement for an extended period.

Table 1.5: Settlement policies in SIRIUS countries

	1.5 Are there policies that aim to distribute migrants
Czech Republic	No, holders of international protection can choose to live in one of the four Integration Asylum Centres. Their location, outside Prague (and with one exception in border regions), is based on history rather than strategy. Until recently there were some municipality flats reserved for participants of the State Integration Programme, often in smaller cities. But this depended on the choices of mayors, who could apply for funding for reconstruction of flats, rather than on policy. This distribution of asylum holders through flats did not work because the Czech Republic is ethnically homogenous and there are very limited opportunities for migrants outside the few biggest cities. This is why migrants have often moved to Prague.
Denmark	Yes, individuals who have been granted asylum are purposefully distributed across municipalities based on: 1) The number of refugees, the individual municipality must receive (quota), 2) the chance of getting a job, 3) having a job offer, 4) personal circumstances, including family ties to persons already living in Denmark, or needs for special treatment and 5) the individuals latest residence. This is partly as a way of familiarizing refugees with Danish society and culture. This however only refers to subsidized housing provided by the municipality and refugees can live in another place of their choosing.
Finland	Yes, asylum seekers are appointed to an asylum centre. Centres are distributed in different parts of the country. Once migrants receive refugee status they are assigned to a municipality. However, refugees are not bound to the municipality they are assigned to and they can choose to move away.
Greece	Yes, asylum seekers that reach the islands of Greece are not allowed to travel to the mainland due to restrictions that exists since 2016 after the EU-Turkey treaty. An asylum applicant cannot travel to another part of the country until his or her request is examined in the place where the applicant first arrived. After the application is examined, the applicant may move freely around the country with the same terms as the nationals. Regarding refugees and migrants there are no policy that aims to allocate them evenly across the country.
Italy	Yes, the National Coordination Board defines the distribution of asylum seekers quotas among the regions
Switzerland	Yes, asylum seekers and refugees are assigned to the different cantons randomly after passing through the Federal Asylum Centres. Differences between the cantons such as the local language, type of dominant economic activity etc. can have an impact in labour market integration.
UK	Yes, resettled refugees and asylum seekers are appointed to a local council or a local area which have accepted to take refugees and asylum seekers. However, they are not bound to the municipality they are assigned to.

1.3.7 Mandatory Integration and Integration Tests

Another interesting development in integration measures is that in Europe there has been a distinct move in the direction of integration programmes with a mandatory character (Carrera 2006; International Migration Outlook 2017, pp. 82). Mandatory integration courses and contractual obligations to acquire basic language and cultural skills were first developed in Denmark and the Netherlands (Doomernik & Bruquetas-Callejo, 2016, pp. 68–69) and since then also other countries such as Germany and Switzerland have adopted them (Eronen et al. 2014, pp. 24). In practice, a mandatory character to integration often means that e.g. benefits can be cut if integration obligations are not met. For example, in many countries, sanctions for non-compliance with job search requirements exists for migrants as well as natives, and according to Kluve they appear to be relatively effective in raising employment outcomes (Kluve, 2006, pp. 11–12).

As noted earlier, MLI programmes are only targeted at some migrant group, mostly asylum seekers and unemployed migrant, and their mandatory character thus also only affects those groups. In the SIRIUS countries, the general trend is that not attending integration training and/or not passing an integration test effects eligibility for social benefits, and not residence permits, citizenship and family reunification. However, in Switzerland, since the beginning of 2019, requirements have tightened and the assessed level of integration can affect the renewal of residence permits, family reunification and even result in permit revocation. In Italy non-participation can lead to expulsion.

In some countries, on the other hand, performance in integration programmes is tested; in the Netherlands for example, there is an integration exam on Dutch culture and norms (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2019). It seems however that this is not the case in SIRIUS countries. The only tests that are commonly used are the tests for acquiring citizenship, and these are for testing whether the citizenship applicant meets the language skills requirements for naturalization. In Denmark and Switzerland taking an integration test is also required for long-term/permanent residence permits.

Table 1.6: Integration test

1.6 Is there an integration test	
Czech Republic	No.
Denmark	There are two integration tests: Active Citizenship Test (for permanent residency) and Citizenship Test (for Danish citizenship).
Finland	No, however possible implementation has been discussed lately. For requiring citizenship there is a language test.
Greece	No, there is a test in order to get the Greek citizenship.
Italy	According to the Integration Agreement, first-entry migrants who require the residence permit (for one year or more) have to attend language and civic education courses. Alternatively, they have to pass an integration test (language and civic culture test).
Switzerland	No, however integration is assessed since January 2019, when a person requests a new permit for longer term, a renewal of their permit, or citizenship. When assessing integration, the competent authority shall take the following criteria into account: respect for public safety, security and order; respect for the values of the Federal Constitution; language skills; and participation in working life or efforts to acquire an education. (LEI art.58a)
UK	No, although to acquire citizenship there is the UK life test.

1.3.8 Integration Training for Asylum Seekers

Asylum seekers are usually not targeted by MLI measures, since until they get the decision on their asylum application it is unsure whether they will be able to stay in the host country. The large increase in asylum seekers coming to Europe since 2014 has however changed the picture somewhat. Waiting times for asylum decisions have increased and therefore speeding up integration process has become seen as more urgent, to prevent that asylum seekers are idle and draw public benefit for an extended period. To expedite integration, some countries such as Germany, Norway and Sweden have started to provide access to integration measures at an early stage for asylum seekers with good prospects to remain. The time during waiting for an asylum decision is thus spent actively in language training, skills assessments and labour market preparation. (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 87). Amongst the SIRIUS countries, although some integration services are sometimes available to asylum seekers during the asylum application process, these are generally not the full range of services available to refugees, or in some cases to other migrants residing in the country. Whereas integration training is generally available for refugees, asylum seekers largely have to rely on assistance provided by the asylum centres and by NGOs.

Table 1.7: Access to official integration services

1.7 Access to official integration services for asylum seekers	
Czech Republic	MLI services are not available universally. Those who decide to reside in the reception centres of Refugee Facilities Administration have access to services provided there (such as language courses, social work and various free time activities) although there is no defined scope of these services. Those who are residing outside the residential centres don't have access to any official integration measures but they might use services of NGOs.
Denmark	While civil society organizations provide services to asylum seekers, asylum centres provide basic education and language lessons to individuals awaiting a decision on their asylum application.
Finland	Although asylum reception centres are obliged to offer some integration courses and information, these are not comparable to official integration training offered at migrants who are living in Finland permanently. Asylum seekers mainly have to rely on activities organized by NGOs until they get their refugee status.
Greece	A lot of integration assistance is provided from NGO'S to asylum seekers. Greek language courses and vocational guidance as well as accommodation assistance in a large number is provided.
Italy	Some measures of integration of the asylum seekers are ensured by the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) Local institutions, in cooperation with voluntary sector organisations, undertake 'integrated reception' interventions going beyond the simple distribution of food and housing, also providing complementary services such as legal and social guidance and support, and individual integration programmes to promote socioeconomic inclusion and integration. Recently, the SPRAR system has been radically changed by decree n.113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree): according to the decree, the humanitarian protection has been abolished and the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus depriving many immigrants of important reception measures and integration services.
Switzerland	Until 2018, there has not been access to real integration measures for asylum seekers. Some cantons have opened some integration measures but this has not been foreseen by federal policies. Asylum seekers have now access to social integration measures such as the first information path.
UK	Although in Scotland asylum seekers are allowed to take part in language courses and rely on NGOs services.

By assessing the skills and previous qualifications of migrants already during the asylum procedure, the integration of migrants could be accelerated. However, our analysis indicates that although this type of policy is often recognized as a possible and desirable in policy discourse, its practical implementation is not occurring in the SIRIUS partner countries. In most countries, there are no systematic procedures available for this and thus assessment of skills and qualifications often only happens once refugees start looking for work and/or education possibilities in the host country.

Table 1.8: Systematic assessment of asylum seekers' skills and previous qualifications during asylum procedure.

1.8 Are skills assessed during asylum procedures	
Czech Republic	No, recognition of qualification has to be done individually. The optional State Integration Programme can cover requalification courses etc. but again this has to be based on the individual plan.
Denmark	Yes, Asylum seekers are already interviewed about their educational background in accommodation centres and if asylum is granted this information is shared with the municipality, where they settle (International Migration Outlook, 2017, pp. 88). However, the Danish team's fieldwork demonstrates, that the initial interview in the accommodation centre is primarily focused on assessing the validity of the asylum claim, and little attention is paid to the educational background.
Finland	No, there is no official policy for this, although there have been projects that aim to do this, such as the TET-project organised by the Finnish Red Cross.
Greece	No, there is no official policy for this.
Italy	No.
Switzerland	Until 2019, there has been no systematic assessment during the asylum procedure. However, the introduction of an assessment procedure for asylum seekers that have a high probability of getting the refugee status is foreseen through the implementation of the Integration Agenda in 2019.
UK	No, there is no assessment of asylum seekers' skills and previous qualifications during asylum procedure. In Scotland there is a project that aims to do this (assessing skills of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers) but it is in the pilot phase.

1.4 Conclusion

The SIRIUS project looks at migrant labour market integration in seven European countries (Denmark, Czech Republic, Finland, Greece, Italy, Switzerland and UK), and in EU political arenas. In Work Package 3 (WP3), we focus specifically on labour market integration policy. The effects of ALMP and integration training must be seen together with immigration policies, which seek to restrict or encourage migration, and thereby to influence characteristics of the pool of immigrants arriving (See Rinne, 2012, pp. 3). However, MLI policies and immigration policies are made with different goals in mind, and implemented by different sets of bureaucracies. Immigration policy is in large part concerned with policing and maintaining national security, which involves monitoring, and perhaps deporting. It is about determining whose presence is desired, according to some notion of the national interest. MLI policies are concerned with educating, advising and matching workers with jobs, which ideally, at least in part, takes into account the interests of the MRAs themselves in finding a job, as well as those of employers in finding good recruits, and governments, in reducing the welfare burden on public finances. Not surprisingly, as we see in the SIRIUS national reports, these two sets of policies work to cross-purposes, with, for example, employers being prevented from recruiting the workers they want, or with asylum-seekers forced into idleness while awaiting their asylum decisions.

The main barriers to labour market integration of migrants are similar across SIRIUS countries, and include lack of language skills, ineffective administrative and legal structures, lack of recognition of (home country) skills and qualifications, lack of needed skills and competences, lack of networks, discrimination, exploitation, general atmosphere of xenophobia in society and (perceived) cultural barriers. There are large variations from country to country in the level of resources for programmes and in policy frameworks. The reason is in part just the general level of resources devoted to active labour market policies; if there are more resources for active labour market policy and social welfare generally, then there is more for MRAs as well. But political climate play as well, with cuts to programmes sometimes inspired by anti-immigrant politics.

The eligibility of specific migrant groups to participate in MLI programmes varies from country to country, as do the availability of specific services. In some countries, such as the Czech Republic and Denmark programmes are mainly offered to newly arrived refugees, while in others such as in Finland and in Greece they are offered to all job seeking migrants. In the UK, programmes are only offered for resettled refugees, which have been chosen in collaboration with the UN. There is also great variation in the duration of integration programmes, which among SIRIUS countries ranges between five years in the UK to a few courses that last a few days in Switzerland. In particular, language learning is a part of these programmes highly valued by migrants. However, language learning takes a long time, and there are active policy discussions in many places about pushing migrants to go to work quickly, before their language skills are well developed. In countries with well-structured integration training programmes, there is a push to shorten these, and push migrants and refugees into jobs as quickly as possible. This may be at the cost of pushing well-qualified migrants and refugees into unqualified positions. Individualized integration plans are considered effective, and these may offer a better solution, taking into account the needs of some MRAs for longer integration plans, and others for shorter ones. These, however, assume

a capable public service bureaucracy with enough case workers to handle the workload; a look at the ALMP funding in the relevant countries (Figure 2) makes clear that the SIRIUS countries vary greatly in terms of capacity to do this.

While pushing migrants and refugees into unsuitable work may seem to be beneficial for public finances in the short term, in the long term it is likely to result in a poorer matching of workers to job, and a waste of human capital. In this sense, Denmark's relatively rigid "job first" is poorly considered. It also highlights the problem, also seen in Finland, of case workers not giving due consideration the qualifications and aspirations of migrants and refugees in recommending placements. Finally, asylum seekers with good prospects for having their applications accepted should be allowed to work and given access to MLI programs. In all report, it was made clear that the long processing time and enforced idleness of the application period was a problem, both for the asylum seeker, and from the perspective of public finances.

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Part II – EU and Country reports

2 EU

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2.1 Introduction

This paper explores European policy discourses and policy measures on the barriers and enablers preventing or assisting the integration of recently arrived migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in European labor markets. The paper adopts a mixed methods approach based mainly on a qualitative discourse analysis (QDA) of EU policy documents and interviews with stakeholders.

Labour market integration is a responsibility of member states and oftentimes takes place at the local or regional rather than national level. Relevant EU policies though create a framework that guides and reinforces member state policies for labour market integration. The aim of this framework is to support the efforts of the member state, simplify procedures and create common blueprints, circulate relevant information on policies and practices that could be useful particularly to those members states that are less experienced in migrant labour market integration, and finally to promote cooperation among member states in this policy field. We argue that the EU directives and other initiatives and programmes create a policy space” (Lawn 2011; Lawn & Lingard 2002; Jensen & Richardson 2003) within which member states can navigate.

To paraphrase Shakespeare, the course of true labour market integration never did run smooth. It stumbles over different factors that affect labour market integration negatively (as barriers) or it may also be helped by other factors positively (and we speak of ‘enablers’ of labour market integration).

This report aims to produce a detailed analysis of policies in the EU that guide Member States (MS) in their approaches to and policies on labor market integration (LMI) of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Challenging the European discourses of integration, my research starts with an exploration of how different European policy actors frame LMI in their main policy documents. The methodology adopted is that of qualitative discourse analysis assisted by a relevant software (NVivo). We identify four main discursive frames within which different actors approach LMI: the “Human Rights” frame; the “Europe of Skills” frame; the “Urban Paradise of Integration” frame; and the “Integration Promise” frame. These frames are not mutually exclusive but complementary to each other, much though they may seem contradictory.

The findings from the qualitative discourse analysis of the official EU policy documents are then related to the review of the relevant literature (i.e. the findings present in relevant studies) and to the views of EU level stakeholders including fonctionnaires and experts from the European Commission, different European agencies, trade unions and other non governmental organisations active in the field of migrant/asylum seeker/refugee labour market integration.

The following section presents briefly our methodological approach, while section 1.3 presents the analysis of the collected 180 EU legal and policy texts from a critical perspective looking at how they frame the issue of labour market integration and the factors that they identify as barriers or enablers. Section 1.4 turns to the literature review identifying the two main themes addressed in the relevant scholarly literature, notably the role of cities, and the question of migrant/refugee skills and qualifications. Section 1.5 turns to the stakeholder interviews with a view to assessing how they see the overall challenge and what they propose and how they assess the main enabling factors and the main barriers to labour market integration.

2.2 Methodology

The paper analyses three types of materials: formal EU policy documents of different types (including directives, communications, but also position papers, discussion papers, press releases and research reports); relevant studies; and semi-structured qualitative interviews with stakeholders.

Our database of formal EU policy documents originally included 300 downloaded texts which were processed in two rounds through the NVivo software. Of the original 300 we retained 180 that focused on issues of labour market integration rather than generic migrant and asylum seeker or refugee integration.

The 180 EU policy texts analysed in this report include legal and policy texts produced by EU actors such as the European Commission and the European Parliament, relevant European agencies, international organisations and civil society actors active at the EU level. A list of the actors whose document we analysed is given below:

- 1) European Commission and its departments;
- 2) Parties of the European Parliament (which have more than 5%, or more than 37 votes in the EU Parliament according to the latest 2014 elections):
 - European People's Party (215 votes out of 751 parliamentary seats)
 - Party of European Socialists (191 votes)
 - Alliances of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Part (58 votes)
 - Alliance of Conservatives and Reformists in Europe (50 votes)
 - Party of the European Left (20 votes)
 - European Democratic Party (9 votes)
 - European Christian Political Movement (6 votes)

The latter 3 parties have less than 5% votes - however, they are noted for their pro-Europeanization stance. It will be also to look at the discourses of the European Cristian Political Movement because the CCME has a strong labour-market integration stance (although in relation to refugees mostly).

- 3) European agencies that deal with labour-market integration implicitly or explicitly:
 - Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)
 - EASO
 - Cedefop
 - Eurofound
- 4) International organizations with office in Brussels:
 - IOM in Brussels

- MPI Europe
- ILO for Europe and Benelux countries
- 5) Faith organization assisting in labour-market integration:
 - CCME
 - Caritas
 - Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (Brussels)
 - Forum for European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations, FEMYSO
- 6) Trade Unions at the EU level:
 - ETUC
 - European Observatory of Working Life / EurWork (Eurofound's party)
 - European Monitoring Centre on Change / EMCC (Eurofound's party)
 - European Observatory of Quality of Life / EurLife (Eurofound's party)
- 7) Employers organizations at the EU level:
 - Confederation of Businesses / Business Europe
 - European Business Summit
 - European Issues

Most of the documents focusing on labour market integration were produced after 2014. This is not surprising as the increase of asylum seeking and migrant flows in the 2015 Mediterranean emergency brought labour market integration to the fore not only at member state but also at the EU level. Our document selection though has included some of the earlier legislative documents (such as the Employers Sanctions Directive 2009) that are important in the field.

The analysis of the EU policy documents follows a deductive logic. We look at the discursive frames that emerge from the documents, and the ways in which they 'construct' the policy challenge, notably the labour market integration of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Our analysis looked at the micro-level of textual structures, the meso-level analysis of actors' views and the macro-level analysis of inter-textuality and interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1995). However, given the brevity of this report we seek to highlight the main findings on how labour market integration is constructed through these policy documents and the actors and factors seen as the main drivers or barriers to labour market integration.

The scholarly literature is analysed in terms of its main themes and findings, through a critical review of the latter. While the stakeholder interviews are analysed following the a narrative thematic approach with a view to identifying what they see as the main issues and how their views compared to our analysis of the policy texts and of the relevant studies.

The concluding section seeks to bring these three threads together.

2.3 EU Policy Discourses on the Inflow of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers and Their Labour Market Integration

In the section below we first discuss the most important discursive frames through which the issue of migrant/asylum seeker/refugee labour market integration is presented and discussed in the EU policy and legal texts. We assess critically how they frame the ‘problem’ and the solutions that they propose. Sections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 focus on the barriers and enablers of labour market integration as presented in the texts analysed.

2.3.1 Framing LMI: Brave Trade Unions and the Rising Civil Society

2.3.1.1 Overview of Main Frames

With respect to the increasing migrant population in the EU, the European Commission (2015) notes that TCNs have an important impact on host countries’ labour markets. In its main policy guiding document *European Agenda on Migration* (2015) and its follow-up *Communication* of 2016, the Commission emphasizes that the potential positive fiscal net contribution of migrants depends upon their early entrance to the labor market and to the educational system of their host countries. Labour market integration is seen of course as dependent upon the recognition and utilization of their skills, a challenging process indeed. Another thread of policy documents though points to the impressive evidence on the labour market discrimination that migrants suffer from, brought forward by the FRA (2015, 2016) and the ETUC (2017, 2018), especially in relation to refugees and female domestic workers, who often end up working informally. These two actors often speak about the Europe of Abused Human Rights rather than the Europe of Work and Skills. Indeed, the Commission’s texts of the flagship *Sanctions Directive 2009/52/EC* and *European Agenda* (2015) seem to have triggered many responses from concerned political actors with respect to migrants’ needs, circumstances of their exploitation and existing labour market integration policies.

These two European discourses are, nevertheless, not conflictual but complementary to each other, interweaving into the complex tapestry of four main discursive frames:

- 1) Human Rights;
- 2) Europe of Skills; and
- 3) Urban Paradise Integration; and
- 4) Integration promise.

The dominating “Human Rights” frame is shared by a large array of actors: trade unions, EU agencies, think tanks and faith organizations (representing civil society). It presents migrants as the victims in the whole refugee emergency of the last few years. Migrants are referred to as refugees and undocumented domestic workers who find themselves trapped in the informal market and whose rights are abused by their employers. This frame can be also interpreted as “Miserable migrants versus bad employers”. It stresses the *feminization of suffering in employment* (particularly when it comes to domestic and care work) and brings together the discussion about recognition of credentials, with that of the informal market and the need to sanction exploitative employers.

This discursive frame is however contrasted to the “Europe of Skills” frame which emphasises the demand-supply dynamics in the labour market. This frame is taken up by a variety of actors

notably the European Commission, EU Parliament parties, think tanks and trade unions. Actors who represent this frame speak in terms of fast solutions associated with immediate arrival services, apprenticeships and employer-employee match. The actors include trade unions, employer organizations and political actors. The question is, however, where to find such a policy making space that would implement these priorities. Frequently raised by such sceptical actors as think tanks (MPI), this provocative question is answered by trade unions and the European Commission, who believe in the potential of cities as appropriate sites of labour market integration for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

This in fact is the content of the third discursive frame identified which we labelled: “Urban Paradise”. Here actors propose the city as the appropriate governance and implementation space for labour market integration. Actors who share this frame speak in favour of urban policies and integration projects supported by municipal levels of governance, emphasising the importance of comprehensive support packages, and the need for cross-sectional provision of services. Among the actors are the Commission, faith organizations, trade unions and think tanks. Political parties also support this frame, although in a kind of distanced way.

These frames are not mutually exclusive but overlapping in their perspective upon the role of the Member States in the labour market integration process. The main theme that unites these three frames is an implicit accusation that member states fail to follow/implement the suggested guidelines, while the Commission lacks tools to insist. That is why, all frames stress the importance of alternative methods of coordination and the mediating role of trade unions and NGOs in promoting migrant, asylum seeker and refugee labour market integration.

2.3.1.2 Migrants or Refugees?

A key feature that underpins all these frames is their general conceptual ambiguity. There is a terminological fluidity, or terminological isomorphism, in all four frames, with accent on the *migrant who is a de facto refugee*. The overall terminological landscape is very isomorphic, constantly returning to the interchangeable terms “migrant” and “refugee”. This is illustrated by the following interdiscursive features. First, discourses create the portrait of the migrant who is the undifferentiated subject, continuously referred to as “migrant”, “refugee” and “asylum seeker” interchangeably. Then several texts promote a gendered approach emphasising that women migrants may have important skills but end up at the lower level of the occupational ladder.

Although different actors may give preference to a particular term when opening their texts, they usually quickly switch to others and use them as synonyms in reference to the same subject. For example, faith organizations (such as Caritas) begin their discursive “human rights” talks usually with the reference to “refugee” and then start using the term “asylum seeker”. The identical terminological fluctuation is found in the texts of CCME, who glides between the “seasonable worker” and “refugee”. FRA and other EU agencies balance between “vulnerable migrant”, “domestic worker”, “seasonable worker” and “migrant woman”; while employer organizations mix the concepts of “refugee” and “unskilled migrant”.

Yet apart from the mechanical confusion, such isomorphic tendencies may also point to the commonality of problems for very different categories of people, with different statuses and different entry points, such as migrant female domestic and care workers, seasonable workers or highly skilled migrants and refugees. This shows how the two main frames of Human Rights

and Skilled Europe are paradoxically intertwined in the discourses of several actors, from different perspectives.

On the other hand, such fusions may point to a specific problem that needs a policy response. For example, trade unions and employer organizations constantly switch between the terms “undocumented migrant”, “irregular migrant” and “refugee” while arguing for policy changes that would allow for the regularisation of different. Human rights organizations and EU agencies often speak in the same texts about “domestic workers”, “seasonable workers” and “refugee women” within the context of the Sanctions Directive in order to raise the issue of penalties for abusing employers.

As a result, “refugee” is often interdiscursively used as an umbrella term, often interchangeably with undocumented migrant” and sometimes with “asylum seeker”. This term is applied to all economic migrants while there are no distinct policies on refugees or asylum seekers.

2.3.1.3 “Bad Employers” and “Good Employers”: Europe “in Crisis” or “in Demand”?

In its own Evaluation from 2018, the European Commission itself stresses the victimization of the migrant who comes to the EU and needs “emergency assistance”, which is stated as a primary goal on the EU policy agenda (Commission 2018). This well resonates with the overall ‘refugee crisis’ discourse confirmed in the *European Agenda on Migration*, with a particular stress on the ‘immediate protection of those in need’ (meaning refugees) as the main imperative for integration in general (Commission 2015).

In fact, the first and major part of the *European Agenda* (ibid) calls for the ‘swift and determinate action in response to the human tragedy’, with accent on basic survival needs (sections ‘The completion of the common asylum system’ and ‘A shared management of the European border’). This argument has become the EU blueprint for further action and understanding on the EU level. At the same time, the issue of skill utilization is addressed only laterally at the end of the document, in the section ‘A new model of legal migration’ (ibid). Thus the overall argumentation follows the logic “from emergency to utilization”: ‘Europe should continue to be a safe haven for those fleeing persecution as well as an attractive destination for the talent and entrepreneurship of students, researchers and workers’, with the ambiguous figure of economic migrant placed at the very end of the integration continuum (Commission 2015).

In this concourse of the two main frames – “Human Rights” versus “Skills” – the first evidently dominates the policy landscape because it is more associated with the reality of today – *refugees flooding to the EU*. The “abused migrant worker” frame presents the narrative of the refugee or asylum seeker who enters the EU, having lost all her/his certifying papers, and who often has no resident status or authorization for work. S/he engages in unauthorized work for exploitative employers. Trade unions and faith organizations who sustain this frame refer to the Sanctions Directive and advise the Commission on the importance of sanctioning employers.

Actors that use this frame usually provide ethnographic evidence about migrants’ needs, which often remain neglected, and about the employers’ responsibility, claiming for societal altruism and good will. This frame is full of altruism as a tone of voice, in the rationale of which the civil

society should rise and support migrants. This is illuminated by FRA's rich narratives of "migrant exploitation":

Many of 2.5 million domestic workers in the EU risk being exploited, unaware of their rights and unprotected by a lack of inspections monitoring how they are being treated...The various forms of labor exploitation form a continuum of severity of abuses spanning from slavery to relatively less serious forms of exploitation which fall short of constituting severe labour exploitation and a criminal offense (FRA 2015).

Within the overall humanitarian crisis milieu, there are frequent misrepresentations of some migrant groups. FRA (2018) focuses consistently on the oppression of female migrants, with specific attention to female domestic workers, who are portrayed as abused and devoid of agency. Their experiences of abuse is supported by evidence from narrative accounts, which create a black-and-white portrayal of a woman, who stays illegally in the country, experiences various forms of human rights violations, and finds herself helpless. This type of analysis is somehow projected onto all undocumented migrants and refugees, with whom economic migration is further associated in the texts of ETUC, Business Europe and faith organizations.

Sharing the discourse of the "abused/neglected migrant", the European Trade Unions Confederation (ETUC 2018) notes that TCNs' who come to Europe have four basic types of needs when accessing European job markets.

First, TCNs need an opportunity to negotiate their employment contracts from the very beginning. Second, they always require access to work-related services to support their employment and job search. Third, their wellbeing also depends on social and tax benefits that they often do not receive. Fourth, their labour market integration is strongly correlated with their access to education and retraining, which is often limited.

As summarized by Eurofound (2018), TCNs need *social protection* in the form of monetary, educational and health support; and protection/rehabilitation from injustice. While raising the issues of injustice and human rights, not many European discourses connect employers' responsibility for violating the law with that of the state for ensuring migrant rights. Thus this opens up discursive spaces of diffused responsibility.

In fact, migrants economic discrimination is often presented as solely caused by employers' direct violation of the *Sanctions Directive 2009/52/EC*. FRA (2015) notes that TCNs' are discriminated more often than intra-EU migrants who are European nationals. This is first of all manifested in a lower labour market positioning, illuminated by over-qualification and under-employment of tertiary educated non EU migrants. The situation of migrant women is even more difficult as they suffer from the "double disadvantage" and experience larger employment gaps compared to migrant men or local women (Council 2017; Eurodiaconia 2018).

According to the FRA and ETUC reports, migrants/asylum seekers and refugees suffer from underpayment, overtime work, infringements of privacy and scarce possibilities to change employer. Domestic and seasonable workers are particularly subject to severe exploitation 'equating to slavery, servitude and forced labour, with such forms of abuse as bullying, harassment, and malnutrition' (FRA 2018). On top of that, *undocumented* migrants have no access to educational and healthcare services as well as to mechanisms to combat employer's abuse. It is the fear of deportation that prevents them from reporting injustice and referring to the public sector for help (FRA 2015, 2016; ETUC 2017, 2018).

As a remedy for the human rights abuse and severe exploitation, trade unions often ask the Commission and MSs to create new mechanisms for legalising the status of irregular migrants and to identify skilled people among undocumented migrants. Trade unions and employer organizations are determined to locate the right employers who would support LMI at least temporarily.

Representing the voices of civil society and business organizations, trade unions and employer organizations stress the role of the third sector in the EU-wide policy schemes for assisting a better match between labor migrants and job opportunities. Noted for some success, such schemes engage trade unions and migrant rights organizations in introducing migrants and employers to each other and thus facilitating TCNs' employment, at least on a temporary basis. Both civil and business actors emphasise the importance of cooperation between trade unions and civil society in supporting labor market integration.

Some of the EU political actors also support and even develop the skilled-economy frame of 'wanting a Europe that creates jobs' – the Europe of skills and entrepreneurship (ALDE 2018). Within this overall rhetoric, entrepreneurship and private sector are seen as the only venue for migrant/asylum seeker/refugee labor market integration. Political actors who support this "demand-supply" frame are also in favour of highly skilled migration: "The legal migration of skilled third country workers into and between states to complement the workforce of MS nationals remains an important way to maintain Europe's workforce" (ALDE 2018).

The central decisions are, however, extremely conflictual. Although the European Commission clearly sees skilled workers as a source of European competitive advantage and makes high stakes on them for 2025 (Commission 2015), TCNs' with tertiary education show 'persistent rates of over-qualification and under-employment'; and this by now remains a problem impossible to solve (Council 2017). The Commission's approach to skill utilization is thus mostly *sectorial* as related to the mobility of a relatively small group of 'well-trained, highly-skilled professionals travelling to Europe for short periods of time', who de facto do not need to undergo additional procedures of recognition (ibid). In terms of suggested remedies, the European discourse of integration remains quite skeptical, paying credit to the fact that it would be a long-term bureaucratic procedure on the MS level (ETUC 2018).

2.3.1.4 The Urban Paradise and the Promise of Integration

"Employers looking for skilled employees" and "undocumented migrants restoring their lost credentials while leaving their abusive employers" - such an LMI integration project would need space and resources. While generally supported by the Commission and other political actors, the most successful LMI policies are still recognized as small-scale. The Commission (2018) admits that its own capacity and the member states' motivation for change are limited and cater mainly to the short-term solution of labour market integration problems. The most successful EU policies are seen by the Commission and by the EU Parliament parties as those involving *immediate measures of social integration* such as civil integration/linguistic education, which prepare the migrant for but *do not guarantee* employment. Such measures are justified by the actors as relatively easy to achieve, especially when supported by the private sector and city governance. Their list includes language- and vocational training,

informational exchange about employment opportunities and civil education through community engagement.

The Urban Paradise frame is widely supported by all EU actors, who try to be involved to the fullest in labour market integration initiatives at the city level, as promoted in the the Commission's Urban Agenda on Migration. It may however seem that the European Commission's texts are full of wishful thinking and nice examples but do not address the specific implementation challenges that member states are confronted with when seeking to implement the proposed policies.

After having provided this overall overview of the four main discursive frames around which the EU level policy and legal texts are organized, we turn to focus specifically on the elements identified as barriers to integration and the factors that are seen as enabling labour market integration.

2.3.2 Barriers and Their Origins: The Failure of the State

The policy, legal texts and reports analysed seem to suggest that labour market integration is best achieved at the local level and that there are important shortcomings within the member state implementation of labour market integration policies. The reports seem to suggest that member states do not follow the suggestions and guidelines provided. The main migrant/asylum seeker/refugee labour market integration *barriers* identified in the texts analysed are the following.

First, both political and civil actors see the uncertainty of the migrant's legal status at the host country as an important barrier (Caritas 2018; Council 2009; ETUC 2018). As the civil actors further explain, aware of their obligation to report on the migrant's illegal status, public service providers often step aside from supporting TCNs. Irregular migrants and asylum seekers with uncertain status also refrain from referring to public services as they are afraid that this may lead to their apprehension and expulsion. Civil society actors who sustain the Human Rights frame are worried about the herein created vicious circle of irregular or insecure legal status, informal work and non communication between migrants and public services.

Second, a number of human rights organizations are seriously concerned about the overall impossibility to resolve problems with refugees' and illegal migrants' skill *recognition*, even despite the widely advertised European Qualifications Framework/EQF (ETUC 2017, 2018; FRA 2008).

As the civil society actors further note, challenge in this respect arise from the *lack of information* for migrants on how to overcome the barriers mentioned above and to manage their own labour market integration (FRA 2015, 2018). This is actually obstacle number three, multiplied by the final barrier in the face of broader *anti-immigrant* sentiments across Europe in recent years (CCME 2018).

2.3.2.1 Legal Barriers

An important barrier that is recognized by all EU policy actors is the precarious legal status of irregular migrants. It is the overall reluctance of member states to legalize irregular migration that primarily blocks TNCs' entrance to the labor market and work-related benefits. Their irregular status usually limits undocumented migrants or asylum seekers to taking up informal work. Although the *Sanctions Directive* clearly states the importance of legalization of irregular migrants as a key tool for combatting irregular migration and informal work, the European

Commission can do little in this respect as this is an issues to be dealt with by member states. In fact, without the MS-sponsored legalization, 'existing systems of sanctions against employers are insufficient to achieve complete compliance with prohibitions', which was noted in *Sanctions Directive* as early as in 2009 and which has stayed unmodified until now in European policy-making (Council 2009).

Beyond the question of insecure or irregular status, the main question raised across texts produced by different actors is: Where to start from for achieving migrant labour market integration? There is an inter-discursive consensus on the urgency of 'a fair recognition of qualifications awarded outside the Union' (Council 2017, *European Qualifications Directive*, Article 18), because the lack of recognition becomes the main barrier in labour market integration and the main cause of indirect discrimination (FRA 2018). However, the actors admit that the complex public sector bureaucracy and ambiguity significantly impedes the recognition and makes it costly and highly bureaucratic.

2.3.2.2 Attitudinal Barriers

In fact, where can the undocumented migrant refer for help? On the attitudinal level, the emergent public service failure creates a fear of penalties among public service officials for any unauthorized help to undocumented migrants, who, knowing this, have, in their turn, a fear of deportation and consequently abstain from seeking help in the public sector. The absence of the firewall between the public sector and the immigration law becomes an important factor preventing labour market integration.

As further noted by FRA (2018), the weakness of the public sector makes no one seemingly responsible for informational exchange, causing 'lack of transparency in employment relations and lack of institutional monitoring'. The European civil society and business organizations also note that there tends to be confusion and lack of monitoring as to which rights and conditions pertain to which migrant or asylum seeking or refugee groups. This results in general confusion and particularly obstructs the recognition of skills and qualifications earned at the country of origin. The lack of standardized procedures for skills' recognition across sectors and countries leads also to indirect discrimination on the grounds of nationality: they are often viewed by employers as non-qualified or unable to perform a certain job only because they are foreign (Caritas 2014, 2018; FRA 2015, 2018).

On top of that, another barrier is that of migrant-phobia as it is expanding in recent years, which affects decisions made by both immigration officials and employers on the entrance to and the progression to the labor market (CCME 2018).

2.3.3 Labour Market Integration Enablers and Suggested Remedies

2.3.3.1 Early Entrance and the Power of Social Integration

All actors agree that enablers of labour market integration are those that facilitate early entrance to employment. However, this would depend not only on the legal status of the migrant but also on her/his capacity to understand all complexities of the host country environment. The Commission repeatedly emphasizes the importance of knowledge

exchange among all policy actors and, following this advice CSR Europe (2018) summarizes the most important practices facilitating labour market integration:

- *Direct Employment Enablers* (primary target, supported by trade unions and employer organizations within the “Europe of Skills” frame):
 - Transparent employment relations and contracts;
 - Vocational training in various forms;
 - Direct private sector engagement with emphasis on apprenticeship;
- *Employability Enablers* (to support the enablers above, objective that is shared by business and civil actors):
 - Language-, cultural- and IT- training to accumulate knowledge about the overall labour market landscape;
- *Social Integration* (to support the enablers above, objective shared by all actors):
 - Community activities that promote awareness of the labour market and networking, with emphasis on role models and cultural education specifically for women.
- *Basic Needs- / Human Rights Enablers* (to support the enablers above, objective that is shared by civil actors and EU agencies):
 - Financial aid;
 - Relief aid including food, housing and medical care);
 - Legal services and trauma counseling to facilitate migrants’ knowledge about their own rights and redress mechanisms
- *Social Business Enablers* – service packages to support the enablers above (supported by employer organizations and trade unions).

Although working on the short-term basis, these practices have a positive impact on labour market integration for a number of reasons: The ability to find employment depends mainly on migrant’s education/skills but also on their knowledge about the host country context and employment conditions. This is most easily achieved through linguistic, cultural and IT training received by NGOs or other civil society actors. In many cases, these same organisations and training/information programmes also help migrants deal with trivial practical issues of daily life thus facilitating indirectly their access to the labour market. Such support services are most efficient when provided by different actors in cooperation (CSR Europe 2018; ETUC 2018; IOM 2018).

2.3.3.2 Whose Responsibility?

The responsibility for the labour market integration of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants is mostly placed on the shoulders of the following actors:

Trade Unions are viewed as responsible, by both business- and employer organizations, for mediation between various actors, especially in providing services and protection for undocumented migrants (Business Europe 2015, 2018; ETUC 2016). In addition civil society actors suggest that trade unions have an important role to play for undocumented migrants, who may not have educational/professional certificates and legal residence permits, and who usually have difficulties finding an employer or receiving any other kind of information. In this context, trade unions are expected to become the interlocutors between employers (from both the private and the public sector) and undocumented migrants; thus acting as a firewall between irregular migrants and enforcement actors.

Another civil society actors who is seen as having an important role to play are *Faith organizations*. Churches clearly see their own mission as educating xenophobic local people including representatives of mass media, who both shape and respond to anti-immigrant public attitudes. In the opinion of faith organizations, the human rights education of the carriers of migrantophobia would change both the public image of the migrant and the attitudes of employers (CCME 2018).

In the majority of texts, the responsibility for concrete actions is assigned to the third sector represented by business and private enterprise, who are viewed as relatively independent from the state. Yet while these European actors actively negotiate their own responsibility for labor market integration, some European parties expect *migrants* themselves to be responsible for learning new work ethics and culture before or immediately upon coming to Europe – and thus for shaping their own labour market outcomes (ALDE 2018).

2.3.3.3 Suggested Remedies

Future policies to promote labour market integration include the following measures.

These recommendations relate primarily to the improvement of legal mechanisms and public services. Looking at the discussion by the civil society actors, EU agencies and think tanks stress further development of the *multi-stakeholder* approach by involving many more third sector actors (IOM 2014).

Led by ETUC (2016), trade unions and some civil actors advise the Commission on opening new channels with *new legislative mechanisms* for legal migration and especially for the legalization of the undocumented migrant status (ETUC 2016). One main suggestion here is to create a legislative *firewall* between public service provision (e.g. health, education, training) and immigration control mechanisms, with a special emphasis on the work of labour inspectorates and social workers (especially in application to irregular domestic work migrants) (ibid). Apart from that, business actors stress the importance of further *matching* skills and employers, with special emphasis on improving access to information (Business Europe 2015, 2018).

2.3.3.4 Concluding Remarks

Summing up, labour market integration is an important – although, to a certain extent, ambiguous and controversial – theme in EU policy debates. While developing a long-term solution to the refugee crisis (with which economic migration is often associated), the EU lays a particular stress on the legalization of undocumented migrants and on the separation of public sector from immigration law enforcement in order *to convert illegal and irregular migration to legal labour migration*.

There are four basic discursive frames of LMI within which policy responses can be classified: “poor migrants abused by bad employers” (led by the ETUC and FRA); “Europe of skills” (led by business organizations and trade unions); “City integration” (highly supported by all actors and also by the Commission and Parliament); and “Integration promise” (the main frame produced by the Commission).

In general, all actors actively learn from each other and share accumulated knowledge, which is evident in their understanding of barriers, enablers and remedies. Lower level actors actively cooperate with each other in activities that relate to the rationales of City integration (as an alternative space for integration) and employer-skill match. They actively use the urban setting and social integration as alternative tools to compensate for the inability of MS to implement the change.

The actors positions in relation to the disseminated discourses are different. The Commission inevitably participates in all debates – yet as if from the distance, in a kind of abstract way. The EU Parliament generally abstains from discussing LMI unless in general “HSM” terms. However, think tanks and trade unions have been very active and inventive players and proponents of the legalization of illegal migration. They have also modernized the “Europe of skills frame” by placing an emphasis on the emergence of the “skilled (though unrecognized) refugee” in effort to shift attention from the refugee crisis stance to that of skills and stressing the importance of converting illegal migrants into high-skill migrants as much as possible. There have been no sharp discursive contradictions within the documents analysed.

2.4 Assessment of Policy Measures: Cities and Packages

Having outlined the main discursive frames in the legal and policy texts and reports produced by EU level actors (both EU institutions and civil society), we now turn to look at the specific policy interventions suggested at EU level and undertaken by complex networks of actors.

The discourses mentioned above serve to frame European policies of labour market integration and to guide policy-makers in MSs, suggesting a rather diverse range of measures. This section offers a description of policies that are in use on the EU level, including immigration policies, education policies, employment policies and social welfare policies. Although these policies aim at all people who live in the EU and mainly EU nationals, the description of these policies will provide the overall context within which I will then specifically look at labour market integration policies for third country nationals.

The main framework for the implementation of European policies is the Open Method of Cooperation (OMC), or the European ‘soft law’, which was initiated as a European policy instrument by the Lisbon Treaty in 2000. This main policy making principle means that the EU has no direct responsibility for implementation but uses mainly guidelines: the European Commission guides MSs, who may or may not follow its suggestions. Naturally the situation is different for what concerns Directives which have to be transposed and implemented and on which the Commission can start infringement procedures.

The OMC is closely linked to such an organizational tool as Shared Management of administration and financing, which is delivered through partnerships between the Commission, national administrations, municipal level of governance and networks of civil organizations. While administering various programmes, they liaise with each other in various configurations, forming complex networks of European partners.

Then the European policy landscape consists of several strategic areas such as employment, education, social welfare and foreign relations – and has its European Employment Strategy, European Educational Strategy and European Immigration Strategy. There are also a number

of sub-strategies such as the European Youth Initiative and European Entrepreneurship Plan with emphasis on women entrepreneurs.

2.4.1 Overview of Existing European Policies

Below we offer a brief overview of general policies that are relevant for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees:

In terms of the European Educational Policy, it is rather segmented and aiming at vocational and high-skill education rather than mass education. Its objectives and instruments for joint work on the European level have been presented in the Strategic Framework 'Education and Training 2020'. In particular, with regard to the following EU education programmes and initiatives:

- ERASMUS+ Programme (2014-2020), which allows students, trainees and academic staff to spend time abroad in Europe;
- Marie Skłodowska-Curie Programme for experienced researchers;
- EUROPASS-standard CV for study and employment in Europe;
- DaVinci Programme for the European mobility in vocational training; and
- European Qualifications Framework, the purpose of which is to enable comparison of national qualifications.

In terms of the employment policy, there is the so-called European Employment Strategy (EES), which is financially supported through the European Social Fund (ESF). This fund (established in 1957) serves to promote jobs and social inclusion, education, training and acquisition of new skills.

A joint tool for the implementation of both the European Employment and Education Strategies is the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) for lifelong learning. The main EU reference framework for evaluating qualifications and credentials that enable education and employment within the EU, the EQF was established in 2008 and revised in 2017 to guide the MSs' National Qualifications Frameworks.

As noted in the EQF Brochure (Thyssen 2018: 5), it is a European 'translation device between different qualifications systems and their levels'. As stated in the ICF-GHK (2013: 3) Evaluation of the EQF, 'the general objective of the EQF is to promote lifelong learning, increase employability, mobility and the social integration of workers and learners'. In MSs, formal credentials are assessed against the EU benchmarks from the EQF by either national or regional coordinating mechanisms. Informal credentials are usually assessed by employers through alternative methods such as job interview (Cedefop 2016). The efficacy of the EQF is regularly analyzed by Cedefop in its *European Inventory of Formal and Informal Learning* (2012, 2014, 2016). Its latest update of the 2016 shows that many EU Member States still have serious problems with their validation systems and coordinating mechanisms, especially in reference to overseas credentials. Thus the EQF is successful mostly on the level of intra-EU mobility and mostly either for EU-nationals or for people who have received their credentials within the EU. Although the principle of mobility is mentioned as central in this EU tool, it does not specifically target TCNs in the EU but mostly all people living in the EU, including EU nationals returning with overseas degrees.

With regard to EU immigration policy: the EU is competent to lay down conditions governing entry and legal residence. However, the right to determine their volumes has been retained by MSs, while the EU law means no provision for the harmonization of national laws.

It has been the most successful in its application to very specific streams of the migrant such as high-skill migrants (including students and researchers), refugees and seasonal workers. The most successful policies and initiatives based on this method are:

- GAMB approach;
- The Blue Card Directive, especially in its revised version;
- EU-wide relocation and resettlement schemes for refugees and asylum seekers – the 'hotspot' approach
- Directive 2014/36/EU of seasonal workers, who may stay in Europe for 5-9 months;
- Directive 2016/801 on entry for the purposes of research and study.

There are no directives thus far regulating general labour migration for the purposes of paid employment or for self employment outside the categories outlined above.

2.4.2 Labour Market Integration Policies: Shared Management

Analyzing policies for migrants on the EU level within the above given context, we should thus clearly distinguish between immigration and recognition policies - and the rest of the policies. The policy-making distinction line should be also drawn between highly-skilled migrants (such as students and researchers) - and the rest of the migrants (such as refugees and asylum seekers, who are within the TCN majority).

Immigration policies and policies on the recognition of foreign credentials are implemented and monitored by the member states (sometimes following some general guidance from the European Commission). As already noted, the exception is the category of high-skill migrants, whose immigration is structured through the European *Blue Card Directive 2009/50/EC* (which is now under revision) and a few Directives for short-term skilled workers: *Study/Training Directive 2004/114/EC* on admission of TCNs for study (including student exchange) and training, and *Researchers Directive 2005/71/EC* on admission of researchers for scientific studies. The immigration of the rest of long-term migrants who come to Europe is structured along the national schemes. For high-skill migrants, education and training policies also come in the form of EU-funded Horizon 2020 and Erasmus+.

The rest of the policies, including those on employment, education and training, housing, and social welfare services for refugees and asylum seekers are administered through *shared management* schemes, with a leading role for the European Commission. This mode of funding and coordination means the cooperation between the Commission and other actors takes place often at the municipal level. The Commission manages the budget and the policy implementation either directly or indirectly (that is, through a third party such as a specific NGO).

2.4.3 Funding

The sponsorship to such initiatives is provided through the following funds of the European Commission, whose budget lines are overlapping:

- AMIF (Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund);
- ESF (European Social Fund); and

- ERDF (European Regional Development Fund).

According to the Commission's *Urban Agenda for the EU* (2016), integration projects should be first of all implemented on the city level and co-sponsored by the AMIF, ESF and ERDF, on the one hand, and national and municipal funders, on the other hand (Commission 2018, *Evaluation*).

Within the Shared Management framework, AMIF is the key funder to promote labour market integration for refugees and asylum seekers. Thus in 2014-2017, the number of its beneficiaries increased from 18,944 to 194,122; while the number of refugees trained through this fund increased seven times over the last year (Commission 2018, *Evaluation*).

2.4.3.1 National Co-funding Schemes

In fact, AMIF and also EIF (European Integration Fund) have been very successful in cooperating with MSs toward provision of short-term integration services such as access to information, language courses and civic integration training. In the rest of the cases, MSs decide to invest and to cooperate very rarely. Below are a few examples of the most successful AMIF projects co-funded with MSs on the 50%-50% or 70%-30% basis.

- ◆ *Work for You* (DE/2014/PR/00134), 2015-2018, enables young migrants to improve their professional opportunities by carrying out a voluntary activity;
- ◆ *French digital administration for foreign nationals* (FR/2014/PR/3238), 2014-2020, contributes to AMIF specific objectives by developing a global information system for asylum and legal migration – to validate long-stay visas; digital management of applications to hire foreign nationals;
- ◆ *Slovenian – initial integration of immigrants* (SI/2015/PR/0001), 2-15-2018, learning Slovenian to the level required for certification;
- ◆ *The economic empowerment of TNCs* (LU/2015/PR/0011), 2015-2018, newcomer orientation sessions, and showcase interviews about one's economic capacity for *English* and Portuguese speaking TNCs in Luxemburg;
- ◆ *Community integration centre in Vilnius for TCNs* (LT/2016/PR/0012), 2016-2019. Language, Vocational Training consultations, also employment, psychological and legal consultations.

2.4.3.2 Cities and Faith Organizations

However, a more central role in the delivery of European funded projects is played by European cities. The Commission itself admits that its integration initiatives are more successful when on the city- and civil society levels. However, such actors as cities and faith organizations have been always acting as microcosms of both the nation-state and Europeanization/globalization (Favell 2008; Florida 2004, 2005, 2010). Although not the EU per se, the units of the city and faith organization offer a platform for the realization of the EU ideals and of EU policies.

They are more compact in their governance and they serve as harbours of the major bulk of TCNs. As noted by the Commission in its *'Action Plan for the Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees'*, 'Migration is a local reality', given the highest percentage of migrants and refugees

living in cities. Assessing its own problems with the OMC, the Commission (2015) itself admits that the most winning initiatives such as civic education projects and migrant entrepreneurship are best implemented when on the city level: 'Municipalities and civil society have always been at the forefront of such initiatives'. In this connection, the Commission (2018) has a specific integration programme 'Urban Academy' for collaboration with cities and faith organizations – 'an initiative developed under the Partnership on the Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees'

Eurocities (2016) notes that cities across Europe have shown a strong capacity for the coordination of various services and for liaising with external stakeholders even within a weak national framework. Some cities have even raised *their own funding* to employ more integration-related staff and to provide such services for refugees as:

- Language courses;
- Rehabilitation from stress and trauma;
- De-centralized housing schemes;
- Informational services; and
- Cross-sectional packages.

In the majority of cases, successful integration policies are usually *cross-sectional* – that is, delivered in *Policy Packages*, combining language training, new skill acquisition, trauma counseling and informational services. When speaking about European policy implementation, it therefore makes sense to present not fixed taxonomies but *Policy Packages*, embracing active employment policies, educational-, social welfare- and other policies altogether.

Examples of the most successful EU-city co-sponsored policies are: Refugee Taskforces in Riga, Neighbourhood Informational Sessions in Utrecht, Asylum Support Centre in Espoo (Informational Centre in Arabic), and Multi-Cultural Educational Centre in Malburgen (MOZC), among many others.

Apart from cities, Faith organizations actively sponsor and co-sponsor integration policy packages on the EU level. Across Europe, Diakonie works with refugees, migrant families, undocumented migrants in detention centres and exploited workers. For example, the Diakonie project *Doma* (2017-2019) in the Czech Republic provides social assistance to refugees dealing with authorities and jobs; educational help to labour migrant families with an emphasis on cultural guidance, language classes and tutoring; and social integration through cooking workshops and other congregational activities that allow migrants to meet local people and to socially integrate (CCME 2015; Eurodiaconia 2018).

Summing up, the implementation of the European policy follows the basic lines outlined in the *European Agenda on Migration* (2015) - mostly in relation to refugees and asylum seekers, and with emphasis on social integration as a gateway to their labour market integration and on its ad hoc outcomes. The most successful policies are delivered cross-sectionally on the level of city and civil society.

Unfortunately, there are neither many implemented policies on passive labour employment (such as monetary benefits) nor on the recognition of foreign credentials for low skilled migrants - and even for high-skill refugees, who often come to the EU without educational/professional certificates that would prove their skills. There is thus no implemented EU-wide and AMIF-controlled policy with respect to the requirements of the

Sanctions Directive or of the *European Qualification Framework*. These two flagship policy-guiding texts function as phantom documents, with almost null impact upon policy implementation.

2.5 Meta-analysis of Existing Literatures about Labour Market Integration in the EU

The concern over tensions between the Commission and its MSs in the implementation of labour market integration services is also expressed in the majority of previous studies on LMI, which will be presented in this section. This section offers a literature review of LMI outcomes, services and policies in the EU that have been examined in post 2014 reports and articles. This literature review offers a complementary perspective on EU policies for migrant/asylum seeker/refugee labour market integration.

2.5.1 Comparative Analysis

The topic of labour market integration in Europe has been gaining popularity over the recent years in various academic articles and policy reports. However, there has not been produced much assessment on the EU level apart from comparative studies. Existing studies are mostly comparative in nature rather than focusing on the consolidated EU level. This is not surprising because MSs continue to play a central role in integration, as it has been acknowledged in policy texts and evaluations.

Reports and evaluations of existing European and comparative projects often point to shortcomings at the national level as regards labour market integration and regularization of undocumented migrants and rejected asylum seekers. Our review of the relevant studies points also to a deterioration of labour market integration problems over the recent years, including poor educational outcomes and high unemployment rates for migrants and asylum seekers. Researchers and policy analysts raise the issue of responsibility for the integration failure. In the majority of cases, the responsibility is assigned to member states and national laws, who are blamed for not supporting integration (Eurofound 2018; Fernandez-Macias & Hurley 2017; Godthorpe 2016).

As far as the institutional context of labor market integration is concerned, assessments differ. Some researchers believe that institutions bear no responsibility and do not change in their responses to migrants' needs (Zuccotti 2015), while others *do blame* public institutions (Adda et al 2015). The most successful policies have been recognized as those focusing on social integration as a gateway to the labor market, while the most unsuccessful are those related to recognition of foreign credentials, intra-EU mobility and social mobility.

Within this array of quite pessimistic evaluations, there are studies that acknowledge the success of the labour market integration project in the EU, when looking at it from the demand-supply perspective in the highly skilled sector.

The most recent Technical Report of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European Commission on the long-term impact of migration and the role of integration policy points to rather positive outcomes of labour market integration for migrants who can offer their

employers skills that are in demand at the moment (Kancs & Lecca 2017). Discursively constructed and publicly perceived as ‘complementary’ to – rather than competing with – native workers, such skilled migrants evidently do not stumble in the EU over the barriers that their low skilled counterparts do (ibid; Peri 2016; World Bank 2015). As the JRC further explains, the reason beyond this success of integration is that the precise employer-skill match enables a speedy and early entrance to the labor market (Kancs & Lecca 2017; Robstad 2016).

Such studies prove that skilled migrants are indeed viewed as unproblematic and recognize the fact that the skill complementarity principle that fosters their labour market integration is not applicable to refugees and asylum seekers, whose integration inevitably stumbles over the barriers of recognition of their missing degrees and papers (Kancs & Lecca 2017). As the think tank of the European Commission, the JRC acknowledges existing gaps in relation to how the crisis affects integration policies and notes that the situation around barriers and enablers of refugees remains obscure (ibid). Given this, there is also an acknowledgement of the fact that higher skilled (but unrecognized) refugees have difficulties in finding high-skill jobs and often end up in informal work in the conditions of under-scaling and exploitation (ibid: 8).

2.5.2 Qualifications and Sanctions

Assessing the validity of the EQF for the European society in general and for the proliferation of the European Single Market and overall mobility of EU nationals, studies agree that the EQF still does not provide any imperatives or even clear guidelines to MSs on how to assess overseas qualifications of foreign nationals or the absence of such in refugees and asylum seekers (Commission 2013; ICF 2017; Thyssen 2018). Neither does it hold any responsibility for this (ibid).

Discourses of labour market integration and their evaluations agree that the failure of the EQF first of all manifests itself in the proliferation of the informal market employment practices and experiences of exploitation, against which MSs are being consistently called upon by the Commission and EU civil actors to fight. Representing the views of both civil society and the Commission, the Director of ORCA/Organization for Undocumented Workers and a PICUM Board Member Jan Knockaert (2017) makes an effort to somehow settle the tensions between the EU civil and institutional actors with a view to insisting that sanctions should be imposed on unscrupulous employers. Reviewing the Commission’s follow-up optimistic report on the progress of this directive from 2014 and reactions of ETUC and faith organizations to the provided evaluation, Knockaert (2017) points to the reason beyond their never-to-be-resolved tensions. In unison with the civil society actors, ORCA admits that employer sanctions are not meant to guarantee human rights and therefore to become a good method of integrating migrants. Moreover, the employer sanctions discursively formulated in terms of diffused responsibility (with the EU leaving enough space for MSs to make specific decisions) create a lot of ambiguity around how effective complaint mechanisms should be translated to MSs (ibid).

The Dutch civil organization Koninklijke Brill further analyses the transposition of the Sanctions Directive in Europe (Floriksdottir 2017). In her meta-analysis of the communication of this directives by such stakeholders as ETUC and Business Europe, Floriksdottir (2017) actually supports their position on the inadequacy of this EU tool to reduce the illegal migration pull factor by employer sanctions. In their critique of the Sanctions Directive, these actors are in

favor of new mechanisms of legalizing illegal migration rather than the old method of restricting it.

2.5.3 Actors' Voices

The understanding of the European integration policies by the public and involved actors is an important factor beyond the integration success or failure. In this connection, the Horizon 2020 project *MedReset* has investigated the perception of labour market integration policies and discourses by European institutional and civil actors (Roman 2018). The study findings show that civil actors consider the European discourse and policies “securitizing” and “Euro-centric”, also complaining on the lack of policies in the area of legal migration. Their perspective on the gender aspect is also in a striking conflict with that of European institutional actors, who think that migrant women are adequately represented in European discourses and policies. In the opinion of the interviewed civil actors, women are victimized as objects of discourse and hidden from the European public policies, which creates vicious circles of their marginalization. As example of such victimization is the expanding FRA (2018) discourse on human rights.

While disagreeing on the topic of human rights, European civil and institutional actors reach consensus on the success of urban initiatives.

2.5.4 Approaching the Issue

As we can see, these studies are often based on either qualitative or quantitative method and leave many questions unanswered. Literatures recognize their own shortcomings and agree that such evaluations are limited in scope as not grounded in sufficient scientific evidence. Despite the innovative nature of such projects, the methodological aspect sometimes remains thin to understand the situation more comprehensively.

For example, Eurofound (2018) notes that the refugee crisis has fostered new research projects with focus on labor market integration that compare practices across the EU. These projects understand the importance of distinguishing between different categories of labor migrant. Thus the European Migration network (EMN) makes a rather comprehensive analysis of labour market outcomes and needs of beneficiaries of international protection, who are an under-represented category in policy texts. The study by Martin and colleagues (2016) sponsored by the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) and the Bertelsmann Foundation evaluates existing policies and maps support measures in relation of the labour market integration of refugees. The studies by the European Employment Policy Observatory (Commission 2016), OECD (2016) and the Employment Committee of the European Parliament (Konle-Seidle & Bolitz 2016) further specifically look at barriers that refugees and asylum seekers face in their labor market integration in all EU countries.

Nevertheless, researchers stress that such existing evidence is not enough as based solely on statistical analysis and not on in-depth qualitative research (Eurofound 2018; IOM 2014). In the opinion of Benton and Diegert (2018) from the IOM, the lack of in-depth data on labour market integration prevents these studies from having an impact on policy reform at the national level. Since such data are missing, no significant change is possible (ibid), thus creating a rather skeptical stance towards these evaluations. In particular, data is missing on refugee integration even though currently refugees are seen as the main beneficiaries of

integration programmes (Desiderio 2016; Foti & Fromm 2016; Martin et al. 2016; Papademetriou & Benton 2016).

There are, nevertheless, some studies that present in-depth data on labor market integration yet from a very specific angle, which often leads toward misrepresentation. For example, the studies conducted by the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA 2015, 2016, 2018) on severe exploitation of female domestic workers brings forward their shocking experience of abuse. While creating a detailed narrative of their life experience of oppression and suggesting a number of measures, the studies do to examine to what extent such policies would be realistic given the lack of migrant protection priorities in the *Sanctions Directive*.

IOM (2014) focuses on the widely discussed topic of demand-supply as the main framework for labor market integration policies. While exploring all barriers for the early entrance to the market, the study also proposes a while range of measures to support integration in a rather descriptive way – that is, without analyzing their feasibility. The same is done in the recent book by Fasani (2018).

Another (although different) example of limited methodology can be the project on *Integration of Migrants and Refugees in the Labour Market* (Labour-Int 2018), sponsored by a consortium of ETUC, CEEP and EUROCHABRES, meticulously examines enablers and barrier to the labor market integration of refugees and asylum seekers – yet from the stakeholder perspective only, without presenting migrants' voices.

Some literatures make an argument that, without very reliable evidence, it is very difficult to assess policies and programmes (IOM 2014), which is illustrated by the MIPEX (2015, 4th Edition). This longitudinal quantitative study measures various MSs' policies to inform integration. However, labour market integration is resented only as a marginal aspect of overall migration, and without any analysis of barriers and enablers. This is what IOM (2014) is trying to state – the intrinsic inability to examine barriers and enablers if not through a mixed-method approach, with focus on in-depth interviews. In fact, labour market integration needs many more actors' voices to be heard.

2.6 Assessing Labour Market Integration through Policy Interviews with EU Level Stakeholders

2.6.1 Overview of Stakeholder Interviews

Following up from our brief critical overview of comparative studies assessing the relative success or failure of labour market integration policies, here we turn to a more in depth discussion of barriers and enablers of labour market integration for migrants/asylum seekers and refugees with stakeholders active at the EU level.

The main questions that this section is trying to answer are: How do institutional and civil actors perceive the barriers and enablers of labour-market integration? To what extent do they think the EU integration policies is or can be successful? To what extent do their opinions differ from the discursive representations of their organizations?

Further exploring the European discourse of labor market integration, this section challenges it with the findings from semi-structured interviews with 12 European stakeholders. Their names are withheld here to protect their anonymity.

The informants were primary contacted through the purposeful sampling, aiming to include people who work in Brussels-head-quartered organizations whose official discourses are analyzed in Part 1 and who are responsible for labour market integration policies. Three people were contacted through a snowball sampling, as recommended by other informants, who all know each other. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and also by phone and Skype, each lasting around 40 minutes. The interviews were initially audio-recorded and notes were taken. Interviews were then transcribed. The findings were analyzed through the method of thematic analysis, echoing the themes found in the official discourse of the selected organizations. For the purposes of confidentiality, the informants appear in the text under fictitious names such as '*Informant 1,12*'.

2.6.2 Different Migrant Categories: Oversimplification of their Needs

All interviewed actors point to the oversimplification of migrants' needs to language and civic education, or to 'soft skills'. Although language is the most prevailing problem for the majority of migrants, it is not the most serious problem compared to the recognition of their prior credentials (Informant 7, Think Tank). However, the informants admit that the relatively easy process of mastering language and cultural basics through abundant linguistic courses and community engagement venues makes the linguistic and civic enlightenment policies the easiest and the most successful to implement if to assess their short-term effect. The policy-making trap is that such short-term solutions do not actually improve employability and timely labour market entrance as those are structured differently for different migrant groups.

While European discourses rarely draw a distinction line between employment enriching services for refugees, asylum seekers and labour migrants; the interviewed actors point to the oversimplification of the 'labour migrant' definition and to the importance of distinguishing between these three groups in both policy-making and service provision. Such important factors as education and residence status work differently for these three groups. Refugees are recognized as the most poorly educated and unprotected migrants. Therefore, the majority of suggested quick-fix uniform programmes do not work for them: they have different linguistic and vocational needs (Informant 3, Think Tank).

While understanding high-skill migrants as 'the most unproblematic' in terms of their predetermined access to jobs, the informants clearly see refugees and asylum seekers as those who 'have no choice' and consequently no options for planning their careers in Europe: 'They do not migrate for work but for other reasons, while economic migrants migrate for employment. For refugees and asylum seekers, there is a period during which they cannot take employment, which creates barriers for their accessing the formal market' (Informant 11, Faith Organization).

The residence status is viewed as the strongest variable, creating fine gradations even within the refugee category. For example, Informant 4 (from a think tank) explains that the majority of refugee-training programmes work well only for a small number of '*recognized refugees*' (those with the Geneva Convention Status), who have the right to work; while being inapplicable to '*unrecognized refugees*' with asylum seeker or temporary protection status, who cannot work immediately upon their arrival. Their non-recognition creates a whole chain of barriers – from a rather complex bureaucracy around service provision to their rapid accession to the informal market. In this milieu of conceptual ambivalence and excessive

bureaucracy, the recommended policy of skill match (migrant-employer match) remains ‘highly ineffective for the majority of refugees, who are left unrecognized and whom most employers perceive as ‘vulnerable because temporary employees’, says Informant 3 (representing a think tank).

The lack of reliable scientific evidence on daily realities of refugees and asylum seekers prevents policy-makers from making any meaningful recommendations on how to improve the legal status, says Informant 7 (from a think tank). That is why, the only recommendations made by the interviewees are very broad comments on the importance of drawing epistemological border lines between the three migrants groups and also between highly skilled and low-skilled refugees – yet not specifying how. The policy problems thus remain unresolved until now.

2.6.3 European Union versus Member States

One of the statutory barriers for refugees is *the absence of a legal framework* in Europe to serve their needs. As Informant 5 (from the Commission) admits, ‘our think tanks send proposals to the Commission but they have different views’. As he adds, ‘*There is no such a thing as labour market integration on the EU level*’, thus opening a provocative discussion about the interactive dynamics between the European Union and its Member States. While the representatives from NGOs and Faith organizations make very cautious comments on the responsibility of the state and on the Commission’s failure to coordinate integration, the interviewed employees of the Commission itself make straightforward statements on its own helplessness:

Everything should start from jobs, which are controlled on the state level only. The Commission cannot do anything about it. We continue to urge MSs to provide services and develop programmes. And we remain very skeptical about the success of labour market integration. We are helpless. Powerful in discourse but impotent in action (Informant 8, Commission).

‘Everything starts from jobs’, she says, ‘from job search and skill match, where of vital importance are prior credentials, which often remain unrecognized by the state’. The recognition of refugees’ credentials is always controlled by MSs on their own national grounds, with very little interference from the Commission, as all informants further note. All interviewees agree that the recognition problem originates not only from the MS bureaucracy but also from the physical absence of certificate papers, that have been lost by many refugees who came to Europe by boat. Neither Europe nor MSs offer easy remedies for such ad hoc accreditation. Although this strong argument was not explicitly made by the Commission in its *European Agenda on Migration* (2015), it nevertheless resonates with the Commission’s overall rhetoric of ‘responding to the human tragedy at sea’ and herein implied ad hoc measures. Recognition is thus viewed by the informants as an important ad hoc measure.

Informant 4 (from a think tank) explains that MSs may actually differ along the recognition continuum. New migrant states are usually more restrictive and inflexible while others such as Belgium allow some space for local initiatives, as illuminated by the University of Brussels recognition initiative. Although the Commission tries to persuade MSs to use the new Recognition Tools it designs, MSs prefer to use their own regulations in many cases.

2.6.4 Informal Market: Evil or Good?

All interviewees agree that the main danger of non-recognition is that refugees end up working in the informal labour market.

An unexpected finding is that, clearly seeing all the horrors of severe exploitation, the informants, nevertheless view it as 'the only way for refugees to survive and to stay afloat while waiting for the formal labour market entry' (Informant 5, Commission). Disrupting the main rhetoric of official European discourses that demonize the black market, such arguments create the non-official counter-discourse of the informal market's Janus face:

The informal market gives no protection of human rights, which leads to psychological issue. But it often becomes a transitional period before legal employment. In many cases, people do not plan to enter the informal market. They just have no other options, no way out (*Informant 12, think tank*).

According to the stakeholders interviewed it is not employers but the MSs that are responsible for the proliferation of the informal market. The counter strategy should be legalization of the migrant's status rather than penalizing employers. 'When all refugees have legal authorization for work, there will be no one to punish', says Informant 3 (think tank).

2.6.5 Access to Information

Our interviewees point out that one important way for promoting migrants' social mobility and integration in the labour market is access to information: the migrant's awareness of all challenges, dangers and possible enablers of her/his own integration. The informants explain how limited access to information may create barriers for labor market integration. Informant 10 (Think Tank) notes that 'there should be more work to be done about their human rights and human rights education and protection'. And human rights start from very basic things, which may turn into barriers. For example, language translation services are usually quite expensive, and in many cases migrants do not know where to go and which places offer cheap services.

Second, the highly recommended match of demand and supply in the labour market also depends on having access to information about where to go. For example, 'the career counseling in many countries is done through the local integration centre and vocational training by the employment office', as observed by Informant 4 (Think tank). And within the context of institutional ambivalence and institutional conflict of interest, low-educated refugees often do not know which organization to go. So they may refer to the wrong organization for help.

Among the policies for improving access to information, our interviewees recommend the establishment of information centres (although those often depend on the MS) but mostly IT skill training to enable independent search for information and social integration through mentoring/peering. 'Our central argument is that everything starts from social integration.' (informant 8, Commission).

Mentoring

Although quite novel, mentoring practices are gathering momentum across Europe. Mentorship in language, soft skills and basic vocational skills is usually provided by senior

members of the community, role models from the diaspora and native co-workers on job-sites (Informant 12, think tank). Although local colleagues may become the strongest source of language training and mastering work ethics, they should be also prepared for working with migrants.

Informant 6 from a Faith organization notes on the importance of training native co-workers in tolerance and human rights education so that they would understand that migrants are not stealing their jobs and that anyone's human rights must be always respected. Faith organizations thus stress the importance of labour market integration as a *two-sided venue*, which is often missing in official discourses, which underestimate the responsibility of the host society for integration.

However, professional mentoring and social enterprises are not always successful, as explained by Informant 5 (Commission). He believes that for high-skill migrants mentorship is impeded by the competitive environment of their well-paid work: 'Why would the mentor help her own competitor'. Unlike refugees, high-skill migrants are thus continuously seen by their colleagues (and not by the broader society) as 'stealing jobs' while nothing can be done about it. Therefore, it is easier to present them in texts as 'unproblematic' (ibid).

2.6.6 Younger Migrants and Vocational Training

European discourses of labour market integration also overshadow another migrant group that is 'in-need' – younger migrants. On the contrary, the informants understand younger migrants as a 'risk category'. Often coming to Europe as unaccompanied minors seeking international protection, they lack education, qualifications and motivation to learn new skills and culture. Therefore, they run a very high risk of being stuck in low-skilled jobs. They primarily need vocational training and social integration programmes. The widely advertised vocational training programmes for young people in Europe are pointed out as the most beneficial for young migrants. However, Informant 9 (Commission) notes on the difficulty of providing services for them and on the challenges for the European Commission when designing such programmes or making recommendations:

They are not established professionals yet and we do not have a specific set of policies for them. Recruiting young migrants to social integration programmes that we sponsor is extremely difficult because they are not willing to learn new skills. They have prejudice against them.

2.6.7 Women: Age and Gender

Lack of education and cultural biases are found among the other migrant risk group – women, who often come as refugees or refugee family migrants (Informant 7, think tank; Informant 1, workers organization; Informant 2, Employers Organization).

While official discourses focus mostly on details of women migrants' exploitation and primarily blame their abusive employers, the presence of women who are family migrants and their dependence on their own families is discursively silenced (see FRA 2015, 2016, 2018). On the contrary, the informants actively narrate experiences of such women, who may often be highly motivated to enter the job market but impeded by their diasporas and families and therefore unable to participate in social integration (Informant 12, think tank).

The major problem that service providers face while working with such women (especially from Muslim countries) is *how to reach out to them* (Informant 3, think tank), how to persuade them toward socializing with local people who could become their interlocutors to the new work culture. As noted by Informant 3 (think tank), 'The networking of such women into the local society is extremely important. They must be connected to local work-active people'.

This is often done through the diasporic role model – an example of a successful Muslim career woman (Informant 12, think tank). Very often the persuasion for labor market integration work through the interaction chain: first presenting the role model case to the husband, who is then persuaded of the importance for his wife to work and to increase the family income. Younger women are usually reached through their mothers, who are persuaded to encourage their daughters toward education and job search (ibid). Family integration is thus seen as a tool for labour market integration.

2.6.8 Conclusive Remarks: A Policy Making Mirage?

In short, the stakeholders interviewed recognize all LMI barriers that are presented in official discourses. They agree that language, cultural and vocational training, especially in relevance to high risk groups are important integration tools. The informants also share the discursive argument about the vital importance of social integration as a gateway to labour market integration in the conditions of the failure of the nation-state and the public sector. There are, however, a couple of critical points they see while challenging the official discourse.

First, they emphasize that it is highly problematic, especially as evidence is lacking, to elaborate on specific measures for specific categories of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

Second, while de facto associating migration with the refugee crisis, the stakeholders throw some light on the need for carefully assessing their credentials and seeking to promote their skills in the labour market.

They also challenge the 'oppressed woman' discourse by focusing on another category of migrant women and by suggesting family integration as a remedy.

They agree – either implicitly or explicitly – that the most effective policies are those related to ad hoc measures such as language training, vocational training and civic education because they allow to avoid the unpleasant bureaucracy related to the MS sponsorship. However, they are rather skeptical about significant changes that can be made to the LMI policy space. The informants make high stakes on social integration and mentoring, although clearly seeing the challenges. Their skeptical 'limited integration' view can be best summarized in their own comment: 'There is no such a thing as EU integration at all. *It is a policy-making mirage*'.

2.7 Conclusion

Is the EU integration indeed a moribund category? Comparing the studied discourses, policy implementation measures, meta-analysis and interview findings, I would say that it resembles a *virtual reality* with its own strong rationale, which is shared by some actors and studies while rejected by others. Its main rationale is manifested in the EU instruments of the EU Agenda

on Migration (2015), Employer Sanctions Directives (2009) and EQF (2008, 2017), which stress the ideas of human rights and recognition.

Yet in practice this virtual reality of EU labour market integration manifests itself in fragmental and broken configurations – through fragmental initiatives often not supported by the nation-state. The lack of MS laws to support migrants' employment is what makes it incomplete, as all actors and studies agree.

The major objective barriers are the reluctance of MS to implement reforms suggested by the European Commission to create secure and clear status categories for migrants and asylum seekers and to ensure their access to public service. In fact, LMI depends primarily on the residence status (work permit) and recognized credentials. The first factor enables the migrant's access to authorized work and protects her/him from the informal market while the second factor enables her/his skilled employment and career progression. They are both equally important because they affect the timely entrance to the job market.

At the moment, the EU has no policy making instruments to secure the residence status for large volumes of migrants or to offer them fast validation of their informal qualifications. In this context, recognition of credentials becomes very problematic and constantly stumbles over bureaucratic hurdles.

While the policy documents try to avoid nuances of how to approach these two problems, the representatives of the Commission frankly admit this policy-making deadlock and the importance of looking for alternative tools. While civil actors and trade unions actively protest against the proliferation of informal work, such actors as the Commission and its think tank to a certain extent accept its existence. For them, it is the only solution to the problem with refugees and undocumented migrants who may have skills and want to stay in Europe.

Trade unions and some think tanks disagree with the Sanctions Directive, which is meant to fight the informal market through employer sanctions. These actors suggest that the Commission should develop new tools on how to legalize irregular migration instead. This is an unresolved tension among different stakeholders.

Perhaps the problem is grounded in the lack of scientific evidence and consequent misconceptions around who actually the migrant is or what kinds of migrants come to the EU. The European discourse does not clearly distinguish between such categories of migrants as economic migrant, refugee and asylum seeker – but often uses these terms interchangeably and inter-discursively in relation to their labour market integration. As a result, economic migrants are often associated with refugees, and both policy documents and policy makers become confused around their needs and potential for finding employment.

Many of the reviewed measures are successful but on a short-term and ad hoc perspective. They do not work in different situations or on a long term basis. This creates the effect of the integration iceberg: what can be easily fixed is only a short-term solution that lies on the surface, like the tip of the iceberg (*tip integration* such as linguistic education or VET) – while more serious problems (such as recognition of credentials and resistance to the informal market) remain deeply under the water, conveying serious threats and disruptions. The overall LMI remains *unfinished* – the *unfinished integration*.

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Appendices

ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text (Policymaker/Actor)	Title	Type of text	Year of publication	Link/pdf
DG Home (European Commission)	Evaluation of Council Regulation (EC) No 377/2004 on the creation of an immigration liaison officers network	Report	2018	https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/3a02447f-47c0-11e8-be1d-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-70763267
DG Home (European Commission)	A study of the communication channels used by migrants and asylum seekers in Italy, with a particular focus on online and social media	Report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/e-library/multimedia/publications/study-communication-channels-used-migrants-asylum-seekers-italy-particular-focus-online-social-media_en
DG Home: Urban Academy on Integration	Urban Academy on Integration	Mission statement	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/urban-academy-integration
DG Employment, Social affairs & Inclusion	EU Skills Profile Tool for Third Country Nationals	User manual	2018	http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1412&langId=en
European Commission	Ex post evaluation reports for the period 2011 to 2013 of actions co-financed by the four Funds under the framework programme 'Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows'	Report	2018	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52018DC0456&from=EN
European Commission	REPORT FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS on interim evaluation of the Asylum, Migration and Integration	Report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180612_swd-2018-339-commission-staff-working-document_en.pdf

	Fund and the Internal Security Fund			
European Commission	Revision of the EU Blue Card Directive	Briefing 1	2016	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/20160607/fact-sheet_revision_eu_blue_card_en.pdf
European Commission	Revision of the Blue Card Directive	Briefing 2	2016	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2017/603942/EPRS_BRI%282017%29603942_EN.pdf
European Commission	Blue Card Directive 2016	Directive	2016	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52016PC0378&from=EN
European Commission	Employers' Sanctions Directive	Directive	2009	https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/directive_2009_52_ec_1.pdf
European Parliament	Racial equality directive	Directive	2000	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32000L0043&from=en
European Parliament	Equality in Employment Directive	Directive	2000	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:c10823&from=EN
European Commission / DG: Education & Culture	Explaining the European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning	Position paper	2008	https://ec.europa.eu/ploteus/sites/eac-eqf/files/brochexp_en.pdf
European Commission	MEMO/07/257: Memo on Race Equality Directive	Memo	2007	http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-07-257_en.htm?locale=en
European Commission	European Agenda on Migration: Consolidating progress made	Press release	2017	https://ec.europa.eu/commission/news/european-agenda-migration-consolidating-progress-made-2017-nov-15_en
European Commission	European Agenda on Migration: Continuous efforts needed to sustain progress	Press release	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/european-agenda-migration-continuous-efforts-needed-sustain-progress_en
European Commission	Recognition of skills and qualifications	Press release	2018	http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/strategic-framework/
Council	Council recommendation of 22 May 2017 on the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong	Proposal	2017	https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/cee4d970-518f-

	learning and repealing the recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2008 on the establishment of the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning			11e7-a5ca-01aa75ed71a1/language-en
Council	Qualification Directive 2014	Directive	2014	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32011L0095
Council	Qualification Directive 2018	Directive	2018	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018L0844&from=IT
Council	Seasonable Workers Directive	Directive	2014	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32014L0036
Council	On the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning and repealing the recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2008 on the establishment of the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning	Council Recom-n	2017	https://ec.europa.eu/ploteus/sites/eac-eqf/files/en.pdf
EASO	EASO Training curriculum	Programme	2014	https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/BZ0413152ENC.pdf
EASO	EASI Family Guide	Programme	2016	https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/EASO%20Practical%20Guide%20on%20Family%20Tracing.pdf
CEPS (NGO: think tank)	The impact of refugees on the labour market: a big splash in a small pond	Working document	2018	file:///C:/Users/iisaakya/Desktop/Policy%20texts/CEPS_Impact%20of%20refugees.pdf
CEPS (NGO: think tank)	On International Women's Day: More focus needed on integrating migrant women	Commentary	2018	file:///C:/Users/iisaakya/Desktop/Policy%20texts/CEPS_WomenMigrants.pdf
CEPS (NGO: think tank)	Pathways toward legal migration	Policy report	2017	file:///C:/Users/iisaakya/Desktop/Policy%20texts/CEPS_Chapter%2010_labour%20market%20integration.pdf
Council	Workplan for integrating migrants	Programme	2016	http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15312-2016-INIT/en/pdf
DG EMPL	Social and Labour Market Integration of Refugees	Statement	2018	http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1274&langId=en
DG Empl	European Agenda on Migration	Position paper	2016	file:///C:/Users/iisaakya/Desktop/Policy%20texts/DG%20Empl_%20European%20Agenda%20on%20Migration.pdf

				20European%20agenda%20on%20migration.pdf
DG Empl	Action Plan on 3 rd country nationals	Programme	2016	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication_action_plan_integration_third-country_nationals_en.pdf
DG Empl	HOW TO FACILITATE THE RECOGNITION OF SKILLS OF MIGRANT WORKERS	Guidelines	2017	http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Documenti-e-ricerche/ilo_skills_employmentservices.pdf
DG Internal Affairs	Exploring new avenues for legislation for labour migration to the EU	Research report	2015	www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/.../IPOL_STU(2015)536452_EN.pdf
EC	Local integration of migrants	Policy report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/integration-migrants-ec-oecd-publish-check-list-support-local-regional-national-authorities_en
EC/OECD	Working together for local integration of refugees	Programme	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/working-together-for-local-integration-of-migrants-and-refugees
EC Home	Local integration of migrants: Factsheet	Release	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/news/integration-migrants-ec-oecd-publish-check-list-support-local-regional-national-authorities_en
EC Home	Eurobarometer Survey 469	Policy Brief	2018	http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/survey/getsurveydetail/instruments/special/surveyky/2169
ESPC/European Social and Political Committee	State of implementation of legal migration legislation	Information Report	2016	http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-15312-2016-INIT/en/pdf
EESC	Position paper on migration	Position paper	2016	https://www.eesc.europa.eu/sites/default/files/resources/docs/pp_migration_en_withlinks.pdf
EPSC/European Political Strategy Centre (European Commission)	10 Trends shaping migration	Research report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/epsc_-_10_trends_shaping_migration_-_web.pdf
EPSC	Legal Migration in the EU	Research report	2015	https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/strategic_note_issue_2.pdf
EPSC	State of the Union 2018: Our Destiny in our hands	Report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/epsc_-_

				_state_of_the_union_2018_-_our_destiny_in_our_hands.pdf
EPSC	Three visions, one direction	Comparative assessment	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/epsc/sites/epsc/files/epsc_-_three_visions_one_direction_-_plans_for_the_future_of_europe.pdf
EPRS	Cohesion policy and the integration of migrants in urban areas	Blog	2016	https://epthinktank.eu/2016/10/05/cohesion-policy-and-the-integration-of-migrants-in-urban-areas/
EPRS	Integration of migration: The education perspective	Blog	2016	https://epthinktank.eu/2016/06/23/integration-of-migrants-the-education-dimension/
EPRS	Integrating migrants and their children through education	Blog	2016	https://epthinktank.eu/2016/03/16/integrating-migrants-and-their-children-through-education/
EPRS	How to make the integration of refugees into the labour market work?	News release	2016	http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20160218STO14834/how-to-make-the-integration-of-refugees-into-the-labour-market-work
European People's Party (Euro Parliament)	Manifesto 2012	Manifesto	2012	https://www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2015/09/Manifesto2012_EN.pdf
European People's Party (Euro Parliament)	Women and Entrepreneurship	Position Paper	2014	https://www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2016/12/EN_Res_Women-and-Entrepreneurship.pdf
European People's Party (Euro Parliament)	Protecting refugees	Position paper	2015	https://www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2015/11/EPP_Position_Refugee_Crisis_230915vfinal2_0.pdf
Eur People Party	Migration & Integration: Impact on women	Resolution	2016	https://www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2016/11/EPP-Women-1511.pdf
Party of European Socialists	Progressive Europe	Resolution	2017	https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/.galleries/Documents-gallery/PES-Council-Resolution-Adopted-by-the-PES-Council-on-1-December-2017-in-Lisbon.pdf_2063069299.pdf
Party of European Socialists	Saving Europe for Youth	Resolution	2016	https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/.galleries/Documents-gallery/EN-ADOPTED-PES-Council-Resolution.pdf_2063069299.pdf
Party of European Socialists	Stronger EU	Common Paper	2016	https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/.galleries/Documents-gallery/PES_GAC_Ministers_meeting_1411_-_ADOPTED_Common_paper.pdf_2063069299.pdf
Party of European Socialists	Democratic Europe	Position paper	2011 5	https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/PES-Documents/FINAL_TolerantIncl

				usiveDemocraticEurope_EN.pdf_392846676.pdf
ALDE/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (Eur Parl)	Educating Europe (Student mobility)	Resolution	2017	https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2017_educating_europe.pdf
ALDE/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (Eur Parl)	Call for Action for Europe	Resolution	2018	https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2017_call_for_action_for_europe_day_9_may_2018.pdf
ALDE/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (Eur Parl)	Protecting the rights of LLGBTI asylum seekers	Resolution	2017	https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2017_protecting_the_rights_of_lgbti_asylum_seekers.pdf
ALDE/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (Eur Parl)	Shaping a modern, liberal approach to migration	Resolution	2015	https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2015_shaping_a_modern_liberal_approach_to_migration.pdf
ALDE/Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (Eur Parl)	A Europe that works	Manifesto	2014	https://www.aldeparty.eu/sites/alde/files/40-Resolutions/2014_manifesto_-_a_europe_that_works.pdf
ACRE/Alliance of Conformists and Reformists for Europe (Eur Parl)	A Future for Europe	Manifesto	2018	http://www.acreurope.eu/item/a_future_for_europe1
European Christian Political Movement (Eur Parl)	Human Trafficking	Research Paper	2015	https://www.ecpm.info/Human%20trafficking.pdf
IOM	POLICY HIGHLIGHTS SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS OF THE IOM INDEPENDENT NETWORK OF LABOUR MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION EXPERTS	Policy evaluation	2014	https://publications.iom.int/books/policy-highlights-summary-research-findings-iom-independent-network-labour-migration-and
IOM	Recognition of Qualifications and Competences of Migrants	Research Report	2014	https://publications.iom.int/books/recognition-qualifications-and-competences-migrants
IOM Brussels (NGO)	Labour Market integration	Manifesto	2018	http://belgium.iom.int/labour-migration-and-migrant-integration
IOM Brussels (NGO)	Migration & Development	Manifesto	2018	http://belgium.iom.int/migration-and-development
IOM Brussels (NGO)	Empowering female diaspora	Policy brief	2018	http://belgium.iom.int/empowering-female-diaspora-associations-strengthen-their-role-development-countries-origin

IOM Brussels (NGO)	High-level dialogue on migration & development	Position paper	2013	https://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/docs/IOM-Position-Paper-HLD-en.pdf
MPI (Migration Policy Institute)	Skilled Immigrants in the Global Economy: Prospects for International Cooperation on Recognition of Foreign Qualifications	Comparative policy report	2014	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/international-cooperation-recognition-foreign-qualifications
MPI (Migration Policy Institute)	MIPEX 2015	Research Report (Booklet)	2015	http://www.ismu.org/en/2016/04/the-publicatio-mipex-2015-is-available-online/
MPI	MIPEX 2015: Brief	Brief	2015	http://www.mipex.eu/what-is-mipex
MPI	The dynamics between integration policies and outcomes	Policy evaluation	2015	http://mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/files/mipex_literature-review_the-dynamics-between-integration-policies-and-outcomes.pdf
MPI	Evaluating impacts: Lessons learned	Policy evaluation	2015	http://mipex.eu/evaluating-impact-lessons-learned-robust-evaluations-labour-market-integration-policies
MPI Europe	Jobs 2028: How will changing labour markets affect migrant integration in Europe?	Research paper	2018	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/jobs-2028-changing-labour-markets-immigrant-integration-europe
MPI Europe	Strengthening educational systems for newly arrived adults	Programme	2017	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/..MPIEurope_UrbanAgenda_Education-FINAL.pdf
MPI Europe	Tech Jobs for Refugees	Researcher paper	2018	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/tech-jobs-coding-schools-refugee-integration-germany
MPI Europe	Moving beyond crisis: Germany's new approach to integrating refugees	Policy report	2016	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/moving-beyond-crisis-germany-new-approaches-integrating-refugees-labor-market
MPI Europe	Investing in the future: Labour-market integration policies	Policy report	2014	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/investing-future-labor-market-integration-policies-new-immigrants-germany
MPI Europe	Integrating refugees into host country labour-markets	Policy report	2016	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/integrating-refugees-host-country-labor-markets-challenges-and-policy-options
MPI Europe	Policies to get immigrant into middle-skilled jobs	Policy report	2014	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/aiming-higher-policies-get-immigrants-middle-skilled-work-europe

MPI Europe	Moving Up or Standing Still? Access to Middle-Skilled Work for Newly Arrived Migrants in the European Union	Policy report	2014	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/moving-or-standing-still-access-middle-skilled-work-newly-arrived-migrants-european-union
MPI Europe	No Quick Fix: Policies to Support the Labor Market Integration of New Arrivals in Sweden	Policy report	2014	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/no-quick-fix-policies-support-labor-market-integration-new-arrivals-sweden
MPI Europe	A Needed Evidence Revolution: Using Cost-Benefit Analysis to Improve Refugee Integration Programming	Policy report	2018	https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/cost-benefit-analysis-refugee-integration-programming
Caritas Europe	Welcome: Migrants make Europe stronger	Welcome leaflet	2018	https://www.caritas.eu/sites/default/files/welcome_leaflet_web.pdf
Caritas Europe	Fortress Europe is prevailing over welcoming Europe	Statement	2018	https://www.caritas.eu/sites/default/files/welcome_leaflet_web.pdf
Caritas Europe	Assessment of skills and recognition of qualifications of refugees and migrants in Europe	Policy briefing	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/index.cfm?action=media.download...
Caritas	Joint NGOs statement EU Seasonal Migrant Workers' Directive: Ensure effective Equal Treatment	Briefing	2013	http://www.ccme.be/fileadmin/filer/ccme/20_Areas_of_Work/05_Labour_Migration/2013-05-07_Joint_NGO_contribution_on_Council_s_position_Seasonal_Workers_Directive_May_2013.pdf
CCME / Churches' Commission for Migrant in Europe	CCME Work Programme 2015-2017	Programme	2014	www.ccme.be/fileadmin/filer/ccme/20_Areas_of_Work/2015-11-20-CCME_Work_Programme_2014-2017_as_adopted.pdf
CCME	CCME Work Programme 2018-2020	Programme	2018	http://www.ccme.be/fileadmin/filer/ccme/70_DOWNLOADS/25_Work_Programmes/2017-06-30-CCME_Work_Programme_2018-2020_as_adopted.pdf
CCME	Conference on the occasion of the 20th CCME General Assembly Churches' Role in the Integration of Refugees and Migrants	Programme	2016	http://www.ccme.be/fileadmin/filer/ccme/70_DOWNLOADS/30_Reports/2017-10-31-CCME_GA_2017_Conference_report.pdf
CEDEFOP		Programme	2018	http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/files/4166_en.pdf

	Apprenticeship schemes in European countries			
CEDEFOP	The changing nature of vocational education in Europe. Volume 1	Programme	2017	http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/files/5563_en_2.pdf
CEDEFOP	The changing nature of vocational education in Europe. Volume 3	Programme	2018	http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/files/5567_en.pdf
CEDEFOP	Qualification Frameworks in Europe	Briefing	2016	http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/publications/9117
CEDEFOP	Analysis and overview of NQF level descriptors in European countries	Research paper	2018	http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/publications/5566
FIOE/Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (Brussels)	The efforts of Muslim workers is an expression of Muslims' integration in European societies	News	2015	http://fioe.org/fioe-efforts-muslim-workers-expression-muslims-integration-european-societies
FIOE/Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (Brussels)	Final Statement of the 2nd General Assembly Meeting in the 10th Term of the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe	Statement	2015	http://fioe.org/final-statement-2nd-general-assembly-10th-term-fioe
FIOE/Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (Brussels)	Closing Statement of the 1st General Assembly of FIOE	Statement	2014	http://fioe.org/closing-statement-1st-general-assembly-fioe
FEMYSO/ Forum for European Muslim Youth and Student Organizatins	The Future of Europe: Input from Muslim students and activists	Response statement	2018	https://femyso.org/the-future-of-europe-input-from-muslim-students-and-activists/
Eurofound	Labour-market integration of migrants and asylum seekers	Research report	2017	https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/sites/default/files/wpef17037.pdf
Eurofound	Migrants in European labour-markets are persistently disadvantaged by region of origin	Blog	2018	https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/blog/migrants-in-european-labour-markets-are-persistently-disadvantaged-by-region-of-origin
Eurofound	Challenges of policy coordination for third-country nationals	Report	2015	https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2015/labour-market-social-policies/challenges-of-policy-coordination-for-third-country-nationals
Eurofound	Approaches to the labour market	Report	2016	https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2016/labou

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FRA (Fundamental Rights Agency)	Severe labour exploitation	Position paper	2015	fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2015-severe-labour-exploitation_en.pdf
FRA	The exchange of information on third-country nationals under a possible future system complementing the European Criminal Records Information System	Opinion	2015	http://fra.europa.eu/en/opinion/2015/fra-opinion-exchange-information-third-country-nationals-under-possible-system
FRA	Severe labour exploitation: Summary	Summary statement	2016	http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/severe-labour-exploitation-workers-moving-within-or-european-union-summary
FRA	Fundamental rights in the 'hotspots' set up in Greece and Italy	Opinion	2016	http://fra.europa.eu/en/opinion/2016/fra-opinion-hotspots-approach
FRA	EU fundamental values, immigration and integration: a shared responsibility - A high-level seminar	FRA president's speech at the policy seminar	2016	http://fra.europa.eu/en/speech/2016/eu-fundamental-values-immigration-and-integration-shared-responsibility-high-level
FRA	Protecting migrant workers from exploitation in the EU: boosting workplace inspections	Report	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2015/severe-labour-exploitation-workers-moving-within-or-european-union
FRA	Member State Working Group discusses implementation of the Employer Sanctions Directive	Working Group Discussion /Policy Discussion	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2015/member-state-working-group-discusses-implementation-employer-sanctions-directive
FRA	European Parliament exchanges views with FRA on severe labour exploitation	Policy debates	2016	http://fra.europa.eu/en/event/2016/european-parliament-exchanges-views-fra-severe-labour-exploitation
FRA	Labour inspections to better protect workers from severe exploitation	Press release	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/press-release/2018/labour-inspections-better-protect-workers-severe-exploitation

FRA	Out of sight: migrant women exploited in domestic work	Research paper	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/exploited-domestic-workers
FRA	Humiliation, abuse and maltreatment – the life of a domestic worker	Press release	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2018/humiliation-abuse-and-maltreatment-life-domestic-worker
FRA	Improving access to remedy in the area of business and human rights at the EU level Opinion of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights	Opinion	2017	fra.europa.eu/en/opinion/2017/business-human-rights
FRA	Periodic data collection on the migration situation in the EU	Research report	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/migration-overviews-july-2018
FRA	Making EU citizens' rights a reality: national courts enforcing freedom of movement	Report	2018	http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/free-movement
Business Europe	Mobility and Immigration	Blog statement	2018	https://www.buinesseurope.eu/policies/social/labour-markets-and-social-policy/mobility-and-immigration
Business Europe	European labour authority	Position paper	2018	https://www.buinesseurope.eu/sites/buseur/files/media/position_papers/social/2018-05-07_european_labour_authority.pdf
Business Europe	Worker Mobility	Statement	2015	https://www.buinesseurope.eu/sites/buseur/files/media/imported/2015-00393-E.pdf
Business Europe	EUROPEAN LABOUR AUTHORITY AND EU SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER BUSINESSEUROPE VIEWS	Note	2018	https://www.buinesseurope.eu/sites/buseur/files/media/position_papers/social/2018-01-12_be_views_onlmaandssn_final.pdf
Business Europe	Noted on labour-market mobility	Statement	2013	https://www.buinesseurope.eu/sites/buseur/files/media/imported/2015-00109-E.pdf
Business Europe	New jobs: Wanted skills. Labour-Market matching and labour mobility	Speech	2013	file:///C:/Users/iisaakya/Desktop/Policy%20texts/Businee%20Europe_New%20jobs%20and%20mobility.pdf
Business Europe		Report	2017	http://resourcecentre.etuc.org/ReportFile-

	EUROPEAN SOCIAL PARTNERS' AUTONOMOUS FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON ACTIVE AGEING AND AN INTER-GENERATIONAL APPROACH			20170519122220_framework-agreement-on-active-ageing-003.pdf
AMIF	Snapshots from the AMIF	Research Report (Booklet)	2017	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/20175691_dr0217970enn.pdf
AMIF	Call for proposals: Integration of 3 rd country nationals	Programme	2018	http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/other_eu_prog/home/wp-call/amif-call-fiche-2018-ag-inte_en.pdf
AMIF	10 recommendations for improving cities' access to EU funds for the inclusion of migrants and refugees	Policy recommendations	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/10-recommendations-improving-cities-access-eu-funds-inclusion
ETUC	A European quality framework for Trade Union	Programme	2018	https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/a_european_quality_framework_for_apprenticeships_en.final_corr.pdf
ETUC	Building an enabling environment	Position paper	2018	https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/160905_tca_final_report_en_proof_final.pdf
ETUC	Defending undocumented workers - Means defending all workers	Programme / Report	2018	https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/publication/files/brochure_unionmigrantnet_2016_en_02_1.pdf
ETUC	ETUC Position: Proposal for a Council Recommendation on access to social protection for workers and the self-employed	Position paper	2018	https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/document/files/etuc_position_-_proposal_for_a_council_recommendation_on_access_to_social_protection_for_workers_and_the_self-employed.pdf
ETUC	ETUC statement on the European refugees and asylum seekers emergency, and on integration of migrants in European labour markets and society	Position paper	2018	https://www.etuc.org/en/document/etuc-statement-european-refugees-and-asylum-seekers-emergency-and-integration-migrants
ETUC	Guide for mobile European workers	Guidelines	2018	https://www.etuc.org/en/publication/guide-mobile-european-workers-0

ETUC	Promoting Social Partnership in Employee Training - Joint Recommendations and Report	Report	2018	https://www.etuc.org/en/publication/promoting-social-partnership-employee-training-joint-recommendations-and-report
ETUC	The European trade union movement demands humane assistance and rights for refugees	Press release	2018	https://www.etuc.org/sites/default/files/document/files/etuc_position_-_proposal_for_a_council_recommendation_on_access_to_social_protection_for_workers_and_the_self-employed.pdf
ETUCE / European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUC branch)	<u>EU Skills Profile Tool for Migrants and Refugees</u>	Blog	2017	https://www.csee-etuce.org/en/news/archive/2126-eu-skills-profile-tool-for-migrants-and-refugees
ETUCE	Education Trade Unions on the Refugee Situation in Europe: Promoting Education as the Key to Integration and Inclusion Adopted	Resolution	2016	https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/attachments/RS_Refugees_EN-ADOPTED.pdf
ETUCE	ETUCE's views on Public consultation on "EU funds in the area of migration"	Opinion	2018	https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/attachments/2018ETUCE-views-to-EC-consultation-on-EU-funds-in-Migration.pdf
ETUCE	ETUCE Newsletter: October 2018	Newsletter	2018	https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/attachments/NL_Oct2018.pdf
ETUCE	ETUCE Newsletter: June 2018	Newsletter	2018	https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/attachments/NL_Jun2018.pdf
ETUCE & EFEE (European Federation of Education Employers)	Joint Practical Guidelines on How to Promote Joint Social Partner Initiatives at European, National, Regional and Local Level to Prevent and Combat Psychosocial Hazards in Education Promoting decent workplaces in the education sector for a healthier working life 1	Practical guidelines	2018	https://www.csee-etuce.org/images/attachments/Joint-practical-guidelines-SPs-Decent-Workplaces_-EN.pdf
ETUC	TRADE UNIONS: Organising and Promoting Undocumented Migrant Workers' Rights	Position paper	2018	https://www.etuc.org/en/publication/trade-unions-organising-and-promoting-undocumented-migrant-workers-rights-migrant
ILO	How to facilitate the recognition of skills of migrant workers: Guide for	Guidelines	2017	http://www.ilo.org/skills/pubs/WCMS_572672/lang-en/index.htm

	employment services providers			
MEDBALT	Adult Migrant Education Methodology	Policy report	2016	https://repositorio.grial.eu/bitstream/grial/703/1/O2_MEDBALT_AdultMigrantEducationMethodology.pdf
World of Education	What Europe can do for refugees and migrants' education	Policy blog	2018	https://worldsofeducation.org/en/woe_homepage/woe_detail/15744/what-europe-can-do-for-refugees-and-migrants-education-by-silvia-costa-mep
TMRR /Teacher for Migrants and Refugees' Rights	On the importance of education for young refugees	Blog	2018	https://www.education4refugees.org/
RAND Corporation	Europe's great challenge integrating Syrian refugees	Newspaper article	2018	https://www.rand.org/blog/2018/04/europes-great-challenge-integrating-syrian-refugees.html
The EU Parliament's Politics, Policy and People Magazine	Refugee Integration in Europe: good practices and challenges	Article	2018	https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/partner_article/european-foundation-democracy/refugee-integration-europe-good-practices-and
The EU Parliament's Politics, Policy and People magazine	Refugees in Europe - Review of integration practices & policies	Report	2018	https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/whitepaper/european-foundation-democracy/refugees-europe-review-integration-practices-policies
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Facilitating evidence-based integration policies in cities	Meeting notes	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/1._mpg_stakeholder_meeting_2.pdf
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	EU integration indicators in use: experiences, local level aspects & perspectives	Conference presentation	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/2._dg_home_eu_indicators.pdf
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Towards more evidence-based integration policies in cities	Programme/Action plan	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/towards-more-evidence-based-integration-policies-cities
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	ACTION PLAN Partnership on Inclusion of migrants and refugees	Programme/Action plan	2017	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/action_plan_inclusion_of_migrants_and_refugees.pdf
European Migrant Advisory Board (EC Branch)	Mission statement	Mission statement	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/european-migrant-advisory-board
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Brussels, 16 – 18 April 2018 Report	Report	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/urban_academy_2018_report_0.pdf

EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Recommendations for improving cities' use of and access to integration funding	Policy recs	2018	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/uaeu-inclusion-recommendations-funding.pdf
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Long-term Social, Economic and Fiscal Effects of Immigration into the EU	Report	2017	http://publications.jrc.ec.europa.eu/repository/bitstream/JRC107441/jrc107441_wp_kancs_and_lacca_2017_4.pdf
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Improving the labour market integration of migrants and refugees	Scoping paper	2017	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/sites/futurium/files/mpie_urbanagenda_labourmarketintegration_0.pdf
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Refugee reception and integration in cities	Report	2016	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/eurocities-report-refugee-reception-and-integration-cities
EC: 'Urban Agenda for the EU' Working group	Urban reception of refugees	Scoping paper	2016	https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/inclusion-migrants-and-refugees/scoping-paper-urban-reception-refugees-migration-policy-group

ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy

Policy/service (name or key word)	Composition /substance	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler
Immigration policies	Blue Card Directive 2009 Researchers Directive 2004	High-skill migrants	EU, Member States	N/A	Both: provides for the easy entrance but may impede further stay
Education related policies	Horizon 2020 Erasmus+	High-skill migrants	EU	Council	Enabler
	Language	Refugees & asylum seekers	AMIF, ESF, Eurocities, private sector, faith	EU joint	Both
	Voc Training	Refugees & asylum seekers	AMIF, ESF, Eurocities, private sector, faith	EU joint, municipal	Both
	Civic curriculum	Refugees & asylum seekers	AMIF, ESF, Eurocities, private sector, faith	EU joint municipal	Both
Employment related policies	Active labour policies	Refugees & asylum seekers	AMIF, ESF, Eurocities, private sector, faith	shared	Both
	Passive labour policies	Refugees & asylum seekers	Private, faith	shared	Both
Welfare related policies	Housing	Refugees & asylum seekers	ESF, ERDF, Eurocities	shared	Enabler
	Health	Refugees & asylum seekers	EU Health programme, CHAFAA	shared	Enabler

ANNEX III, Interviews

	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution
Stakeholder 1 (S 1)	6.11.2018	Advisor	Workers organization
Stakeholder 2 (S 2)	8.11.2018	Advisor	Employers organization
Stakeholder 3 (S 3)	11.11.2018	Researcher	Think tank
Stakeholder 4 (S 4)	13.11.2018	Researcher	Think tank
Stakeholder 5 (S 5)	14.11.2018	Senior Officer	Commission
Stakeholder 6 (S 6)	16.11.2018	Advisor	Faith organization
Stakeholder 7 (S 7)	20.11.2018	Senior Officer	Think tank
Stakeholder 8 (S 8)	12.12.2018	Officer	Commission
Stakeholder 9 (S 9)	12.12.2018	Senior Officer	Commission
Stakeholder 10 (S 10)	14.01.2019	Researcher	Think tank
Stakeholder 11 (S 11)	15.01.2019	Advisor	Faith organization
Stakeholder 12 (S 12)	17.01.2019	Senior Researcher	Think tank

ANNEX IV, Interviews

	Date of interview	Summary
Stakeholder 1 (S 1)	6.11.2018	Informant 1 is an advisor in a workers organization. She is very skeptical about the success of integration on the EU level, regarding specific areas and employment in general. In her opinion, the services offered to MRA are within the minimum level of service provision. While important for the settlement, they still do not enable refugees' access to the labour market: "The majority of services that are offered to refugees and asylum seekers are language training and housing opportunities. But they are not able to get access to major employment possibilities due to their status." Moreover, she is especially concerned about women migrants, who have no access to childcare and information due to cultural barriers: "Today there are no policies to integrate women". She is frustrated by the fact that labor market integration is often reduced to language programmes while the issues of refugees' qualifications and work permits remain unresolved. She finds the <i>European Qualifications Framework</i> extremely undeveloped in application to both formal and informal skills of refugees. This often leads them to seek employment in the informal market, where "they work in dangerous industries and dangerous conditions of severe exploitation". She strongly believes that, apart from unrecognized credentials, the residence status of the refugee migrant is the main factor of her/his labor market access and labour market integration: "If you are not a regular migrant and if you do not have residence permit, you do not have access to major services related to labour market integration". Although she "does not expect the integration policies to change in the course of time", she does believe in a high potential of civil society (particularly, trade unions and local people) for providing migrants with necessary information and advocating their rights.
Stakeholder 2 (S 2)	8.11.2018	Informant 2 is an advisor in an employers organization. While more optimistic about the success of European integration than informant 1, informant 2 has two major concerns: about migrant women and the conceptual confusion around MRAs' needs. In his opinion, migrant women often stumble over the problems with childcare while trying to access the labour market. For this particular reason, they also find it difficult to progress in their careers while their career trajectories and integration experiences remain under-researched: "There is no detailed analysis of the experiences of economic migrant women, which creates a huge problem for us to find inspiring role models". He notes on the general confusion among policy makers about how to distinguish between refugees and skilled migrants in the service provision: "We manage to find high-skill migrants among

		refugees and asylum seekers but we do not know very well how to help them". He believes that the "high-skill migrant" is an ambivalent category: "With the right service provided in time, the refugee may quickly become a skilled worker. And on the contrary, a Blue Card holder may eventually refer to the informal market for employment when her/his contract terminates". He concludes that neither the EU nor its MSs have strong mechanisms to protect the migrant's legal status. Neither is there any financial incentive to support peer learning in firms and companies. "Especially in relation to refugees, the EU legal framework remains very weak." However, his organization continues to send various proposals to the Commission on how to improve the legal framework for refugees' labour market integration. He believes in the role of the municipal level of governance and advises the Commission on increasing funds that would allow EU cities to promote integration programmes.
Stakeholder 3 (S 3)	11.11.2018	Informant 3 is a researcher in a think tank. A former refugee himself and now a highly skilled migrant, he believes in the success of labor market integration and considers himself a role model for refugees. However he clearly sees obstacles over which skilled refugees may stumble in the course of their integration. He is mostly concerned about public services bureaucracy and institutional ambivalence in the service provision for refugees: "Migrants often do not know which organization they should refer for this or that services – so they may eventually end up participating in the wrong programme". He identifies the following serious problems around labour market integration: recognition of refugees' credentials, lack of information for women and younger migrants on how to access the job market, and weak childcare support for women. A proponent of social integration, he is in favour of service packages: "Job orientation should be part of the language- and civic education curriculum". However, he is primarily concerned about refugees who have high qualifications but who have lost their certifying papers en route. He notes that neither the EU nor any MS has the right policy on how to recognize uncertified credentials.
Stakeholder 4 (S 4)	13.11.2018	Informant 4 is a researcher in a think tank. She is very critical of the EU integration policies for their lack of differentiation between migrants' needs. She believes that there should be more programmes to target different migrant groups. She observes that, at the moment, not all labour market integration projects are based on the "migrant-service match", thus leading to the waste of time and money: "Many things are about matching the right services to right people. Some need language courses while others need in-job training services. People who are entering the market and looking for jobs need job search assistance programmes." She is rather skeptical about any future improvement of EU integration. In her opinion, EU institutional actors think about migrants as a solid category, devoid fine gradation lines. Whereas "they are all very different from each other – very different people with entirely different

		needs, which need to be met in different and highly individualized ways". As she observes, the EU has all resources to implement this kind of differentiation in the service provision; however, "the organizational chaos creates this kind of unnecessary public bureaucracy within MSs". She also notes on the proliferation of the informal market that pulls undocumented migrants. In this reference, she strongly believes that the best combatting policy would be not the penalization of their employers but the legalization of their resident status and the recognition of their credentials: "When all undocumented migrants become legal, there will be no contingent to join the informal market. Consequently, the black market employers will disappear on their own, and there will be no one to punish". In her opinion of an economist, the Commission "could do a much better job" explaining to MSs that the legalization of illegal migrants would be more cost-effective than the tracking and penalization of their employers who violate the law. "But unfortunately, the cost-effects are not even mentioned in the Sanctions Directive", she sadly concludes.
Stakeholder 5 (S 5)	14.11.2018	Informant 5 is a senior officer from the European Commission, who is extremely skeptical about European integration: "There is no such a thing as integration on the EU level. Everything depends on the country." He conceptualizes labor market integration only as applicable to high-skill migrants, "for whom the EU law does work". At the same time, he rejects the idea of integration for refugees because the EU has no legal framework on this – "only a number of repeated artificial texts, which make everyone confused". When he thinks about EU integration, he primarily relates to the comparative analysis of MSs' experiences, accentuating the quite successful German model of labour market integration. He concludes that it is not the gender dimension of EU integration that should be improved – but the differentiation between different MRA categories and their specific labour market needs. He ironically admits that the inefficiency of the overall policy framework opens new gateways to the informal market, which is perceived by refugees and undocumented migrants as the only way to survive economically. "Cynical but true", he concludes, "After all this hard journey to the EU, the refugee is not willing to go back to death. He is all for going ahead, and the next stop is the black market, which is eager to pay at least something. We are producing attractive texts – but it is the informal market that is willing to support the rejected migrant at any time of the day".
Stakeholder 6 (S 6)	16.11.2018	Informant 6 is an advisor of a network of faith organizations. In his activities, he connects to cities and MSs authorities. While very content with the urban agenda on integration, he is unhappy about MS policies and dialogues: "I wish we could do

		more lobbying on the national level. But they are really eager to cooperate". He acknowledges the difficulties of implementing changes in the system of recognition and status legalization, he thus believes in the fragmental success of labor market integration, as illuminated by language- and vocational training programmes: "One visible problem migrants are facing is the language, and this is the easiest problem we can solve". He also notes on the practicality of VET programmes: "It seems to be that such programmes as vocational training are usually very precise and efficient in addressing MRAs' needs. Such vocational programmes are usually more sensitive to such factors as the migrant's country of origin and culture".
Stakeholder 7 (S 7)	20.11.2018	Informant 7 is a senior officer in a think tank. Epistemologically, she is concerned about non-responded women's needs ("which are, in fact, much wider than childcare"), integration experiences of undocumented migrant with unrecognized credentials ("who often just vanish into the thin air of the host country"), and the proliferation of the informal market ("which, while severely exploiting, harbours undocumented migrants"). She connects these challenges to the pertinent lack of scientific evidence on the daily realities of labor market integration. In her opinion, the EU does not sponsor enough projects, that would be based on the mixed method and look in-depth into life experiences or "marginalized migrants". She concludes on the EU labor market integration as the Catch-22 situation: "Informal market is what migrants themselves choose because they see no other option for their employment." As a remedy against the inefficiency of the nation-state to implement EU policies, she recommends social integration: "Migrants often lack opportunities to learn from the right people within their local community, and this missed opportunity actually becomes the main barrier for their legal employment and also for protecting their rights in a suit against exploitation. Social cohesion would be the right strategy to fight exploitation." In her opinion, there is no right programme for social integration in the EU at the moment. And this is what the EU needs: "reliable and systematic scientific evidence to enable social integration programmes".
Stakeholder 8 (S 8)	12.12.2018	Informant 8 is an officer from the European Commission. She is a very skeptical stakeholder. In her opinion, the leading role in the integration process belong to the MS while the Commission has practically no power in the decision-making. The states are reluctant to implement any change while the Commission has no tools to persuade them: "The Commission's reaction is very skeptical: states should do more and work more effectively. But we have no power other than to believe that migrants should be integrated." She stresses the role of language programmes, although she understands that the support the migrant receives from them is only temporary and limited because such programmes can only enable but not to sustain employment. She sadly notes that the Commission keeps advocating such programmes mostly because this is the most realistic goal: "We

		urge MSs to promote first of all language- and vocational training. We keep saying that everything should start from language training and from vocational training.” Like her other Commission colleagues, she also thinks that integration programmes should not distinguish between migrant men and women but mostly between different groups of the economic migrant and their different needs on the labor market: “It does not make any sense to promote the gender-sensitive policy, which would remain blind to other, more important, needs”.
Stakeholder 9 (S 9)	12.12.2018	Informant 9 is a senior officer from the Commission. He admits the Commission’s inability to promote labor market integration and persuade MSs: “Integration policies are impossible to assess on the EU level. We can advise MSs but we cannot change anything. Our only influence on MSs is mainly the financial sponsorship. We give them money for vocational training programmes”. He is especially concerned about the ineffectiveness of the Recognition tools because those are not met by all MSs with welcome. As a result, migrants “often find refuge in the informal labour market and its incessant circles of severe exploitation”. In this light, he is especially worried about migrant women who are domestic workers and who are trapped by the informal market and “subjected to horrible exploitation while there is no official or effective policy on this on the EU level – just a list of recommendations”.
Stakeholder 10 (S 10)	14.01.2019	Informant 10 is a researcher in a think tank. Having worked with refugees, she specifically points to the financial barriers their integration stumbles over: “Language, childcare, vocational training – well said! But who will pay for all this? Has anyone ever thought how expensive such little things can be for a person who has no money at all?” She stresses the fact that all language-, vocational and childcare projects are very limited by the beneficiary’s ability to sponsor small daily things. For example, the only affordable childcare facility may be far away from home while even cheap translations services may still cost some money. She also pinpoints a rather complex architecture of the work-life balance for migrant women: “The childcare is the cornerstone for migrant women. It is crucial that they could work without thinking about with whom to leave their children. Local nurseries may not be cheap and convenient in terms of working hours. There are not sufficient childcare facilities within easy reach. Also their working conditions such as part-time work should be improved. They also have vocational training needs because of their abstinence from work for the childcare reasons.” So everything stumbles over the issue of childcare and work-life balance for migrant women, creating a long barricade for labor market integration. In her opinion, the main contributor to this chain of barriers is the societal xenophobia, which is grounded in the “national propaganda in many countries about migrants stealing jobs”.

Stakeholder 11 (S 11)	15.01.2019	Informant 11 is a senior advisor in a faith organization. She calls for a differentiated approach to migrants categories: "Refugees and economic migrants do not migrate for work but for other reasons while economic migrants migrate for employment. For refugees and asylum seekers, there is a period during which they cannot take employment, which creates barriers for their job market access". She stresses the importance of arrival programmes for refugees and asylum seekers, which are quite undeveloped at the moment. Based on her rich work experience with migrant women, she identifies them as the most vulnerable category of the migrant even if they have qualifications and may be classified as "skilled". She sees the main source of their vulnerability in their lack of information about labour market opportunities rather than in their qualifications. This lack of awareness about dangers of the informal market ("where many of them find themselves out of their ignorance and naivety") originates from certain cultural barriers such as their low positioning within the patriarchal structures of their families. She stresses the importance of their social integration and role modelling. In her opinion, it is not the economic crisis but the woman's culture that impacts upon her marginalization: "There are usually many people who want to help the migrant woman – but her family says no and closes the question."
Stakeholder 12 (S 12)	17.01.2019	Informant 12 is a senior researcher in a think tank. He stresses the fact that the public sector is very fragile. As a result, undocumented migrants cannot find any support and often transfer to the informal market. He sees the informal market as Janus-faced because, "while exploiting, it still allows to be in the country – to stay afloat in economic terms". "Of course, this is not the best solution of the EU-MS dilemma in the labour market service provision", he further explains, "but at least, this is something to start with". Representing migrants' voices, he clarifies that some migrants may be actually aware of the dangers associated with the informal market but may still decide to enter it because they "have no other choice". He believes that this is something that may work for them as a temporary solution. Therefore, he abstains from evaluating it in black-and-white terms. He points to the fact that if the migrant manages to join the formal workforce soon after, the negative effect of the informal market may not be detrimental. The main problem is thus seen as impeded access to information. He emphasizes the role of IT education or acquisition of IT skills by refugees. He is very skeptical about the impact of the <i>Sanctions Directives</i>, which imposes penalties on employers who hire undocumented migrants. In his opinion, a much more effective policy would be to legalize their stay in the country.

3 Czech Republic

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3.1 Introduction

The number of foreign citizens living in the Czech Republic has been steadily on the rise in the last ten years and is now currently the highest among the Visegrad countries (V4). More than half a million foreign nationals live in the country, yet it still remains the country with the lowest percentage of foreigners in its population (4,5%) out of all countries participating in the project, and it also represents a country that is still developing its integration policies.

For **Chapter 2. Discourse Analysis**, over forty texts about migration from various actors were collected and analysed. As a result of the analysis, four discourses were identified and are presented in detail in **Section 2.1. Main Discourses in the Czech Policy**: (1) securitisation discourse; (2) formally instrumental discourse; (3) assimilation discourse and (4) liberal discourse. The analysis suggests that specific discourses are intertwined with specific sectors.

The **2.1.1. Securitisation Discourse** is a characteristic of the public authorities. Two main governmental documents entitled *Strategy of Integration* and *Strategy of Migration* state the main goals of integration. However, the tools to reach these goals have not yet been developed. *Strategy of Migration* also depicts migration as a threat and puts emphasis on migrant control.

The **2.2.3. Formally Instrumental Discourse** presents labour migration as a utilitarian process and doesn't take the choices of migrants into account. This approach is also shared by employer organisations.

2.2.3. Assimilation Discourse is in accordance with previous securitisation discourse and is characteristic of the majority of political parties and Catholic Church. It puts emphasis on strict control of migration and the adoption of majority culture as a necessity of integration. However, these texts are mainly a reaction to the European migrant crisis and don't take into account major Czech migration trends.

On the opposite side is **2.2.4 Critical Liberal Discourse** represented by NGOs and municipalities of the largest cities that emphasise the values of multiculturalism and the views and voices of the migrants themselves.

3. Policy Overview gives insight into the rights of different migrant groups, integration policies and their assessment. The biggest problem of integration policies is that they are not universal

and are project-based, and they don't fulfil the demand. Therefore, only partial evaluations are available. According to existing research, only a minority of migrants use integration services.

There are currently no specific labour integration policies available. Only a rather small group of asylum and subsidiary protection holders can participate in a one-year programme that includes labour counselling. Migrants have the right to utilise labour office services, but they have difficulties applying this right.

The main findings were confirmed in **4. Interview Analysis**. The two largest communities (Ukrainians and Vietnamese) use family networks or private intermediaries to seek help. Refugees need several years to stabilise their position on the labour market. All groups are struggling with the difficult administration both on the structural level and on the level of interpersonal encounters with public clerks.

In all sections, we have placed an emphasis on the three main barriers of integration, which were identified as: **working conditions, insufficient language skills and bureaucratic barriers**. Specific attention has also been paid to the various situations and problems that women and young migrants face.

3.2 Discourse Analysis

To analyse discourses about integration, forty texts produced by diverse actors in integration in the period between 2013-2017 were collected. These are governmental strategies, policy papers and official statements made by political parties, public authorities, NGOs and other relevant stakeholders (for the full list of texts, see Annex 1). We searched for texts on the web pages for relevant institutions and by applying a snowball sampling strategy, we continuously added texts indicated in various analysed documents. The gathered texts were thematically analysed using NVivo software for qualitative analysis.

The volume of published documents was influenced by the migration crisis in 2015. After the year 2014, political parties, labour unions and NGOs intensified the production of texts dealing with migration. It is important to note that these actors dealt mostly with refugees and the migration crisis without focusing on labour migration or integration. However, we have included these documents to show the overall dynamics of the public debate.

3.2.1 Main Discourses in the Czech Policy

The discourse analysis suggested an emergence of four discourses, narrowly intertwined with specific sectors: (1) securitisation discourse; (2) formally instrumental discourse; (3) assimilation discourse and (4) liberal discourse.

First and foremost, *the securitisation discourse* emphasises the focus on MRAs as a security threat. Integration initiatives are viewed as tools to control and surveillance the migrant population. This approach towards integration aims to prevent risks associated with migration. This discourse is predominant in the state policy and, to a certain degree, can also be tracked in the rhetoric of labour unions. Through the lenses of the labour unions, it is the security of the working conditions of Czech domestic employees that is at risk. On the other hand, the

predominant securitisation discourse is heavily criticised by Czech NGOs who together with regional authorities represent proponents of the liberal discourse.

In order to gain legitimacy, the state policies attempt to incorporate elements of critical liberal discourse. However, they tame them down to be in line with securitisation demands. Such an incorporation produces the *formally instrumental discourse*, which is based upon the logic of bureaucratic and legal rationalities. Through the formally instrumental discourse, the state declares its willingness to integration without any true intention to implement it.

The *liberal discourse* stresses the bilateral benefits of integration and approach of MRAs as active actors. Critical liberal discourse puts its emphasis on cultural contribution of migration, global responsibility and a cosmopolitan society. However, one can observe also a purely economic liberal discourse proposed by the employer organisations that uses typical neoliberal vocabulary for economic benefits and criticisms of red tape regulations.

Finally, the *discourse of assimilation* is derived from securitisation discourse and can be seen as a cultural answer to a constructed security threat. The discourse of assimilation is apparent in the documents produced by religious organisations, political parties and, in part, also by labour unions. Each discourse produces different definition of MRAs. In the security discourse, migrants are seen as a security threat while the liberal discourse conceives them as citizens or employees. They are portrayed as clients in formal instrumental discourse and as a cultural threat in assimilation discourse.

3.2.1.1 The Securitisation Discourse

The key documents issued by public authorities are significantly influenced by the securitisation discourse. This does not mean that the idea of integration is absent from the policy document; however, the objective of integration is rather generally declared, without being imprinted into specific implementation tools. More specifically, the Ministry of the Interior, which oversees integration policies, prioritises control of migration and reproduces the idea of migration as a security threat. In this context, labour migration is seen in official documents instrumentally and it is subordinated to security policies.

Public Authorities

Public policies are framed by two main governmental documents - *Strategy of Migration Policy (2015)* and *Strategy of Integration* (last updated 2016). Both documents are produced by the Ministry of the Interior and approved by the Government of the Czech Republic. The *Strategy of Migration Policy* defines six main tasks of integration for the Czech Republic⁷. The main

⁷The six principal objectives are defined as follows: “1) Czech Republic will assure peaceful coexistence with foreigners and will prevent negative social event thanks to effective integration; 2) will assure security of its citizens and effective enforcement of law in the areas of illegal migration, return policy and human trafficking; 3) will comply to its commitments towards asylums and will ensure flexible capacities of its facilities; 4) will strengthen its activities to help refugees abroad as a prevention of migration together with the support of the development in third countries; 5) will enforce maintenance of free movement in the EU and

feature is the emphasis on security and prevention stressed in the first two tasks. The situation of the labour migrants is reflected only in the last task, in a statement according to which labour migration can be regulated “according to the needs of the labour market and long-term needs of the state.”

The Strategy of Integration stresses six main areas of integration and defines tasks for the public authorities, mainly the nation’s ministries. Among the key area of integration are the following: Czech language knowledge, financial self-sustainability, orientation and ability to self-navigate in society, mutual relationship between communities, integration at local and regional levels, availability of information and raising awareness, health care, and foreigner civic participation (Ministry of the Interior, 2016).

The Strategy of Migration Policy as well as the *Strategy of Integration* illustrate the major characteristics of Czech migration and integration policy, notably its focus on securitisation. The focus on security is also due to the fact that integration policy is overseen by the Ministry of the Interior. The significant imprint of the securitisation discourse in the policy implementation phase can be well demonstrated in the series of annual *Reports about the Situation in the Field of Migration and Integration*) issued by the Department for Asylum and Migration Policy at the Ministry of the Interior⁸.

The primacy of securitisation and formally instrumental discourses are not exclusively apparent in the way that these reports have been framed, but also apparent in the structure of these annual reports. While the figures on illegal migration, Foreign Police checks, and criminal activities committed by foreigners are provided in the beginning of the reports, the list of integration activities provided by the individual ministries is presented as secondary information.

Labour Unions

Regarding the labour unions, on the one hand, they refuse to let immigration grow and develop in a similar fashion as political representation. On the other hand, some labour unions criticise the exploitation of foreign workers. Labour unions are reacting to the discourse promoted by employer organisations and, in particular, to their descriptions of the labour market situation, which claim there is a crisis and shortfall in the workforce that poses a threat to the Czech economy (Czech Chamber of Commerce, 2017). Both representatives of the construction workers union and healthcare professionals do not support proposals to bring more foreigners to work in these sectors and argue that the workforce gap can be filled by unemployed Czech citizens (Odborový svaz zdravotnictví a sociální péče ČR. Bulletin nr. 11-12). Furthermore, the Confederation of Labour Unions in relation to migration warned against economic dumping and low wages of low-skilled workers. However, this criticism of the working conditions is

Schengen area; 6) will support legal migration that its citizens can benefit from and so that the state can react flexibly according to the needs of the labour market and long-term needs of the state”. Ministry of Interior. (2015). *Strategie migrační politiky České republiky*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/strategie-migracni-politiky-cr.aspx>

⁸ Reports about the Situation in the Field of Migration and Integration for years 2001-2017 can be retrieved from <https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/zpravy-o-situaci-v-oblasti-migrace-a-integrace-cizincu-v-ceske-republice-za-roky-2001-2016.aspx>.

always connected with a refusal to allow a growth in foreign migration rather than with a pressure on controls or integration. (Svoboda, 2015.)

3.2.1.2 The Formally Instrumental Discourse

The state policies are not strictly securitised as they attempt to incorporate elements of critical liberal discourse. In this vein, they produce the *formally instrumental discourse*, based upon the logic of bureaucratic and legal rationalities. Through the formally instrumental discourse, the state declares its willingness to integration without a real intention to implement it and without acknowledging the socio-cultural complexities of integration processes. A rather formalist compliance with principles of integration can be observed in both the *Strategy of Integration* and the *Strategy of Migration Policy*. On the one hand, the strategies address a variety of topics related to integration. However, the implementation tools are only vaguely defined and formally outlined without any specific courses of action. The *Strategy of Integration* offers a neutral description of programmes and mostly technical language rather than strong programmes and a normative vision. In this context, the topic of integration to the labour market is not a prominent part of integration policies. The notions related to labour migration are understood instrumentally; labour migration is expected to be flexible for the needs of the national economy. Moreover, the perspective of migrants is not taken into consideration. Migrants are considered as clients or users of services, but not as citizens.

3.2.1.3 The Assimilation Discourse

The assimilation discourse is derived from the securitisation discourse. However, it uses the cultural vocabulary instead of the security one. The assimilation discourse is promoted by actors such as political parties and parts of the labour unions - they demand strict control and vague cultural assimilation as a necessity of integration. The most important proponents are political parties, some of which include religious organisations and labour unions.

Major Political Parties

Regarding the documents produced by political parties, the discourse was apparently influenced by the migration crisis. In the 2013 parliamentary elections, migration was not a topic, but the situation changed in 2015 when all major parties issued statements on the migrant crisis; and migration thereby became a part of their agenda in the next parliamentary elections that were held in 2017.

Both in the statements and in the agendas, labour migration is not mentioned and migration is connected only with the influx of migrants from Syria and Africa, which have not affected the Czech Republic directly. All the parliamentary parties stressed similar topics - a guarantee of national security for the general population, the prevention of illegal migration, and, with the exception of the Pirate Party, a refusal of the European Union's refugee quotas. Only Social Democrats (the winning party in the 2013 elections who were unsuccessful in the 2015 elections) and the Pirates (successful in the 2017 elections when they gained 10% votes and made it to parliament for the first time) stressed the need for integration tools (Statement of the Pirates to the Refugees, 2015).

The majority of foreigners that live in the Czech Republic are not visible in the political debate and the political parties do not tackle issues such as regulation of migration or introduction of integration measures.

Religious Organisations

The attitudes of political parties have resonated among other actors, such as Catholic organisations. Both the pastoral letter written by the Czech Archbishop and the statement issued by the Czech Bishop Conference emphasised the need to solve the situation within the region of origin of refugees. This trope is commonly used in the Czech public discourse as a legitimisation of approaches criticising the migrant quotas (Wintour, 2018). Migrants to Europe 'need to go home', says Czech prime minister (Wintour, 2018). Furthermore, both documents rejected multiculturalism and emphasised that refugees should adapt to the majority culture. It is important to note that the churches differ in their attitudes towards migration. The United Protestant Church stresses that their project for helping refugees should reject the "wave of xenophobia and racism that has entered both Czech society and even churches as well" (Pomáháme uprchlíkům). And also within the Catholic Church, opinions differ. Caritas Czech Republic is one of the biggest organisations that provides assistance and counselling to labour migrants. While churches are not that important actor of public debate due to a lower rate of citizens practising religion in Czech society, the opinions of their representatives resonate with those of politicians and other actors.

3.2.1.4 The Liberal Discourse

Liberal approach stands in opposition to previous discourses and it is very often critical towards them. Non-governmental organisations stress the rights of migrants and draw attention to the barriers within legislation and poor working condition of migrants. The authorities in the nation's two largest cities (Prague and Brno) stress the importance of civic participation amongst migrants and their cultural contribution to society. In the vocabulary of liberal discourse, migrants are understood as active subjects - either citizens or employees. The discourse can be represented by some regional authorities, NGOs and, in its purely economic and neoliberal form, by employer organisations.

Regional Authorities

One of the principles stressed by the key strategic documents is the emphasis on integration at a local level. However, the majority of Czech regions or municipalities do not develop any systematic policies towards citizens with foreign nationality. The integration praxis is therefore mostly done on an ad-hoc base and depends on the individual will of public clerks or mayors. Regional strategies were developed for Prague and the South Moravia Region (The Prague Municipality, 2014). It is worth mentioning that the integration policy document from Prague is the only public statutory body to use the word "multicultural" and makes a point to stress several times that migrants are an overall benefit to the city. *The Strategy of Integration of the*

*South Moravian Region*⁹ also emphasises the participation of migrants themselves on municipal decision making. Regional strategies do not tackle labour integration, and unlike other public bodies, stress other types of benefits not pertaining to the economy that migrants bring to their host country. With the focus on the participation of migrants and with closer attention paid to their needs, regional strategies are closer to discourse used by the NGOs.

Non-Governmental Sector

The most vocal player in the topic of labour migration is the non-governmental sector. While NGOs representatives are partly involved in the delivery of integration policies, they at the same time provide a critical reflection of the governmental initiatives. The critique was explicitly articulated in the so-called *Migration Manifesto*, produced conjointly by the Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations. The Manifesto provides a conceptual criticism of the *Strategy of Migration*, offering a perspective of integration as a mutual process rather than assimilation and on the level of concrete legal regulations (such as time limits for extending a visa) (Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations in the Czech Republic, 2015). The Consortium has criticised a utilitarian vision of short-term migration and working conditions in low-paid positions. In the Manifesto, the non-governmental sector also promotes their vision of integration based on citizenship rather than on assimilation. Furthermore, through an emphasis on human rights and international commitments of the Czech Republic, NGOs bring to the debate the perspective and rights of migrants. Multicultural Centre Prague is an organisation which deals with the situation of labour migrants on a long-term basis and, in their policy papers, address specific problems and solutions, such as agency employment¹⁰.

Employers Organisations

The focus of employer organisations on migration is very limited and the topic of integration is marginalised. Organisations such as the Czech Chamber of Commerce and the Confederation of Industry are not discussing any integration strategies for foreign workers. In other words, the integration of foreign workers is perceived instrumentally, in strictly economic terms, without addressing any socio-cultural aspects of the integration process.

3.2.2 Conclusions of Discourse Analysis

In conclusion, the topic of integration at the labour market is rather marginalised and overcast by the debate about migration and refugee crisis. The debate about legislation or working conditions is going on between state authorities and the non-governmental sector. Representation of migration as a security threat by the Ministry of the Interior is in accordance with other actors such as the Catholic Church, dominant political parties or some labour

⁹ The document '*Programme of Long-Term Support of Foreigners from the Third-Countries in the South Moravia Region 2011-2015*' was valid until 2015, and a new strategy is being prepared.

¹⁰ Foreigners in the Czech Republic are often employed through agencies rather than directly by employers. This legal form of work is more prone to precarious conditions (the amount of work and monthly wage is not secured and there is less social security measures).

unions. Labour migration is supported only by employee associations but without the support of integration measures. The non-governmental sector is the only one stressing human rights or the perspective of migrants in criticizing securitisation and utilitarian perspectives of migration. In this effort, it is occasionally joined by some labour unions, minor political parties, municipalities or church organisations.

3.2.3 Barriers and Enablers on the Labour Market

In this section, the main problems of labour migration and identified solutions found in the texts will be analysed. In particular, mostly texts produced by public authorities and non-governmental organisations because these actors participate in the debate about specific issues of labour migration. NGOs draw attention to the main challenges for migrants, which include difficult legislation, administration that deals with residency, and language barriers. Together with labour unions, they also criticise the poor working condition of migrants working in low-skilled positions. The solution offered by the public authorities would be a growth in assistance services and a growth in the number of available seats in language courses rather than structural changes in legislation.

The discussion about labour migration in the Czech Republic is not about specific measures and tools to integrate migrants into the labour market. It is mostly about migrants who are already on the labour market¹¹. The main issues addressed are, thus, how to integrate them to other spheres of life.

As it is frequently presented by public authorities, it is the growing number of foreigners in itself that represents the key reason for integration. This fact is stated at the beginning of the government's *Strategy of Integration* and in regional strategies. The necessity to deal with the integration is stressed vis-à-vis the contemporary situation in the Western Europe, which is presented as a failure, as could be well-illustrated with a comment made in a regional policy document from the South Moravia region: *"...the growth of interest (in integration) has been a matter of the past few years and is based on experiences with the complicated integration of foreigners in migrant countries where larger communities of foreigners are residing"* (Programme of Long-Term Support of Foreigner from the Third-Countries in the South Moravia Region 2011-2015, p. 80.)

The two largest immigration groups were mentioned specifically in the texts. Ukrainians, who form the largest group of foreigners living in the Czech Republic, are used as a prime example of the problems faced by low-skilled workers while Vietnamese are depicted as a closed community that presents a specific challenge for integration. *"For some groups, information on Czech language courses are hard to reach- this is a specific problem for the Vietnamese, who generally don't participate in public activities very often"* (Ibid. p. 49.)

¹¹ According to the Czech legislation, migrants coming to the Czech Republic to work have to have work contract prior of arrival.

3.2.3.1 Legal System and Administration

The main challenge of integration described by the analysed texts is the complexity and difficulty of both the legal system governing migration and its implementation. This complexity has its own historical reasons (the Act on Residence of Foreigners has been amended several times and is not consistent), but it is also a consequence of the securitisation approach- there are too many civic duties for foreigners.

Both NGOs and The Chamber of Commerce see these aspects as the main problem of migration policy. However, their perspectives differ. The Czech Chamber of Commerce emphasised in both blogs and official policy papers from the perspective of employers that: *"...The operative solution (of the insufficient workforce) would be to withdraw barriers in recruiting foreign labourers"* (Diro, 2018). The Consortium of Migrant Assistance Organisations calls attention to the situation of migrants themselves. They criticise the conditions of applying for the visa: *"Instead of clear, well-founded and lawful conditions, the migration is regulated rather by processual obstructions and administrative barriers. An example is an impossibility to submit an application in the event of a low capacity in public offices or demands for documents that are difficult to obtain or strict conditions dictating by whom and where the application can be submitted"* (Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations in the Czech Republic, 2015). Also, those already in the country are facing administrative difficulties: *"Both by foreigners and by employers, the administrative process is perceived as very difficult. Especially the whole length of issuing of work permit and strict process of extending those permits"* (Multicultural Centre, 2013).

Public authorities rather point out to a lack of counselling for foreigners or missing cooperation and knowledge of staff of public offices as a core of this problem. *"...the most common problems in the communication between foreigners and offices can be labelled as an "information deficit". This information deficit is caused by the language barrier, a weak knowledge of information resources and misunderstandings when communication with staff members of public offices. They often provide unreliable and incomprehensible information. Information provided by different staff members of the same institution can differ and foreigners are forced to deliver new documents and repeatedly visit these offices"* (Programme of Long-Term Support of Foreigner from the Third-Countries in the South Moravia Region 2011-2015, pp. 76).

3.2.3.2 Language Knowledge

The second challenge for integration as identified in the matrix of texts is the knowledge of the Czech language, or lack thereof. This problem is identified by almost all actors on the level of education of both adult and young migrants and in the support of the teachers.

3.2.3.3 Working Conditions

The third most common challenge was a precarious position of migrants and even illegal practices of employers. These practices are described and criticised prominently by non-governmental sector: *“Low-qualified positions are characterised by a precarious position, low wages, long shifts and frequent injuries. Migrants in low-skilled positions are not free as a result of a limitation of their rights”* (Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations, 2015, pp. 26). The main target of criticism of NGOs is so-called *agency employment* when workers are supplied to employers by private agencies that use various forms of short-term contracts (Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations, 2015).

In the description of this situation, the non-governmental sector is in agreement with labour unions: *“For the Czech- Moravian Confederation of Labour Unions, the employment of foreigners who are lured to the Czech Republic and have wages that are on the poverty level is unacceptable. The Czech Republic can’t work against social dumping and support it at the same time”* (Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions, 2017). However, this position is supported mostly by economic arguments rather than by paying attention to the situation of migrants: *“Unregulated labour migration is a dangerous factor leading to destabilisation of the labour market, social dumping and the end of rising wages.”* (Ibid.) Labour unions do not support the change in situation of foreign workers but are using the critical descriptions of the situation in order to oppose the growth of migration: *“The Czech Confederation of Labour Unions will oppose attempts to broaden the influx of cheap work labour from the third-party countries to the Czech Republic. We will support maximal usage of the inner workforce”* (Svoboda, 2015). These problems are even more pressing for migrants working on the illegal labour market. Because the application for the visa is a long-term process, Ukrainians and Vietnamese might use the tourist visa and work without a permit or have side-jobs without a contract.

The critical situation was most likely accelerated by the financial crisis in 2008. During the crisis, the residency conditions for foreigners from third-party countries were harshened (Kušniráková & Čížinský 2011, pp. 497–517). This situation is well described in the policy document of the South Moravian Region; whose strategy arose shortly after the financial crisis.

“Migrants are forced to search for short-term work opportunities mostly due to problems in acquiring a regular job or a harsh-life situation. These migrants are mostly Mongolian, Vietnamese and partly also Ukrainian employees of work agencies. For these migrants, the current regional labour market does not provide many opportunities, that is why a large share of them turn to the irregular labour market. Also, those foreigners who come for income only and want to return home and are prepared to work overtime prefer to work illegally” (Programme of Long-Term Support of Foreigner from the Third-Countries in the South Moravia Region 2011-2015, p. 59).

Although the situation on the labour market is better now and there are enough vacancies in the low-skilled positions, according to the interviews, migrants can still choose or be forced to stay on the irregular labour market.

3.2.3.4 Women and Youth

Women, who form a group of migrants with specific needs, are mentioned only rarely and only in the texts produced by public authorities. *“Women migrants are an especially vulnerable group and are often victims of domestic violence and violence against women. It is necessary to create specific prevention tools and to inform this group about possibilities of help”* (Ministry of the Interior, 2016, p.12). Implementation of this principle is done through a call for funding support from the Ministry of the Interior for NGOs. There were several minor campaigns or research studies focusing on migrants; the majority of implementers do not reflect a specific position of women in their work (see the interview section).

There are no policies for young migrants nor are they seen as a group with specific needs. It was only in the expert interviews that specific problems connected with young migrants were mentioned- for details see the next section.

3.2.3.5 Wider Public

The very last topic that is important to mention is the attitudes of the majority of the Czech population, which were identified as a major problem for integration by both public bodies and NGOs. Public bodies emphasise experiences foreigners have with xenophobia, quoting research conducted by the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs: *“...more than a third of foreigners (38%) experienced xenophobia, on the contrary, more than half of foreigners (60%) did not observe any signs of xenophobia from the Czechs. In some localities with a higher share of foreigners or tourists, negative attitudes of inhabitants were monitored in the last few years.”*¹² NGOs are trying to define the reasons for this situation: *“Xenophobic populism is on the rise and most of the politicians remain silent, with some public figures even promoting it and thereby legitimising racist and xenophobic opinions as acceptable”* (Ministry of the Interior, 2016, p.12). The root of this problem and its solution are beyond the scope of integration but it is important to mention since it can be a reason why integration is not a public topic in the Czech Republic.

In this section, an overview of the debate about integration in the Czech Republic based on analysis of publicly available texts produced by different types of actors was given. While dialogue about labour migration and integration is happening mostly between the Ministry of the Interior and the non-governmental sector, positions of other actors such as political parties or labour unions were also included in order to illustrate the framing of questions on integration in the broader public debate about migration. Difficult legislation, language knowledge and working conditions were identified as major challenges. The texts are in keeping with the same views expressed in expert interviews, which are analysed in the next section where challenges and limits of implementation of various policies are also described.

12 The poll had 145 respondents, and these findings were presented at the Conference.

3.3 Assessment of Policy Measures

In the text below, an overview of existing integration policies and their evaluations are given. Although there is progress in integration efforts, there are no specific labour integration policies. In the first part, the rights of different groups of foreigners are described- only holders of asylum and subsidiary protection can participate in a long-term programme that includes labour counselling. Short-term residents have limited rights and only migrants with permanent residence get the same social rights as citizens. The biggest obstacle of integration services is that they are project-based and therefore temporary, and not all migrant are eligible or have access to these services. Evaluation of integration programmes is only partial and research suggests that only a minority of migrants use them.

3.3.1 Policy Overview

There are no specific labour market policies for migrants. The majority of policies target other spheres of their life in the Czech Republic. Foreigners with permanent residence (usually after five years of living in the country) and those with asylum or subsidiary protection status have the same social rights as citizens and free access to the labour market¹³. These rights are universal but do not reflect specific situations amongst foreigners- many government benefits are based on participation in the labour market (e.g. maternity leave and child benefits) and therefore cannot be used, especially by asylum seekers in their first few years of residence. Also, migrants or refugees who arrive in the Czech Republic later in their life often do not spend the expected 35 years in paid work and are not entitled to claim the retirement benefits if their country of origin doesn't have an agreement for transferring or recognising working years.

Foreigners with different legal statuses (temporary residence, blue card or long-term visa) have limited rights and these are defined by the Foreigner Residence Act (326/1999 Coll.). This law defines the conditions under which they can extend their visa, change their working position etc. These rules are strict and complex and the paperwork required to obtain work permits and visas presents the main problem for short-term migrants.

All foreigners have the right to use Labour Office services, but they have limited knowledge on the specific needs of migrants and don't offer services or training schemes for foreigners with limited language knowledge. The specifics of foreign nationals lead to the implementation of integration policies and programmes targeted directly towards foreigners.

The oldest integration policy is the *State Integration Programme*- a voluntary one-year assistance programme for asylum holders and holders of subsidiary protection that has been running since 1994. The programme also includes job counselling. The majority of eligible individuals participate in the programme but the overall group is rather small (450 people were eligible in 2015).

¹³ For detailed overview of Czech welfare system see Ripka, V., & Mareš, M. (2009). The Czech welfare system. In U. Bazant, S. Hegelich, & K. Schubert (Eds.), *The Handbook of European Welfare Systems* (pp. 102-120). London: Routledge.

The Czech Republic started to implement pro-integration policies on a larger scale only after the year 2000. After 2008, the *Centers for Support of the Integration of Foreigners* were established gradually in each region. They can be run by different subjects (regional governments, NGO or mostly *Refugee Facilities Administration*) but are financed from the *Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund* of the European Commission. These centres offer language courses, socio-cultural courses, and legal and social counselling. They also have a coordination role in the region. Regional governments or municipalities don't have any specific competencies in integration- regional differences are based on the individual activity of authorities. Since 2008, support schemes for different public authorities were also established, the likes of which include *Support for Foreigners in Schools* and *Municipality Support of Integration of Foreigners*. These forms of support are not universal and individual schools or municipalities have to apply for the funding - in 2017, 15 municipalities got funding¹⁴ as well as 314 primary schools (all applicants were successful)¹⁵. Since the integration centres were established only after 2008, the non-governmental sector holds a very strong position. In regions with a higher share of migrants, integration centres cannot cover the demand for integration services. Non-governmental organisations can apply for public funding in the scheme *Integration of Foreigners* run by the Ministry of the Interior.

Progress in establishing policies and services for foreigners was observed in the last twenty years. A discussion on its effectiveness is given in the section below.

The biggest challenge on the structural level is that funding from the Ministry of the Interior or European Commission for municipalities, schools, NGOs or Centers to Support Integration of Foreigners are temporary, project-based and not universal.

3.3.2 Assessment and Research

In this section, existing evaluations and research on above-mentioned policies will be described and analysed. Longitudinal evaluation of policies mentioned in the previous section is not available but we were able to acquire partial data, evaluation of individual projects and case reports.

Existing research suggest that only a minority of foreigners use integration services with the majority of services used being legal and social counselling and language courses (services that target the main barriers of integration that were identified). Research dealing specifically with labour market integration suggests that the language barrier and recognition of education is the biggest challenge for migrants. The Labour Offices don't provide sufficient language education and other types of training.

¹⁴ List of municipalities can be derieved from <https://www.mvcr.cz/migrace/clanek/seznam-podporených-projektu-obci-na-podporu-integrace-cizincu.aspx>

¹⁵ Figures were given by the representatives of the Ministry of Education at the Conference "Acceptance an Integration of Foreign Pupils" (10.10.2018).

3.3.2.1 Research Review

There are several sources of data that give a scattered picture of services for foreigners, as well as the scope of their usage and effectiveness. A lack of general data on foreign nationals in the Czech Republic is criticised by experts. Although the public authorities collect many types of data, this data is often not available and registries run by different authorities are not connected. Data connected with the topic of repression (illegal residence or work, criminality) are collected but data on health care or integration is missing (Trlifajová, 2015). The Centres for the Support of Integration of Foreigners who form the main carrier of state-driven integration published “Statistics of Clients and Services” for the years 2013 and 2014 (Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2013; Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2014), but without further evaluation- the exception is the Final Monitoring Report of the project related to the establishment of the first four centres in the year 2010 (Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2010). A detailed assessment from the year 2012 is available for the State Integration Programme, which focused on small group of asylum seekers and holders of subsidiary protection (Uherek, Beranská, Honusková, Jiráková & Šolcová, 2012). According to the interviewee (Ministry of the Interior, Interview 7), the Refugee Facilities Centre is working on a tool that would collect the data about clients and could be used for assessment in the future.

Integration grants from the Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Education are awarded only to a very small number of municipalities and schools, therefore their evaluation would be limited. However, there are several case studies or running projects that are covering the situation in individual municipalities. The running project “Cities and Inclusive Strategies” is aimed at analysing the situation in the selected regions- findings of the project were not yet made available but the interview with the researcher was included in our project report (Interview 10).

The exceptional case is Brno where the research report, *Local Strategies of Integration- Case Study Brno*, is available (Rákoczyová, Trbola, & Vyhlídal, 2011). Its findings will be compared with the results of the evaluation of a current project of employment of intercultural workers within the Brno municipality (Cogiel, 2018). Recently, municipality integration bodies in Prague and Brno organised research projects on migration communities in their cities. For Brno, the book, “Foreigner in Brno- Relationships and Support Networks”, is available (Topinka, Janků, Topinková, Kubala, Čejková, & Linhartová, 2018) and in Prague, the publication, “Prague Inhabitants with a Foreign Passport”, was published in 2019 (Leontiyeva, Mikešová, & Tollarová, 2018). The goals of this research included obtaining information about the migrant communities and how they use public services in order to shape local services.

Another example of the growing number of recent assessments on public policies was the project, “Support to Foreigners”, which is aimed at developing and evaluating the services of Labour Offices provided for foreigners. The study was carried out between 2016 and 2018 by Fond dalšího vzdělávání (“Furthering Education Fund”), a public body governed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Because the final report of the project was not available yet for our research, the interview with one of the researchers was included in the interview section (Governmental research institute, Interview 4).

The continual research of integration of foreigners is carried out by the Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs. The research studies published in the last decade are focused on educational and economic profiles of migrants as well as on their perception of the quality of life in the Czech Republic and on their experience with services provided by public integration services or non-governmental organisations (Schebelle, Horáková, Bareš, & Kubát, 2013; Schebelle, Kubát, Kotíková, & Vychová, 2014; Schebell, Kubát, Kotíková & Vychová, 2015; Schebelle & Kubát, 2017).

3.3.2.2 Results of Assessment

Findings from the available research reports, research studies and evaluation reports suggest that integration services are not used by the majority of foreigners. This is suggested by the survey, *“How services for foreigners work?”*, in which 80% of respondents declared that they had never approached bodies that offer free services or consultations for foreigners) and instead trusted family members or fellow nationals (10% declared that they did not know of such services while 5% did not trust them) (Schebelle, Kubát, Kotíková, & Vychová, 2014). Statistical reports provided by the Centres to Support Integration of Foreigners for the years 2013 and 2014 show that each of the nine centres had between 141 and 2,008 individual clients¹⁶ each year and the overall number of clients increased from 7,875 in 2013 to 7,993 in 2014 (Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2013; Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2014). Assessment of these figures can be traced only in the final report of the project that financed the foundation of the centres - while the expected number of clients in the period of the establishment of four centres was 4,000. In reality, only 1,696 clients used these services. Thus, shares of foreigners who used these services varied between 2.5% (Karlovarský region) and 8.5% (Olomoucký region) of the eligible group. The final report declares that gaining the trust of potential clients is a long-term process that is more difficult than what is expected (Závěrečná monitorovací zpráva projektu, 2010, p. 20.).

The same sources give an idea of what kind of services are the most in demand -language courses (50%), translation services (38%), visa assistance / assistance with residence permit paperwork (34%), assistance with the administration of health insurance (24%) and assistance with orientation in everyday life (23%). The results of this survey are in accordance with the statistics published by the Centres for Support of Integration of Foreigners. Both in 2013 and 2014, among the most frequently used services were social counselling, language courses, legal counselling and a course on socio-cultural orientation (Centra pro integraci cizinců, 2013; Centra pro integraci cizinců. (2014).

Several challenges for labour integration were identified in several assessments and will be analysed in further detail. Insufficient language knowledge is described as the main barrier: *“Integration on the labour market is connected with language knowledge. The poorer the*

¹⁶ These figures refer to nine integration centres run by the Refugee Facilities Administration. The lowest number refers to Vysočina Region where the center was established only during the year 2013 and where the overall number of foreigners is low and the highest refer to industrial region of Plzeň.

language, the harder to find a job. Employers often demand a good command of Czech not only in the branches where it is necessary but also in those where it is not needed" (Uherek, Beranská, Honusková, Jiráková, & Šolcová, 2012). As this analysis carried out by the State Integration Fund suggests, although refugees and holders of subsidiary protection are offered language training, the level, amount and schedule of lectures is not sufficient. A majority of foreigners with other legal status than asylum or subsidiary protection don't have this opportunity of an individual plan within the Refugee Facilities Administration and have to use other providers of language education. The Research of Further Education Fund identified language knowledge as the main barrier for unemployed foreigners. The Labour Office only offers one type of three-month intensive course in the Czech language for long-term migrants: *"...but for clients who speak Arabic, Spanish or other different languages, these three-month courses are not enough. This is often a problem because the staff from the Labour Office often assume that those who pass this course can already speak Czech."* (Governmental research institute, Interview 4.)

Both assessments on the State Integration Programme and research on the Further Education Fund noted that foreigners need specific services, but the Labour Offices do not have the staff, funding or time to create individualised or bespoke plans for foreigners. Although the project, "Support to Foreigners", identified several ways how Labour Offices can support labour market integration, such as individual and group consultations, assistance in recognition of qualification, the future of the programme remains uncertain and depends heavily on the availability of funding.

Both in cases of language courses and job counselling, foreigners can also contact various NGOs or state-run Centres to Support Integration of Foreigners. However, there is a lack of data about the capacity of providers to fulfil the demand of foreigners. Moreover, even the needs of foreigners have not been sufficiently identified, which makes the question about what the adequate capacity would be even more complicated.

The case study, "Local Integration of Foreigners", suggests further barriers of integration, analysing the situation from the perspective of organisational analysis. The biggest challenges for the integration of foreigners at the local level are insufficient cooperation and sharing information among the municipal departments and limited resources for providers (mostly NGOs) that are forced to compete rather than collaborate. Findings from this research from the South Moravia Region can be compared with the assessment of the project, "Increasing Inter-Cultural Competencies of Institutions within the Brno Municipality¹⁷", from the year 2018. Over 30% of municipal officers declared in a poll that they will not request any assistance in communication with foreigners and 19% declared that they will cooperate with "intercultural workers"¹⁸ who were employed during this project¹⁹. Staff involved with the project were interviewed for the SIRIUS project (Local governmental organisation, Interview 11). According to an interviewee, the results can show that, on one hand, the Brno municipality is now ready

¹⁷ Brno is a capital of South Moravian Region and also a city with the highest share of foreigners in the region.

¹⁸ "Intercultural workers" are intermediators between foreign residents and officers at municipal offices - they can be contacted by both groups and should help smooth communication and understanding.

¹⁹ The poll had 145 respondents, and these findings were presented at the Conference.

to offer services to foreigners, while on the other hand, there is a general reticence towards foreigners, which restrains public offices from being more inclusive.

In conclusion, the existing evaluation of integration policies in the Czech Republic is rather sparse and unsystematic, although the number of researchers and evaluation initiatives has recently been growing. Therefore, generalising conclusions about the effectiveness of integration policies is difficult. The available evaluations and research studies give an idea about the integration services requested by foreign nationals and the scope of their usage, as well as the main barriers that State Integration Centres and NGOs face in delivering their services. Identified barriers correspond to the findings on both discourse analysis (see above) and interview analysis (see below). Evaluations also uncover a big challenge for Czech integration policies, which is the struggle in implementation, and institutional barriers of integration, which are described in the next section in detail.

3.4 Interviews Analysis

Previous chapters demonstrated that an effective assessment of integration tools in the Czech Republic is not available and that the perspective of migrants is missing from the public debate. Therefore, the analysis of interviews represents an important complementary tool in understanding the integration of MRAs in the Czech Republic. The interviews took into consideration the perspective of experts as well as, very importantly, the experiences of migrants.

In total, eleven experts were interviewed - in accordance with findings from the discourse analysis, they represented mostly public authorities - the Ministry of the Interior or municipalities (five interviews) and the non-governmental sector (two interviews). Moreover, three researchers²⁰ and one representative of the labour unions were interviewed. Interviews with migrants themselves helped to bring to light their perspective, which is conspicuously absent from the public and expert debates. We contacted the respondents from Ukraine and Vietnam (the two largest foreign national groups) with the help of experts and students at Charles University- various personal networks or contacts established in the previous researches were used.

The majority of interviewees from Ukraine work in high skilled positions (Past beneficiary 1, Past beneficiary 2, Past beneficiary 3, Past beneficiary 4), but we were also able to contact those who were working in the low paid positions in manufacturing (Past beneficiary 5 and Past beneficiary 6). It is worth noting that Ukrainians share the major barriers of integration regardless of their education or class. We included one respondent from Russia to get a more in-depth insight into illegal practices of intermediaries, commonly experienced by migrants from post-soviet countries.

²⁰ The activities of interviewed researcher are not purely confined by the academic sphere. Considering researchers' involvement in NGOs and public administration, it is difficult to speak "pure" researchers.

The most difficult to contact were members of the Vietnamese community - also professional providers of integration services agreed that they represent a closed community and that access to fieldwork requires a long-term development of trust relations (Interview 7 and 11). We were able to interview a specific subgroup of this migrant community- youth joining their parents, and therefore we uncovered specific challenges that they face in the education system (Past beneficiaries 12 and 13).

Another challenge was in finding the respondents from the group of asylum holders and holders of subsidiary protection; this group is considerably smaller compared to labour migrants in the Czech Republic - 950 people obtained subsidiary protection and 248 were granted asylum status between the years 2013 and 2015. Following an unsuccessful campaign in NGOs or facilities of Refugee Facilities Administration, we used personal networks to find interview partners; more specifically, respondents who were granted asylum before the year 2013 (Past beneficiary 11, Past beneficiary 10), because in the Czech Republic, the number of asylum seekers was not significantly higher after the year 2015 and we were able to describe the process of integrations in a longer-term perspective.

3.4.1 Work and Working Conditions

At a first glance, the integration on the labour market might not seem as a barrier considering that "...given the current situation on the labour market everyone can find a job at the end" (Interview 7). However, a closer look suggests a more complex situation and a number of challenges that MRAs have to face. Different barriers of labour market integration are connected both with the conditions and career prospects of migrant jobs. The variety of challenges is therefore unevenly distributed among various groups of migrants.

3.4.1.1 Refugees

The most vulnerable group is represented by refugees with asylum or subsidiary protection. Respondents from this group were the only ones who experienced difficulties in finding a job (Past beneficiary 8, Past beneficiary 10) and they also struggle to use their qualifications (Past beneficiary 7, Past beneficiary 11, Past beneficiary 8). The perspective of refugees is confirmed by the view of experts; according to an officer from the State Integration programme (a one-year programme for refugees that includes labour counselling), the situation amongst their clients on the labour market after the programme is usually not stabilised. The majority of refugees worked, at first, in ethnic cuisine restaurants; however, they often worked illegally or in precarious conditions (Past beneficiary 10, Past beneficiary 11, Past beneficiary 8, Past beneficiary 9). After a few years living in the Czech Republic, two respondents were able to either open their own restaurant (Past beneficiary 10) or were planning to do so (Past beneficiary 7). But for Past beneficiary 7 who has a previous career as an entrepreneur in the telecommunications field, this is a rather pragmatic and realistic choice. Refugees might be forced into these kinds of jobs because they have troubles in finding a job on the regular labour market. Moreover, they encountered difficulties in using their qualification due to poor language knowledge and a lack of social networks.

3.4.1.2 Low-Paid Positions

A large group of migrants in the Czech Republic would be those working in low-skilled jobs (manufacturing and services), and this is typical for the majority of Ukrainians. A higher share of foreign labour migrants is in regions with large industrial plants in North and West Bohemia. An interviewee (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 2) and manager of the Integration Centre for Support of Foreigners in her description of the situation in the region suggested that a growing number of short-term labour migrants (both with and without families) are now living in even smaller villages, which brings challenges to these municipalities and their public services.

The problem connected with these industrial plants is a high number of so-called agency-employment workers. These workers are recruited by private agencies rather than by employers themselves and their working contracts often do not cover overtime hours or secure their wages. A strict set of regulations on these agencies was recommended by Interviewee 8 from the Confederation of Labour Unions and the problematic aspects of agency-employment was suggested by migrants too. In this regard, Past beneficiary 5 and Past beneficiary 6 described harsh and unfair work conditions with the agencies. They both managed to use their skills and qualifications to find a decent job only when they were able to end their contracts with a private agency after several years of living in the Czech Republic.

The migrants with low-skilled jobs might also choose to work on the black market. This group is difficult to reach but interviewees who work directly with migrants often speak about this problem. Several refugees interviewed were working illegally in the first few years of their stay (Past beneficiary 10, Past beneficiary 9). The choice to work on the black market is typical for migrants from Ukraine and Vietnam who could not apply for a visa in their home country (for description of the mechanism, see Discourse Analysis section) or just chose to work without a legal contract because it would allow them to earn more money fast. A higher net salary is often at the expense of unseen consequences in terms of missing social security (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 9) and therefore with limited, if any, access to social services.

Regarding the access to social services, both representatives of NGOs and public integration centres criticised that EU citizens or short-term labour migrants are not entitled to integration services. For example, workers from Bulgaria, Romania or even Slovakia use labour agency services and work under the same precarious conditions.

3.4.2 Skills

Another challenge with no attention given by the Czech policies with an emphasis on short-term migration is the use migrants' skills. Both refugees and labour migrants often do not use their skills and/or education. A research study conducted by the Furthering Education Fund with foreigners and labour offices found that especially Ukrainians often work in low-skilled positions, but the majority have secondary education. This has to do with the recognition of

qualifications and exams that is usually part of this process (Governmental research institute, Interview 4).

Furthermore, an interviewee (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 9) argued that many foreigners are primarily seeking high earnings; considering that the recognition of qualification is time-consuming, those who have already been working in the Czech Republic in low skilled positions for several years might find it difficult to get back to their previous positions. An interviewee (Local governmental organisation, Interview 11) added that to attend courses and work on career development, migrants need to have financial stability and support, mainly from their families. However, usually they are those who are expected to support their families and would not be able to stop working for an extensive period of time to find higher qualified positions because it would pose too much of a risk. Past beneficiary 5 was able to get her university degree in Economics recognised after a few years of living in the Czech Republic and managed to land a relevant position, but the refugees were usually not able to use their qualifications in the current situation.

3.4.2.1 Highly-Skilled Migrants

There are specific migration policies to attract highly-skilled migrants to the Czech Republic²¹ and we have covered this group in the interviews as well. One interviewee partner (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 1) is a representative of a municipal initiative that offers services especially to this group. According to him, the specific policies fail because an application through this programme takes longer than the standard one and the expat centre advises the employers not to use it. According to the interviewee, a lack of effective migration policies to attract highly-skilled migrants is one of the reasons why the Czech Republic struggles to compete on the global labour market.

Highly-skilled interviewees from Ukraine were mostly working in IT, their companies supported them in the application process for their residency and they felt that for them it would be easy to find a different job. However, Past beneficiary 1 and Past beneficiary 2 who did not study in the Czech Republic had the feeling feel that their careers were limited to multicultural working environments at international companies and that they wouldn't be able to access the broader job market.

3.4.3 Administration

The time, effort and stress required for the residency application process was confirmed to be the main barrier for all migrant groups. It is striking for a city that runs both an "expat centre" targeted at highly-skilled professionals and a project of "intercultural workers" that is focusing on vulnerable groups of migrants. According to the representatives of both projects, the services they offer are in the end very similar, and support in administrative tasks is needed by all groups of foreigners. The manager of the expat centre (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 1) stated: "If the officers could speak English, 80% of our work would be done."

²¹ Especially *Zvláštní postupy pro vysoce kvalifikované zaměstnance z Ukrajiny a Indie* – "Special procedures for high qualified employers from Ukraine and India" run by the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Ministry of Health.

Migrants encountered difficulties when confronted with the Czech legislative framework (e.g. Past beneficiary 6 talking about the reunification of family and its administration) and with interpersonal communication with officers. Migrants often declared that the experience with clerks at local branches of the Ministry of the Interior was positive and they were helpful (Past beneficiary 5, Past beneficiary 3) but often the same people mentioned negative experiences with different local branches or individual clerks. Refugees who are in frequent contact with the Labour Office mentioned their negative experience too. Past beneficiary 8 talked about his feeling that the clerks really did not want to help him and that their meetings were very emotional. A similar experience was described by an interviewee (Local governmental organisation, Interview 11), who admitted to an emotional rather than professional approach on behalf of public clerks towards their clients, which is derived from the stereotypical and negative portrayal of Muslims in the public debates. A more detailed analysis would suggest that numerous bad experiences at the interpersonal level are rooted in poor knowledge of languages on both sides.

3.4.3.1 Language

The lack of language skills, which was identified as the main barrier in the discourse analysis and review of existing evaluations of integration measures, was perceived as a major problem by respondents from all migrant groups. While stories of refugees and migrants provide evidence about problems in finding a job (Past beneficiary 8, Past beneficiary 4), stakeholders pointed out mainly about the insufficient capacity of courses and their inappropriate structure (Local governmental organisation, Interviewees 11; Regional integration centre, Interview 2). The language problem is also the core of difficulties found with the administration and application process and can be analysed both on the side of migrants and the officers.

Several interviewees talked about the negative experience with the local offices of the Ministry of Interior where all administrative tasks connected with visas or residency needed to be solved: *“Once there was a lady who did not speak English. Ok, I understand, but this is an immigration centre. Everyone [emphasised by the interviewee herself] should speak English here. And some people were very rude. For example, after leaving Ukraine and spending only 2 months in the Czech Republic, a lady there asked me why I did not speak Czech. How can I speak Czech?... It was very rude...”* (Past beneficiary 2).

Czech is the only official language, which is often interpreted as being the only language that could be used in communication in public offices. The head of the methodology of the integration centre in Prague explains the unhelpfulness of officers due to their lack of knowledge of another language and lack of knowledge of specific legislature for foreigners or a reluctance to foreigners and migration overall. Interpretation of the law can be used as a tool in all cases. *“A Czech office worker is very uptight in the sense that he/she follows the rules strictly, and there is no law outlining what to do when there is a foreigner in need of a service. This is much more about individuals and their will to help”* (Regional integration centre, Interview 5). The fact that the delivery of services to foreigners at public institutions depends on the individual will and helpfulness of officers rather than on common standards was

repeated several times. For example, Past beneficiary 5 met officers from the Ministry of the Interior that translated the legislature for her.

According to the researcher from the project “Cities and Inclusive Strategies” (University, Interview 10), there is enough inspiring praxis on the level of individual schools, municipalities or communities, but she calls for a change in legislature and for formulating universal standards and funding so that foreigners can be sure that they will receive services designated for them everywhere.

3.4.4 Integration services

The assistance with practical aspects of life in the Czech Republic is offered by NGOs or public Centres to Support Integration of Foreigners. Respondents from the group of refugees who were granted asylum or subsidiary protection were recruited through a collaborator who is working in an NGO and, therefore, they had experience with integration services. Also, the majority of this group enters the public State integration programme (Ministry of the Interior, Interview 7). They appreciate both types of services but often they contacted the NGOs later after their arrival and after some negative experience (Past beneficiary 7, Past beneficiary 10).

The respondents of Ukrainian origin often use services of private intermediaries both prior and after their arrival, but practices of these intermediaries are often illegal. Among these practices could be mentioned the practice of selling an account statement that was described by Past beneficiary 3 and Past beneficiary 4.

Still, the interviewees from Ukraine had the feeling that they needed more informational sources in Ukrainian or Russian about the legislature or practical issues connected with their residence. This shows that they often do not know the existing sources or places of counselling. The representatives of NGOs also declared that they are struggling to reach their clients and build trust, especially within the two biggest communities (Ukrainians and Vietnamese), who have their own self-sustainable networks that are running on a commercial and kinship basis.

3.4.5 Women and Youth

Particular attention during interviews was paid to the situation of women and young migrants. These particular topics were apparently marginalised in the already marginal topic of labour market integration. Only one of the addressed organisations provides services targeted primarily towards women, organising therapeutic meetings, projects focused on household workers and dealing also with the question of aging migrants (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 9). However, the funding resources to support assistance in these areas is very limited and the organisation struggles to secure the initiatives.

One of the interviewed organisations (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 6) runs a hotline operated in several languages and used mostly by women. The hotline provides consultation services and focuses on aspects of family and personal life, rather than on administrative support, and questions related to the labour market. More specifically, questions such as household violence, raising kids, alcoholism in the family or divorce are discussed. As one of the interviewees (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 9) observed,

migrant women face the same problems as women born in the Czech Republic in regards to care, education for kids etc. However, for them, seeking help is more difficult. Some of the respondents (Local governmental organisation, Interview 11) in this regard point out the importance of other services (such as accompaniment to the doctor's) that can have a therapeutic dimension, although this is not their declared goal. Not just women, but also male migrants were talking about psychological and psychosomatic problems connected with their experience of migration (Past beneficiary 9, Past beneficiary 10). However, this issue was overlooked until now and there are no special services aimed towards this topic.

Young migrants in comparison to women are even less visible, with no policy, programme or research provided for them. On the other hand, the importance of youth could be understood implicitly, as part of the focus on education mentioned as an issue by several stakeholders. Foreigners living in municipalities can be invisible to the authorities and, therefore, public schools (which are the dominant form of primary and secondary education in the Czech Republic) are the first institutions that get in touch with migrants (Non-governmental organisation, Interview 9; University, Interview 10). Notwithstanding the importance of the education system for the integration processes, until now schools and teachers lack experience and support in integration of foreigners (Ministry of the Interior, Interview 3). Schools can apply for funding from the Ministry of Education, but takes place prior to the start of the school year when they do not know yet whether there will be students from a foreign background. Furthermore, they receive the funding too late during the school year and the filing process is complicated; all these factors contribute to the low number of applications for funding from schools (Ministry of the Interior, Interview 3).

In bigger cities with a higher share of foreigners, there are schools specialised in the integration of students with a foreign background where students might concentrate. Funding from the Ministry of Education is not available to secondary schools. According to an educational expert in education (Ministry of the Interior, Interview 3), there is a growing number of students with a foreign background who either will not be accepted into the secondary school, or who will not be able to graduate due to poor language knowledge²².

Two young migrants from Vietnam (past beneficiaries 12 and 13) who recently came to the Czech Republic have been struggling with the education system- they are most worried about the entrance exam into secondary school. Although they have support from their families, they are struggling with the lack of language courses, with the learning materials and with the general information about the education system.

An expert (University, Interview 10) named education as an example of the principle that Czech integration policy lacks structural solutions for barriers that are solved on the level of individual funding and by the motivation of teachers, parents, mayors or social workers.

3.4.6 Wider Society

²² Czech language is a compulsory part of final exam at secondary schools that allow students to study at university. In 2018 10% of students did not pass the exam in Czech language.

Representatives of NGOs and other service organisations emphasised one common goal that they would like to develop more: to organise programmes or campaigns targeted to a wider population in order to challenge the dominant image of foreigners in the public discourse and change the popular opinion. They believe that it is a necessary condition to challenge other barriers and they want to make migration a relevant topic for the whole society. However, it is difficult to find funding for this type of programme and they are only side projects that complement the service-driven initiatives targeted towards migrants.

3.5 Conclusion

In previous chapters, public discourse, integration policies and praxis in the Czech Republic were analysed.

The main challenges of official integration policies include a lack of vision, reactivity and scarcity. Vocally, the state authorities support labour migration of skilled workers but the current economic situation drives the need for low-skilled workers, and legal tools for easier recruitment of unskilled workers are discussed. The government's *Strategy of Migration* promotes a vision of labour migration as being primarily short-term and regulated according to the economic needs of the Czech Republic, without taking into account the perspective of migrants or necessity of their integration.

However, this vision of circular migration is rather problematic vis-à-vis the growing share of migrants with permanent residence. As a reaction to the failure of the vision of circular migration, the government introduced several integration measures within the last ten years. The most visible tool is the establishment of the *Centres to Support Integration of Foreigners* in each region and the introduction of funding schemes for primary schools and for municipalities. Moreover, the biggest municipalities of Prague and Brno started to develop ways to integrate its growing communities of foreigners.

These integration tools were introduced in reaction to the situation and are not underpinned by a broader vision of integration. Furthermore, the integration programmes provided by municipalities and schools are not universal and depend on the will of local political representation or principals. Therefore, migrants do not have always guaranteed services targeted at them. The services offered by public integration centres are not available everywhere and for all groups of migrants. The absence of integration services for EU citizens is in particular striking. All above mentioned initiatives are also depending on availability of EU funding, and their future is therefore uncertain.

Both *Strategy of Migration* and *Strategy of Integration* represent a mixture of securitisation discourse that depicts migration as a security thread, and "formal" discourse. It defines the basic principles of integration, however, only weakly indicating specific measure of its implementation.

The Centres of Support of Integration of Foreigners cannot cover the demand for integration services (such as counselling and language courses) and this shortfall is covered largely by NGOs. The non-governmental sector is also a vocal player in the public debate about the form and goal of integration. These organisations are bringing a different perspective to the debate, such as the wellbeing and respect of the rights of migrants and the liberal idea of integration based on citizenship.

All migrant groups are struggling with the paperwork and administration required for their visa applications and residence applications, and in general with the administration as a whole (of health care, social security etc.). Administration and paperwork for residence applications are difficult both on a policy level and in praxis. The Foreigner Residence Act is a complicated document with many amendments and unclear rules. Therefore, decisions made by staff at the Ministry of the Interior can vary and all the procedures are long, and time-consuming. Due to a missing guidance and absence of platforms to share the know-how on how to communicate with foreigners, the final decision is often dependent on the goodwill or personal experience of individual officers. Therefore, counselling and/or accompaniment to the offices are the most demanded services for foreigners. Notwithstanding the growing volume of information sources and initiatives, the demands of the growing number of different groups of foreigners remains unsatisfied.

Information on the administrative procedures and conditions of residence is not available centrally to all foreigners coming to the Czech Republic. According to the interviews with members of the Vietnamese and Ukrainian communities, the guidance with administration is provided by commercial companies whose support is sometimes connected with semi-legal practices (such as re-selling time slots for visa applications or selling bank account statements). The recognition of qualifications represents another administrative barrier, which prevents Ukrainians in particular from using their education to acquire high-skilled positions.

Poor language knowledge was identified as the second main barrier to labour integration. There is a chronic lack of language courses that would be available to all groups of foreigners and in all regions. Labourers in low skilled positions might not have the time and support from their employer to attend courses. The courses provided by NGOs and integration centres are not designed for different groups of migrants. For example, there is a lack of specialised and advanced courses that would help clients gain vocabulary needed for specific positions or fields of work. This applies especially for Ukrainians or Russians for whom it is relatively easy to learn the language for everyday use but who would still need additional language training to work in specialised fields.

Moreover, our research identified the language barrier of young migrants as an emerging problem, preventing them from acquiring education. Although the Czech schools have increasingly been attended by foreigners, there are no policies guiding the schools in this situation. Support from the state for teachers, students and parents are available only at schools which applied for funding. The state funding is available only to primary schools and it does not address the existing problem that foreign students with a weak knowledge of Czech struggle to finish secondary school, which limits their career prospects for the future. Individual municipalities or NGOs also offer assistance in communication with schools or lectures. However, none of these services are available to all foreigners.

The inadequate application of integration measures in education can cause challenges for labour markets. In other words, there is a risk that the contemporary patterns of segregation in the labour market can be reproduced in the future.

The precarious position of low-paid workers is the third identified barrier. Although there are skilled migrants working in medicine or sciences, migrants from Ukraine are particularly generally employed in low-paid and unskilled jobs in manufacturing or services. Their jobs are characterised by harsh conditions, health risks and by precarious conditions. Furthermore, the

integration process and the integration position of migrants is further undermined by evasion of labour regulation. These features apply specifically for those migrants whose work is offered to companies by labour agencies. In other words, migrants are not direct employees of companies and their work is mediated through labour agencies.

Our research focused on topics that are largely overlooked in Czech integration policies, such as the housing market, the position of women as well as mental health or wellbeing of migrants. Foreigners are discriminated on the housing market and living in insufficient housing. There is no public debate about the availability of housing and the topic is not addressed by policy documents. Given the current development of the Czech housing market and the lack of affordable housing in bigger cities, this problem will continue to represent a significant burden for migrant integration in the future.

Furthermore, although the *Strategy of Integration* identifies women as a vulnerable group, there are no specific policies addressing gender aspects and only limited funding schemes support activities targeted towards them. The specific needs and positions of migrant women are reflected in the services and programmes of NGOs only implicitly.

In conclusion, although there is visible progress in the integration activities of the Czech Republic, they are overly dependent on individual initiatives of municipalities, authorities, schools, officers, NGOs or migrants themselves. To overcome the current above-mentioned issues, more structural changes that are currently nowhere to be seen will be needed. The unwillingness of Czech political authorities to offer stronger structural solutions is linked to the general reluctance of the Czech population towards migrants that erupted particularly during the period of the migrant crisis. Although the migrant crisis did not affect the Czech Republic directly, it stimulated and intensified a negative and stereotypical portrayal of migrants in the public debate. The discourse analysis demonstrated that the majority of actors see migration as something foreign and threatening to what was once a more ethnically homogenous Czech society. Therefore, there is no major political party that would see integration as a priority.

In the context of the weak broader societal integration of foreigners, the labour market integration policies can be hardly materialised and implemented. Due to the absence of any systematic and structural approach towards integration in the labour market, any progress in labour market integration policies will, therefore, be made in small steps, individual efforts and short-term solutions in the future. It is expected that these steps will be driven not only by the involvement of public authorities, but by also other actors, primarily from the non-governmental sphere.

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Appendices

ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text	Title	Type of text	Year of publication	Link/pdf
Ministry of the Interior	"In mutual respect"- Strategy of Integration	Strategic document on a governmental level	2016	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/migracni-a-azylova-politika-ceske-republiky-470144.aspx?q=Y2hudW09NA%3D%3D
Ministry of the Interior	"The strategy of Migration Policy in the Czech Republic"	Strategic document on a governmental level	2015	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/strategie-migracni-politiky-cr.aspx
Ministry of the Interior	"Report about the Situation in the Field of Migration and Integration in the year 2016"	Report	2016	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/migracni-a-azylova-politika-ceske-republiky-470144.aspx?q=Y2hudW09NA%3D%3D
Ministry of the Interior	"Report about the Situation in the Field of Migration and Integration in the years 2001-2015"	Report	2015	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/migracni-a-azylova-politika-ceske-republiky-470144.aspx?q=Y2hudW09NA%3D%3D
Ministry of Industry	"Economical Migration"	Press release	2016	https://www.mpo.cz/cz/zahranicni-obchod/ekonomicka-migrace/ekonomicka-migrace--221756/
Ministry of the Interior	"Together and Better - Center to Support of Integration of Foreigners"	Information leaflet	2013	http://www.integracnicentra.cz/KeStazeni/KeStazeni.aspx
Ministry of Social Affairs	"Strategy of Employment"	Strategic document	2014	https://portal.mpsv.cz/sz/politikazamest/strateg_zam_2020
Ministry of the Interior	"Operational Goals of Centres	Strategic document	2018	http://www.integracnicentra.cz/KeStazeni/KeStazeni.aspx

	of the Centres for the Support of Integration of Foreigners”			
The Prague Municipality	“Strategy of Prague in the Field of Integration of Foreigners”	Strategic document on a regional level	2014	http://www.praha.eu/public/1e/ad/85/2181317_660642_Koncepce_HMP_pro_oblast_integrace_cizincu.pdf
South Moravia Regional Government	“Programme of Long-Term Support of Foreigner from the Third-Countries in the South Moravia Region 2011-2015”	Strategic document on a regional level	2010	https://cizincijmk.kr-jihomoravsky.cz/folder/519
Ano - Political Movement	“Programme for parliamentary elections 2013”	Electoral programme	2013	https://cizincijmk.kr-jihomoravsky.cz/folder/519
Ano	“Now or never”	Electoral programme	2017	https://www.anobudelip.cz/cs/makame/aktuality/novinky/ted-nebo-nikdy-35720.shtml
Social Democratic Party	“Statement of the Social Democratic Party to the Solution of the Migration Crisis”	Statement	2015	https://www.cssd.cz/ke-stazeni/propagacni-materialy/stanovisko-cssd-k-reseni-migracni-krize/
Social Democratic Party	“The Good Country for a Life”	Electoral programme	2017	https://www.cssd.cz/data/files/program-210x210-seda.pdf
Christian Democratic Party	“Electoral Programme 2013-2017”	Electoral programme	2013	https://www.kdu.cz/o-nas/dokumenty/volebni-programy
Christian Democratic Party	“Responsible for our Common Home”	Electoral programme	2017	https://www.kdu.cz/o-nas/dokumenty/volebni-programy
Dawn of a Direct Democracy	“Electoral Programme for the Parliamentary Elections 2013”	Electoral programme	2013	not available online
Communist Party	“Programme for the Future”	Electoral programme	2013	https://www.kscm.cz/cs/nase-strana/program

Communist Party	"Statement of the Communist Party to the Migration"	Statement	2016	https://www.kscm.cz/cs/aktualne/stanoviska/pristupy-kscm-k-problematice-pricinam-migrace
Communist Party	"Actualisation of the Statement of the Communist Party to Migration "	Statement	2017	https://www.kscm.cz/cs/aktualne/medialni-vystupy/temata/aktualizace-pristupu-kscm-k-problematice-pricinam-migrace
The Pirate Party	"Statement of the Pirates to the Refugees"	Statement	2015	https://www.pirati.cz/tiskove-zpravy/stanovisko-k-uprchlikum.html
Freedom and Direct Democracy of Tomio Okamura	"The Czech Republic- Our Successful Home and Successful Future"	Electoral programme	2015	https://www.pirati.cz/tiskove-zpravy/stanovisko-k-uprchlikum.html
TOP09	"Principles of Successful Integration"	Statement	2015	https://www.top09.cz/co-delame/tiskove-zpravy/zasady-uspesne-integrace-20381.html
Ministry of the Interior	"Joint Statement of Public Bodies to Sending of Third-Countries Nationals to the Czech Republic by Employer from Other Country"	Statement	2017	file:///C:/Users/horenika/Downloads/Vysilani_ukrajinskykh_obcanu_do_CR_zamestnavatelem_z_EU_-_letak-CZ.PDF
People in Need	"People in Need to the Issues of Migration and Refugees"	Statement	2015	https://www.clovekvtsni.cz/archiv/clovek-v-tisni-k-problematice-uprchliku-a-migrace-2433gp
Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations	"Migration Manifesto"	Policy paper	2015	http://www.migracnikonsorcium.cz/cs/nase-vystupy/
Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations	"Suggestions to the Strategy of Migration Policy of the Czech Republic"	Policy paper	2015	http://www.migracnikonsorcium.cz/cs/nase-vystupy/

Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations	"Migration in the Context of Czech and European demographic Trends"	Policy paper	2017	http://www.migracnikonsorcium.cz/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Policy-brief-migrace-v-kontextu-evropsk%C3%BDch-a-%C4%8Desk%C3%BDch-demografick%C3%BDch-trend%C5%AF-1.pdf
Multicultural Centre	"Recommendations for the Foreign Employment Policy"	Policy paper	2013	https://mkc.cz/doc/Doporuceni_pro_nastaveni_politiky_v_oblasti_zahranicni_zamestnanosti.pdf
Archbishopric of Prague	"New Year's Pastoral Letter "	Statement	2016	http://www.apha.cz/2016/pastyrsky-listy/novorocni-pastyrsky-list
The Czech Bishop Conference	"Statement of the Czech Bishop Conference to the Crisis of Organised Migration"	Statement	2016	https://www.cirkev.cz/cs/aktuality/160420stanovisko-cbk-k-migracni-krizi
The United Protestant Church in the Czech Republic	"Why Are We Running this Web?"	Project statement	2016	http://prouprchliky.cz/
Czech and Moravian Confederation of Labour Unions	"Statement of Chair of Association of Independent Labour Unions"	Statement	2018	https://www.odbory.info/hledani/migrace?rPage=2
Czech and Moravian Confederation of Labour Unions	"Message to the Future Government"	Statement	2017	https://www.odbory.info/obsah/5/vzkaz-cmkos-budouci-vlade/20421
Health Care Labour Union	"We are doing fine!"	An article in the labour union bulletin	2016	http://www.zdravotnickeodbory.cz/cz/clanky/bulletin-11-12-2016.aspx
Czech and Moravian Confederation	"Foreign Workers Shouldn't be Tool	Newspaper article published on the web page	2015	https://www.odbory.info/obsah/5/zahranicni-pracovnici-nesmeji-

of Labour Unions	of Social Dumping”	of the Labour Union		byt-nastrojem-socialniho-dumpi/14236
Czech Chamber of Commerce	“There Are not Enough People and That is a Problem”	Blog post	2017	https://www.komora.cz/chybejilide-varovne/
Czech Chamber of Commerce	“The Labour Market has Structural Problems, but The Government Overlooks Problems of Employers and Do not Have a Strategy”	Press release	2018	https://www.komora.cz/tiskova_zprava/trh-prace-ma-strukturalni-problemy-vlada-prehlizi-potreby-zamestnavatelu-nema-jasnou-koncepci/
Confederation of the Industry of the Czech Republic	“Statement of the Confederation of the Industry of the Czech Republic to Migration and Security Policies of the EU and Action Plan against Migrants Smuggling”	Statement	2015	https://www.spcr.cz/aktivity/stanoviska/8809-stanovisko-svazu-prumyslu-a-dopravy-cr-k-migracni-a-bezpecnosti-politice-eu-a-akcnimu-planu-proti-pasovani-migrantu
Confederation of the Industry of the Czech Republic	“The Contribution of the Confederation of the Industry in the Czech Republic to Public Consultation of Labour Migration Policies and Blue Card”	Statement	2015	https://www.spcr.cz/266-stanoviska-dokumenty-publikace/8741-prispevek-sp-cr-do-verejne-konzultace-k-politikam-v-oblasti-migrace-pracovnich-sil-a-tzv-modre-karte-eu

ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy

Policy/service (name or key word)	Composition /substance (short description)	Year of implementation	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler (Short assessment whether policy is detrimental or facilitating to labour market integration)	Link to information /pdf
Immigration policies						
Act No. 326/1999 Coll. on the Residence of Foreigners in the Territory of the Czech Republic	Basic law determining conditions of stay and responsibilities of different groups of foreigners	1999 (last amendment 2017)	Ministry of Interior		The complexity and ambiguities of the law is the main barrier for most of the migrants. The administration of residence is difficult, stressful and does not have clear rules in all cases.	http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/immigration.aspx
Act No. 325/1999 Coll. on asylum and amendment Act No. 283/1991 Coll., on the Police of the Czech Republic,	Defines conditions for granting of asylum status and legal status of asylum seeker and asylum holder.	11.11.1999 (last amendment 2013)	Ministry of Interior, Police of the Czech Republic		Establishes State Integration Programme - an one year counselling programme for holders of asylum and subsidiary protection. Include also labour counselling	https://www.zakonyprolid.cz/cs/1999-325
Centers for Support of the Integration of Foreigners	Project Establishing centers offering various services in each region	2009	Refugee Facilities Administration of the Ministry of Interior (in certain region regional governments)	Financed by the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals	Thanks to the centres job related counselling or language courses are offered in all regions	http://www.integracnicentra.cz/Onas/InformaceOProjektu.aspx

			nts or NGOs can be partner of the project)			
State Integration Programme	One year voluntary programme for asylum holders and holders of subsidiary protection- various services and counselling is provided in closer cooperation with social workers	1994	Refugee Facilities Administration of the Ministry of Interior (in certain regions services can be provided by NGOs)	State budget	Enables integration into all spheres of life in the Czech Republic (the target group is rather small- up to one hundred people annually)	http://www.integracniprogram.cz/en/
Education related policies						
ACT No. 561/2004 Coll. on Pre-school, Basic, Secondary, Tertiary Professional and Other Education (the Education Act)	Act on Education defines duty to attend primary education for all children in the Czech Republic and defines conditions for this education and support that the schools can get for students with foreign background	2004	Ministry of Education		Act declares that primary education is compulsory for all children until the age of 15 (meaning also for those without the legal residence) but defines also difficult conditions for admission and a final exam at secondary schools that prevent many children with a migrant background from finishing higher education	http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/zakladni-vzdelavani/vzdelavani-deti-a-zakucizincu-dle-zakonne-uprav
Funding Scheme "Support for Foreigners in the Schools"	Annual funding programme- primary schools can apply for funding of		Ministry of Education, regional government, schools	State budget	Schools usually apply for the financial cover of surplus language lessons, the programme is not universal and for	http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/zakladni-vzdelavani/vzdelavani-deti-a-zakucizincu-dle-zakonne-uprav

	special support for children with limited knowledge of Czech language				primary schools only	cizincu-dle-zakonne-upravy
Employment related policies						
Act 262/2006 Col. Labour Code	Labour Code defines the rights and duties of both employers and employees	2006	Ministry of Social Affairs		Although rights defined by Labour Code are wide in practice both employers and employees harm its rules and for foreigners with short term visa different norms are established by Act 326/1999 on Stay of Foreigners (see above)	https://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/3221/Labour_Code_2012.pdf
Development Support Scheme: “Municipality Support of Integration of Foreigners”	Annual funding programme-municipalities can apply for funding to cover various activities	2009	Ministry of Interior, Municipalities	State budget and budget of municipalities	Only very few municipalities is using this emergency fund (15 in 2017, out of which 10 are in Prague)	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/integrace.aspx
Funding Scheme “Integration of Foreigners”	Annual funding scheme for NGOs and public bodies - support of various integration policies		Ministry of Interior	State budget	Major public support for integration	https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/narodni-dotacni-titul-cizinci.aspx?q=Y2hudW09Mg%3d%3d
Welfare related policies						
Others						

ANNEX III A, Interviews

	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution *
Stakeholder representative 1	02.10.2018	Executive manager	“Expat centre” targeted at high-skilled migrants
Stakeholder representative 2	11.10.2018	Executive manager	Regional Centre for Support of Integration of Foreigners
Stakeholder representative 3	18.10.2018	Educational expert	Ministry of the Interior
Stakeholder representative 4	25.10.2018	Researcher	Governmental research institute
Stakeholder representative 5	30.11.2018	Head of methodology	Regional integration centre
Stakeholder representative 6	19.10.2018	Coordinator of services for migrants	NGO
Stakeholder representative 7	29.10.2018	Executive manager of the programme	Ministry of the Interior
Stakeholder representative 8	28.11.2018	Expert	Labour union
Stakeholder representative 9	13.11.2018	Director	NGO
Stakeholder representative 10	15.10.2018	Researcher	University
Stakeholder representative 11	21.11.2018	Intercultural workers	Municipality

ANNEX III B, Interviews

Interviews (Past Beneficiaries)										
Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Past beneficiary 1	30.01.2019	26	Male	Single	Ukraine	2017	Tertiary	Business analyst	Business analyst	Ukrainian, Russian, English, basic Czech
Past beneficiary 2	31.01.2019	24	Female	Single	Ukraine	2017	Tertiary	Business process designer	Sales network specialist	Ukrainian, Russian, English, basic French and Spanish
Past beneficiary 3	20.12.2018	24	Male	Single (have a long-time partner)	Ukraine	2012	Tertiary	IT-analyst	-	Russian (native - Ukraine/Russian)
Past beneficiary 4	01.02.2019	28	Male	Single	Russia	2010	Tertiary	Unemployed	-	Czech (native - Russian)
Past beneficiary 5	21.02.2019	38	Female	Married	Ukraine	2009	Tertiary	Expeditor of ready-made goods	Accountant for the State Fiscal Service Office	Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, basic English

Past beneficiary 6	22.02.2019	35	Male	Married	Ukraine	2008	Tertiary	Independent contractor - manager of construction projects	Loader at a railway station	Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, Slovak, basic Polish
Past beneficiary 7	28.01.2019	51	Female	Married	Syria	2013	Tertiary	Labor office	Business woman	Arabic, English A1, and Czech B1
Past beneficiary 8	07.02.2019	53	Male	Married	Iraq	2015	Tertiary	Labour office	Culture manager	Arabic, English A1, and Czech A1
Past beneficiary 9	18.02.2019	22	Male	Single	Afghanistan	2014	Secondary	Cook	Student	Persian, English A2, and Czech A2
Past beneficiary 10	15.02.2019	34	Male	Married	Myanmar	2004	Secondary	Businessman	Student	Burmese. English, Czech
Past beneficiary 11	20.12.2018	38	Male	Married	Algeria	2012	Secondary	Manual job at the factory	Manual worker	Arabic, Czech, French, English
Past beneficiary 12	10.03.2019	16	Male	Single	Vietnam	2018	Primary	Pupil	Pupil	Vietnamese
Past beneficiary 13	20.03.2019	16	Female	Single	Vietnam	2018	Primary	Pupil	Pupil	Vietnamese

ANNEX IV, Summaries of Conducted Interviews

Stakeholders	
Interview number and Date of Interview	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)
1. 2.10. 2018	The interviewee was a manager of an expat centre in a large Czech city - a unique project in the national context. The centre was created from an NGO aimed at promoting the city, organising TED talks, etc. In 2010, the centre was contacted by the municipal Department of Strategy. Till today, the centre is financed in 80% by the municipality, the rest is covered by private and public companies (tech companies, universities) who use the services provided by the centre. The target group for the centre are foreigners with a higher degree. According to the interviewee, the centre is rarely contacted by foreigners, who do not meet those requirements. It is probably the style of communication that discourages them. The centre is in close contact and cooperates with other institutions in the local area and cooperates with the city on local integration strategies. There is not enough energy or opportunities for active involvement in the policy making - according to the interviewee. The political representation changes too often, and the decisions are being made in the capital city. The interviewee valued the most opportunities to talk to the representatives of local public offices (for example, municipal Department of Transportation, which is in charge of issuing driving licence or documents for cars bought abroad), because still most of the work consists in translating services and assisting at various administrative procedures. 'If municipal officers could speak English, 80% of our work would be done'. The interviewee was not positive about the overall development. According to him, there were not many changes in practices recently, and these practices depended mostly on the personal involvement of individuals. In practice, services needed by highly-skilled professionals did not differ much from those needed by low-skilled manual workers, however, centre can provide with individual care and can offer each client more time. The centre is organising "soft landing" programmes for professionals that are coming to work for international (mostly tech) companies that finance the whole project. The Center provides these companies with counselling on how to attract foreign workers. In this domain, the interviewee emphasised how difficult the legal system is. Besides, in the global competition, the Czech Republic is losing. An example might be a special programme of the Ministry of the Interior to attract highly skilled workers, where administration procedures take longer than in other types of stay in the Czech Republic. As a consequence, they advise companies not to use the programme for their future employees. The interviewee also emphasised that in call centres of international companies the workers might work in precarious positions, although they are classified as highly skilled. However, the centre is contacted very rarely by foreigners holding that position. In the current situation, the foreigners do not have problems with changing jobs between companies, and a big fluctuation is a common feature in this part of a labour market. What is more, very often they perceiving their stay in the Czech Republic as temporary. The centre also works with refugees, but according to the interviewee their situation is not special in any sense. The specific group are wives of professionals who are follow them to the places of their current work. The centre has helped several of those to start their businesses.

	The interviewee declared that they would like to concentrate the most is their initial goal - to build the image of the city as an attractive place to work for foreigners. They would like to limit in the future the counselling services and hope that that the public services will be better prepared to work with foreigners. Also, the centre would like to concentrate on communication with the majority of the population. They would like to organise more events that would introduce the majority of inhabitants to the multicultural side of their city. It is a reaction to the growing tension that foreigners feel in the city. Majority of the population feels threatened by migration and do not see any difference between refugees and economic migrants. According to the interviewee, the attitudes towards all foreigners need to change, so they would like to help in this process at least on the local level.
Interview 2 11.10. 2018	Manager of a State Integration Centre in an industrial region. The target group for the centre are foreigners from third countries with various types of legal stay. Administration connected with stays (changes of visa types, prolongation of stay) is the most common reason for contacting the centre. Legal counselling is provided by the centre in two cities in the region. Other issues are: buying a car or a real estate, health care, enrolling into schools or recognition of qualification. The centre also offers language courses (group, individual or family) or courses of socio-cultural orientation. Their schedule is designed in cooperation with social workers so that it is changing according to the needs of the foreign population in the region (when a new group of foreigners comes). Knowledge of a domestic language, is perceived by the interviewee, as the biggest barrier for foreigners. In the region, there is a relatively high share of foreigners - from Ukraine and other post-soviet republics, Vietnam and Nepal. Migrants from the EU countries are not eligible for services of the centre, but its workers usually arrange contact with an NGO working with this group in the region, if needed. The centre has a seat in the same building as the regional office of the Ministry of the Interior, which is in charge of administration for foreigners. Employees of the centre offer counselling two times a week at the regional office of the Ministry, and as such, they contact newly coming foreigners and offer them also other services. The centre collaborates also with big employers in the region. Those, who employ foreigners on a long-term basis, usually want to collaborate on their integration (although they do not conduct many activities on their own, but provide the centre with support). Many companies in the region choose to employ short-time employees, who are not a target group for the centre, and their big fluctuation is also a barrier for their integration. Very often, these are workers with secondary education, but they are working in low-skilled positions, since currently there is a big demand for this kind of workforce in the region. Beside social workers, language teachers and lawyers (who are the employees of an external contractor), there are also community workers from the foreign communities, who work part-time in the centre. They are mostly former clients of the centre, who have adequate skills and authority among the members of communities. The centre is a member of the regional platform for integration (together with representatives of municipalities, regional authorities and police). Their meetings take place twice or three times per year, and the goal of it is coordination of activities. The interviewee declared that there is the prejudice against foreigners in the region is lower due to its long, industrial tradition. However, other types of activities organised by the centre are dedicated to the majority of the population, and their goal is to give foreign communities a chance to present their heritage.

Interview 3 18.10. 2018	The interviewee is an expert on the inclusion of foreigners into education system. Since the 1990s, she collaborates with the Ministry of Education on various projects, organises seminars and is in close contact with principals and teachers. The number of students with a foreign background is growing in the Czech Republic. In big cities, there are schools with a high share of them (those are often active in searching for funding, organising training for staff, etc.). But this situation is also getting more and more common in schools in smaller places that do not have experience with the inclusion of foreigners. According to the interviewee, the biggest problem is that there is no official strategy for the inclusion of foreigners, and the whole situation is dispersed among many actors; competencies are unclear; and praxis is based on some partial experience. Financial support to schools is not default, they have to apply for it. The support comes from EU funds, and its future is unclear. The schools apply for funding in advance - before they know how many foreigners they will accept. The applying process is complicated and time-consuming, and the financial support is often delayed. Therefore, schools that have only a small number of students with migrant background often resign from applying for funding. Regional offices of Ministry of Education employ regional experts on integration, but they have other tasks to complete and only limited part of their job should be dedicated to the issues of integration. What is more, they are sometimes not trained in the field. There is also a support line for schools, provided by the Ministry of Education, but even its employees are not the experts in the field or it takes them long to answer. The most frequently asked questions concern grading, textbooks, legislation (what grade a student should be placed at, etc.) There were already many projects focused on creating teaching materials, but these are not easily reachable for teachers. The interviewee prefers a local exchange of know-how between principals, but so far this works only in certain regions (Centres to Support Integration of Foreigners are often helpful in this process). Regional centres of the Ministry of Education organise short-time trainings for teachers. Multicultural education is not a part of the curricula of pedagogical faculties The second biggest problem is that financial support is meant only for primary schools. Secondary schools also cannot accept students who are irregular migrants. Many students choose to study at vocational schools, but their level of domestic language can be an obstacle at this type of secondary schools and schools are afraid to let them work with, for instance, dangerous machines, etc. The General Secondary Education Exam at the end of secondary education is difficult even for Czech students, so many foreigners fail, despite many years of education in Czech schools. There might be a new generation of children with the foreign background (especially those whose parents do not have enough symbolic, social and economic capital to support them) who might be stuck in manual jobs because of lack of education. Problems of integration of foreign children are the same as the structural problems of the Czech education system. Teachers have too many tasks to complete, students have various types of special needs and there is not enough support. This support is often based on the personal initiative from individual teachers rather than on systematic support from the state.
Interview 4 25.10. 2018	The researcher from the Fond dalšího vzdělávání (Further Education Fund) who participated in the project "Support of Inclusion of Foreign Nationals to the Labour Market" (2016- 2018). This was a follow-up project, where services were offered to Labour Office. The new project was financed by the European Social Fund. "Clients of the project were all foreigners, irrespective of their status, who were looking for a job". Labour Office was a partner of the project. The project was conducted in four regions. Clients of the project were either the already registered in the Labour Office as unemployed or the people recruited in collaboration with NGOs or other partners. The main goals of the project were: to identify and nivelate language, cultural, administrative and other barriers on the labour market; to prevent illegal

	work and exploitation; to promote better usage of migrants' skills. "We cooperated with several departments of the Labour Office which organised an information meeting, where foreigners were offered the programme of long-term cooperation (they were divided into groups according to their mother tongues)". "Thanks to a good situation on the labour market, finding a job is easier than after the financial crisis, however, foreigners are a vulnerable group". Biggest groups were foreigners with a permanent stay (around half), 15% were refugees (but in the groups of the Arabic speaking it was 44%) and the rest were people with a long-term stay or EU nationals. There were 830 clients who participated in the full programme (course and individual counselling). 60% of the primary group went to one individual meeting only. They mostly needed just some sort of specific advice, but those who participated in the full programme had several individual consultations. Two-thirds of the participants were women - in the group of Ukrainians there 85% were women. "Men from Ukraine often work in low-skilled positions or work illegally - they choose hard work and are not interested in a project of this type". 53% of clients had a university degree - 72% Russians, 59% Syrians. The majority of Ukrainians had secondary education. Clients from Slovakia were often Roma with primary education. The course for clients was a five-day workshop aimed at acquiring skills and give clients the orientation on the Czech labour market: they learned how to create a CV or a letter of motivation. "People from different countries do not know what motivation letter is". A part of the workshop was dedicated to basic economics and a simulation of a job interview - this is what the clients appreciated. The first and the biggest barrier for finding a job is insufficient or weak knowledge of a domestic language. "An interesting finding is that a good spoken language (which is usually not so difficult for Slavonic speakers) is not enough for administrative positions, etc. There is a demand for courses of written language." "With better qualification, you often do not need knowledge of Czech. You can find a job at a multinational company, where English is enough. But people with this kind of qualification are usually not clients of Labour Offices." But for middle-qualified positions Czech is necessary. Labour Office offers only one type of a language course - "Czech for foreigners", which is a three-month intensive course. But for Arabic or Spanish speaking clients, this is not enough time to learn the language, they need one or two years. Also, the course is not offered automatically, clients have to ask for it, but often are not informed about the possibility. "The staff cannot speak other languages, and the client is supposed to bring the translator with them, but this is not available for everyone." Another barrier is socialisation in closed communities and "ethnic economies". "These people have limited orientation in the Czech society, they are used to specific solutions the problems and do not know any alternatives. They do not know Czech legislation and their rights, as well." Vietnamese would be a typical example. They are very rarely clients of Labour Offices. Another closed groups are the Arabic or Spanish-speaking. Another barrier is low self-confidence. For people with zero or limited previous work experience it is hard to find a job. They have problems with self-esteem. "Another barrier is what we called 'a syndrome of a tired migrant' - although there are enough job vacancies, there are people who are sick, in pre-retirement age, after injury. They did not work long enough to claim a premature pension and for those, it is really hard to find a job. It would be great, if there were more flexible or part-time job system, less physically demanding, too. Since, these are often foreigners who work in physically demanding positions in factories, warehouses, etc." One of the biggest barriers is the recognition of qualification (nostrification) or inappropriate qualification. "Russians with a degree in ship engineering can find work in the automotive industry, but the naval academy is not the best school for the Czech labour market". From our clients, around 15% used the possibility to cover the expenses of nostrification. But 46% of clients with a university degree and 70% with secondary education did not have their

	qualification recognised. The administration procedure is difficult and the cost is high for many (around 5-6 000 CZK - 200 €). "I have a good experience with universities - if the client has all the documents, it goes usually without problems, even with refugees who can substitute the missing documents with a declaration. The trouble with recognition of secondary education is a duty of the nostrification exam - in most cases exam in geography and history is ordered by the regional authorities. "The typical situation would be a woman from Ukraine who would like to work as an accountant. For a requalification course she needs to have her secondary education recognised. If I were in my forties, I would be also hesitant towards studying history and geography to be able to attend an accountancy course. And now, when there are enough jobs, people just let go during the process. For example, there is an exception for Ukrainian nurses, and recognition is automatic, but after that, they have to pass another exam or recognition is just the first step." The requalifications courses requested by employers are: accountancy, social work, van driving. Regarding the people with high qualifications, those with a technical degree or engineering will find a job, it is more difficult with a degree in economy or teaching - then it depends on knowledge of language. There are no specific barriers for women or young migrants identified, but people over 50 are a vulnerable group on the market. Part of the clients worked illegally - and the task of the project was to inform them about the risk of work on the black market. However, part of the workers prefer higher income on the black market, and there is a demand from employers, as well. The project was specific in a sense that also EU nationals were eligible and it is not a common praxis.. Even some requalification courses are not open for EU nationals, and various non-conform solutions had to be sought (such as usage of double citizenship). However, finding a job depends on cultural integration, qualification and knowledge of language rather than on the legal status. The goal of the project was to develop the skills necessary for finding a job. Therefore, own activity, rather than passive trust in the Labour Office, was identified as the main pusher for entering a labour market. "Labour Offices do not have personal resources, and their staff do not have time for individual care. They do not have any specific knowledge about the situation of foreigners - therefore, the individual activity of clients and empowerment was the main goal of the project. "From 850 participants, around one-third found a job without the direct help of the project, 8% directly through the project, and 5% started their own business. Most of them used requalification courses and 10% used the possibility of covered the costs of recognition of an education degree. As a positive effect of the project, clients declared individual care, time and motivation they gained. The problem beyond the scope of the project is the difficult administration procedures and, although the politicians declare that there are preferred groups of foreigners (countries that are culturally close to the Czech Republic), there is no real effort to make their stay easier.
Interview 5 30.11.2018	Head of Methodology in the Centre for Integration in Prague. Unlike other integration centres run by the Ministry of the Interior, this one is an NGO, although funded from EU project and established by the municipality. It is confusing both for donors and clients. "Our main goal is integration. Therefore, we cannot have a project directed at a wider public". The centre cannot influence policy on the governmental level, but they have an influence on the local level - especially, as a coordinating organisation of the regional integration platform. The platform has meetings around once in two months, and there are representatives of organisations that are in touch with foreigners. This is where local conception and action plans are prepared. The interviewee perceived an analysis of the situation of migrants, development of cooperation with schools and intercultural work as the biggest achievements of the centre.

	Main challenges for migrants are knowledge of the language, communication with public offices and acquiring basic information, because when they come to the Czech Republic they have many different pieces of information (often unreliable) from different sources. The language courses offered in the capital do not cover the demand - especially the free courses, and there are differences between groups of foreigners. "We have found out that for a non-Slavonic speaker it takes two times longer to learn Czech". Legal counselling is in 80-90% about legal procedures connected with the stay - there are many paradoxical situation foreigners have to face, as the legislation changes quickly, and officers often do not know the exact rules for different groups of foreigners. The centre offered a course of intercultural work to professionals from municipalities, but they were often not interested or felt threatened by this. "Czech office servant is very upright in the sense that they follow the rules strictly, and there is no law telling what to do when there is a foreigner in need of a service. This is much more about individuals and their will to help." The centre is rather working with individual clerks, but they do not see any way how to change the whole system and do not have such ambitions. An example of it could be agency employment - a legal form of employment used mostly by Ukrainian workers who are coming for short period of time, but are caught in a precarious position (when they are employees of work agencies rather than of Czech companies). It was not sure for a long time, if these migrants are eligible groups for service of the centre. For migrants, the possibilities of career growth or using the qualification are limited and depend on knowledge of the language and an education degree. Although, it is easier to use the skills with a technical degree in a higher manager position, better knowledge of the language is needed. For those with a degree in humanities or teachers, the possibility is very low. Although doctors have a chance to pass an exam, it seems that medical chambers are closed to the possibility. "I knew one great dentist, they threw him out at the exam because he was wearing jeans, and he was told that this is not how the dentist should look like". For many migrants usage of their skills is not the goal, and they want firstly to earn the money, and probably they are thinking about their stay as about the short term. This is the case for Ukrainian women who have possibilities to work in low skilled positions in the Czech Republic - they come alone and only later bring their families. This centre can offer some long-term courses of specific skills only on a commercial basis - but it is difficult to attract the clients to some longer programme, and the interviewee thinks that this kind of education should be paid by employers anyway. Prague is a specific case because there are not just a few big employers as in the regions - foreigners are dispersed in many companies or are "invisible" in warehouses. Those employers collaborate with the centre only in case of an emergency, like a company which went bankrupt, and the centre had to take care of thirty Mongolians who were unemployed and did not know what to do. IKEA was mentioned as an example of a good cooperation. The centre has difficulties reaching their clients who in general do not know about this type of service and trust rather gatekeepers from their own community. Trust is built along existing social and family networks, and they gain clients by word of mouth. The centre is multiplying the communication channels - for example, the Vietnamese communicate a lot on Facebook. Center developed also an app 'Praguer' where contacts and information in several languages can be found. The main problems seen by the interviewee are: 1. they cannot meet the demand for language courses, 2. have troubles in delivering some services (many clients are not familiar with social care) and financing. The centres are financed by the Ministry of the Interior, but on a project basis, and are unsure about the future, as alternative ways of financing are very limited. After seven years of existence, the centre is going through a process of redefinition its mission. The interviewee said that she is satisfied that her team manages to deal with integration in a complex way - not just offering basic services but establishing cooperation with different actors and changing the praxis on the local level. "This is maybe my secret

	dream. To talk much more with "the other side" - the majority. To inform them about the integration, but also to listen." The interviewee does not see any specifics of women migrants - their problems are either same as for Czech women (care, unequal pay) or as for the other groups of migrants. "Well, you can have a Vietnamese man who came from a village and now sells vegetables all day long to send some money home, and there is a Ukrainian woman-mother who came to be a cleaning lady to send some money home. To be honest I do not see much difference".
Interview 6 19.10.201 8	Coordinator of services for migrants at an NGO. Her role is the coordination of services for Migration Collegium - a platform for meeting of those branches of her organisation that provide services for foreigners. These are five branches providing a different scale of service - in most cases counselling directly at the local offices of the Ministry of the Interior, but also language courses, and in one case their organisation runs the State Integration Centre. She also coordinates international projects and independent projects (such as a helpdesk in three languages). The organisation provided services for migrants also in other cities, but they finished due to the lack of finance. Foreigners can use the services of their other branches (social care), but then they lack specific know-how about migration. The biggest problems migrants face are difficulties with administration and precarisation of work. "The Law on Foreigners is very complicated - there are many upgrades and exceptions. An interpretation of the law is not unified - offices in different cities have a different interpretation of the same situation. This is, according to me, a basic problem on the level of the system." "The main problem is that the foreigners do not have enough information - they are told how much they earn and to them, it sounds great. But they are not told how much the housing will cost, what is the cost of food. Often they are working 280-300 hours per month, but they are paid only for 180 because over-hours are not paid." Agency employment is another problem. "The agencies are often not reliable, they do not pay the right amount, do not pay for social and health insurance. The agency often just disappears and appears under another name. I did not understand for a long time why foreigners use their services. The advantage is that with the agency employment you do not need to ask for a vacation - you can leave for how long you need, and this is an advantage for foreigners who commute to their home country." According to the interviewee, the integration services should be provided primarily by state, but there are large groups who are not eligible for services provided by the state - migrants from EU, especially Romanians and Bulgarians. The organisation is does not lobby for a systematic change, but is trying to support the minor change. One example would be compulsory courses before or after arrival, but that would be covered either by the state or by the employer. The cooperation with big employers is not much developed, and there is a bad reputation concerning it. The organisation is an observer member of the Consortium of Migrants Assisting Organisations, and the interviewee would like to develop there a dialogue about intercultural work. She sees a positive development in communication with the Ministry of the Interior (as a result of personnel changes), but this happens only at the level of departments, and on the level of political representation the situation is bad. "What is happening in the parliament is tragic. Those people do not know anything about migration but use the most populist slogans. But it works with the public". The organisation had difficulties in reaching the Vietnamese community, whose members prefer petty independent entrepreneurship It took around half a year before their support line

	in Vietnamese language had clients - firstly, the trust had been built by word of mouth in the community. The organisation runs a support line in Ukrainian and Mongolian language. The service is used more and more by the clients as a crisis intervention centre - they need to consult issues such as divorce, problems with children or addictions. Issues that everybody deals with, but the foreigners might not much have opportunities for help in the foreign country. They would like to run more lines (Arabic) but that would need funding. The grants from the Ministry of the Interior are for one year, and the finance arrives in April - there is a four-month gap that the organisation has to cover on debt from their own resources (with more support lines, the debt would also grow higher). Although the organisation does not have any specific programmes for women, the support line might work like that on the both sides of providers (flexible, but low-paid worker as a line operator is more attractive for women) and on from clients' side (women seem to be more open to talk about their problems). Services that the organisation would like to develop would be language courses (there is a chronic lack of them), especially in collaboration with schools. Another goal would be doing projects to communicate with the wider public, such as an exhibition of portraits of migrants by a well-known photographer. This is what they would like to develop. They would like to provide psychological support especially to asylum seekers and refugees who are more likely to suffer from trauma. As the biggest potential trouble connected with migration she sees an emphasis on a short-term circular migration for unqualified positions. "It seemed that there is an interested in the migration of qualified workers, but then it became clear that the employers do not want them. They want people that are cheap for them, that would work under conditions and for money that the Czechs could not accept. I believe this is wrong - these programmes that allow them to hire people and send them back easily. I believe that when someone comes, there should be an effort to higher his qualification, to teach them the language and give them competences to integrate to the Czech society, so that there will not grow ghettos around the dormitories. Because the biggest issue with criminality has independent male workers - when they have families with them, there are no troubles. But you need some conditions to bring your family with you: you have to earn enough, your children have to have a chance to receive a good education. And only then they will stay here and participate in the development of this country. This is a long-term perspective, but the state and the companies can only think in a short-term perspective". Her personal dream is to help to develop a tolerant, inclusive and multicultural society, and she believes that in a long-term the Czech Republic is going this way.
Interview 7 23.10. 2018	Member of staff at the Refugee Facilities Administration who manages State Integration Programme. The one year programme for holders of asylum or subsidiary protection status - it provides participants with consultations and guidance, and everyone has an individual plan of cooperation and goals. Some participants have very frequent consultations but some make a phone call once in a few months. Every year a few participants are excluded from the programme for severe violation of the agreement with the social worker. Around 80-90% of eligible applicants take part, although not everyone uses all the services. The interviewee claims that the programme is now set right. "The capacity is absolutely sufficient, even if there were four times more eligible applicants". The interviewee is missing the follow-up data about participants, especially about their life trajectories after the programme, but they are now working on the development of a document system for it. Service, which is specific for this programme, is help with housing - the staff is trying to navigate the clients into smaller towns. Regarding the assistance with finding a job, the programme is trying to use primarily courses offered generally by the Labour Office - but these have to be usually those where knowledge

	of a language is not crucial (PC courses, something regarding physical skills). "But then there is a problem that condition for participation in these courses is an assurance of a job, which is often the situation of our clients". They can also cover courses on a commercial basis - a driving course, a language course, a baking course. Right now almost everyone is able to find a job, the problem is its legal status or steadiness. Clients do not have a duty to inform their respective social workers about their work but in several cases, they offered legal assistance to clients who had problems with employers. The programme also offers assistance with recognition of qualification which is problematic in the case of refugees because of missing documents, and the fact that they also lose the recognition when they move to another country. Moreover, after one-year programme, the situation of clients is not stable, and there is no monitoring of their situation on the labour market. But overall, those with higher education have difficulties with profiting from it and developing their careers: "Once for a longer period of time, there is someone who wants to be a director of a company. And the best what you can do for such people is to help them to change their minds. Or to say it properly - you should work on their acceptance that those expectations are unrealistic". Since it is a state programme, its managers have a chance to cooperate with executive bodies. Approximately once a month, they have a meeting with the department of integration at the Ministry of the Interior, and they can talk about problems from their praxis and discuss them on a systematic level. They support an idea of several parts of the programme - a language course and a course of cultural orientation. The interviewee thinks that the non-governmental sector supports this, although this was not the case a few years ago. In the field of language learning, he lacks courses with a focus on the language needed for specific work fields. The courses of socio-cultural orientation are now offered by various actors, and their clients can use them, but the project has uncertain future. The interviewee would like to develop cooperation with volunteers. "For things such as easy guidance - for example, at the doctor's - to tell what should be done in the waiting room, what to do when you enter, who is served as first - these codes that are so important but difficult to transmit". The best option is when former clients became volunteers, but not to other foreigners. "During a half marathon in Ústí nad Labem, our clients were organisers. This is great and the highest point of our ideas about integration. As active people they get to know other active Czech citizens that speak Czech to them, they get to know their families, happen to be in informal situations, and acquire social capital that is a lasting value. And by the way, this is a valuable PR for refugees in general." The interviewee does not see the legislation as the main problem but its implementation - that staff at public offices do not know specific rights of asylum holders, and sometimes they can be hostile to foreigners in general, which is a problem of the whole society. "When you say a foreign-sounding name, the flat is already immediately reserved. But this is in the minds of the people, and that cannot be changed with legislation or higher budget of integration services. It is a matter of time, and we will see how these sentiments will develop." In general, the interviewee is fond of the State Integration Programme. "I believe that our programme is good and even in comparison with the old EU member-countries, it is fully developed. What is not developed is the society, for example, stereotypes that the foreigners face on labour and housing market."
interview 8 29.11. 2018	An expert on labour policies regarding confederation of trade unions.. He is in contact with individual trade unions at workplaces, but his task is to formulate position of confederation and influence the policy-making process. Labour migration is an issue that is present on the unions' meetings. The main driving factor for labour migration is now the scarcity of labour forces. However, from the perspective of the unions, the situation is caused by low wages, which are not attractive for the Czech

	employees. "For example, job offers from Labour offices have such a low wage that it is expected that no Czech citizen would apply for it, and, therefore, these could be offered to foreigners". A dangerous praxis, criticised by the trade unions, is also agency employment, which puts employees in the precarious positions. During the meetings with ministries and other actions, the main goal of trade unions is to keep the regulation of employment of foreigners and also to stop the development of various specific programmes for hiring employees from other countries. "For us, migration as such is a risk, so we are worried that if this is going on, we will open the opportunities for migrants from Africa, where there is a risk of their non-integration". As a solution to these problems, the interviewee suggests to keep the regulation of migration, increase the minimum wage (which should make the low-paid jobs attractive to the Czech citizens). The state should put an emphasis on the qualification of long-term unemployed citizens, and change the system of education, so that it would fit the needs of the labour market. On the side of migrants, he stresses that with a rising share of long-term migrants, they should join labour unions at their workplaces. He also stresses that an individual labour union has to make an effort to include foreign workers - with a translation of important documents or statements into other languages. He is involved personally in efforts to regulate agency employment.
interview 9 13.11. 2018	The interviewee is a director of a Prague-based NGO, which offers services to foreigners. The most requested service is legal counselling - especially issues of stay, work and often also domestic violence. The organisation would like to broaden these services, but does not have enough finances. Paradoxically, it is difficult to find finances to cover legal counselling both from private and from public sources. Other services are social and therapeutic counselling. The foreigners often do not know the concept of social work, so the problem is how to navigate them to it. There is a stigma connected to therapy, especially for foreigners from certain cultures. This service was established gradually, when they searched for a position for their long-term collaborator with migrant experience, who already had a circle of women, seeking her for consultations that were not a traditional social work. Still, these are mostly women who use this service. The attempts to organise some meetings for men failed. Their specifics is that they offer services to all foreigners, regardless of their status or country of origin. However, the director perceives the fact that funding is often targeting only specific groups, as a problem. These services give the organisation good knowledge of praxis, and they spread it out through their research and advocacy activities. The interviewee sees these three domains as connected, and her goal is to change the situation for the foreigners. The organisation is a member of the Committee for Rights of Foreigners and therefore is obliged to consult changes in legislation. Periodic meetings of the whole NGO sector with the representatives of the ministry finished after the migrant crisis. Although, since then, there have been personnel changes at the ministry, and the communication is more open. The overall situation has worsened, since there is no interest in integration from politicians. The interviewee criticised especially the lack of vision of the Czech migration and integration policies. "We do not know how the ministry perceives the integration, this is not written anywhere and has never been said. This is something I would like to accomplish through discussion with the ministry. What do they mean by "integration"? What is a goal of the policies? As one would think that, if there are obligatory integration tools for foreigners, there will be some idea where those should lead, but there is nothing like this." "I believe that the whole system should change, the whole law and system how people can enter the country. The law creates many barriers, no one understands it, even lawyers - it does not give answers to problems that appear. So, there are so many small things that

	should change, that, consequently, it is the whole system that should change.” The state's view on migration is rather repressive, and the rules are so strict that people can fall into illegality quite fast, also for bureaucratic reasons. There is an appeal that the state is trying to attract highly-qualified migrants, but, in general, only a small share of the incoming migrants will work in highly-qualified positions. “The typical migrant, we work with, would be someone working in a warehouse, in construction, cleaning hospitals. Very often these are qualified people doing a low-skill job. Some have a work permit but for a different position. This might be a fake entrepreneurship or they just use a Polish visa. According to the interviewee, the system for foreign workers from Ukraine fails already at the embassies - the application system is inaccessible, expensive and takes longer before those people get on the labour market. There is also a strong role of mediators, which increases the distrust to the system. Therefore, people use alternative ways to access the labour market. Several other barriers for migrants were mentioned. Firstly, health insurance for those who have to use services of commercial companies and access to healthcare overall. The next one would be education, meaning communication with schools. Migrants have, as well, problems with recognition of qualification. According to the director, the situation is changing and qualified migrants can use their skills. However, many choose to stay in illegal or precarious positions, because it seems an easier option. The organisation is unique, because it led several projects aimed at women. “There is a difference between being a migrant woman and a migrant man, not necessarily that women are in extremely worse position, but there is a difference. Women are connected much more with the topic of care - of children or of old parents. They are often single mothers. It seems to us that women are more often in a precarious work position - most of our clients work or used to work as household keepers, often illegally. They also work in a family business, where there is no social security. This is a challenge that is visible, when they reach the retirement age, but they are not entitled to any pension. Another special issue might be a health care during pregnancy and maternity period and later a child care. These are problems for all women, but for migrants, the services might be even more difficult to reach. Also, mental health - many migrant women have to leave their children in the home country, which is a difficult situation. Men face different difficult situations, as well, but there is no specific funding available.” The organisation has several projects targeted at general population - food blog, workshops at schools. But the director believes that they speak to the audience that has already some sensitivity to the topic, and, in general, the situation worsened since the migration crisis, and it is hard to promote integration as a topic.
Interview 10 15.11. 2018	Researcher in the project “Cities and Inclusive Strategies”. The research deals with the integration on the local level and consists of systematic researches in three regions. The project tries to make a real difference in the regions rather than just describe the situation - for example, needs of foreigners are implemented into the strategic documents and included in the praxis of public bodies. Part of the project is represented by roundtables with different actors from various fields on the level of the region, and the team includes their perspective in the reports. Now, the team is working on a running report on each region. Although the findings were not supposed to be publicly available, the interviewee declared that she would search for ways how to share them, at least partially. The second outcome will be a database of integration projects since 2004, which will give an overview of issues that are not paid attention to, or of various trends.

	A manual of integration for municipalities will be the last outcome of the project - the team is struggling with a language that will use to communicate with the target group, so they will pilote the manual heavily. Although the project is not finished yet, the basic findings were shared in the interview. The establishment of Integration Centres for the Support of Foreigners was identified as a positive step - especially in the regions where those centres are run by a regional government, which has then a real responsibility. The measurements for evaluations were incorporated into strategic documents in the regions - this is also a success. The challenges for integration are the same in all the regions - only a very small workload is dedicated to integration on the regional level and the officers have other responsibilities. Even if there is around 5% share of non-natives in the population. The municipalities or regional governments get public funding based on the number of inhabitants, but they do not pay much attention to the needs of foreigners, because they either do not have voting rights or do not use it much (EU citizens). "From my perspective, this is a danger for social cohesion when the local politicians do not care about the foreigners." "I do not think that the regional governments are to blame for the bad situation. They only compensate for the lacking conception of integration on the state level". "There are many examples of good praxis, and that is great, but there must be changes on the structural level." There was an example of the situation in the schools, because the inclusion of foreign students is not solved systematically on the level of curricula. Schools can apply for funding of the project - so the support from the state is not common and long-term. Therefore, there are schools that use these opportunities, became specialised in education for foreigners, and this leads to segregation. "This system cannot deal with hidden racism." Another given example is health insurance - big groups of foreign nationals have to use private insurance services, which brings on many problems (in case of infective illness, the foreigners are expected by authorities to undergo a treatment, but in the situation when they have to pay the costs of health care directly, and only later to claim it back from the insurance companies, they are reluctant to do so). Other challenges were language courses (lack of specialised or advanced courses) or underfinanced social work in the field. Work-related challenges are for this project only a part of a bigger picture, and these are quite different in each region. On the state level, the problem is similar - at the Ministry of the Interior, there are only a very few members of staff working on integration. Also, many strategic or methodical documents, that would shape the praxis, do not exist. What is more, if there are problems in providing the general population with various types of care, for foreigners the situation is even harder. On the other hand, when there is a mayor, open to the new things, he or she is also more open for doing something in the field of integration. The interviewee feels that the migrant women have specific needs but the same as general population and these specifics are not paid attention to. She mentioned a problem of regulation of in-house carers' jobs - whose number will be probably growing. She wanted to combine academic work and praxis. She prefers that the topic of integration would be less emotional than migration. Also, she appreciates that there are similar efforts in neighbouring post-socialist countries, which means that this is a relevant topic, and the relevance will be growing. She thinks that the integration in the Czech Republic is developing, however, the challenge is that the people they contacted for the research often do not want to be represented, as connected to the topic of integration. "It is like when you have built one wall out of the whole house, it is better than no wall at all, but when it is raining, it will not help much."

Interview 11 21.11. 2018	The team of intercultural workers in a major city (although the interview was done only with the project coordinator, due to the open space of the team office other team members intervened in the interview, and shared their experience). This is a unique project in the Czech Republic, providing intercultural work in the municipality - they work as intermediaries between the city's foreign population and municipality authorities. There is no previous praxis in the field and they are "inventing" methodology for the fieldwork in the Czech context. They found out that types of work with individual communities (Russian-speaking, Romanian, Vietnamese and Arabic) are very different. The only universal rule is that trust for this kind of work is built along personal relationships and through word of mouth. The same applies to the building relationship with the municipal officers, who contact hesitantly intercultural workers. The second finding is that the situation is unique in every city or region - that regions with short-term migration to industrial plants have very different problems from a city, where migrants of different origin bring their kids to. They advise concentrating on social work in the field and on designing integration tools based on the findings. As a main barrier, they identified a lack of information (or even circulation of false information) about life and work in the Czech Republic, easily accessible for new migrants. Intercultural workers are assisting migrants with claiming social benefits (such as housing allowance in case of refugees), helping with finding accommodation (housing crisis in big cities is harder for foreigners), helping with finding schools or kindergartens, accompanying their clients to the doctors (which is often also psychological assistance) and helping them to solve work-related problems. They offer their services also to migrants that work illegally in the Czech Republic, and they know the cases when employers did not pay short-time migrants. In this case, one colleague was negotiating with this kind of employer, who operates like mafia and was verbally assaulted. The team has to negotiate the boundaries of their work, which is often beyond the traditional scope of social work. They see how the vision of short-time migration, that is promoted by the Chamber of commerce, failed. They work with people who usually had a vision of returning back, but they changed their strategies during their stay, especially when their children started to attend school. After several years of stay, they found themselves trapped in the situation of low-skilled work and without being really integrated into society. Their clients, especially from Ukraine or Romania, do not use their skills - nurses working as cleaning ladies. They choose to work illegally because as such they earn more money, which is the primary motivation. Clients from Arabic countries with a university degree in medicine sometimes fail in recognition exams, needed to become a certified health care professional and for example, nurses lack specialised language courses (which according to the team, should be organised by the hospitals if they are in a need of workforce). They lack a real career counselling - when social workers would work with clients on a vision of what they would like to achieve in five years. Majority of their work is assistance at various type of administration procedures. As an example of good praxis, they present the case of a Russian family, with whom they worked closely for two months after their arrival. But it is difficult to reach newly arriving immigrants. The second biggest barrier for foreigners is difficult administration system and services that are not inclusive for foreigners- e.g. nonexistent administrative forms in different languages. In praxis, there are often forms translated to other languages, circulating in the offices informally, but the majority of the officers is worried if they can use them. Change in praxis is very slow and individual - on the level of offices (some started to distribute forms in foreign languages but some refuse) or individual officers. The team sees as valuable that through individual personalities of intercultural workers (who are of foreign origin) they get to know different cultures and experience of migrants. Even though intercultural workers deal with situations such as a "scene" with a municipality officers who feels that the Arabic speaking

	client is frowning at her (because she interprets this in accordance to media image of “an Arabic terrorist”), while in reality, he is frowning because it is difficult to understand the Czech administration she represents. The team would like to concentrate more on structural change rather than on individual counselling. A big topic in the city is also education - foreigners need orientation in the schooling system. The team criticises praxis when there are individual schools that are open to accept pupils with a foreign background, and that this is not the right integration according to them.

Past beneficiaries		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. some quotations)	Date of interview
1.	The interviewee is 26 years old, male, not married. He is from Cherkasy, Ukraine. He holds a master's degree in Banking and Finance obtained at a specialised university in Kyiv. He speaks Ukrainian, Russian, English, and has a basic knowledge of Czech. The interviewee has been working during his master's programme, as well as after the graduation. All his working experience was banking-related. Since his first day in the Czech Republic, he has been employed by an IT company working with international banks. His current position is a business analyst. The interviewee immigrated to Prague in March 2017. As he admits, he was looking neither for a job nor a reason to move to the Czech Republic. The office he had been working for in Kyiv had been transferred to Prague. According to the interviewee, the transfer of the entire office was the reason why he did not face any difficulties concerning a Czech visa/residence permit. The HR department of his office provided all the necessary assistance, preparing documents for the applications. Currently, the interviewee holds a two-year residence permit, which he is planning to prolong for a year or two. Answering a question "do you think that employers in the Czech Republic are interested in hiring migrants?", he said: "I think yes. Why not? It is well known that hiring a migrant or a refugee is much cheaper. It lowers the price of products and the costs of production." The interviewee likes his work and is not interested in changing it. The interviewee sees many opportunities for career development at the current job: not only his salary is rising, but also his IT and banking skills are improving. At the same time, he is actively using his risk-management skills obtained through the previous working experience. However, he admits that after some time it could be a good idea to change the working environment (learn Czech and improve English), under the condition that the new work would correspond to his skills and to what he is doing now. He thinks that it would be easy for him to find a new job in Prague as there is a demand in the labour market for specialists with his qualification. He receives up to 10 job offers a month. The interviewee says that social networks could be helpful in looking for jobs, but they did not help him personally. He thinks that it would be a good way to find a low-skilled job, while a highly-qualified job should be searched rather on specialised websites. He admits that since Ukrainians in the Czech Republic were doing mostly low-skilled work, it was helpful for them. The interviewee did not use any integration services in the Czech Republic. His employing company has people that offer such services, as 95% of the employees are immigrants, mostly Ukrainians and Russians. He works in a friendly environment and receives advice from his colleagues. That is why he did not need any additional providers of the integration services. He heard about the Czech language courses and legal assistance, as one of his Ukrainian friends had used the legal assistance service. He also thinks that these two types of services, along with consultations on health insurance, would be important to immigrants. The interviewee receives basic information about the Czech Republic from his Ukrainian friends and colleagues, but	30.01. 2019

	he admits that he was living in some information vacuum. He complains that there were not enough information resources in Ukrainian. Talking about his experience with the Ministry of Interior, the interviewee says that he did not have any problems with the required documents, because everyone received a proper consultation and assistance at work. However, he mentions other obstacles in dealing with the Department of Asylum and Migration Policy. "Of course, as we just arrived, we did not know Czech. And everyone was speaking only Czech there. It was terrible. And we were accompanied by a young person, who was communicating with the personnel of this centre at the Ministry and solving all our issues for us. The next times we were coming there to receive the residence card. And we were communicating with the personnel on our own. It was not always working out, but it was working out somehow. The only 'minus' is that the centre for working with <i>migrants</i> [emphasised by the interviewee himself] communicates only in Czech. It is terrible. It is also very bureaucratic. To receive the card, you need to submit an application and come in a month in order to get an appointment. Why should you come for it? Then you must come again in a month... Oh yes, you need to give biometrical data the second time you come. And you come to actually receive the card only on the third time. It all takes 4 months... very long." The interviewee has universal health insurance, provided by the employer. He has an English-speaking family doctor in Prague and has used the health care services a few times. He is satisfied with a free health care system. The interviewee is not active in the civil activism. He is engaged only in some sports activities with a group of friends and does not think about joining any NGOs. He has never experienced any negative attitude from the local population. He has not had many contacts with the state institutions, and there are many Ukrainians working in the service sectors, which makes him feel very comfortable. In the end, the interviewee evaluates his integration as very smooth. Since his whole office had been transferred, he ended up having the same job and the same people around, just in a different country.	
2.	The interviewee is 24 years old, female, not married. She is from Zhytomyr region, Ukraine. She had been leaving in Kyiv for 6-7 years, before she migrated to the Czech Republic. She holds master's degree obtained at Kyiv National University of Trade and Economics. She is fluent in Ukrainian, Russian, English, and has a basic knowledge of French and Spanish. During her master's programme, she was working for a bank as a sales network specialist. She has done a market-research internship in Germany. After graduating, her first job was the one in the Czech Republic. The interviewee immigrated to Prague in June 2017. She has been working for the same company since then, changing an occupation from an international strategic projects' administrator to a business process designer. As the interviewee admits, she was not looking for a job in the Czech Republic. Her colleagues from the internship in Germany offered to join their office-team in Prague, as the company was growing, and they needed someone already familiar with the industry. Currently, the interviewee holds a blue card. She highlighted the obstacles (mostly time-relating) that she had had to face still in Ukraine, before transferring to Prague. "For example, even in order to find the time slot to apply for the documents, while still being in Ukraine, I had to book my appointment at least a month in advance. After my appointment, the minimum waiting time to receive the answer is three months ... It was too long. Not every employer can agree to wait for an employee. Mine had to wait for me 5 months."	31.01. 2019

	The interviewee is satisfied with her work and sees her career progressing, as her company provides with many learning opportunities. She does not want to change job; although she thinks it would be easy to find a new one in Prague, taking into consideration her working experience. "But language would be a limiting factor, 100%. Because I do not think that there are many companies here where the official language is English. It would be my only limiting factor, I think. It will not be even a visa because I have a blue card and can change an employer without any problems." Answering a question "do you think that employers in the Czech Republic are interested in hiring migrants?", the interviewee says that multinational companies would be interested. "They do not care whom to hire, they care about finding a qualified employee who will be ready to live in Prague and do the work. It will not matter where the person is from." Talking about the labour market of low-qualified specialists, she thinks that there is no special interest of Czech employers in hiring specifically Ukrainians. "It is just that Ukrainians agree to do this work for a certain level of remuneration." The interviewee has never heard about the integration centres' services. She also admits that 'It would be very useful if there were people around to help with understanding all the procedures after arrival.' The interviewee herself would have used legal consulting on the preparation of documents, maybe Czech language courses. Talking about her experience with the Ministry of Interior, the interviewee says that it was very easy to provide information on small issues, like changing the address, simply by sending a letter. However, she mentions other obstacles in dealing with the Department of Asylum and Migration Policy. She likes the online platform for booking an appointment but "when you need to do something ad hoc, there could be no free slots for the next two weeks, and then you would have to queue. The queues are extremely long... Maybe they could have more centres in the city or more personnel... Every time I would come to the centre, there are always lots of people waiting." The interviewee admits that the prolongation of the residence permit was easy and clear, however, she complained about the language barrier. "Once there was a lady who did not speak English. Ok, I understand, but this is an immigration centre. <i>Everyone</i> [emphasised by the interviewee herself] must speak English there. And some people were very rude. For example, after leaving Ukraine and spending only 2 months in the Czech Republic, a lady there asked me why I did not speak Czech. How can I speak Czech? Even if I had started some intensive language course, I would not have been able to explain my questions in Czech. It was <i>very rude</i>... At some point, I had to bring many additional documents and report some changes. And it happened once that I had to communicate twice with the same lady. The first time she was very nice to me and explained me everything... And the communication was in English. She had perfect English. The next time I came to her, maybe it was a bad day, but I was talking in English, and she was answering me in Czech. And I knew that she could speak English because I had been here a month before... And she was sitting there and talking to me only in Czech... She saw that I could not understand the main question... She saw this pain on my face and did not care. She did not intend to switch... In general, the personnel are nice, some do not speak English but try to help. But there could be such rude people." The interviewee has universal health insurance, provided by the employer. She is satisfied with the health care service, but it was difficult for her to find a family doctor (general practitioner). "The problem is that you do not know where and how to look for the doctor. I was looking on the Internet, but once again, there was a problem of	

	the language barrier... I was just calling and asking, 'do you speak English? ...'do you accept new patients?'". The interviewee is not active, as far as the civic activism is concerned. However, she has done research on it, thinking about joining some organisations in order to build a network and have some free time activities. The interviewee has experienced some prejudiced attitude from the local population. "It is sometimes visible that I am from Eastern Europe, and there is such an attitude...people think that I am Russian, for example. And they do not like them because Russians are very rude...That is why they could have a sceptical attitude. Or if they know you are Ukrainian, they think you for sure have come here for the law-qualified jobs. And so, there is some prejudiced attitude... Later, of course, the myth disappears. However, when talking about the service sector, I would not say they have any negative attitude. In general, it is all rather good." The interviewee is generally satisfied with how her integration went but believes that the merit should go to her employing company.	
3.	Respondent is of Ukrainian origin, he is 24 and came to the Czech Republic five years ago to study - for B.A. at Masaryk University in Brno, and for M.A. at the University of Economics in Prague. Currently, he is working as an IT analyst, and he holds a long-term work residence. He lives in a rented apartment with his girlfriend and did not have any troubles finding it. He visits his country of origin at least once a year. When he came to the Czech Republic for the first time, it was organised by a private company that took care of his enrollment to the university, accommodation, health insurance, transport, SIM card etc. His family decided that they would use services of an intermediary that helped him with the visa - only later he understood that it was needless. "I did not know what to study, so I decided to try economics." He studied at a private college but later went to a public university with a higher quality of education. He did not intend to stay in the Czech Republic, but after he finished his B.A., he decided that there is no reason to move back to Ukraine, and he moved to Prague instead, for a graduate school. Two years ago he started to work for a Ukrainian IT company that opened its branch in the Czech Republic - they were contacting all graduates of Ukrainian origin through personal networks. He was not satisfied with the salary and career opportunities, and he left for a Czech IT company. He was contacted by the HR department of the company directly. He believes that he would be able to find a relevant job in any case. His company is hiring foreigners and supports a multicultural working environment (which is written in the ethical codex of the company). There are foreigners working in the customer support department and non-EU citizens in his department, as well. He feels that he has the opportunity for a career growth in his current job. He believes that he is using skills he got in his country of origin - he acquired good education in primary and secondary school and believes that it was of better quality than in the Czech Republic. His experience with the Ministry of the Interior "age getting better", and their approach is "down to earth", and that this is not due to his better language skills. Even when he just came to the Czech Republic, staff was helpful and friendly, just the capacities of local offices are insufficient - two times his documents were lost and he might not have had his visa prolonged. The local office claimed that he did not deliver the documents, he had to appeal and thanks to reporting from the post office he has won.	20.12. 2018

	He used free legal counselling offered to foreigners during this case - he got in touch with this organisation through his friend, who works there as a lawyer. He believes this friendship helped him in many ways. He also took part in the free language course, and he believes both services were valuable for his life in the Czech Republic. He had to pay for commercial health insurance - firstly directly at the insurance companies, later through intermediaries because it was cheaper. However, he was not forced to buy from these intermediaries a state of account (a necessity to apply for a student visa) because his parent always had enough financial resources. He thinks that what is being missed is some easily accessible source of information about various types of visas and residence and labour legislation. During his studies, he was active in AISEC organisation. He claims he never had any kind of problems with the Czechs and now he has Czech friends, as well as Ukrainian or Russian ones, and he goes out with them for a beer. Otherwise, he is not active in the Ukrainian diaspora - he went once to an annual ball in Brno but "it was not worth it". For him, the personal network of Ukrainians did not play any role, although he thinks that in general, it is very important.	

4.	Respondent has a permanent residence in the Czech Republic. He came to the Czech Republic in 2013 to study graphic design. At the time of the interview, he was unemployed for about two weeks but before that, he worked for two years as a graphic designer. He speaks Czech mostly and in the last two years, he visited his home country only once. After secondary school, he wanted to study abroad - firstly he enrolled in language courses organised by universities in Brno, and after half a year he enrolled at the university in Ostrava. His first job was, therefore, in the Czech Republic. When looking for a job he was searching job offers on the Internet, but he found the requirements exaggerated and he was afraid to answer. In the end, he found a job offer on a dating site and after the interview, he was offered the position in a company producing erotic videos for adults. In 2019, the position became obsolete and he lost his job - but he got two months paid as a bonus. At the time of the interview, he was looking for a job. He believes the Czech companies are open to employ foreign nationals but emphasises that he had experience only in the field of graphic design where knowledge of language is not crucial. He lives in a shared flat in Prague. It was rather stressful to find the housing given the current situation on the housing market. He did not feel discriminated, although he often saw flat advertisements rejecting foreigners - even in the current flat the owner did not want to rent it to foreigners, but a friend of his persuaded her. The interviewee describes his experience with Czech administration as positive - staff at local branches of the Ministry of the Interior was friendly and polite, also at the time when he could not speak Czech properly. He added that this is true for local offices in Prague and Ostrava, but in Brno the experience was negative. He has used several services for foreigners: paid language courses - he sees this investment as a good life decision. He also used a counselling service from an NGO - he made an online enquiry about the unemployment benefits. He got all the information and was satisfied with the service. In the last two years, he was a part of the universal health care system but before that, he had to have commercial insurance. He commuted to Brno once in a year because he had an established relationship with an insurance intermediary. The quality of commercial insurance was "mediocre", because it was often very difficult to have an appointment with the doctor who accepted this kind of insurance. He also bought a statement of account needed for the student visa. Usually, he bought "the real deal" package of insurance and the statement of account. He believes this is the most valuable "service" for foreigners, because without it he would not be able to study in the Czech Republic, since his family did not have enough financial resources at one time. In general, he believes this condition for issuing a visa does not make sense and is not functional either. He did not experience any xenophobia in his daily life, but his friends did. He emphasised that he felt a lack of information in English about travelling or banking services. Now, he has Czech friends and he meets them, as often as he meets his friends from Russia. He does not participate in the public events of his diaspora.	01.02. 2019

5.	The interviewee is 38 years old, female, married. She is from a village in Ternopil region, Ukraine. She holds a master's degree in Economics obtained at a private institute in Ternopil region. She speaks Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, and has a basic knowledge of English. Her first job in Ukraine was based on selling at the friend's store, however, after half a year, she started working as an accountant for the State Fiscal Service Office. Due to financial needs, the interviewee decided to find a job in the Czech Republic. Currently, she lives in České Budějovice and works for Koh-i-Noor Hardtmuth as an expeditor of ready-made goods. The interviewee immigrated to the Czech Republic in 2009, after receiving some basic information from her acquaintances. Her first job was provided by the employment agency. She explains how the agencies work and complains that they did not keep up with their promises, paid less and provided a very small number of working hours. According to the interviewee, workers were left without sufficient remuneration and could not sustain themselves (especially since the agencies had usually promised to cover the accommodation expenses and refused to do it later). She also acknowledges that she had to call her family in Ukraine and ask to send her some money. "It was a catastrophe. Working for this agency was the worst that I had ever experienced... we received little money, they were promising completely different conditions, they were promising that they would pay for the accommodation, would pay more... nothing was fulfilled." Interviewee's first job was at a ski factory, where she was cleaning skies by using chemical substances like acetone, acids, glue. At the factory, apart from the economic difficulties, she also experienced hazardous working conditions: "It was such a stench. It was impossible. I called the employer so many times. I was telling him that I could not work there. It was impossible. He was just always saying that there was no other work, that there was a crisis... Later, I got an allergy. Once, I was working and saw that my hands and face were swelling. It was terrible." When she went to a doctor, the doctor told her to return in three weeks. As the interviewee says: "The rest helped me in this case, I just had to go home, rest and not breathe acetone. I felt better. But I am dealing with the consequences of this acetone till today." When the interviewee realised the unfairness and danger of her work, she was trying to change the job by contacting the agency. However, "the employer was simply not picking up his phone because he just did not like it... I did not ask anyone for help because there was no one to ask. I had no acquaintances. The man from the agency was not willing to talk. He was angrily saying: 'How come? My firm has given you a job and you want another job?' I was asking him to understand that I had had problems with health. When I started insisting and screaming, he said: 'Do not scream at me, I am your boss'. We just realised that we were a cheap labour force, trying to work and earn something for ourselves and for that man. And even now I see that many people are working through these agencies. I want these words to reach someone from the government and to make these agencies abolished. Why do you need these intermediaries? Why do you need these agencies?... People are forced to work twelve or sixteen hours per day to earn something". After 7 months at the ski factory, the interviewee was transferred to a new factory. She managed to break the contact with the agency only after four years and a half. At that point, she faced some difficulties with finding a new job, mostly because she did not speak Czech fluently. However, she says that it had changed with time and it started being so much easier, as being independent from the agencies and having	21.2.2 019

	a direct employment contract means also having completely different working conditions. Currently, the interviewee works for an stationery factory as an expeditor of ready-made goods. However, she started her career at this company as a manual worker. Later, colleagues recommended her to get her university degree recognised, which was done by the University of Economics in Prague (Vysoká škola ekonomická v Praze). "Everyone around was wondering how it could be possible that an individual with higher education was doing this manual work". The directors of the factory obtained information about her recognised degree and offered a new position – the current work. The interviewee likes her job but does not want to remain there for long. That is why, she has a part-time job at the investment company in Prague, where she can use skills and competencies in economics acquired in Ukraine. She sees more prospect there and believes that it will not be difficult for her to start working for them full time. Answering a question "do you think that employers in the Czech Republic are interested in hiring migrants?", the interviewee says that they are interested. She talks about Ukrainians, explaining that they are very hard-working and responsible, as they might need the job more than locals, they truly need money and are very motivated. The interviewee holds a long-term residence permit. According to her, it was not difficult to obtain residence permits for her and her family, and the waiting time was usually only a month or two. She evaluates the work of the Ministry of the Interior in a positive way, complimenting the personnel and their willingness to help, regardless of her insufficient knowledge of Czech: "At the beginning, when I did not know how to write, they would write it for me on a separate piece of paper in order to make it correct". The interviewee mentions only one problem concerning the old law on prolonging residence every half a year, which does not exist anymore. The interviewee has used services provided by the integration centre in České Budějovice – Centrum na podporu integrace cizinců. She received information about the centre from her colleagues at the current work. Besides, later she heard about Czech language courses in the Ukrainian church. Initially, she wanted to arrange a Czech language course for her daughter but, in addition, she also received assistance in finding a school. The interviewee is satisfied with the provided services and the enthusiastic personnel at the centre, recommending it to everyone. She is familiar with labour offices in the Czech Republic and has brought friends there (some of them found jobs thanks to the office), although she has never used this service herself. She thinks that Ukrainians mostly find jobs through social networks and acquaintances. The interviewee has universal health insurance but mostly does not use any health care services. The interviewee is not a member of neither any civil society organisation nor a trade union. She explains it by saying that České Budějovice is a small city, and if she lived in Prague or a bigger city, she would have joined some organisations. Talking about the attitude of the local population and local employers, the interviewee says that one could find nice and polite, as well as, rude and intolerant people among every nation. According to her, the Czech Republic accepts immigrants and grants them the same conditions and rights as the ones that their natives are granted, apart from voting. The biggest problem for foreigners is lack of information – not knowing what to do and whom to address in need. Migrants should be more informed on education opportunities, health care rights, as well as such important social rights as pensions and self-sufficiency in retirement.	

6.	The interviewee is 35 years old, male, married. He is from a village in Zakarpattia, Ukraine. He holds a university degree obtained at Lviv College of Transport Infrastructure. He speaks Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, Slovak, and has a basic knowledge of Polish. After graduation, he could not find a job connected to his degree (locomotive driver) and started working at a newly built railway station as a loader. After two years, he decided to move to the Czech Republic, mainly because of his low income, but also due to the relationship with a partner working at that time in the Czech Republic. Currently, he lives in Brno and works as an independent contractor, managing construction projects. The interviewee immigrated to the Czech Republic in 2008. His first job was provided by the employing agency, with which he was connected through an acquaintance: "He [the acquaintance] met me, took me to the metallurgical plant, found me accommodation in a two-room apartment that I was sharing with thirteen people." As the interviewee recalls, there had been lots of smoke and dirt, however, employees had not minded it, since they had gotten used to any work: "If they did not run away in the first days, they did not mind". The interviewee usually had twelve-hour-long shifts, but "when I wanted to have a free weekend and visit my girlfriend, I had to work for twenty-four hours non-stop, otherwise they would not let me go." Answering a question of whether the employees knew that they could work officially only eight hours a day, he answered: "It is all hidden, they cannot do it officially... They just cover the excess of hours by having some 'double accounting' or just make notes in a special notebook, writing who worked and for how many hours. Later they divide salaries and give some money in an official way and some non-officially." After a year at the metallurgical plant, the interviewee started working for a new factory that produced components of the interior of luxury cars. He once again talks about working hours, saying that some people had worked 16 hours a day. Although it was not a difficult job, they were forced to stand all the time. According to the interviewee's calculations, some people worked 412 hours a month. After the second job, the interviewee decided to break contacts with the agencies and start working independently on a direct legal contract. His first official employment was arranged by the construction company, which he found with the help of acquaintances. It gave him a chance to apply for a permit of stay and register his address. Later, he also received permission for entrepreneurial activity and could arrange on his own the issues of health insurance, retirement contributions, tax declarations, etc. He had been working for the construction firm for three years. After three years, the interviewee decided to quit, as the employers were never offering work in the winter time, since they were shortening the number of workers. He quit after he had received an offer from a local to manage a construction project. Since then he has worked as an independent contractor, managing projects. He does not intend to change his work soon. Answering a question "do you think that employers in the Czech Republic are interested in hiring migrants?", the interviewee says that they were interested. He talks about Ukrainians: "How can it be otherwise? It is not even only about Czech employers...Of course, every state is interested [gives examples of Germany and Poland]". The interviewee thinks that most Ukrainians find jobs in the Czech Republic through agencies: "You can find a more qualified job in a different way. But anyway, most of our people come here to work in construction and cleaning, to work on fields and in kitchens, to clean dishes...Most of our people work here in this lowest unit of the	22.02. 2019

	work chain... If you are a Czech company, it is much easier for you not to think about an individual and his/her problems, accommodation, but just to find an intermediary.” Talking about the attitude of the local population and local employers, the interviewee admits: “Every individual is different...I have met people talking this way - ‘You are a foreigner, you came here to work. So, work hard’... But also, during these years, I have met many tolerant people who saw me as an equal individual and as a specialist in my field... But my boss from that construction company used to say: ‘You are a foreigner here so you will work hard here. You will not argue with me about what is right and what is wrong. If I said it should be this way, then it should be this way...’ Sometimes I was offended, sometimes the others... They were calling us ‘ukachka’²³... They were saying ‘Ukachka work here! Ukachka work!’... And I have an acquaintance, working at the construction, who had a diploma in psychology and a diploma in philology.” The interviewee holds a long-term residence permit. He recalls the process of opening his first visa to the Czech Republic, saying that it had not been difficult but expensive, as he had used services of intermediaries. He remembers that after his arrival he had cheap commercial health insurance. The employing agency was promising to provide decent health insurance but did not keep up with the promise. Apart from that, he had to make some fictitious document for address registration and pay for this document to some people. Very soon these people called the interviewee, asking to deregister from their address exactly when he needed to prolong the visa. He was constantly scared that he would lose his visa, and he spent a lot of money on fictitious documents. Moreover, according to him, even regular procedures were too expensive, considering his income. The interviewee also complains about the difficulties in applying for the family reunification visa for his daughter and wife, as well as about the bureaucratic rules in general. He mentions “a vicious circle” of bureaucracy that he had to deal with even after his family’s arrival to the Czech Republic. He had to spend a year, gathering documents for family reunification, and wait a year for the approval of the application and the actual arrival of his family. When the interviewee’s family members had to apply for a visa extension (almost a year after their arrival), they were forced to pay fines, as the taxes for garbage and health insurance had been calculated since the moment of launching the application, which was almost two years before the family’s actual arrival to the Czech Republic. According to the interviewee, the very moment his daughter and wife arrived, they had a two-year debt of more than 30 000 CZK. The interviewee has used services provided by the integration centre - Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům (OPU) in Brno. At the centre, he received legal advice on how to count a minimum income required for the visa application for family reunification. At the same time, he acknowledges: “they [the integration centre] can only consult, and I used real help in preparation of the documents from our people, our organisations and lawyers, who could do everything for money”. The interviewee gives an example of an organisation that used to provide visa assistance and now works as an intermediary on the market of commercial health insurance. Talking about commercial insurance, the interviewee complains that buying such insurance directly from an insurance provider is more expensive than buying it from the above-mentioned intermediaries: “I was in Slavia, Maxima, and Uniqa. I went there to ask how to make it directly – without anyone. But their prices are just on a different level.” The interviewee has universal health insurance, but his wife has commercial health insurance, as she is unemployed and has to live in the Czech Republic for five years

²³ úkáčka - a downgrading name for citizens of Ukraine.

	before being able to apply for the universal health insurance. "It is almost impossible to use commercial insurance. Ok, well, now I know where to go – to which hospital. Otherwise, it is not worthy... Antibiotics can be bought only with a prescription here. That is the problem. So, if you are not very sick, you can use the accessible medicines. If you are very sick, you can either use the medicines brought from home [Ukraine] or go to a doctor. Now, I do not have any problems, because I have my own family doctor. In my wife's case, it is more complex. But luckily, she does not need any health service at this point...I was talking that it is basically not worthy. You can claim a refund but, look, working days for claiming refunds are usually Mondays and Wednesdays. Ok, maybe some insurance providers have different working days like Tuesdays, Thursdays, Fridays. So, when go to a doctor, you pay everything to the doctor. Then, you are given payment receipts. Now you must find time to go to these insurance providers, but you work from Monday to Friday. Would you lose one working day for just a single visit to a doctor?... Ok, I understand if your treatment costs some 5000-10000 CZK. But if your receipt is for 500 CZK or 1000 CZK, it does not make sense to go somewhere on the other side of the city and look for someone. You also must pay for tickets... It is all just to claim the money. It is very difficult and annoying." The interviewee believes that it is not easy to claim the money from the insurance provider for people who come to work in the Czech Republic and have not experienced life in cities (who previously worked only on fields or in forests) or do not speak any Czech. "How would they go there [to the insurance provider]? When you come to any organisation, you must know the rules. You must know that they have a special computer, and you have to click on something to get the queue number, etc." The interviewee admits that now he is more familiar with the situation with commercial health insurance. He knows that some commercial insurance providers have agreements with certain hospitals and clinics, meaning that the hospital would either claim the refund for treatment directly from the insurance provider or make it possible for an individual to submit a claim immediately at the hospital. The interviewee is not a member of any civil society organisation and explains it by the lack of time. After visiting one of the cultural events, organised by the already mentioned Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům, he made a conclusion (for himself) that such events would be rather for young people.	
7.	Informant was born in 1968 in Syria, Damascus. She has 3 adult children, 2 of them already have their own families today. She speaks Arabic, English at level A1 and Czech at level B1. She graduated from University in Damascus (technical specialisation). She established her own telecommunication company. After the change of the political regime, the company stopped to prosper. Because her husband is from Palestine, the situation has started to be unfavourable, and family members have started to worry about their lives. There was a threat of kidnapping their youngest son, so the informant decided to use the opportunity to come to the Czech Republic, where she had brothers who studied here and their mother also lived here. She arrived alone in 2013. The start was not easy, because there was no support from the brothers. She applied for asylum, then received subsidiary protection in 2014. Finally, she managed to get her husband and children to the Czech Republic for the purpose of family reunification. After receiving subsidiary protection, the informant began to live in an integrated asylum centre, then gained an apartment. She did not enter the state integration	28.01. 2019

	program, but her husband and son did. Thanks to this program, they could get an apartment, furniture or home appliances. She never wanted to work for her community, but she wanted to work with Czech citizens because she feared the misuse of information about her. She is registered in the Labour Office. Since 2015, she has been cooperating with a small Czech restaurant, where she works. The most important for her is a positive attitude towards people. She got it in this Czech restaurant. She does not feel disadvantaged by being a migrant. The most difficult for her is the language barrier and the change of her social status. She has become an unskilled worker, but it is a general phenomenon. Also, other Syrian friends have these problems. At first, she learned Czech thanks to non-governmental organisations and volunteers who visited her in her flat. She has continued to join OPU and FDV projects. She also attended career counselling with an organisation she does not remember the name of. She has completed 3 re-training courses of cooking. One was provided from the Labor Office, 2 from OPU. Thanks to these projects, she worked with social workers, who tried to help her find a job. She hopes to be able to open a small bistro where she will cook Arabic food. She hopes her husband will help her and will also work there. Cooking has never been her hobby, but she had to catch an opportunity because there are no such products as Arabic food in Brno. Many of her compatriots use this way for making money. The most difficult is the language barrier and small orientation in legislation. As unemployed she was forced to apply for social benefits. The social worker from OPU helped her with the handling with benefits administration procedures and helped her to fill the application for the registration at Labor Office. In addition, the informant had only basic education, because she did not bring any evidence of education and could not get it from her country. She does not have qualification and has only basic education. She was also sick in the Czech Republic, almost 7 months, which restricted her from labour market.	
8.	The interviewee comes from Iraq. He is 53 years old, speaks Arabic, English at A1 and Czech A1. He is married and has two children attending primary school. All members of his family live in Brno. He came to the Czech Republic in 2015. In his country, he worked in culture industry and was a respected man. He often travelled abroad for his job. His wife taught at university. He worked in culture industry, promoted new ideas, wrote articles for newspapers, etc. His daughter went to a Christian school, because it was a prestigious school. Later it became a problem for police that his daughter went to a Christian school, although she is a Muslim. He was worried about his life when his friend, the director, was murdered. The political situation in Iraq was getting worse, he was afraid of his life and was looking for a way to get to the safety in a European country. He did not choose the Czech Republic, but he got a visa here. In less than a year, he got subsidiary protection together with his children. Two years later, his wife also came here. It took almost 2 years, because, it was very difficult to get her here for family reunification. First, he lived in a refugee camp in Kostelec nad Orlicí, after receiving protection he lived in the Integration Asylum Center in Brno. He joined the State Integration Programme, which helped him to find a flat in Brno and equipment for the apartment. Another form of support was provided by other non-profit organisations working with migrants. The Czech language is still very hard for him. He did not need the help of other people in Iraq, but in the Czech Republic he has to go to the Labour Office that is very complicated and he feels dependent on other people. He had to ask not only for work but also for social benefits, money for children, which involves difficult bureaucracy procedures and requires orientation in the system. Several times he	07.02. 2019

	was almost excluded from the Labour Office record, because he did not understand or disobey something. It seems to him that the clerk from the Labour Office does not like him, is reluctant, sometime screams. The whole system of requests and benefits is very complicated. However, the family depends on benefits, because it is difficult to find work without the knowledge of language. The help from an intercultural worker who speaks Czech and Arabic and who went to the office with him was important. Another social worker from NGO helped him to complete the application. He was dependent on support from his father in Iraq, because his wife was a refugee and was registered in his flat. He did not receive any social benefits, because he shared the flat with the person without a residence permit. Thanks to a social worker, he gained contact with one theatre where he played a small role. As a participant of the EU funded project, he acquired a retraining course - a forklift truck operator. Then he started to go to a Czech language course. Part of another language course was a job counselling. He first hoped to work in a warehouse or as a security guard. However, he is limited by his knowledge of language. He is a volunteer who works mainly with his children. By altering his social status, he admits that he is not motivated enough to do his utmost to get legal work. He is currently working in a fast food restaurant with his countryman and is also registered at the Labour Office as unemployed. In the future, he would like to work in culture industry, as he did in Iraq. At the moment, he is waiting for the opportunity and gradually learning Czech.	
9.	The interview partner comes from Afghanistan. He was born in 1996 in Kabul. He speaks Persian, English at A2 level and Czech at A2 level. He came to the Czech Republic after the invitation of his father's friends in 2014. He applied for asylum here, although he wanted to get to Denmark. The police stopped him on his way from Prague to Germany, and he did not have a valid visa for other European countries. He went to Europe because he wanted to be a professional athlete. He feels it was not possible in his country, because of the war. He explained the whole situation to the police, who recommended him to apply for asylum. His mother, father, sister and brother still live in Afghanistan. He graduated from high school in Kabul and then devoted himself to sport. He thought he would be involved in sport at a professional level in the Czech Republic. A social worker in a refugee accommodation facility helped him to contact a sport coach in Kostelec nad Orlicí, so he became a member of the athletic team of the local sport club. After the subsidiary protection was granted to him, he was not sure where to live. He was disoriented, did not have the money and could not devote himself to sport. First, he went to Znojmo, where his countrymen promised him some help. He worked with them for a while in fast food, but he did not like it, it did not meet his expectations. He moved to Prostějov, where he also worked in the bistro for a while. He spent several months in Prostějov, he did not have money for food and slept in the bistro. Afghans did not give him employment contract, they did not pay the insurance, and they wanted him to work more than it was agreed on. He suffered from insomnia and cried often. "It is important to have support when you want to do sport professionally". He did not have a sponsor and had no money of his own.	18.02. 2019
10.	The interview partner is a man born in Myanmar in 1984. In 2002 he handed out anti-government leaflets, was excluded from the school, and no other high school accepted him. Half a year he stayed at home helping his father with business, then he paid to the smuggler who got him to Europe.	15.02. 2019

	First, the group of several people travelled to Turkey, from Turkey to the Czech Republic. Part of his group went to Scandinavia but he liked it in Prague, so he stayed. He was told to go to the police and ask for asylum. At the beginning, he lived in the refugee camp for half a year. It was a great experience, he liked it there, met people from all over the world and studied Czech. Within six months, he got asylum and moved to the residential centre where he lived for several months. During his life in the refugee camp, he worked illegally, mostly on construction sites in different cities in Moravia. Because he worked with Czechs, he had to start communicating quickly in Czech. When he got asylum, he went to register with the Labor Office but also worked illegally in unqualified professions. Work contacts have been received from other refugees. Then he got an apartment thanks to the State Integration Programme and half a year later started to work legally in a foundry on the position of a Quality controller. The apartment was located in a small village in the north of Bohemia, he did not have any friends there and any relationships. He started to suffer from insomnia and became seriously ill, spent several months in the hospital and sanatorium, where he lost much of his weight. He left the job in the foundry and finally moved in with his friends from Myanmar to Prague and also “give the integration flat back to the mayor of the village”. Another refugee started to live in this apartment. In Prague, he started working in Asian refreshment, then found another job in the reception of office, where most people are foreigners. He found friends, hobbies, practised sports, photographed and travelled. He also tried to get into the Film Academy of Performing Arts but without success. In 2011, he decided to visit his family in Asia. He had not seen his relatives since he came to the Czech Republic. Sometimes he sent them money, sometimes called on the phone. He met his parents in Thailand and decided to stay there, although he did not plan it at first. He could not go back to Myanmar, because he got asylum in the Czech Republic. In Thailand, he founded a small company specializing in export and import and began to prosper. Because he had a girlfriend in Prague, together they tried to live in Asia and also for a while in Prague. In 2014, he finally moved to Prague, got married and founded his own fast food restaurant, where he works or gives work to other people.	

11.	The interviewee was born in Algeria and came to the Czech Republic in 2012 to study the French language at the university. He wanted to study abroad and could get a visa to the Czech Republic. After one year, due to control from Foreign Police, it was found out that he had an invalid visa. This was because of his lack of knowledge of the administrative procedures - he was at the embassy or Foreign Police several times and believed that his student visa was prolonged. After the control, he was deported to the detention centre, he was there for several months, with very limited possibilities of a phone call. He talks about the feeling of humiliation and a strict regime at the centre. There he applied for asylum and during the application (that was refused several times) he lived in the residential centres in Havířov and Červený Kostelec. He criticised that the residential centres are in remote areas with difficult access. He remembers strict regime and violence among different ethnic groups but also friendships he built, good relationship with staff and support from the local priest. Because his case was so difficult he became expert in the Czech legal system and was helping other inhabitants of the centre with appeals.. After two years he moved to Pardubice and he is living there with his girlfriend now. He can speak Czech and has a manual job in a factory. He would like to use his language skills and work in the support centre of an international company but so far he was unsuccessful in it. After everything that happened to him, he did not have the motivation to go back to university.	20.12. 2018
12.	The interviewee came to the Czech Republic in August 2018, his parents live here for many years, and therefore he got the family reunification visa. Personally, he wanted to use better life opportunities, which he believes can be found in the Czech Republic. He lives in Brno with his family and attends the local primary school. In Vietnam, he has already attended tenth grade (first year of high school) but in the Czech Republic, he started to attend ninth grade to have time to learn Czech before going to the secondary school. His mother wanted him to go even to lower grade, but the principal of the local school refused this option. At the end of February 2019 (shortly before the interview), he confirmed his application for the secondary school. It was difficult to find the school that would accept condoning of the entrance exam in the Czech language. With help from his relatives who already attend this school, he was able to negotiate his entrance exam and therefore apply to the technical secondary school in his town. He was worried that in the next few months he has to work hard to prepare himself for the entrance exam. He has only two months to prepare himself, which is a short time. If he is not accepted to the chosen school, together with his parents they will be looking for a private school. In general, he thinks that education in the Czech Republic is more relaxed than in Vietnam - he feels that it is oriented on praxis rather than on the amount of knowledge. He is struggling only with the Czech language.	10.03. 2019

	The entrance exam occupies his mind, and, therefore, he doesn't think about the future- he likes technologies but he is not sure what kind of profession he would like to have in his adult life. He is sure that he would like to pursue his studies at university and his family supports him. the interviewee declared that the life in the Czech Republic is better in every aspect. He knows regional integration centre in his city- when he arrived he applied to the language courses but wasn't accepted because of high number of applicants. Later, he studied with a retired Czech teacher but he didn't understand her. Until recently he didn't have any textbooks. Now he seeks for help from his teachers that are very helpful. He doesn't use any information source and he doesn't know any other provider of integration services than above mentioned regional centre. He gets all the information about the life in the Czech Republic from his family and relatives.	
13.	She arrived to the Czech Republic (CR) in November 2018 to join her parents, who have been living and working in the CR. She is currently enrolled at the local secondary school near her residence in Jablonec nad Nisou. She joined the 8th grade class shortly after her arrival. In Vietnam she had been already in the 10th grade (i.e., the first year of the high school), but her parents decided that for learning new language and culture the middle school level would be more appropriate. Her parents wish that she will be able to enroll for the secondary school and later apply for university, but they worry about the language barrier which currently affects her ability to pass some of the classes. The interviewee evaluates the education in the Czech Republic positively and likes the school environment and teachers, however, she says that she has not been able to make friends with her schoolmates yet due to the language barrier and age difference. On top of her normal school duties, her parents were able to set up an extra private class of Czech language for her twice or three times a week. The interviewee was planning to study at the university (economics or graphic design), but at present time and situation she is not able to assess her future orientation and possibilities since she feels that the insufficient knowledge of Czech limits her in her long-term career and study plans. She currently sets up two goals: to be able to learn Czech to communicate in everyday life situations and start to be graded in school to have a feedback and be able to enrol for the secondary school later. The interviewee also declared that she doesn't know the Czech education system-how does the fact that she is in a lower grade than she should be, might influence her education at secondary school or what are the conditions of entrance exams for someone with a limited knowledge of language or what are the types of secondary schools. She doesn't know any providers of integration services - she learned about them during the interview and she was interested in language courses. Her main sources of information about the life in the Czech Republic are her parents. They also don't use integration services but they were actively seeking information about the Czech education system and best opportunities for their daughter.	20.03. 2019

4 Denmark

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4.1 Introduction

This report aims to identify and assess policy factors that either facilitate or hinder labour market integration of migrants in Denmark. This will be done on the basis of a policy discourse analysis, an overview of the existing policies and services regarding the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (MRAs), a literature review of existing analyses of said policies with a special focus on the effects of the policies and qualitative interviews conducted with key stakeholders and beneficiaries (namely, refugees and non-EU, non-refugee migrants) of integration policies and services. Contextually, it is important to recognize that the making and implementation of labour market integration policies are deeply affected by the fact that, in the twentieth century, Denmark (much like other Scandinavian countries) witnessed the establishment of a consensus-based political system wherein “interest organizations” are intricately involved in the “preparation and implementation of public policies” (Christiansen et. al. 2010: 22-23). Furthermore, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed a greater “institutionalized interest group involvement” (Christiansen et. al. 2010: 23). This is evident in policy-areas such as the labour market, agriculture, education, healthcare and environmental protection (see: Arter 2006; Greve 2007; Lijphart & Crepaz 1991; Christiansen et. al. 2004; Siaroff 1999). Since corporatism²⁴ is a foundational feature of the Danish consensus democracy, for the purposes of this report, it was therefore critical to gather the perspectives – both, in relation to the policy discourse analysis and qualitative interviews – of a multiplicity of stakeholders that included representatives of ministries, governmental agencies, municipalities, labour unions, employers’ confederations, social partners, NGOs (tasked with integration service provision) and private/public sector employers. In terms of the timeframe of this report, interviews were conducted with MRAs who arrived in Denmark between 2008 and 2014, while data for the discourse analysis was collected for the period between 2014 and 2018. This data was further substantiated with more recent studies on the effects of policies regarding the integration of MRAs. policy effects.

²⁴ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics* defines corporatism as a “system of interest intermediation” wherein interest organizations officially participate in policy-making, “both in terms of the negotiation of policy and of securing compliance from their members with the agreed policy” (2009: 121).

4.2 Overview of the Framing of MRAs and Integration Issues in Danish Policy Discourses

4.2.1 Methodology – Policy Discourse Analysis

The focus of this first section is the policy discourses on MRAs and labour market integration issues as presented by relevant Danish stakeholders active in the political arena. The data collection was carried out by means of desk research. The following actors were consulted and included in the analysis: All ministries²⁵ covering some aspect of labour market integration of MRAs, the government²⁶, four²⁷ municipalities, official national institutions working on MRAs' issues²⁸, NGOs working on MRAs and integration issues, the UNHCR in Denmark, labour unions, employers' confederations and all political parties with more than 5% support in the last election (for a full list of actors see table A1 in Annex 1).

We went to the webpages of these actors and looked at all material produced by these actors themselves. We only included material with a specific focus on labour market integration. We however recognize that integration is a multifaceted concept and demarcating labour market integration from other forms of integration is difficult due to the close link between these different aspects of integration. (For example, social inclusion can be viewed as an essential part of labour market integration). We included material with issues of relevance to labour market integration but excluded material with no direct link to labour market integration, e.g. material on kids' access to healthcare. The final number of included texts is 310 (see also Table A1 in Annex 1).

Therefore, a variety of material is included in our analysis: press releases, reports, policy programmes, party manifestos, budget laws, papers, project descriptions, articles, blog posts, party work plans and speeches (for a full list of material see table A1 in Annex 1). Since we included only material presented and produced by these actors, media content was not included in our analysis with the exception of op-eds by these actors presented or reprinted as press releases. In addition, we excluded documents produced by external partners, e.g. reports made by consultancies.

The focus of our analysis was on material produced between 2014 and 2018. For some categories of material (e.g. press releases by ministries), texts were only available from 2015 and onwards (most likely due to the 2015 change in government and the subsequent reorganization of the ministries). In cases where no other relevant material was available, relevant material produced prior to 2014 was included as well.

The analysis was carried out in two steps. In a first step, the material was coded by means of inductive thematic content analysis, meaning that codes were generated from the material

²⁵ Ministry of Immigration and Integration (former Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing), The Ministry of Employment, Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, The Ministry of Justice, and The Ministry of Social Affairs, Children and Integration.

²⁶ The incumbent governments in the period 2014 to 2018.

²⁷ Denmark is divided into five regions which contain 98 municipalities. We selected four municipalities (København, Århus, Vejle, Rødovre) based on the following criteria: 1) Size (inhabitants) and 2) the municipality's ability to get refugees and family reunified persons into employment. We included Copenhagen and Århus as they are the two largest municipalities in Denmark. Vejle was included as the municipality performing best in regard to getting refugees and family migrants into work (given its size), and Rødovre as the municipality performing worst (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018a).

²⁸ Danish Immigration Service, Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration and Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment.

based on the content and context of the material (rather than focusing on the structures of the text). In a second step, the codes were re-coded, this time deductively, based on Entman's (1993) four features of political frames.

4.2.2 The Framing of Labour Market Integration of MRAs in the Danish Policy Discourse

4.2.2.1 New Employment-oriented Integration Strategy

The “kick-off” of the current Danish integration strategy was the 2015 change in government followed by a request from the government's supporting parties to start calculating how much immigration costs the Danish state (Nielsen 2015). This request first resulted in a note from the Ministry of Finance on the increased expenses in connection with the recent influx of asylum seekers (The Ministry of Finance 2016) and subsequently in a report by the Ministry of Finance stating that non-western immigrants and descendants costed Denmark 33 billion DKK in 2014, while immigrants from western countries contributed a total net amount of 6 billion DKK to the Danish economy (The Ministry of Finance 2017: 8). A low employment rate of (non-western) immigrants and the great potential for strengthening public finances if (non-western) immigrants and their descendants got into employment is stressed in both publications from the Ministry of Finance (The Ministry of Finance 2016, The Ministry of Finance 2017). The focus on expenses and on (non-western) immigrants as a burden to the Danish welfare state thus sparked a new discourse focusing much more on participation in the labour market, and thus a new strategy for “employment-oriented integration” was born.

The new strategy was framed by the government as the answer to a number of issues linked to the lack of MRAs' participation in the labour market, of which job-readiness appears as the most important aspect, stressed by multiple actors over and over again. A re-definition of ‘job-readiness’ is thus one of the main aspects of the new strategy on employment-oriented integration, as stated in a press release from the Ministry of Employment: *“It is crucial that more non-western immigrants start working, because too many people are still outside the labour market. Therefore, it is also crucial that the government (...) has radically changed the way one looks at refugees, so they as a general rule are considered job-ready.”* (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2018).

Job-ready

Before the municipalities can start their task of helping the migrant find a job – a responsibility that was given to the municipalities through the 1999 Integration Act (which also made participation in job-related activities obligatory for all newly arrived refugees and individuals admitted into Denmark for family reunification) – they first need to assess whether the migrant is “job-ready” or “activity-ready”.²⁹ While people who are job-ready are capable of taking on an ordinary job right away, people who are activity-ready are not considered capable of taking on an ordinary job³⁰ (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen 2013). In June

²⁹ Activity-ready recipients are characterized by not being able to take on a regular job, e.g. because they have complex and/or a multitude of professional, social or health problems (Socialstyrelsen 2017).

³⁰For job-ready immigrants in the integration programme, a maximum of six weeks is allowed between each employment-oriented offer in the form of an apprenticeship or employment with wage subsidy,

2015, only three percent of newly arrived refugees and family reunified persons were assessed as “job-ready” (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017a), meaning that almost all newly arrived refugees and family migrants prior to starting their job search would participate in courses and receive other forms of support that would help them get ready for employment at a later stage. In April 2017, the picture had changed. Now, more than two out of three newly arrived refugees and family migrants were assessed as job-ready (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017a). In 2016, a tripartite agreement on labour market integration³¹ between the government and the social partners was introduced. With this, agreement, the requirements that one should be able to speak and write applications in Danish in order to be assessed as job-ready were relaxed, and as a general rule, all refugees and family migrants in the integration programme are now to be considered job-ready (The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing and the Social Partners 2016: 3).

Mental and physical health issues are mentioned by the government as well as by the ministries and the labour unions as valid reasons for lack of job-readiness, while lack of language skills is framed by the government and the ministries as secondary, not just in the law, but in the discourse: *“The road to successful integration goes through a job. It is among colleagues that one learns Danish and get to know the Danish values”* (Inger Støjberg, Minister of immigration and integration, 2017).

In addition to job-readiness, access to the labour market right from the beginning is an issue which is stressed in the discourse, among others by the employers organizations (Dansk Byggeri and DI), LO, The Danish Refugee Council, several parties (Liberal Alliance and The Danish Social Liberal Party), the government, or as stated here by the Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing and the social partners : *“Refugees and family migrants arriving in Denmark should be available to the Danish labour market and become independent of the Danish state. This requires easy access to the Danish labour market.”* (The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing & the Social Partners 2016). That access to the labour market should be eased is an aspect mentioned not only in regard to refugees and family migrants, but also in regard to labour migrants.

pursuant to sections 23b and 23c, cf. 3 of the Integration Act of October 11th, 2017. For an activity-ready immigrant in the integration programme, the continuous employment-oriented efforts are organized after a concrete assessment of the immigrant's preconditions and needs. And in special cases, the municipality can refrain from offering an integration programme to activity-ready immigrants (Integration Act of October 11th, 2017, Section 17).

³¹ The tripartite agreement on labour market integration is an agreement on labour market integration made by the Danish Government and the social partners. The agreement has two overall foci: 1) Increased focus on employment and 2) Greater opportunities for companies to hire refugees. The first focus point is translated into: A clear focus on jobs in the integration effort, a redirection of Danish language courses to focus more on companies/employment, and a strengthening of the service to companies). The second focus point entails: Making it easier for companies to hire refugees (among others by introducing a new so-called basic integration education programme, (*Integrationsgrunduddannelsen* or IGU), better skills assessment, increased "service inspection" of job packages, concrete pathways to employment, better conditions for companies that contribute to the integration of refugees, more transparency in the legislative framework and easier access to self-employment (The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing & the Social Partners 2016).

Other barriers to labour market integration such as culture and mobility are also part of the discourse. Lack of support for so-called “Danish values”³² are mentioned as barriers by the government and used as an argument for the government’s restrictions on housing in so-called “ghettos”, criminalisation of parents sending their children on vacation to their country of origin (so-called “re-education trips” (*genopdragelsesrejser*)), and for an Action plan on the prevention of honour-related conflicts and negative social control.

On a more direct cultural inference, differences in work culture and gender roles are mentioned as barriers in the analysed material, not only by the government, also by Århus municipality and The Social Democrats. The status of family reunification plays an interesting role in this regard. Family reunification is framed as an obstacle for integration for people with less economic resources (in most cases asylum seekers and refugees) by the government, the Danish Peoples’s Party and the Social Democrats. However, family reunification is not only framed as important by the government and SIRI, but is also supported by new initiatives, when it comes to high-skilled labour migrants. A divide between the burdensome asylum seekers, refugees and family migrants and the attractive high-skilled labour migrants is thus also clear in policy discourses when it comes to rights of immigrants.

Another aspect which is framed by Århus Municipality and the Danish confederation of employers as a barrier to labour market integration is limited mobility and long distances to school and work. It is argued that long distances can make it hard for immigrants to make an everyday life work and, according to the Danish confederation of employers, non-western immigrants tend to find jobs closer to home (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening 2015). Lack of financial resources might be an explanation since public transport as well as owning a car is expensive in Denmark.

Interestingly, skills – or rather lack of skills – is not framed as a barrier to labour market integration for refugees and family migrants. At least not by the Danish government, the ministries or by other official national institutions working on immigration related issues, as expressed here by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration: *“This means that we will experience a much more employment-oriented integration effort in the municipalities. Refugees will be given the opportunity by the workplaces to be part of the labour market - even if they lack skills/qualifications”* (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2016). When it comes to the social partners, the issue of skills is framed differently, though, as they mention lack of professional and language skills as the main barriers to labour market integration. They never the less support the new strategy as the new tripartite agreement on labour market integration was negotiated between the government and the businesses and union representatives.

With the financial burden of non-western immigrants as the starting point, the current Danish integration strategy is based on a wish to minimize expenses, not necessarily on the needs of the immigrant and his/her understanding of successful labour market integration which might be different from having a job (for example having a job that matches their interests and qualifications, and not just any job). Immigrants are labelled as a burden, and although emphasis simultaneously is put on MRAs as having resources and as being a potential

³² “Danish values” or “our values” as they are also called in the material, are not defined by the stakeholder making the claim. If exemplified, examples are among others: democracy, equality and freedom of belief.

advantage for society, the strong focus on employment has led to a one-dimensional measurement of success as being employed, and no one seems to question the type of job, whether it corresponds to the migrant's qualifications or how the job affects his or her life in the long run, as expressed here by the Minister for Immigration and Integration and the Minister for Employment: *"The type of apprenticeship/ employment with wage subsidy (virksomhedsforløb) is not important. The important thing is that refugees quickly get started so they can have a better chance of getting a permanent connection to the labour market."* (The Minister for Immigration and Integration and the Minister for Employment, 2017).

4.2.2.2 Work first – Getting Immigrants into Employment

The idea of "work first" is significant in the current Danish integration strategy. The Minister for Immigration and Integration and the Minister for Employment frame having a job not only as the main aspect of labour market integration, but as the means to achieve language-, cultural- and social- skills: *"A job is the key to becoming part of the Danish society. With a job you support yourself, get to know the Danish language, Danish values and Danish colleagues."* (The Minister for Immigration and Integration and the Minister for Employment, 2017). Aspects of importance for successful labour market integration other than the job itself thus play a secondary role and are expected to be gained through the individual's experiences at work. Yet, how is the goal of "work first" and employment from day one to be reached?

Labour market integration is first of all framed as a joint effort, not only by the government, also by Århus municipality, The Confederation of Danish Industry (DI), the Danish confederation of employers (DA) and by STAR. The government provides the legal framework, but it is up to the immigrants, the municipalities, the private companies and public employers, as well as to the social partners and the local community to complete the task. Rigid rules and bureaucracy are framed by two municipalities (Copenhagen and Århus), by employers' organizations (DA and Dansk Byggeri) as well as by the government as obstacles for a smooth hiring process, potentially leading to employers not being willing or able to hire foreign labour. The new tripartite agreement entails initiatives which make it easier for companies to hire refugees (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2016), and *"These initiatives will support that all parties - municipalities, companies and employees – get the best framework for contributing to successful integration."* (The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing, 2016). The responsible parties are not expected to lift their responsibility without any incentives, and financial incentives, as an enabling factor, play a major role in the policy discourse.

When it comes to the immigrants themselves, the generous Danish social assistance benefit is framed as an obstacle for taking on a job by the government, the Danish confederation of employers (DA), and by the Danish Chamber of Commerce (DE). In September 2015, a new, low social assistance – namely the so-called integration allowance (*integrationsydelse*) – was introduced (agreement between the government, the Danish People's Party, Liberal Alliance and the Conservative People's Party). It was framed by the Minister of Immigration, Integration and Housing as a solution to the problem (among others³³), providing the right incentive to work³⁴: *"This is exactly why the government is now introducing the new integration allowance*

³³ In addition, the 225-hour rule (meaning that cash benefit recipients must document that they are available to the labor market by working at least 225 hours within a year) and a cap on the maximum amount of allowances (combining different social benefits) (*kontanthjælpsloftet*) was introduced in 2016.

³⁴ In November 2015, an agreement (Jobreform I) was also reached concerning social assistance in general, with the main purpose of "making-work-pay" for recipients of social assistance" (Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment 2018a). 'Jobreform I' entered into force on 1 April 2016.

(...) *to move immigrants from passive support and into the labour market.*" (Inger Støjberg, Minister of Immigration, Integration and Housing, 2015). The main representative organization of the trade unions (LO) and the UNHCR in Denmark, however, present a counter discourse by stating that refugees are interested in getting integrated into the labour market and by arguing that the new low allowance will only make immigrants poorer, and will not give them an incentive to work. Two of the opposition parties, the Socialist People's Party and the Red-Green Alliance, also argued that the low allowances counteract integration objectives: *"The low integration allowance hinders integration. Poverty cuts people off from participating in social life, in birthday parties, in culture - in other words, from becoming part of society."* (The Red-Green Alliance 2018).

When it comes to employers, the government as well as the employers themselves (Dansk Byggeri, Dansk Erhverv, Danske Malermestre and Tekniq) frame financial incentives as a necessary enabling factor in order for the employers to hire MRAs. Immigrants are to be paid less than regular employees if they are to be hired (which is also the case with the new basic integration education (IGU)), and employers are to be offered a bonus for *"their contribution to integration at the individual workplaces"* (The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing and the Social Partners, 2016). When it comes to high-skilled labour migrants, employers are also offered financial incentives. In 2016, SIRI opened a call for the financing of projects in companies that support the reception and retention of highly skilled foreign employees and their families in Denmark.

In regard to the municipalities, financial incentives are framed by the government as well as by the main representative organization of the trade unions, namely LO, and DE, as an enabling factor, and the government is discursively constructed as acting on the problem of labour market integration when providing financial incentives for integrating immigrants into the labour market³⁵.

That the initial reception and integration of immigrants is expensive for the receiving municipalities is without doubt. Yet, by stressing financial incentives across the board, the burden of labour market integration is in focus (as mentioned above), and the advantages of labour market integration are omitted from the discourse. The value added by the migrants bringing their experiences, knowledge and skills to the table, as well as the potential gain for the municipality, for the work place, and for the immigrant him-/herself is not part of the discourse.

Furthermore, as the Danish Construction Association points out, *"some municipalities are better equipped for solving the challenges we are facing than others due to the local business community, the local housing situation and the composition of citizens. In short, it is about finding the right match"* (Louise Pihl, Assistant Director, The Danish Construction Association). Successful integration is thus framed as also being about planning and making sure that jobs,

The main elements of the jobreform were: 1) a ceiling on the total amount of social assistance 2) the introduction of the 225-hour rule, which requires recipients of social assistance to continually prove availability for the labour market by having worked at least 225 hours within the past 12 months, and 3) reduction in the right to holiday from five to four weeks (Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment 2018a).

³⁵ An increase in the basic grant for municipalities receiving refugees, together with a cash reward per refugee in job or education, was included in the 2016 two-party agreement on integration between the Government and Local Government Denmark (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018a).

housing, child care, health care etc. are available. As it is now, refugees are allocated to a municipality based on a quota system and have no freedom to choose their residence location. This allocation strategy should make it possible to account for the mentioned factors when matching a refugee with a municipality.

Matching in the form of pairing unemployed immigrants and companies is also part of the current Danish integration strategy, and in 2016, so-called municipal “employment ambassadors” (in charge of matching companies and refugees) were introduced. This match is based on the companies’ needs for labour though, not on the immigrants’ needs: *“There must be a better match between company and refugee, which takes into account the companies’ need for labour”* (The Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2017). In addition, upskilling – meaning the development of workers’ skills – skills’ assessment and recognition of skills are framed as enabling factors for successful labour market integration. Although skills play a secondary role in the integration strategy, the employers’ organizations, the labour unions and NGOs frame upgrading of MRAs’ skills sets as necessary in order for a successful and fast inclusion into the labour market. And the same goes for skills assessment and recognition of skills. While a quick assessment of skills is framed by the government as profiting Denmark, as this will allow the state to make the most of the immigrants’ skills and experiences, the municipalities point out that a targeted skills assessment additionally can help immigrants get a job that corresponds to their education level and to their wishes. How (the lack of) skills assessment influences the lives of MRAs in today’s Denmark is something we will return to in section 5.2.1. Here it is worth stressing that skills assessment and recognition of skills is framed by all parties as important for successful labour market integration.

“Successful integration is also closely linked to immigrants getting a solid network” (The Danish Government, 2015). In order to not simply gain formal access to education and the labour market, but to get a job and to be included in the workplace as well as in the community, a social network, and especially the use of mentors, is stressed in the material. Mentors in the community or at the workplace are framed by politicians as well as municipalities, employers’ organizations, trade unions and NGOs as enabling successful integration of MRAs. Yet, while having a Danish network is framed in positive terms, this specific discursive practice is ambiguous when it comes to immigrant networks. It is stressed that mentors of migrant origin can help overcome language barriers in the work place, and the sharing of experiences and learning from other immigrants is framed by the government as an enabling factor when it comes to labour market integration (The Danish Government 2015). At the same time, however, immigrant networks are framed by the government as a barrier to integration in the policy discourse on so-called “ghettos”. Although ethnic Danes also live in these areas, an area is defined as a ghetto if the share of non-western immigrants and descendants is above 60 percent or if two out of three criteria are met, of which one is a share of non-western immigrants and descendants above 50 percent³⁶ (The Danish Government 2018b). A high share of people with an immigrant background is linked to the formation of a parallel society by the government, the ministries as well as by the Social Democrats.

³⁶ The other two criteria are: share of convicted persons above 2.7 percent and share outside the labour market/education above 40 percent (The Danish Government 2018).

A similar ambiguity can be found in the discourse on acceptance of differences. While the idea of assimilation seems apparent in the so-called “Ghetto Acts” (*Ghettolovene*)³⁷ (e.g. in the agreement on mandatory day care for all 1-year olds living in a “ghetto”), the United Federation of Danish Workers (3F) frames openness to changes in procedures and multiculturalism (e.g. consideration of differences in eating habits, prayer rooms and trauma policies) as important factors for successful labour market integration (3F 2016). Recognition³⁸ is furthermore framed by Copenhagen municipality and the government as a necessary precondition for full inclusion in the community as well as at the workplace, and anti-discrimination laws and diversity policies are framed as a means to reach recognition and mutual understanding by Århus municipality, Copenhagen municipality, Action Aid Denmark (MS), the Danish Social Liberal Party and the government.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that while the most prominent policy discourse is based on the idea of immigrants as a burden, and the task of integration as one that can only be lifted by providing (financial) incentives to all involved parties, employers’ organizations together with the UNHCR Denmark frame immigrants as hard-working, always on time for their jobs, loyal, motivated, and a great value to companies. As the director of Denmark’s largest hospital laundry (Midtvask) puts it in the material from the UNHCR: *“People say I have a good heart since I hire refugees. I say yes - but it is also a good business”* (Pernille Lundvang, Head of MidtVask, UNHCR 2017).

4.2.2.3 Improving Integration of High-Skilled Immigrants

As we have already stated above, due to the strong focus on employment in the current Danish integration strategy, success is only measured by employment. Since 2016, more than 1500 refugees started the basic integration education (IGU) (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2018b). The more recent policy discourse on labour market integration of MRAs is thus centred around how to activate those not yet in education or employment – particularly women – and on how to make the existing programme even better. Accumulation of experiences, knowledge sharing and collaboration across political committees and policy areas are framed as tools in this regard. Due to the strong focus on the burdensome asylum seekers, refugees and family migrants, limited attention has been paid to labour migrants. Yet, in the more recent material, the question of high-skilled labour migration seems to be gaining more attention, for example in the Government’s most recent policy programme for employment and the labour market (The Danish government 2018c).

Furthermore, an even greater distinction between asylum seekers, refugees and family reunified persons on the one side, and labour migrants on the other has been introduced by the Danish People’s Party. Recently, they started framing labour market integration as a goal *for some*: labour migrants. Asylum seekers, refugees and family migrants (sponsored by refugees) are only to stay in Denmark temporarily, and therefore not to be integrated, according to the Danish People’s Party (2017). Focus for these immigrant groups should

³⁷ The so-called “Ghetto Acts” include among others: Act no 1322 of November 27 2018 (Act on the amendment of the Act on Public Housing, etc., the Act on the Rental of General Housing and the Act on Rental), and LF7 2018/1 (Proposal for a law amending the day-care law and the Act on a Child and Youth Benefit. (Mandatory day care for 1-year old children in vulnerable residential areas)).

³⁸ Recognition (*anerkendelse*) is not defined by the stakeholders but is to be understood in a classical Honethian sense.

instead be on repatriation. This means that labour market integration is no longer framed as something positive, or something we as a society should be interested in when it comes to certain categories of immigrants (asylum seekers, refugees and family migrants sponsored by refugees). Instead, labour market integration is framed as something negative, as a way for people to stay in Denmark. This recent turn not only questions the starting point of the current Danish strategy (making sure that immigrants are not a burden to society by prioritizing them getting a job), but also the way immigration and integration are viewed as a whole.

4.2.3 Implications of the Danish Policy Discourses on Labour Market Integration of MRAs

The discourses on labour market integration of MRAs and the new Danish integration strategy have been outlined above. But how are MRAs in Denmark affected by these policy discourses? Before turning to potential implications of these discourses, it is important to recognise that discourses *do* matter. Discourse is “*a medium through which reality is created and the material world is given meaning*” (Wennerstein 1999: 274, original emphasis).

By framing (non-western) immigrants as a burden, the positive aspects of labour market integration and the benefits of immigration as a whole are excluded from reality, to stay in Wennerstein’s terminology. The question of whether successful integration should be signified by whether or not a person has a job, is taken off the table by the strong emphasis on employment. And when migrants do indeed enter a place of employment their entrance is determined not by way of their experiences, qualifications and skills. It is determined by the needs of the company. In consequence, the wellbeing of the MRAs is not included in the equation, and the same goes for several other factors affecting the long-term consequences of these discursive practices. In the long run, jobs may well not be retained. An evaluation of the IGU programme requested by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration shows that 36 percent IGU employees stopped their education before finishing (Rambøll 2018: 15). “Pushing” employment on people and not acknowledging their skills-set or aspirations could potentially affect not only their chances of keeping the job, but also their physical or mental health, and it could contribute to a hostile working environment, just to mention a few possible outcomes.

As shown above, the distinction between the burdensome asylum seekers and refugees and the contributing labour migrants, also have consequences for the rights of immigrants. While family reunification is framed as promoting labour market integration of labour migrants, it is framed as hindering labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees. This discourse has been translated into policy, and at the time of writing, labour migrants can bring their family to Denmark as a general rule, while refugees only can be unified with their family if they do not have temporary protection status; and asylum seekers are not allowed to bring in their family members at all.

This distinction between categories of immigrants is even clearer in the latest change in the discourse by the Danish People’s Party framing labour market integration as only being a goal in regard to labour migrants. This discourse could potentially have a negative effect on labour market integration of immigrants, already now. Not just in regard to asylum seekers and refugees, but also in regard to labour migrants, as it fosters a hostile environment towards foreigners in general. Furthermore, this discourse questions the current understanding of immigration and integration, as mentioned above. While integration thus far has been framed

as a goal, it is now framed by the Danish People's Party as a barrier to restrictive immigration management.

4.3 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAs

As has already been described in our report on legal barriers and enablers (Pace, Sen & Bjerre 2018) and mentioned above in Section 2, much of the existent policies in Denmark regarding the labour market integration of MRAs are shaped by the 21 integration principles that were agreed upon by the Danish government, the employers' confederation (*Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening* or *DA*) and the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (*Landsorganisationen i Danmark* or *LO*) (Udlændinge og Integrationsministeriet 2016: 1-15). These principles were focused on swiftly introducing refugees into the Danish labour market, and among others, the definition of "job-ready" was changed (cf. section 2), in order to get more people into work from day one. Subsequently, on the basis of these principles, the **Integrationsgrunduddannelsen (IGU)** or the Basic Integration Education programme was introduced on 1st July 2016. As a means of ensuring that the qualifications and skills of refugees and their family members 'match' the requirements of the Danish labour market, participants of the two-year IGU programme take Danish lessons, participate in professional/vocational courses and are employed as paid interns at one of the participating companies. Participants will also receive financial assistance during the periods of educational training (cf. Annex II).

That said, while the IGU has been touted as a marquee initiative geared towards the labour market integration of refugees, there are other services aimed towards the integration of adults into the Danish labour market. The limited scope of this report does not allow for a descriptive overview of *all* the relevant labour market integration services currently operational in Denmark. Here it is important to note that the existence of a large number of services is partly due to frequent changes in the integration law in Denmark (see: Pace, Sen & Bjerre 2018) that in turn spur new programs, services and initiatives. Moreover, the relative autonomy of municipalities in Denmark means that there exists a multitude of (often different) services provided under the auspices of each municipal authority. However, below we have provided an overview of programmes and initiatives (in addition to the IGU program) that, in their 'broad strokes', are representative of the types of labour integration services currently in existence in Denmark (cf. Annex II).

One of the most important services is the **Arbejdsmarkedssuddannelser (AMU)** or the Danish Adult Vocational Training Programme, that has been in existence since the 1950s. It began as a programme meant to assist the transition of low-skilled agricultural workers into industrial jobs. In the 1970s and 1980s it provided a large number of Danish unemployed workers the opportunity to develop new skills needed for their re-integration into the Danish labour market. In the 1990s, on the side lines of the rise of the knowledge and service industry, the AMU programme played an important role in developing vocational training through partnerships with new (knowledge and service-based) enterprises. Since a reform in the 2000s the AMU programme has largely focused on providing a basic education to individuals with low levels of educational attainment. Overall, the AMU today has three goals: First, to maintain and develop the vocation skills of employees in accordance with the needs of the Danish labour

market; Second, to solve adaptation problems that may arise from the restructuring of the Danish labour market; and Third, to increase the levels of qualification of employees (Ministry of Education 2002: 3-4). (cf. Annex II)

Alongside the AMU program, **Active Employment Measures** assist unemployed individuals with their job search and help upgrade their skills. Rather than a single policy measure, it entails three constituent measures: 1) Job Rotation Scheme: According to this scheme an employer can receive job rotation benefits if he/she sends an employee for training and, at the same time, employs an unemployed person as a temporary replacement; 2) Adult Apprenticeship Scheme: For adult employees over the age of 25 who have entered a training programme, the employer is able to receive a subsidy for the employee's salary; and 3) Upgrading of skills through employment: An employer can receive a subsidy from the municipality's jobcentre for costs incurred in the process of upgrading the skills of an employee (Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment 2018b). (cf. Annex II)

In addition to these active labour market programmes (among others providing financial incentives for the employer), several policies are in place providing financial incentives for municipalities as well as for the MRAs. Financial incentives for the municipalities in the form of an increase in the basic grant together with a cash reward per refugee in job or education, was included in the 2016 two-party agreement on integration between the Government and Local Government Denmark (KL) (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018a), as mentioned above (cf. section 2.2.2). The above mentioned integration allowance was another policy aimed towards the integration of MRAs into the labour market, and so was the 225-hour rule (meaning that cash benefit recipients must document that they are available to the labour market by working at least 225-hours within a year) and the cap on the maximum amount of allowances (combining different social benefits) (*kontanthjælpsloftet*) (cf. section 2.2.2). At least this is how it was framed, as argued above (cf. section 2.2.2). (cf. Annex II)

Another aspect of the policy discourse which has translated into services for MRAs is the concept of mentoring (cf. section 2.2.2). In 2015, five³⁹ municipalities received funding from the state to establish a mentor corps to help refugees secure jobs, and as part of the tripartite agreement, employers and employees' organizations must contribute to recruiting mentors among their members (The Ministry of Immigration and Integration 2016). (cf. Annex II)

Both in the political discourse (cf. section 2.2.3) and the data collected through interviews with stakeholders (cf. section 5.2.2), the integration of MRA women was a key policy objective (and aspiration) as well. In a sense, there has been a Europe-wide concern with the challenges faced by MRA women in integrating into their host societies. Accordingly, on 21st January 2015, the EESC released a statement arguing that "participating in the labour market is one of the most effective and practical ways" towards the integration of MRA women (EESC 2015: 9). At a conference held in September 2018 in Denmark involving Local Government Denmark (KL), the Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration (SIRI) and Integration Minister Inger Støjberg, the labour market integration of refugee and family reunified women was declared to be the integration target for the following years (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018c). Accordingly, in October 2018 the Danish government allocated 140 million DKK for the period 2019-2022 to be used for initiatives targeting the labour market integration of "non-Western women"⁴⁰. The funding is meant to cater for 80.000 MRA women

³⁹ Haderslev, Sorø, Ringsted, Næstved og Helsingør.

⁴⁰ This is the official formulation of the targeted demographic in the statement released by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018d).

who are considered to be “outside the labour market”. Integration Minister Inger Støjberg further added that the government would enter into cooperation agreements with municipalities to improve the labour market integration of women with an “*immigrant background*”⁴¹ and ensure that “*they learn Danish and contribute to society on equal terms with everyone else*” (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018d). (cf. Annex II)

When it comes to the most recent discourse introduced by the Danish People’s Party – labour market integration for labour migrants only (cf. section 2.2.3 above) – this has not yet resulted in legal regulations or services. In the budget agreement for 2019 between the Government and the Danish People’s Party, one of the key points of the agreement is however what is called “From integration to temporary stay, self-support and repatriation” (The Danish Government and the Danish People’s Party 2018: 6). This key aim is among others to be achieved by “introducing initiatives encouraging foreigners to consider their stay in Denmark as temporary” (The Danish Government and the Danish People’s Party 2018: 26), which bears witness to an imminent change in Danish integration policy.

4.4 Overview of Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAs in Denmark

As shown above in section 3, several initiatives have been implemented in order to improve the labour market integration of MRAs in Denmark. Some directly target MRAs. Others target only refugees and family reunified persons and female immigrants. Other initiatives target all unemployed nationals and MRAs. Yet, what do we know about the effects of these initiatives? Which barriers and enabling factors are mentioned in the existing literature in regard to labour market integration of MRAs? These are the questions that we will answer in this section based on a review of existing analyses and assessments of initiatives for the labour market integration of MRAs in Denmark. Several of the existing analyses included in this section are systematic reviews. When referencing these reviews, the original terminology is used, and terms used to describe the effect of the initiatives such as ‘positive’, ‘negative’, ‘large’ ‘significant’ are thus not our assessment, but the result of the systematic review.

4.4.1 Effective Initiatives in Regard to Financial Incentives

The programmes found to have the greatest impact on non-western immigrants⁴² labour market outcomes are subsidized employment programmes (Heinesen, Husted & Roshold 2011: 10, see also Gauffin & Eytinen 2017: 6). A systematic review by Arendt and Pozzoli finds strong evidence in support of a positive programme effect of wage subsidies in both the private and the public sector (although the effect is greater in the private sector) (Arendt & Pozzoli 2013: 6). Wage subsidies are also found to have a positive effect on labour market outcomes when looking more specifically at newly arrived refugees and family reunified

⁴¹ This is the official formulation of the targeted demographic in the statement released by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration (Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet 2018d).

⁴² In their study, Heinesen et al. (2011) look more specifically at the effect of active labour market programmes on the exit rate to regular employment for non-western immigrants in Denmark who receive social assistance. The majority of non-western immigrants in Denmark are not members of an unemployment insurance fund, and are thus not entitled to unemployment insurance benefits when they become unemployed; instead they receive social assistance (Heinesen, Husted & Roshold 2011: 1).

migrants (Bredgaard & Thomsen 2018: 7). Furthermore, studies show that wage subsidies help immigrants get into employment faster than other forms of activation programmes (Rambøll 2016: 9). Financial incentives for employers in the form of wage subsidies have thus proven to be a powerful tool for getting non-western immigrants into employment. Yet, despite the findings of the systematic reviews and the impact evaluations, Gauffin and Eyvtnen point out that the positive effect of wage subsidies is questioned by both employer organisations and trade unions (Gauffin & Eyvtnen 2017: 44). The employers' confederations argue that wage subsidies introduce a competitive bias and trade unions claim that wage subsidies are misused by employers who want to avoid paying social costs and incomes according to collective bargaining agreements⁴³ (Gauffin & Eyvtnen 2017: 44). In the current Danish integration strategy, this conflict was overcome through the setting up of the basic integration education programme (IGU) as a vocational training programme.

Other forms of direct employment programmes (e.g. training, special employment programmes and counselling) have also been found in systematic reviews to have a large, significant and positive effect on employment outcomes (Heinesen, Husted & Roshold 2011: 10, Arendt & Pozzoli 2013: 7).

Contrary to recommendations on early intervention, among others presented by Scholten et al. when they reference a study showing that the longer refugees go without access to integration courses, (i.e. Danish language and social integration courses) the harder it will be to find an occupation (Scholten et al. 2017: 21), Heinesen et al. find that the post-programme effects on employment are larger if the activation period begins after six months (rather than during the first six months of the social assistance spell) (Heinesen, Husted & Roshold 2011: 10). It is important to note, however, that the two studies are not directly comparable. Among other critical differences, Heinesen et al.'s findings are based on immigrants who were residents in Denmark in 1997 and/or 1998 (Heinesen, Husted & Roshold 2011: 8), i.e. prior to the introduction of the Integration Act of 1999 which constituted major institutional changes, while Scholten et al.'s recommendations are based on a study by Martin et al. (2016) which looks at newly arrived immigrants from 2014 and 2015.

When it comes to financial incentives for the immigrants themselves, studies have found strong evidence for positive effects of a reduction in benefits for refugees, family and labour migrants on employment and financial independence (Arendt & Pozzoli 2013: 7, Rambøll 2016: 9). As pointed out by Rambøll, it is however worth considering how the reduced income affects the part of the target group which does not get into employment (Rambøll 2016: 9). A recent study of volunteers at The Danish Refugee Council working with refugees shows that 70 percent of the volunteers working with refugees receiving integration allowance find that the well-being of the recipients is affected, that the majority cannot afford basic stuff such as transportation, medicine or an interpreter, and that the integration of refugees receiving integration allowance is hampered by the fact that they are unable to take part in many social events or to participate in school or other activities as they cannot pay for transport, equipment or membership fees (Dansk Flygtningehjælp 2019: 4-5). In addition, the current low benefits for refugees in Denmark have been pointed out as a barrier to housing placement by the municipalities due to a lack of small and cheap accommodation (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017a: 8). The high transport costs compared to the IGU employees'

⁴³ In Denmark, wages and working conditions are typically defined in collective agreements agreed upon by the trade unions and employers' organisations without any interference by the government (the so-called Danish labour market model). The agreements are mutually binding for both parties.

income base, for example, also causes a lack of motivation for participation in the labour market for some IGU employees (Rambøll 2018: 8). Furthermore, low income has been mentioned by employers as one of the reasons for the high drop-out at the IGU programmes (36 percent), as immigrants are unable to support their families (Johansen 2018).

4.4.2 Guidance and Clarification Programmes

With respect to the effect of guidance and clarification programmes⁴⁴, Arendt and Pozzoli find moderate evidence in their systematic review that a flexible organization of language courses and an intensification of guidance and clarification programmes as part of migrants' introductory programme has a positive programme effect⁴⁵ on the transition to employment and educational opportunities for non-western immigrants (Arendt & Pozzoli 2013: 8). Looking more specifically at new arrivals, studies have shown that intensive counselling and coaching significantly improve MRAs' employment possibilities (Bredgaard & Thomsen 2018: 8), among others by compensating for a lack of social networks and contacts with employers (Gauffin & Eyvntinen 2017: 6). A study from 2016 however points out that guidance and clarification programmes seem to have a retention effect, meaning that the unemployed have a lower chance of employment while participating in the programme, and that the programme effect (the effect after the intervention period) is lower than for other forms of activation (Rambøll 2016: 9).

4.4.3 The Effect of the new Employment-Oriented Integration Strategy

Although the current Danish integration strategy is based on the idea of "work first" (cf. section 2.2.2 and 4.1), Danish language skills as well as work experience and education are in high demand among employers, and according to the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, one of the main challenges for the new employment-oriented integration strategy is that companies are only interested in immigrants with a high level of Danish language proficiency and professional skills (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017a: 38). Differences across industries are not mentioned in this context, but one can imagine that such expectations differ across industries.⁴⁶ The strategy of getting MRAs into employment from day one is thus constructed as meeting obstacles due to MRAs' lack of skills. In addition, the general lack of Danish language skills has also been shown to be a barrier to completing the educational element of the IGU (Rambøll 2018: 8). At the same time, studies show that Danish language courses have a retention effect and no positive programme effect on employment. They can however contribute to progression towards employment or education e.g. by affecting the experience of integration or by enhancing the self-esteem of the respective migrant when he/she masters the language (Rambøll 2016: 9).

When it comes to educational programmes, a systematic review by Arendt and Pozzoli shows inconclusive results (Arendt & Pozzoli: 7). Arendt and Pozzoli analyse eight studies, of which

⁴⁴ Examples of guidance and clarification programmes found to have a positive effect on labour market outcomes of non-western immigrants are job search assistance, more intensive individual sessions with a case worker, and (unspecified) clarification processes (Arendt & Pozzoli 2013).

⁴⁵ The effect after the intervention period.

⁴⁶ Language proficiency could potentially be in higher demand in e.g. service sectors where communication with the user is necessary (e.g. plumbing) than in sectors where no such communication is needed (e.g. cleaning at a hotel).

three find a positive programme effect of educational programmes, one finds a negative programme effect and three find no effect at all (Arendt & Pozzoli: 7). It is however pointed out by Bredgaard and Thomsen, that employers in general lack information about the productivity, qualifications and competencies of refugees and thus are reluctant to recruit them (Bredgaard & Thomsen 2018: 8). Public employment services may promote better matches by providing credible information to both sides and thus help overcome this barrier (Bredgaard & Thomsen 2018: 8). Improved skills assessment programmes could provide another way to overcome this barrier.

Despite the problem of employers requesting higher levels of language and professional skills, the current Danish integration strategy has been found successful in regard to getting people into work by the Confederation of Danish Industry (DI), as the employment rate among refugees and family unified persons has increased since the introduction of the new strategy in 2016 (Dansk Industri 2017). Yet, since we do not know what the employment rate would look like if no changes to the integration programme had been made, one cannot ascribe the increase in labour market participation to this new strategy. Experiences from, and first evaluations of, the IGU programme however show general enthusiasm among employers and employees (DA, KL & LO 2018: 3), and there is agreement among the involved actors – namely, municipalities, companies and providers of labour market training programmes (AMU *udbydere*) – that the combination of internships and classes in the IGU scheme constitutes a stepping stone for the target group's path to ordinary employment and education. In addition, municipalities and companies are of the understanding that participation in the IGU strengthens IGU employees' professional, linguistic and social competencies, their familiarity with the Danish labor market as well as their knowledge on and familiarity with the Danish education system (Rambøll 2018: 4). At the same time, evaluations of the IGU programme thus far show difficulties in regard to its practical set-up, and the scheme's framework, rules and the division of responsibility between the actors involved is not clear to those concerned in terms of its practical implementation (Rambøll 2018: 4). Furthermore, a lack of flexibility in the IGU setup makes it difficult for some immigrants to combine IGU with family life (Rambøll 2018: 63).

A 2017 study has also pointed at individual characteristics of the MRAs as a factor affecting their personal experience with this IGU integration programme. Refugees with high cultural capital seem to more readily understand and accept the reason behind assigning refugees to work internships, as compared to refugees with lower cultural capital (Nielsen & Adzini 2017: 95).

4.4.4 Getting MRA Women into Work

The OECD points out that newly arrived women MRAs in the Nordic countries are facing triple disadvantages: 1) lack of competences in the specific Nordic language, 2) as women, they can face some distinct barriers based on their gender, 3) minimal work experience as many of these women have never had a job (OECD in Nordisk Ministerråd 2018).

In regard to the distinct barriers facing MRA women due to their gender, discrimination seems to be an important factor (see for example Nordisk Ministerråd 2018 and LG Insight 2014). In their review of the existing knowledge on effective employment-related integration efforts for ethnic minorities from non-Western countries, LG Insight finds that studies show that ethnic minorities are stigmatised as lacking resources based on their ethnicity alone, and that employees at the job centers overestimate the significance of cultural differences for women's

opportunities in the labour market and thus indirectly discriminate and for example offer migrant women fewer employment related initiatives (LG Insight 2014: 11). Anonymous job applications⁴⁷ may be a way to combat employment discrimination based on ethnicity and gender (Bredgaard & Thomsen 2018: 5). While this process (of anonymous applications) may not help in regard to meetings with municipality case workers, it might nonetheless be one way of securing (female) MRA's labour market integration. Studies also indicate that initiatives directed specifically at refugee women in introductory activities have a positive effect on employment (Nordisk Ministerråd 2018), and local job centres are pointed at as a means to reach women, as the local centres have increased opportunities for outreach to target groups that are not part of the job centre's regular users (LG Insight 2014: 27).

As many migrant women are primary care takers, access to public child care and extended integration programmes meeting women's needs in terms of requiring more time to integrate into the labour market are among the suggestions from the Nordic Council of Ministers for getting more immigrant women into work (Nordisk Ministerråd 2018). Child care should, however, not just be available, but affordable, and with opening hours in tune with parents' working hours. Furthermore, integration programmes should be designed to meet the needs of women that have children during their participation in employment-oriented programmes (Nordisk Ministerråd 2018).

Social control and gender role expectations can be other barriers to immigrant women's labour market integration (especially if gender inequality exists in the country of origin) (Nordisk Ministerråd 2018). Experiences from Danish municipalities indicate that involving the male spouse in the conversations with the case worker can be a way to overcome some of these issues, as this ensures that both parties' focus on the woman's employment (Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2018: 8). When it comes to spouse-dependent non-western immigrants, a study of the effect of labour market activities targeting this specific group shows positive results on the employment of the participants. More women are in employment after participating in the programme⁴⁸ compared to the control group (Discus 2018: 8). One of the keys to this success is the many efforts put into getting in touch with these women (Discus 2018: 9).

A barrier brought forward by the employers in a collection of experiences from nine Danish municipalities with regard to labour market integration of female MRAs is these women's understanding of sickness (e.g. in regards to pregnancy, which by many is considered a cause for staying at home throughout the pregnancy even in the case of no complications or pain). Open dialogue and maternity groups are mentioned as potential means to overcome this challenge (Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration 2018: 10).

⁴⁷ Anonymous hiring is secured by removing identifying details from resumes so jobseekers get a chance to slip past the biases, at least in the initial phase of the hiring process (at some stage, jobseekers will still have to make it past a face-to-face interview). Results from field experiments and pilot projects shed light on the potential of anonymous applications to reduce some of the discriminatory barriers to hiring for minority and other disadvantaged groups (Krause, Rinne & Zimmermann 2012).

⁴⁸ The "treatment" in the experiment was a combination of different initiatives, among others guidance, counselling, help to get access to education, apprenticeships, access to networks, help to write a CV, mentoring and job search training (Discus 2018: 44).

4.4.5 The Barrier of not Being Unified with your Family

The process of family reunification or not being able to be unified with your family is another barrier to labour market integration, primarily for refugees. While labour migrants as a general rule are allowed to bring in their family, refugees have to have permanent protection status in order to be eligible to apply for family reunification (cf. section 2.3). In a first evaluation of the IGU education programme, employers point out that their IGU employees are vulnerable when their family is not in the country and that the performance of these employees drops significantly as long as their minds are occupied with their family's reunification possibility (DA, KL & LO 2018: 10). The question of family reunification is also found to heavily occupy the minds of refugees in a study of six refugees' experience of the current Danish integration programme (Nielsen & Adzini 2017: 92), and has been found to cause stagnation, desperation, anxiety, depression, grief, stress, suicidal thoughts, weight loss, anger, loneliness and frustration and to affect the ability of refugees to learn Danish, find a job, and cultivate a social life (Dansk Flygtningehjælp 2019: 5).

4.4.6 Knowledge Gaps

In a meta-analysis of existing evaluation studies by Rambøll (2016) made for the Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration (SIRI), the following knowledge gaps are identified: Little is known about the effect of the combination of different integration initiatives, about the impact of the competencies of the case worker, or about the effect of the specific organizational setup in the municipalities. Furthermore, knowledge is lacking on the specific content of the initiatives, on *what* works for *whom*, on companies' incentives to hire MRAs (how can we strengthen their incentives?) and on the impact of the labour market on integration efforts (Rambøll 2016: 40-41). In addition, several of the studies mentioned above are only first evaluations, collections of experiences, or there have only been few studies on a specific initiative (as indicated above when referencing the studies). Studies establishing causal inference or meta studies would be a next step to improve our knowledge on the effect of these initiatives (e.g. on the effect of the IGU, on the effect of MRAs' individual characteristics on their interaction within Denmark's integration strategy, on the effect of initiatives targeting women or on the effect of (lack of) family reunification on labour market integration).

4.5 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through interviews

4.5.1 Methodology – Interviews

This section provides an assessment of the strengths and weakness of policies and services that concern the integration of MRAs into the Danish labour market. Data for this section was collected through 42 semi-structured interviews conducted between September 2018 and February 2019. As mentioned in the introduction to this report, the consensual nature of politics in Denmark has ensured that a multiplicity of stakeholders is involved in the integration-related policymaking process and service provision. Accordingly, interviews for this report were conducted with a wide variety of interlocutors, who represent institutions, ministries and organizations that can be considered the most important stakeholders in the deliberation, planning and implementation of labour market integration-related policies and services.

Specifically interviews were conducted with representatives of 2 ministries, 1 governmental agency involved in the recruitment of migrant workers, 3 municipalities, 4 political parties represented in the Danish parliament, 1 confederation of employers, 1 confederation of labour unions, 2 labour unions, 2 public sector employers and 1 private sector employer participating in a programme that aims to ensure the labour market integration of refugees, 3 civil society organizations and 2 social partners consulted by governmental and municipal agencies in regard to the labour market integration of MRAs (and related policymaking).

Interviews were also conducted with past beneficiaries of integration services: this included both refugee and non-EU, non-refugee beneficiaries. Interviews were conducted with individuals from the two largest national groups that arrived in Denmark between 2008-2014. With regards to non-EU, non-refugee beneficiaries, interviews were conducted with migrants from the US and India, the largest and third largest national groups, respectively, that arrived in Denmark during this period. While Filipino migrants were the second largest non-EU, non-refugee migrant group, most of those who arrived during the stipulated time period, did so through the Au Pair scheme and have since left Denmark as the Au Pair visa allows for a maximum residency of two years (New to Denmark 2019). With access to Filipino migrants being difficult, Indian nationals were chosen as an alternative. This said, while Filipinos were the second largest migrant group between 2008-2014 on average, it is important to note that since 2011 Indian nationals have been the second largest non-EU, non-refugee migrant group arriving in Denmark (in terms of yearly flows). Interviews with American interviewees were conducted in English, while interviews with Indians were conducted in English, Bengali and Hindi/Urdu (in accordance with the preferences of interviewees).

Among refugees (or technically, asylum seekers) that arrived in Denmark during the 2008-2014 period, Afghans and Iraqis were the two largest national groups. However, our field research combined with our awareness of the Danish context as well as conversations we had with national experts, show that in Denmark the refugee experience of migration services rarely differs in accordance to an individual's nationality/country of origin. Moreover, the large influx of refugees from Syria (since 2012) and Eritrea (since 2015) also meant that Syrians and Eritreans were the more visible (and accessible) national groups (compared to Iraqi and Afghan refugees). Moreover, as one Afghan interviewee explained, many refugees "*who arrived earlier [than the period under consideration in this report] have already established a stable life in Denmark*". And now, he added, "*they would prefer to blend in than do an interview as a refugee*" (Refugee, Interview 1). Therefore, as a means of triangulating data collected through interviews with Iraqi and Afghan refugees, additional interviews were also conducted with Eritrean and Syrian refugees. Interviews with refugees were conducted in English.

Interviewees, refugee and non-refugee, were recruited through a 'snowball sampling' method (Noy 2008; Handcock & Gile 2011; Atkinson & Flint 2001) whereby contact, through already established professional and social networks, was first made with 1-2 potential interviewees from each national group (Americans, Indians, Iraqis and Afghans). These interviewees (often, after participating in the interview) assisted in establishing contact with other potential interviewees from their national group. While this process was time consuming, it was an important 'method' for recruiting interviewees as many MRAs – considering the precarity that often defines the lives of migrants – are hesitant to critique the policies of host societies, not least with an unknown interviewer. To this end, the first interviewees from each national group often served as 'gatekeepers' who helped convince other potential interviewees to participate

in the interview. Contact with stakeholders, however, was established in a far more structured manner. On the basis of our previous work, interviews with national experts (see: Pace, Sen & Bjerre 2018), discourse analysis (cf. section 2) and knowledge of the Danish context with regards to policymaking and implementation of labour market integration policies, the most prominent stakeholders were contacted with a request to participate in an interview. Unlike beneficiary interviewees, stakeholder interviewees rarely acted as gatekeepers who actively made contact with other potential interviewees. However, many stakeholder interviewees provided the names and the contact information of potential interviewees and recommended that we use their name as a reference. While direct contact was often the method of recruiting stakeholder interviewees, the contact information of municipality employees was rarely publicly available. Therefore, LinkedIn was used to search and recruit interviewees who are employed at municipal Job Centres since they are often responsible for facilitating the labour market integration of migrants.

While interviewees (stakeholders and beneficiaries) were provided with a description of the project, its ethical commitments and its commitment to protecting the anonymity/privacy of interviewees in the invitation requesting their participation in the field study, these issues were reiterated at the beginning of the interview. Emphasis was placed on the nature of the project consortium and how/why the Danish case is relevant for a comparative European study of the labour market integration of MRAs. In interviews with stakeholders this was followed by background questions on the organization/institution/ministry that the interviewees represented. Specifically, questions were focused on garnering a better understanding of the reasoning behind, nature and goals of their involvement in the policymaking and implementation of labour market integration policies in Denmark. Subsequently, interviewees were asked about their educational background, professional history and the nature of their tasks at their current place of employment. Following this, they were asked specific questions about their conception of integration policymaking and implementation in Denmark. They were also asked to assess how/why labour market integration has gained prominence as the primary focus of integration efforts in Denmark (since 2015). Finally, interviewees were asked to describe and assess specific labour market integration policies and services.

Interviews with beneficiaries began with a far more descriptive line of questioning that helped better understand “their world” (Westby 1990, 106). This included questions about their age, occupation in their home country, family status, current state of employment, the reasons for and nature of their migration to Denmark. While these questions provided important contextual data, a descriptive line of questioning also allowed us to overcome the initial awkwardness of the interview structure and permitted both the researcher and the subject being interviewed to be more comfortable in each other’s presence. Subsequently, far more probing questions were asked about the interviewees’ lives as migrants in Denmark. These included questions about the first encounters with integration bureaucracies and services, their experience with institutions/bureaucracies meant to assist with their integration in Denmark and the challenges they faced while pursuing employment in Denmark. Apart from discussing the barriers they faced in securing a job, interviewees were also asked to talk about the *kind* of jobs that were made accessible to them and the extent to which their current employment corresponded to their educational background, professional experience and skills.

4.5.2 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews

Below, the strengths and weaknesses of labour integration policies and services are analysed on the basis of interviews with stakeholders and beneficiaries. Thematically, our findings are categorized under three headings: 1) Migrants as a burden 2) Perceived cultural barriers 3) Social Networks.

4.5.2.1 Migrants as a Burden

Confirming our findings in the analysis of Danish policy discourses, stakeholder and beneficiary interlocutors, at the very onset of their interviews, emphasized that the existent Danish integration policies and services are primarily geared towards ensuring that migrants find employment at the very onset of their stay in Denmark. This was the case during an interview with a spokesperson of a ministry who, referring to the Danish Prime Minister's announcement of (employment first) policy shift in 2015 (see 2.2.1), said, *"Since the announcement in 2015, our focus here is employment for refugees. We want them to be self-reliant and not depend on social benefits from the welfare state"* (Ministry, Interview 1). Similarly, a representative of a non-governmental organization hired by the Danish state to provide some integration services to migrants in general and refugees in particular, said, *"If you look at the nature of Danish integration policies before 2015 it was like a staircase. Before you can be out in the labour market, you had to climb these 'integration steps' that included language education and maybe even some training before you could look for a job. This was a long process"* (NGO, Interview 1). The representative of a social partner that lobbies private enterprises to hire migrants, also said, *"Having a job is of course always important for an adult and it allows a person to be self-reliant. So, there has been a positive shift since 2015 and there is a strong effort from the government to make sure that migrants find a job"* (Social Partner, Interview 1). Finally, the existence of an overwhelming policy focus on migrants' labour market integration was confirmed during beneficiary interviews. A refugee interviewee, for instance, said, *"After my asylum application was approved and I was assigned a place to stay, I remember meeting my case-handler at the municipality. I knew that in return for social benefits I had to either start working or find an education. But, when I arrived at the meeting the focus was only on finding a job, any job"* (Refugee, Interview 2). A non-refugee migrant described a similar experience wherein ensuring that he was *not* out of the Danish labour market was the foremost priority of Danish municipal authorities. He said, *"I have been working as a driver in Denmark even though I have a degree in computer engineering. My field is in high demand, but I couldn't find a job when I came to Denmark on the Greencard Scheme⁴⁹...Now I have Danish permanent residency and I went to the municipality to look for some financial assistance so that I can take a training course that would help me find a job in the IT sector. But they refused and said that my experience is in driving and so I should stay in a driving job and not try to shift careers"*. This interviewee added that when he insisted that his job search in Denmark should relate to his education and experience as a computer

⁴⁹ The Greencard scheme is a now-discontinued visa programme that allowed high-skilled non-EU migrants to live in Denmark (initially for a period of two years) without having to secure a job before entering the country. This two-year period was meant to allow Greencard visa-holders to search for a job while in Denmark. However, the scheme ended when most visa-holders were unable to find employment in a high-skilled sector related to their skills and qualifications. Instead, most took on low-skilled forms of employment in order to fund their stay in Denmark.

engineer from his home country, he was told that his past experience from his home country did not count in Denmark (Non-refugee, Interview 1).

To be sure, in the responses cited above, beneficiaries and stakeholders have only confirmed what is now a matter of public knowledge; namely that there is an urgency in Danish integration policy with regards to ensuring that MRAs are employed from 'day one' in Denmark. However, it was when asked *why* such a 'shift' in Denmark's integration policy took place (or was considered necessary) that its foundational logic became apparent. Most (stakeholders) interviewees either assumed that migrants were at the risk of becoming a 'burden' to the Danish welfare state or recognized that in the current political discourse it was generally accepted that MRAs drained the resources of the state and its public services. Furthermore, this assumption was often based on the conception of migrants (and refugees, in particular) as lacking skills/qualifications/education that could potentially be of value to the Danish economy. Accordingly, when asked why an 'employment first' policy was being pursued, a consultant at a ministry said, *"In the past we have been too generous. We have provided social benefits and financial benefits to people and they simply stay home and don't work. Now, we want foreigners who come to this country to realize that they also have some responsibilities"*. When asked about the kind of jobs that are typically available to migrants, she then added, *"In Denmark we have two kinds of foreigners. The first, is high-skilled and usually from western countries. The second kind includes mostly refugees and immigrants from non-western countries who don't have any skills or education. Jobs for them mostly come from the low-skilled sector like cleaning and construction"*. Finally, considering that this interviewee posited that non-western MRAs did not possess any skills or education (of value), she was asked if there were any mechanisms in place for assessing the qualifications/skills of refugee and non-refugee migrants on the basis of which she was making this assertion. She replied, *"Yes. We have a ministry [of Higher Education] that has the mechanism for doing this. But we can't be naïve here. It's a known fact that they don't have too many skills or qualifications that have any value in Denmark"* (Ministry, Interview 2). In a similar vein, a consultant of a labour union said, *"When foreigners, especially refugees began coming to Denmark from Syria in masses in 2012, many people said these were highly educated and skilled. But we have talked to the municipalities, social partners and NGOs and everyone told us that this is a myth. Most have low-levels of education and skills"* (Labour Union, Interview 1)

Some stakeholders, however, expressed a critical view of the overt focus on employment as central to integration, driven by the burden-perspective. When asked why labour market integration has assumed such prominence in Denmark, an employee of a Danish NGO said, *"One reason is the broader thinking [in Danish society] of how much employment is a value for most people...[in] people's everyday thinking about their life, and there is a lot of identity value. I think it's a lot of worth you put in having a job"*. However, she went on to criticize the political reasoning that drives labour market integration efforts in Denmark and added, *"there is the whole way the public opinion is being shaped by politicians. And the story that is being told [is that] immigrants are a burden. [But] it is a quick fix to think of that [employment] as the main issue and of course for a lot of refugees, a lot of immigrants, employment would also be part of the solution; also, as a pathway to social integration of sorts...From my perspective, you also know that you can easily work as an immigrant and still not be socially integrated. Work places can also be segregated"* (NGO, Interview 2).

A Danish parliamentarian and member of a progressive opposition party similarly criticized a policy focus on labour market integration that is built on the assumption that migrants are a

burden to the Danish state and its resources. She said, *“The right-wing politicians have decided that migrants and refugees are a burden to the Danish society, and they need to start working from day one. Because this idea is so widely accepted, it is very difficult to challenge this idea in parliamentary debates. If you try to say that migrants add some value to Danish society or if you ask, ‘what kind of jobs are we offering refugees?’, ‘Are these the right kind of jobs?’, ‘Are we leveraging the skills and experiences of refugees in the best way possible?’, you are considered to be naïve and idealistic.”* (Political Party, Interview 1). A spokesperson of another opposition political party represented in the Danish Parliament added, *“Saying that migrants have certain skills that are valuable to Denmark is not an attractive political discourse. However, if you say that migrants are a burden, this is more in tune with the current political climate. Of course, everyone knows that integration is a much more substantial process and having a job does not mean much. But today, saying having a job means integration, makes claiming integration success easier”*. He then added, *“You see this with the IGU program. The government is claiming it to be a success because of the number of refugees (that) are enrolled in it. We know that this doesn’t really mean that refugees are integrated...But this allows the government to claim that refugees [who are employed] are not a burden on Danish society”* (Political Party, Interview 2). Indeed, a consultant of a labour union that participated in the negotiations that led to the IGU programme, noted, *“Before we had implemented the IGU programme, there was a certain agreement in the government that it was a success. How can a two-year programme be declared a success before it was implemented? Even after six months, many political partners and social partners were making public statements declaring that IGU was a success. We know that this is because there was an agreement on a narrow understanding of integration, even though we know that integration has other important factors”* (Labour Union, Interview 2).

Several interviewed beneficiaries and stakeholders also criticised the very premise of the burden perspective, arguing that it is an inaccurate and unsubstantiated characterization of the skills and qualifications of MRAs. A manager of a private sector company participating in the IGU programme said, *“We always hear that immigrants and refugees have no education or skills...but I have several highly skilled employees who are refugees. They are doctors, engineers and some were high level executives in big companies in their homeland. With me they are driving. There is something wrong here”*. He then added, *“the main problem is that there is no mechanism or system in place that tries to record the skills of refugees. I was sitting in a meeting one time with municipal authorities and private sector employers. A representative of a telecommunications company said they need people with managerial experience in telecommunications. I said, I have a driver from Syria who was a high-level manager in a telecommunication company. Then I looked at the municipality representative and said it was their responsibility to match the refugee with the job and not assume that they can’t do anything”* (Private Sector Company, Interview 1). That municipalities often pay little attention to the skills and qualifications of migrants was evident when we asked an interviewee employed by a municipality jobcentre about the process by which migrants are matched with a job. He said, *“There are many factors we look at. We look at the family situation, their psychological state and how they are socially [i.e. their social life]”*. When asked why he did not list the migrant’s education and skills as one of the factors, he replied, *“it is not like we don’t look at the skills and qualifications but that is not our primary focus. We are required to ensure that immigrants find a job as quickly as possible. We can of course choose to send their qualifications to the Ministry of Higher Education for an assessment. Sometimes we do*

this. But we are not going to wait for this assessment. In the meantime, the migrant will have to take whatever job is available” (Municipality, Interview 1).

In the end, the most significant criticism of the burden perspective (and inherent assumptions) came from migrants themselves. Discussing the existence of the assumption that MRAs lack valuable skills/qualifications, and its impact on his employment prospects in Denmark, a refugee interviewee said, *“Look, I am educated and back home I had a job. All I want to do here is work”*. Then, when asked if his qualifications and skills were ever assessed or evaluated by a ministry or municipal authority, he answered, *“Never, so I am not sure where they get the information that we are all uneducated and have nothing to offer to Danish society. They asked me about my education briefly during my interview with the police as part of the assessment of my asylum application. Since then no one has cared to check my education or experience at the municipality”*. This interviewee then insisted that he has nonetheless been able to use his experiences and skills in securing a job in Denmark, albeit because of his own initiative and entrepreneurial attitude. He said, *“Back home I hustled my way to success. I was an artist and actor, so I know how to talk to people. In Denmark I used these skills to build relationships at the asylum centre. Then the administrator of the centre said that he wanted to help me get my career started. So, with his help, I was able to convince Aalborg University to recognize my BA degree and I started an MA here. After the MA, I built relationships with social partners who then helped me find a job. But this is all because of my efforts. There is no system in place in Denmark where they check your education and experience” (Refugee, Interview 3).*

Another refugee interview recounted a similar experience encountering integration processes and municipality jobcentre case handlers tasked to secure a job for refugee migrants. He said, *“when I first met my case handler, she had already started to look for cleaning jobs for me. I said to her that I am a writer and I have a master’s degree. At the least I can start with high school again. She said that getting an education in Denmark is too difficult and my education and career from my home country does not matter. The easiest thing for me was to get a cleaning job. When I insisted on doing something related to my work, she made me take a writing class. But this class was for people who had barely any education. Eventually, I was able to find a university programme on my own”*. Then, while reflecting on this experience, he added, *“The problem here is not that we have to deal with the integration processes. It is that the authorities here assume that I am useless. They don’t look at your experience or education. All they want to do is push you out of the system by getting you a job. They don’t care what kind of job” (Refugee, Interview 4).* Finally, a non-refugee interviewee also described a similar experience while searching for a job in Denmark. She said, *“I came to Denmark while accompanying my husband. He got a job in Vestas⁵⁰ and I got the spousal visa”*. Then, with regard to her experience searching for a job while in Denmark, she said, *“Back home, I had a very good high paid job. Before I moved to Denmark, companies in the UK and Germany were trying to recruit me. But in Denmark none of the companies invited me for an interview. So, taking the advice of my neighbour I went to the jobcentre at the municipality. But the municipality did not look at my education or experience. Instead, they wanted me to take a*

⁵⁰ Vestas is a Danish wind turbine solutions and services company.

cleaning job". She then added, *"Now I have a good job. But it was humiliating to go to the municipality. I felt I had no value"*⁵¹ (Non-refugee, Interview 2).

It is apparent, not least in our interview data, that the 'employment first' strategy largely informs the existent integration policies and services in Denmark. However, exploring *why* this is the case led us to the underlying 'burden perspective' and the 'problem' of assuming that MRAs are (or at the risk of becoming) a burden on the resources of the Danish state. Accordingly, and based on our interviews with stakeholders and beneficiaries, we conclude the following in terms of our assessment of existent labour market policies and services: First, the 'employment first' strategy and the tendency of its proponents to treat labour integration as synonymous with integration in general obscures the reality that integration is a far more substantial process (Pace & Simsek 2019) (and employment does not necessarily meet the other social facets of all that constitutes integration. This is of course, as some of our interviewees underlined, a political strategy wherein a narrower definition of integration (as synonymous with employment) allows one to ignore the far more difficult-to-achieve aspects of the integration process. And, one can be both employed and feel/be social and culturally alienated in Danish society. However, such a strategy that is driven to achieve a narrow criterion does not take into consideration the possible long-term effects of having a cohort of MRAs who, while not a financial burden to the Danish state, are nonetheless alienated - socially and culturally; Second, the existent system of recognizing the skills and qualifications of MRAs does not seem to operate in a way that is in the interest of beneficiaries or stakeholders (specifically, those that hire MRAs). To the detriment of beneficiaries, skills/qualifications assessment is not considered a priority for municipal (job centre) authorities that are responsible for 'matching' MRAs with appropriate jobs. As a consequence, MRAs are often compelled to take on low-skilled forms of employment that under-utilize their skills and qualifications. This does not just lead to a sense of dissatisfaction among MRAs in Denmark but also, in the long run, has the potential to hinder their much more substantial social/cultural integration in Denmark. To the detriment of Danish employers, the lack of a systematic assessment of the skills and qualifications of MRAs means that they are often unable to recruit MRAs who have the skills/qualifications that match their needs and could be most beneficial to their operations; Third, and related to the two points above, the assumption that MRAs lack skills or qualifications that are relevant or of value to the Danish labour market also leads to a top-down process of labour market integration that does not allow migrants any semblance of agency to shape their own path of integration in Denmark. Specifically, be it the unwillingness to 'wait' for a substantial evaluation of MRAs' qualifications, the unsubstantiated assumption that MRAs would be unable to cope with academic life in Denmark or that their qualifications and skills are irrelevant to the Danish labour market and its needs, lead MRAs to be 'subservient' to the process of integration prescribed by municipal authorities and compels them to accept the 'professional' opportunities made available to them. In such a scenario what is lost is both the agency of MRAs and the possibility of recognizing and nurturing the potential value of their skills and qualifications to the benefit of the Danish economy.

⁵¹ During interviews, stakeholders used the term 'value' in terms of the skills and qualifications of MRAs and their potential to contribute to the Danish economy. Here, however, the interviewee is talking about a sense of self-worth.

4.5.2.2 Cultural Barriers

Alongside the burden perspective a significant number of interviewed stakeholders considered the existence of cultural barriers as a hindrance to migrants' integration into the Danish labour market. Accordingly, interviewees listed three key cultural barriers. First, many insisted that migrants do not understand the importance of being punctual and prompt at the Danish workplace. A spokesperson for a confederation of Danish labour unions said, *"Our members tell us that many employers complain that migrants and refugees have a different understanding of time. Being on time is not given a priority and this can make it difficult for a foreigner to not just find a job but also to keep a job"* (Labour Union Confederation, Interview 1). Another interviewee, a public sector employer participating in the IGU programme however noted that the barrier lies not in MRAs' inability to understand the significance of *"being on time"* but in her/him being accustomed to an entirely different work culture. She elaborated, *"The refugee I have hired did not show up to work one day. When I called her, she said that she didn't come because she was late. I was confused and said that she should still come to work even though she is late. But then I figured out that the problem was that where she worked back home, if you were even a minute late, someone else would take over your shift. So, she thought it was the same system. I had to explain to her that in the Danish workplace only she has the responsibilities for her tasks and her colleagues are dependent on her. So, she must show up"* (Public Sector Employer, Interview 1). In the same vein, the private sector employer cited above said, *"It is of course an issue that time is understood very differently. In Denmark 8am means 8am. Not 8:05 or 7:55. But sometimes it's just a matter of work culture. One of my refugee employees was ill but he didn't let us know. I called him and had to explain to him that in Denmark you should notify your employer. That is the norm here"* (Private Sector Employer, Interview 1).

A second key cultural barrier, according to some stakeholders, was MRA employees' inability to participate in the social life at a Danish workplace. A representative of the labour union cited above said, *"Language is a big barrier in the Danish workplace. If you don't speak the language it is very difficult to become a part of a workplace. But more than language immigrants and refugees don't know the norms. You need to eat lunch with your colleagues, you have to drink alcohol with them and participate in the Christmas lunch. If you don't, you will always be an outsider"*. Recognizing that there indeed exists a cultural barrier to integrating into the Danish labour market in general and the Danish workplace in particular, a non-refugee migrant said, *"I have been employed as a PhD researcher in Denmark for more than three years. But I don't have any Danish friends. My supervisor is Danish, and he is of course very helpful and nice. But we are not friends"*. She then added, *"It is not that Danes are bad people or have a problem with foreigners. It's just that the cultural differences are too big. I don't drink or speak Danish, so it is impossible sometimes to socially spend time with my Danish colleagues"* (Non-refugee, Interview 3).

A third barrier mentioned by stakeholders was the obstacles faced by migrant women in entering the Danish labour market. A representative of a confederation of employers noted, *"We need to focus on the rights of migrant women and their access to the labour market. In Denmark women and men work together⁵². This culturally is a big change for many migrant families. We want to encourage our members [i.e. Danish companies] to make a special effort to employ migrant women"* (Confederation of Employers, Interview 1). A spokesperson for an

⁵² Here the interviewee was referring to the fact that in Denmark it is commonplace for both the men and women of a household to be employed.

opposition political party represented in the parliament also added, *"We consider the employment of migrant women to be a priority. The statistics are clear and show that women with a migrant background are underrepresented in the Danish labour market. But this also shows a cultural barrier and something we need to solve"* (Political Party, Interview 3).

However, some of the interviewees questioned the extent to which cultural differences should be considered a barrier to migrants' ability to integrate into the Danish labour market. The social partner cited above noted, *"There are of course differences between Danes and foreigners. But does this need to be a problem? We...work with Danish companies and try to help them hire migrants and refugees. But when I talk to some of the managers, they are often very hesitant to hire them. They think it will be too difficult to deal with foreigners. Or that they will cost more to keep in the company. Or that Danish employees will have problems. Instead, we try to convince them that this is not the case. There is no extra cost of having a foreigner. But many are not convinced"* (Social Partner, Interview 1). Another social partner noted, *"The problem is not the big Danish corporations. Mærsk, Novo Nordisk, Vestas – companies like these already have a diversity plan in place and they hire many foreigners. But the problem is smaller, medium-sized companies. It is very difficult to convince them to hire immigrants. There is this assumption that we are losing Danish culture because there are too many foreigners and these kinds of thoughts make it difficult for immigrants to make it in a Danish workplace"*. He then added, *"We tried to change the narrative and not use the word 'indvandrere' (immigrant) and say 'nydanske' (new Dane) instead. But now it's just a buzzword. And, people are still angry with the work we do and think that we are trying to change Denmark. I personally get threatening letters, death threats saying that we are destroying Denmark"* (Social Partner, Interview 2). Indeed, relaying her own experience of an unsuccessful job application wherein (perceived) cultural barriers served as a barrier, a non-refugee migrant recounted, *"It was my first job application in Denmark. Initially they were very positive. I went through several rounds of interviews and was successful. But after the final interview they told me that they hired someone else. Later I found out that it was a Dane"*. When asked if she was given a reason for why she was not hired, she replied, *"Officially, I was not given a reason. But I was friends with the HR manager on LinkedIn and she posted something saying that if Danish companies want to grow, they need to hire foreigners. Later I met her at a networking event, and she said that the only reason I was not hired was because I was not Danish and having a Dane in the company was easier for them than a foreigner"* (Non-refugee, Interview 4).

In sum, the existence of cultural differences (and the perception that this is a barrier) leads us to the following conclusions: First, there undoubtedly exists certain cultural differences/misconceptions among MRAs in terms of the norms of the Danish workplace. This, as some stakeholder interviewees noted, does not *need* to be a barrier to the MRAs' integration into the Danish labour market and a Danish workplace. However, what is missing in terms of existing labour market integration policies and services is an orientation programme that familiarizes MRAs with the workings and norms of the Danish labour market and workplace. Such an initiative can both help MRAs understand how best to enter the Danish labour market and retain a job at a Danish workplace; Second, the stakeholder perception and beneficiary experience that MRAs are unable to socially integrate into a Danish work environment and abide by Danish cultural norms further reveals the foundational fallacy of the assumption that drives the 'employment first' policy focus – namely, that employment would

ensure (or lead to) MRAs' integration into Danish society. Instead, they reveal quite the contrary and demonstrate that cultural barriers to substantial integration often exist *within* workplaces. While mentorship programmes exist, such initiatives are often geared towards assisting MRAs with bureaucratic challenges like setting up a bank account or securing a social security number. Mentorship programmes should also familiarize MRAs with often unsaid/subtle social and cultural norms in a Danish workplace in order to assist them in better understanding and navigating their professional environment. And third, inherent prejudices and the pejorative assumption that MRAs are a negative influence on Danish society evidently also pose an important barrier to MRAs' integration into the Danish labour market. Here an orientation programme targeting Danish employees and aimed at alleviating some of their concerns regarding MRAs employees can assist in facilitating the latter's integration into the social environment of a Danish workplace.

4.5.2.3 Social Networks

While not referring to an integration policy or services, the importance of establishing a social network was emphasized by beneficiaries and stakeholders as key to succeeding in Denmark – socially and professionally. A non-refugee migrant employed at a reputed Danish university said, *"I moved here from the UK. I was told that here they have a very transparent work culture and things tend to be fair. But I quickly realized that here it is all about who you know. Around me I can see that promotions and opportunities are only given to people you know. Everyone has their network already and for a foreigner like me it is very difficult to get into these networks"* (Non-refugee, Interview 5). A refugee interviewee similarly said, *"People have a negative view of refugees. So, getting a job with someone you don't know is next to impossible. I have always found jobs, small or big, with people I know. You need to know people here in Denmark to move forward. This is a challenge for refugees because we don't have a fixed place to stay. If you are a single man like me the municipality will just move, you to a new place every few months. So, it is very difficult to have Danish friends or neighbours and we cannot build a network"* (Refugee, Interview 5). Rationalizing the significance of networks in Denmark, a member and former parliamentarian of an opposition political party said, *"Denmark is a small country and we like to know one another and work with familiar people. So, networks and who you know becomes very important here"*. He then added, *"But you have to also think from the perspective of employers. They get so many CVs. They have no idea about the education of many immigrants. So, in the end it is much easier to hire someone you know"* (Political Party, Interview 4).

Seen together, it is difficult to analyse and recommend a policy alternative to what is, in essence, a foundational feature of Danish society. Yet, at the very onset of their stay in Denmark, MRAs should be familiarized with the extent to which establishment of a network is central to their professional and social success in Denmark. To be sure, ensuring that, for instance, refugees do not have to frequently change their place of residence can also serve as a means of supporting the establishment of a social and professional network. Permitting immigrants to form networks amongst themselves, and learn from each other's experiences, e.g. by allowing for a huge share of immigrants in a specific residential area or by facilitating such networks, could be another way of supporting the establishment of networks. In response to the abovementioned concern of 'hiring the unknown', anonymous applications could be potential a solution, as this can level the playing field.

4.5.2.4 Concluding Remarks

If labour market integration is considered a desirable facet of the process of integration, then one can argue that the current policy focus is driven to grant MRAs access to the Danish labour market immediately after their arrival in Denmark. While this general impetus can be considered a strength of current policies, a weakness lies in the assumptions that animate this 'employment first' policy. First, the urge to swiftly integrate migrants into the Danish labour market is driven by a conception of migrants as a burden to the Danish state. Employment is then seen as a way of ensuring that, by being employed, migrants are self-reliant and not a burden on the resources of the state. Moreover, this perception is also premised on the assumption that migrants lack any discernible skills or qualifications of value to the Danish economy. As a consequence, our interview data demonstrated that many migrants found their skills and qualifications were not appropriately assessed by integration authorities and that they were instead compelled to take low-skilled jobs. Accordingly, while migrants were indeed employed, they were rarely employed in the *right* job that appropriately took into account their qualifications, skills and professional experience. Second, a significant hindrance to migrants' ability to access the Danish labour market is the existence of a perceived cultural barrier (and associated costs). In our interviews, this cultural barrier was frequently referred to in terms of migrants' unfamiliarity with the professional and social norms of a Danish workplace. But, to the detriment of migrants, these barriers are also associated with *perceived* costs; meaning that employers are often hesitant to hire a migrant worker as they assume it is too difficult to integrate migrants into and familiarize them with the norms and practices of the Danish workplace. Finally, the importance of having a strong social and professional network for securing a job in Denmark is also a significant barrier for MRAs in terms of integrating into the Danish labour market. For one, as newcomers, MRAs do not have the established networks (like Danish citizens) on the basis of which they can secure jobs. Moreover, refugees are limited by the fact that they do not have stable living conditions and therefore establishing a professional and social network in Denmark is particularly challenging for them.

In terms of our assessment, we have argued the following: First, the 'employment first' policy ignores the experienced reality of MRAs that substantial integration cannot be secured solely through employment and that it is indeed possible to be both employed and be/feel socially/culturally alienated in Danish society; Second, the existent system of skills assessment is not treated by municipal authorities as an important precondition for 'matching' MRAs with jobs. As a consequence, many MRAs are compelled to take on forms of (un-skilled) employment that underutilizes their skills and qualifications; Third, the assumption that MRAs do not have skills and qualifications that are of value to the Danish economy leads them to be subject to a top-down process of labour market integration that is premised on MRAs simply accepting the professional opportunities made available to them by municipal authorities rather than one that nurtures the skills and qualifications of MRAs to the benefit of the Danish economy; Four, seeing that many MRAs are unfamiliar with the norms of the Danish workplace, what seems to be lacking is a comprehensive orientation programme that familiarizes MRAs with the nature of the Danish labour market and the Danish work environment; Five, since many stakeholders and beneficiaries argued that MRAs are often unable to socially integrate into a Danish workplace also reveals the foundational fallacy of the notion that labour market integration can ensure a more substantial integration of MRAs into Danish society. To this end, a mentorship programme geared towards familiarizing MRAs

with the social norms and practices of a Danish workplace can assist in better integrating migrants into their professional environment. Six, inherent prejudices towards MRAs are also serve as barriers to their integration into the Danish labour market. Accordingly, we recommended that orientation programmes aimed at alleviating Danish employees' concerns may help MRAs' integration into the social environment at a Danish workplace. Finally, seeing the importance of networks in Denmark, we have argued that MRAs need to be informed of the importance of establishing a strong professional and social network as a means of securing their labour market integration in Denmark. Moreover, refugees need to be provided with stable living conditions in order to ensure that they are indeed able to establish (social and professional) networks in their immediate environment.

4.6 Conclusion

Ostensibly, seeing as the Danish government declared its commitment to the labour market integration of migrants, one could argue that Denmark has taken a 'positive' step towards the substantial integration of refugees and non-refugee migrants. However, our discourse analysis and fieldwork data demonstrated that two problematic notions underlie this new policy focus: First, asylum seekers and family migrants are considered to be a potential burden to the Danish state and its resources. This perception is not only often premised on the assumption that migrants lack the skills and qualifications that could be an asset to the Danish economy (and society), but many Danish stakeholders (employers, ministry representatives, labour union representatives etc.) maintain this perception by excluding a focus on the gains of employing MRAs. Ensuring 'employment first' serves as a means of allaying the fear that a certain group of migrants drain the resources of the Danish state, but at the same time, in stead of promoting labour market integration, the negative connotations from the 'burden framing' work as a barrier to labour market integration.

Second, our discourse analysis revealed a stakeholder assumption that being employed in a Danish workplace would ensure MRAs' more substantial integration into Danish society. However, our literature review as well as our interview data revealed that a certain level of skills and qualifications is required to begin with and MRAs are often considered to be incompatible with the professional and social norms of the Danish workplace. This perception admittedly may discourage potential employers from hiring migrants, and based on the interviews, it seems like the current financial incentives for employers might not be enough as long as the policy is not accompanied by additional policies and services ensuring the necessary level of Danish skills and social integration. Again, as also argued above, a change in the discourse might be essential in this regard, as the current focus on migrants as a burden influences the perception of migrants as being a burden in all aspects, also in regard to being more difficult to integrate at the workplace. Additionally, Danish language courses can play an important role in providing MRAs with the linguistic skills to culturally integrate into the Danish workplace. However, in February 2018, the Danish parliament approved a new tax agreement that resulted in the end of free Danish language courses for newcomers to Denmark. While these courses remain highly subsidized, we recommend the re-introduction of free language courses as a way of encouraging MRAs to develop a (language) skill that is essential to their labour market integration in Denmark.

Third, from a policy perspective, the fear that migrants may become a burden to the Danish state also induces a certain urgency in the manner in which MRAs are integrated into the Danish labour market. Consequently, there is very little consideration of the MRAs agency or

aspirations. Instead, simply having a job (irrespective of whether it is the *right* job) is considered synonymous with integration. To be sure, this narrow conception of integration overlooks the multifaceted-ness of the process of integration. However, since 2015, this limited understanding of integration has continued to inform most efforts geared towards the labour market integration of migrants in Denmark. Within state institutions and municipalities best practices are often those that attempt to navigate around the 'employment first' policy focus and instead attempt to ensure that migrants are 'matched' with the *right* job.

Fourth, seeing that inherent prejudices and pejorative assumptions about MRAs' professional skills and qualifications and cultural differences also present barriers to their labour market and workplace integration, a change in discourse in terms of who bears the primary responsibility of ensuring successful integration is also necessary. To this end, while integration is often viewed in terms of the tasks and criteria that MRAs are required to fulfil, it is also important to recognize the responsibilities of employers who should not just hire more migrants but also assist them in navigating the social and professional norms of a Danish workplace. Yet, based on our interviews, we would argue that providing a framework assisting employers in the process would be a promising initiative.

Financial incentives in the form of subsidized employment programmes have proven to be a powerful tool for getting non-western immigrants into employment as has a reduction in benefits for refugees, family- and labour migrants. However, one should be aware that a reduction in benefits at the same time seems to have significant negative implications for the well-being and general integration of immigrants who stay on social benefits. We therefore recommend other means to help MRAs into employment than a reduction in benefits. Eased access to family reunification for all types of immigrants shows prospect in this regard, as the process of family reunification/not being able to be unified with one's family has shown to have a negative impact on the labour market integration of refugees.

In the end, these are all but recommendations for a political environment in Denmark that is overtly hostile to the presence of MRAs in Danish society. These recommendations are also geared towards ensuring MRAs' substantial integration into the social, economic and cultural fabric of Denmark. However, as we have mentioned above, Denmark has seen a recent policy shift whereby its integration strategies are now premised on the expectation that refugees will eventually be returned to their home country. This shift was further institutionalized by a 'paradigm shift' asylum bill passed in parliament on the 21st of February 2019 that changes focus from "integration to future repatriation" (The Local 2019). As this bill, far more clearly, communicates to refugees that their stay in Denmark is temporary, in the current political climate, the above-listed recommendations may not be feasible. However, before they are implemented, there needs to be a far more foundational rethinking of MRAs in general and refugees in particular in terms of their place and role in Danish society.

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Appendices

ANNEX I - Texts analysed in section 1 on framing

Producer of text	Title	Type of text	Year of publication	Link/pdf
The Danish Government	Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund	Policy programme	2018	https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/ghettoudspil/
The Danish Government	Regeringens politik A-Å: Udlændinge og integration	Policy programme	2018	https://www.regeringen.dk/regeringens-politik-a-%C3%A5/udlaendinge-og-integration/
The Danish Government	Regeringens politik A-Å: Beskæftigelse og arbejdsmarked	Policy programme	2018	https://www.regeringen.dk/regeringens-politik-a-%C3%A5/beskaeftigelse-og-arbejdsmarked/
The Danish Government / The Prime minister office	Regeringens resultater. Folketingsåret 2016/2017	Report	2017	https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/regeringens-resultater-maj-2017/
The Danish Government	Aftale mellem regeringen, Dansk Folkeparti, Liberal Alliance og Det Konservative Folkeparti: Finansloven for 2017	Budget Law	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/finansloven-for-2017.pdf
The Danish Government + other parties	Aftale om udmøntning af satspuljen for 2017 på integrationsområdet	Policy programme	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/aftale-om-udmoentning-af-satspuljen-for-2017-paa-integrationsomraadet.pdf
The Danish Government	Et stærkere Danmark - styr på flygtningestrømmen	Policy programme	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/et-staerkere-danmark-styr-paa-flygtningestroemmen.pdf
The Danish Government	Alle skal bidrage - flygtninge og indvandrere hurtigere i beskæftigelse	Policy programme	2015	https://bm.dk/media/6963/alle-skal-bidrage-flygtninge-og-indvandrere-hurtigere-i-beskaeftigelse.pdf
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Integration: Status og Udvikling	Report	2018	https://integrationsbarometer.dk/tal-og-analyser/filer-tal-og-analyser/integration-status-og-udvikling-filer/ISU2018.pdf
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Lovgivning, Folketingsåret 2017/2018	Policy programme	2017	http://www.stm.dk/publikationer/SkriftligDel17/Lovgivning%20-%20Folketings%C3%A5ret%202017-2108_web.pdf
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Hvordan går det med integrationen? - Fokus på Ikke-vestlige indvandrere og efterkommere	Report	2017	https://integrationsbarometer.dk/tal-og-analyser/filer-tal-og-analyser/arkiv/Hvordangrdetmedintegrationenjanuar2017.pdf

The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Udlændinge-, integrations- og boligministeren: Lovprogram	Policy programme	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/uibm-lovprogram.pdf
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing + social partners	Trepartsaftale om arbejdsmarkedsintegration	Policy programme	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/trepartsaftale-om-arbejdsmarkedsintegration.pdf
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Integration: Status of udvikling 2016.	Report	2016	http://uim.dk/publikationer/integration-status-og-udvikling-2016
The Danish government	Kommissorium til trepartsdrøftelser om arbejdsmarkedsintegration	Terms of reference	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2016/kommissorium-til-trepartsdrøftelser-om-arbejdsmarkedsintegration.pdf
The Ministry of Social Affairs, Children and Integration	Fakta om Danmark	Report	2014	file:///C:/Users/Liv/Desktop/SIRIUS/WP3/WP3.1/Documents_executive_powers/MBLIS_Fakta-om-Danmark.pdf
Minister for Employment (Troels Lund Poulsen)	Tid til opgør med parallelsamfund	Op-ed	2018	https://bm.dk/ministeriet/ministeren/debatindlaeg/2018/05/tid-til-opgoer-med-parallelsamfund/
Minister for Employment (Troels Lund Poulsen)	Vi skal have alle med	Op-ed	2018	https://bm.dk/ministeriet/ministeren/debatindlaeg/2017/12/vi-skal-have-alle-med/
Minister of Economy and Interior & Minister for Transport, Building and Housing	Kronik: Ghattobeboere, som melder sig ud af samfundet, skal kunne flyttes	Op-ed	2018	https://www.trm.dk/da/ministerien/taler-og-artikler/2018/ghattobeboere-som-melder-sig-ud-af-samfundet-skal-kunne-flyttes#
Minister for Immigration and Integration (Inger Støjberg) & Minister for Employment (Troels Lund Poulsen)	Kronik: Flere flygtninge skal i arbejde	Op-ed	2017	https://bm.dk/ministeriet/ministeren/debatindlaeg/2017/03/kronik-flere-flygtninge-skal-i-arbejde/
Justice Minister (Søren Pape Poulsen)	Derfor er parallelsamfund et problem for alle danskere	Op-ed	2017	http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/ministerien/ministerens-indlaeg/2017/derfor-er-parallelsamfund-et-problem-alle-danskere
The Danish Government	Dårlig integration koster 33 mia. kr. om året	Press release	2018	https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/ikke-vestlig-indvandring-og-efterkommere-koster-varigt-33-mia-kr-om-aaret-frem-til-aar-2100/
The Danish Government	Aftale om nye, stramme og afbalancerede regler	Press release	2018	https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/regeringen-indgaar-aftale-om-nye-

	for ægtefællesammenføring			stramme-og-afbalancerede-regler-for-aegtefaellesammenfoering/
The Danish Government	Inger Støjberg møder flygtninge på Fyn	Press release	2017	https://www.regeringen.dk/nyheder/stoejberg-paa-fyn/
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Markant flere flygtninge er kommet i beskæftigelse med hjælp fra virksomhedspartnerskab	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-06/markant-flere-flygtninge-er-kommet-i-beskaeftigelse-med-hjaelp-fra-virksomhedspartnerskab
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Nyt integrationskit skal hjælpe flere flygtninge i arbejde	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-08/nyt-integrationskit-skal-hjaelpe-flere-flygtninge-i-arbejde
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Nyt værktøj skal afklare flygtninges kompetencer	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-08/nyt-vaerktoej-skal-afklare-flygtninges-kompetencer
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Fire mentorprojekter skal få flere indvandrerkvinder i arbejde	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-06/fire-mentorprojekter-skal-fa-flere-indvandrerkvinder-i-arbejde
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	1.500 flygtninge har indgået IGU-aftale	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-06/1-500-flygtninge-har-indgaet-igu-aftale
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	78 mio. kr. til kommunale integrationsambassadører	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-05/78-mio-kr-til-kommunale-integrationsambassadorer
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Flygtninge strømmer ind på arbejdsmarkedet	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018-05/flygtninge-strommer-ind-pa-arbejdsmarkedet
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Slut med at vente sig til kontanthjælp	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-03/slut-med-at-vente-sig-til-kontanthjaelp
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Regeringen vil kriminalisere genopdragelsesrejser	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-03/regeringen-vil-kriminalisere-genopdragelsesrejser
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Ny pulje skal få minoritetskvinder tættere på arbejdsmarkedet	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-02/ny-pulje-skal-fa-minoritetskvinder-taettere-pa-arbejdsmarkedet
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Regeringen indgår aftale om nye, stramme og afbalancerede regler for ægtefællesammenføring	Press release	2018	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-02/regeringen-indgar-aftale-om-nye-stramme-og-afbalancerede-regler-for-aegtefaellesammenfoering
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Satspuljemidlerne skal fremme integrationen og bekæmpe bandekriminalitet	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-11/satspuljemidlerne-skal-fremme-integrationen-og-bekaempe-bandekriminalitet

The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Frivillige kræfter understøtter integrationsindsatsen	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-10/frivillige-kræfter-understøtter-integrationsindsatsen
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Udlændinge- og integrationsministerens del af lovprogrammet for 2017-18	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-10/udlaendinge-og-integrationsministerens-del-af-lovprogrammet-for-2017-18
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Nyt initiativ fra regeringen og arbejdsmarkedets parter skal udbrede IGU'en endnu mere	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-09/nyt-initiativ-fra-regeringen-og-arbejdsmarkedets-parter-skal-udbrede-igu2019en-endnu-mere
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Mange flere nyankomne flygtninge får job	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-07/mange-flere-nyankomne-flygtninge-far-job
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Nyt integrationsbarometer viser fremgang i integrationen og kommunale forskelle	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-06/nyt-integrationsbarometer-viser-fremgang-i-integrationen-og-kommunale-forskelle
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Et travlt og produktivt år i Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-05/et-travlt-og-produktivt-ar-i-udlaendinge-og-integrationsministeriet
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Skøn for antallet af flygtninge, der skal fordeles til kommunerne i 2018	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-04/landstal
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	3-årigt projekt: Lokal dialog forbedrer integrationen	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-02/3-arigt-projekt-lokal-dialog-forbedrer-integrationen
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Langt flere flygtninge og indvandrere skal i job	Press release	2017	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2017/2017-02/langt-flere-flygtninge-og-indvandrere-skal-i-job
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Flygtninge får hjælp af frivillige mentorer	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-12/flygtninge-far-hjaelp-af-frivillige-mentorer
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Finanslovsaftalen på udlændingeområdet er faldet på plads	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-11/finanslovsaftalen-pa-udlaendingeområdet-er-faldet-pa-plads
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Flere flygtninge skal i arbejde - Integrationstræf 16 i Kolding kigger på hvordan	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-09/flere-flygtninge-skal-i-arbejde-integrationstraef-16-i-kolding-kigger-pa-hvordan
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Kommuner rustes til bedre at kunne tackle traumeramte flygtninge	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-09/kommuner-rustes-til-bedre-at-kunne-tackle-traumeramte-flygtninge

The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Sammen om Integration – ny kampagne inviterer indenfor	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-06/sammen-om-integration-2013-ny-kampagne-inviterer-indenfor
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Inger Støjberg: 24-års-reglen er vigtig	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-05/inger-stojberg-24-ars-reglen-er-vigtig
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Stor forskel på kommuners beskæftigelsesindsatser over for flygtninge	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-05/stor-forskel-pa-kommuners-beskaeftigelsesindsats-over-for-flygtninge
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Pulje til modtagelse og fastholdelse af højt kvalificerede udenlandske medarbejdere og deres familie	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-05/pulje-til-modtagelse-og-fastholdelse-af-hojt-kvalificerede-udenlandske-medarbejdere-og-deres-familie
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Virksomheder skal rådgive regeringen om integration	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-04/virksomheder-skal-radgive-regeringen-om-integration
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Trepartsaftale på plads om integration	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-03/trepartsaftale-pa-plads-om-integration
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Regeringen afviser statslige flygtningelandsbyer	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-02/regeringen-afviser-statslige-flygtningelandsbyer
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Ny afdækning af flygtninges kompetencer	Press release	2016	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/2016-02/ny-afdaekning-af-flygtninges-kompetencer
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Regeringens fem forslag til udlændingestramninger	Press release	2015	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2015/2015-10/regeringens-fem-forslag-til-udlaendingestramninger
The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and housing	Nye tal om udviklingen i integrationen	Press release	2015	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2015/2015-09/nye-tal-om-udviklingen-i-integrationen
The Ministry of Immigration and Integration	Kommunernes evne til at løfte nydanske folkeskoleelever	Paper [notat]	2018	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2018/kommunernes-evne-til-at-loefte-nydanske-folkeskoleelever.pdf
The Ministry of Employment	Regeringen og arbejdsmarkedets parter drøfter udspil om udenlandsk arbejdskraft	Press release	2018	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/nyheder/2018/08/regeringen-og-arbejdsmarkedets-parter-droefter-udspil-om-udenlandsk-arbejdskraft/
The Ministry of Employment	Nyt værktøj skal afklare flygtninges kompetencer	Press release	2018	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/nyheder/2018/08/nyt-vaerktoej-skal-afklare-flygtninges-kompetencer/

The Ministry of Employment	Markant flere flygtninge er kommet i beskæftigelse med hjælp fra virksomhedspartnerskab	Press release	2018	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/nyheder/2018/07/markant-flere-flygtninge-er-kommet-i-beskaeftigelse-med-hjaelp-fra-virksomhedspartnerskab/
The Ministry of Employment	Delaftale i ghettoplan: Forbud mod at flytte i ghetto for folk på kontanthjælp	Press release	2018	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2018/05/delaftale-i-ghettoplan-forbud-mod-at-flytte-i-ghetto-for-folk-paa-kontanthjaelp/
The Ministry of Employment	Lavere ydelse til kontanthjælpsmodtagere i ghettoområder	Press release	2018	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2018/03/lavere-ydelse-til-kontanthjaelpsmodtagere-i-ghettoomraader/
The Ministry of Employment	1.000 flygtninge startet på integrationsgrunduddannelse	Press release	2017	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/nyheder/2017/11/1000-flygtninge-startet-paa-integrationsgrunduddannelse/
The Ministry of Employment	Troels Lund Poulsen og Inger Støjberg på virksomhedsrundtur for at få idéer til bedre integration	Press release	2017	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2017/06/troels-lund-poulsen-og-inger-stoejberg-paa-virksomhedsrundtur-for-at-faa-id%C3%A9er-til-bedre-integration/
The Ministry of Employment	Aftalekredsen gør status på trepartsaftalen om integration på arbejdsmarkedet	Press release	2017	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2017/02/aftalekredsen-goer-status-paa-trepartsaftalen-om-integration-paa-arbejdsmarkedet/
The Ministry of Employment	Sammen om integration: Brug for virksomheder til at integrere flygtninge	Press release	2016	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/nyheder/2016/06/sammen-om-integration-brug-for-virksomheder-til-at-integrere-flygtninge/
The Ministry of Employment	Trepartsaftale på plads om integration	Press release	2016	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2016/03/trepartsaftale-paa-plads-om-integration/
The Ministry of Employment	Flere flygtninge hurtigere i job	Press release	2016	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2016/02/flere-flygtninge-hurtigere-i-job/
The Ministry of Employment	Straksindgreb på asylområdet – ny integrationsydelse til nytilkomne udlændinge	Press release	2015	https://bm.dk/nyheder-presse/pressemeddelelser/2015/07/straksindgreb-paa-asylomraadet-ny-integrationsydelse-til-nytilkomne-udlaendinge/
Ministry of Transport,	Nye målrettede boligpolitiske	Press release	2018	https://www.trm.dk/da/nyheder/2018/nye-maalrettede-

Building, and Housing	initiativer skal bekæmpe parallelsamfund			boligpolitiske-initiativer-skal-bekæmpe-parallelsamfund#
The Ministry of Justice	Regeringen opruster i kampen mod parallelsamfund	Press release	2017	http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/nyt-og-presse/pressemeddelelser/2016/regeringen-opruster-i-kampen-mod-parallelsamfund
The Ministry of Justice	Familiesammenførte par skal ikke kunne leje sig ind hos forældrene	Press release	2014	http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/nyt-og-presse/pressemeddelelser/2014/familiesammenfoerte-par-skal-ikke-kunne-leje-sig-ind-hos
Danish Immigration Service	Mål- og resultatplan 2018	Report	2018	http://uim.dk/filer/us/maal-og-resultatplan-2018-for-us.pdf
Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration	Mål- og resultatplan 2018	Report	2018	http://uim.dk/filer/siri/maal-og-resultatplan-2018-for-siri.pdf
Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration	Idékatalog. God praksis i den beskæftigelsesrettede danskundervisning	Report	2017	http://uim.dk/filer/danskuddannelse/07453_siri_idekatalogdanskundervisning_lan_gudgave.pdf
Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration	Videnssyntese. Viden til at komme i mål med integration.	Report	2016	http://uim.dk/filer/nyheder-2017/videnssyntese_endelig_040117-1.pdf
Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment	Integrationsgrunduddannelsen (IGU) er klar til brug	Press release	2016	https://star.dk/om-styrelsen/nyt/nyheder/2016/7/integrationsgrunduddannelsen-igu-er-klar-til-brug/
Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment	Partnerskab med virksomheder: Sammen om integration	Fact sheet	2016	https://star.dk/media/4582/sammen-om-integration-faktaark.pdf
Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment	Pulje til integrationstilbud til internationale medarbejdere og deres familier	Press release	2014	https://star.dk/om-styrelsen/nyt/nyheder/2014/11/integrationstilbud-til-internationale-medarbejdere/
Work in Denmark	Recruiting highly skilled employees from abroad	Report		https://www.workindenmark.dk/~media/Workindenmark/Publikationer/WIDK_Profilfolder_UK_WEB_201802.ashx
Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment	Støtte til nye projekter for internationale medarbejdere og deres familier	Press release	2015	https://star.dk/om-styrelsen/nyt/nyheder/2015/2/stoette-nye-projekter-int-medarb-og-familier/
Copenhagen Municipality	Integrations-handleplan 2017-2018	Action plan on integration	2016	https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/integrationshandleplan_2017-2018_.pdf
Copenhagen Municipality	Integrationspolitik 2015-18	Policy programme	2014	https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-

				files/Integrationspolitik2015_0.pdf
Copenhagen Municipality	Københavns Kommunes integrationsindsats for flygtninge	Report	2018	https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/koebenhavns_kommunes_integration_for_flygtninge_april_18.pdf
Copenhagen Municipality	Velkomsthuse - Anbefalinger til kommuner om, hvordan man etablerer et velkomsthuse for flygtninge, frivillige og civilsamfundet	Report	2018	https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/velkomsthuse_welcomehouse_november_2017_low_res.pdf
Vejle Municipality	Integration in Vejle	Report	2016	https://www.vejle.dk/media/9845/integration-i-vejle-kommune-saadan-organisere-vi-den-helhedsorienterede-integrationsindsats.pdf
Århus municipality	Integrations folder	leaflet	2018	https://aarhus.dk/media/4476/integr-folder-dk.pdf
Århus municipality	Sammendrag af flygtningehandleplan	Memo	2016	https://aarhus.dk/media/9449/sammendrag-af-flygtningehandleplan.pdf
Rødovre municipality	Beskæftigelsesplan 2017 / 2018 for Jobcenter	Report	2017	https://www.rk.dk/job/jobcenter/beskaeftigelsesplan-2017-2018-for-jobcenter/
Danish Refugee Council	Årsrapport 2014	Report	2014	https://flygtning.dk/media/1280015/2014-Årsrapport.pdf
Danish Refugee Council	Flygtninge skal gøres mere attraktive for arbejdsmarkedet	Press Release	2015	https://flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/nyhedsarkiv/flygtninge-skal-goeres-mere-attraktive-for-arbejdsmarkedet
Danish Refugee Council	Årsrapport 2015	Report	2015	https://flygtning.dk/media/2474699/dfh_annual_dk_2015_web_210416.pdf
Danish Refugee Council	Integrationsnet og NCC bygger bro til arbejdsmarkedet	Press Release/"News and Facts"	2016	https://flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/nyhedsarkiv/nnc-jobskole
Danish Refugee Council	Mind Your Own Business fortsætter succesen i nye rammer	Press Release	2016	https://flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/nyhedsarkiv/myob-fortsætter-i-ny-forening
Danish Refugee Council	Årsrapport 2016	Report	2016	https://flygtning.dk/media/3370339/2016-årsrapport.pdf
Danish Refugee Council	Ny undersøgelse: På arbejdspladsen er det vigtigste at forstå dans	Press Release	2017	https://flygtning.dk/nyheder-og-fakta/paa-arbejdspladsen-er-det-vigtigste-at-forstaa-dansk

Danish Refugee Council	Undersøgelse af danskundskabers betydning for flygtninges beskæftigelse	Report	2017	https://flygtning.dk/media/3245271/dfh-integration-undersogelse-af-sprog-og-beskaeftigelse.pdf
Danish Refugee Council	Årsrapport 2017	Report	2017	https://flygtning.dk/media/4500277/2017-a-rsrapport.pdf
Danish Refugee Council	25 Spørgsmål om Svar om Flygtninge	Press Release/'News and Facts'	2018	https://flygtning.dk/media/4257277/25-spoergsmaal-og-svar-om-flygtninge.pdf
Røde Kors	Voksenundervisning og praktik i asyl	'About Us'	Un-dated	https://www.rodekors.dk/vores-arbejde/rode-kors-asyl/det-gor-vi/voksenundervisning-og-praktik?_ga=2.77337045.1397563294.1536358228-2121725227.1529309141
Røde Kors	Frivillige i ISS gør en kæmpe forskel!	Project Description	Un-dated	https://www.rodekors.dk/stoet/virksomheder/erhvervs-samarbejder/projektpartnere/iss-ferielejr
Røde Kors	ISS erhvervssamarbejde i	Project Description	Un-dated	https://www.rodekors.dk/stoet/virksomheder/erhvervs-samarbejder/alle-samarbejder/iss?_ga=2.86660568.1397563294.1536358228-2121725227.1529309141
Røde Kors	Frivillig i en familieaktivitet	Project Description	Un-dated	https://www.rodekors.dk/bliv-frivillig/familieaktiviteter?_ga=2.86660568.1397563294.1536358228-2121725227.1529309141
Røde Kors	Voksenundervisning og praktik i asyl	Project Description	Un-dated	https://www.rodekors.dk/vores-arbejde/rode-kors-asyl/det-gor-vi/voksenundervisning-og-praktik?_ga=2.173570275.1397563294.1536358228-2121725227.1529309141
Røde Kors	Fast Track til integration	Project Description	2016	https://www.rodekors.dk/sites/rodekors.dk/files/2018-03/one-pager-fasttrack-august-2016-.pdf
Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke	Antidiscrimination: Spørgsmål og Svar	Q&A	Un-dated	https://www.ms.dk/arbejde/danmark/antidiskrimination/sporgsmaal-svar
Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke	Dokumentation af diskrimination i DK	Statistics	2018	https://www.ms.dk/arbejde/danmark/antidiskrimination/dokumentation
UNHCR	Anh Le: Fra til bådflygtning succesfuld restaurantør	News article	2017	http://www.unhcr.org/neu/dk/14964-fra-baadflygtning-til-succesfuld-restauratoer.html

UNHCR	Dansk privatsektor ansætter flygtninge – fordi det er god forretning	Article	2017	http://www.unhcr.org/neu/dk/8222-dansk-privatsektor-ansætter-flygtninge-fordi-det-er-god-forretning.html
UNHCR	Udbyttet er langt større end de ressourcer, vi bruger	Article	2017	http://www.unhcr.org/neu/dk/14181-udbyttet-er-langt-stoerre-end-de-ressourcer-vi-bruger.html
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Regeringen Løser ikke opgaven med sit integrationsudspil	Op-ed	2015	www.da.dk
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Folketinget har nu banet vejen for	Op-ed	2016	www.da.dk
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Fakta om Ordninger for at Ansætte eller indsluse Flygtninge på virksomheder	Report	2016	http://www.da.dk/bilag/Netudgave_Folder_Fakta%20om%20ordninger%20for%20at%20ansætte%20eller%20indsluse%20flygtninge%20på%20virksomheder_DA.pdf
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Ansæt en flygtning i en ordinær stilling og få en bonus	Report	2016	http://www.da.dk/bilag/Netudgave_Folder_Ans%20en%20flygtning%20i%20en%20ordinær%20stilling%20og%20få%20en%20bonus_DA.pdf
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Ny aftal om integrationen sætter fokus på sprog	Op-ed	2014	www.da.dk
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Ikke-vestlige indvandrere & arbejdsmarkedet	Report	2015	http://www.da.dk/bilag/Ikke-vestlige%20indvandrere%20og%20arbejdsmarkedet%202015.pdf
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Regeringen Løser ikke opgaven med sit integrationsudspil	Op-ed	2015	www.da.dk
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Godt med styrket fokus på at få indvandrere i job	Op-ed	2018	www.da.dk
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Et jobrettet integrationsprogram	Press Release	2015	http://www.da.dk/bilag/DAs%20endelige%20høj%20ringssvar%20vedrørende%20lov%20om%20endring%20af%20integrationsloven%20m.fl.pdf
Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening	Børsen Fejlfortolker – Virksomheder siger ja til at hyre flygtninge	Op-ed	2016	www.da.dk
Danske Malermestre	Malermestre bakker op om "integrationselever"	Press Release	2016	https://malermestre.dk/Standard/Blanket--cirkulærect/Alle-nyheder?PID=1111&NewsID=1479&f=integration

Danske Malermestre	Lavere løn er nødvendigt for at få flygtninge i job	Op-ed	2016	https://malermestre.dk/Standard/Blanket--cirkulærect/Alle-nyheder?PID=1111&NewsID=1547&f=integration
Danske Malermestre	Job med IGU til flygtninge	Press Release	2016	https://malermestre.dk/Standard/Blanket--cirkulærect/Alle-nyheder?PID=1111&NewsID=1545&f=integration
Tekniq Installationbranchen	Folkemøde: Udenlandsk Arbejdskraft på lige vilkår	News Article	2016	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/nyheder/2016/juni/folkemøde-udenlandsk-arbejdskraft
Tekniq Installationbranchen	Behov for bedre dialog med kommunen om flygtninge	Press Release	2016	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/pressemeddelelser/2016/oktober/behov-for-dialog-om-flygtninge
Tekniq Installationbranchen	Installatører byder syriske flygtninge indenfor	News Article	2015	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/nyheder/2015/december/installatører-byder-syriske-flygtninge-indenfor
Tekniq Installationbranchen	Flygtningesucces kræver lang praktik	News Article	2016	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/nyheder/2016/februar/flygtningesucces-kraever-lang-praktik
Tekniq Installationbranchen	LO-DA udspil til fordel for branchen	News Article	2016	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/nyheder/2016/marts/igu
Tekniq Installationbranchen	Opbakning til flygtningeaftale	Press Release	2016	http://www.tekniq.dk/pressen/pressemeddelelser/2016/marts/trepartintegration
Dansk Byggeri	Overvejer din virksomhed at ansætte en flygtning?	Information for members	2018	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/for-medlemmer/aktuelt-for-medlemmer/2018/overvejer-din-virksomhed-at-ansætte-en-flygtning/
Dansk Byggeri	Flygtningeaftale - det muliges kunst	Press Release	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/pressepolitik/nyheder/2016/flygtningeaftale-det-muliges-kunst/
Dansk Byggeri	Hvem har bolig og arbejde til flygtninge?	Press Release	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/pressepolitik/nyheder/2016/hvem-har-bolig-og-arbejde-til-flygtninge/ https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/pressepolitik/magasiner-og-nyhedsbreve/dansk-byggeri-barometer/tidligere-udgivelser/2016/nr-8-

				2016/hvem-har-arbejde-og-bolig-til-flygtninge/
Dansk Byggeri	Placer flygtninge hvor der er jobmuligheder	Press Release	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/presse-politik/nyheder/2016/placer-flygtninge-hvor-der-er-jobmuligheder/
Dansk Byggeri	Hvor skal flygtningene bo?	Op-ed	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/presse-politik/magasiner-og-nyhedsbreve/dansk-byggeri-barometer/tidligere-udgivelser/2016/nr-17-2016/hvor-skal-flygtningene-bo/
Dansk Byggeri	Flygtninge lægger pres på den almene sektor	Op-ed	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/presse-politik/magasiner-og-nyhedsbreve/dansk-byggeri-barometer/tidligere-udgivelser/2016/nr-17-2016/flygtninge-laegger-pres-paa-den-almene-sektor/
Dansk Byggeri	Tab ikke partsforhandlingerne på gulvet	Op-ed	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/presse-politik/nyheder/2016/tab-ikke-partsforhandlingerne-paa-gulvet/
Dansk Byggeri	Danmark er på katastrofekurs	Op-ed	2016	https://www.danskbyggeri.dk/presse-politik/nyheder/2016/danmark-er-paa-katastrofekurs/
Dansk Industri	139.000 flere i job med bedre integration	News Article	2018	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2018/3/139.000-flere-i-job-med-bedre-integration/
Dansk Industri	DI: Statsministeren sætter fingeren på Danmarks store udfordring	Press Release	2017	https://www.danskindustri.dk/om-di/kontakt-os/presse/arkiv/pressemeddelelser/2017/12/di-statsministeren-satter-fingeren-pa-danmarks-store-udfordringer/
Dansk Industri	Nøgletal: Flere indvandrere er kommet i job, men der er behov for bedre integration	News Article	2017	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2018/3/nogletal-flere-indvandrere-er-kommet-i-job-men-der-er-behov-for-bedre-integration/
Dansk Industri	I 2030 vil 20 pct. af arbejdsstyrken være indvandrere	News Article	2018	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2018/3/i-2030-vil-20-pct-af-arbejdsstyrken-vaere-indvandrere/

				18/1/i-2030-vil-20-pct.-af-arbejdsstyrken-vare-indvandrere/
Dansk Industri	Karsten Dybvad: Mange flere indvandrere og efterkommere skal i job	Article	2017	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/ledere/2017/november-2017/
Dansk Industri	Flygtninge i job: "Jernvilje og arbejdsglæde"	News Article	2018	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2018/3/flygtninge-i-job--jernvilje-og-arbejdsglade/
Dansk Industri	Exit af udenlandsk arbejdskraft vil koste statskassen 19,5 mia. kr.	News Article	2018	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2018/4/195-milliarder-kroner-vil-fordufte--hvis-udenlandske-medarbejdere-siger-bye-bye-til-danmark/
Dansk Industri	DI roser ministers ønske om mere udenlandsk arbejdskraft	News Article	2017	https://www.danskindustri.dk/di-business/arkiv/nyheder/2017/12/di-roser-ministers-onske-om-mere-udenlandsk-arbejdskraft/
Dansk Erhverv	Ikke-vestlige indvandrere skal i arbejde	Press Release	2016	https://www.danskerhverv.dk/presse-og-nyheder/nyheder/ikke-vestlige-indvandrere-skal-i-arbejde/
Dansk Erhverv	Fortsat fokus på mangel på arbejdskraft	Press Release	2018	https://www.danskerhverv.dk/presse-og-nyheder/nyheder/ffl19---arbejdsmarked/
Dansk Erhverv	Flygtningekvinders ledighed bekymrer	Press Release	2018	https://www.danskerhverv.dk/presse-og-nyheder/nyheder/pm-flygtningekvinders-ledighed-bekymrer/
Dansk Erhverv	Flere Flygtninge i job	News Article	2017	https://www.danskerhverv.dk/politik-og-analyser/arbejdsmarked/fle-re-flygtninge-i-job/
Dansk Erhverv	Ghetto-beboere skal i arbejde	New Article	2018	https://www.danskerhverv.dk/presse-og-nyheder/nyheder/ghetto-beboere-skal-i-arbejde/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Flygtninge et skridt nærmere arbejdsmarkedet	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/flygtninge-skridt-naermere-arbejdsmarkedet/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Hurtig afklaring vil sikre bedre integration af flygtninge og indvandrere	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/hurtig-afklaring-sikre-bedre-integration-flygtninge-indvandrere/

Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Dyrk flygtninges kvalifikationer, og benyt billigt alternativ til indslusningsløn	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/dyrk- flygtninges-kvalifikationer- benyt-billigt-alternativ- indslusningsloen/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Flygtninge skal i arbejde og styrke Danmark	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/flygtninge-skali- arbejde-styrke-danmark/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Folder-IGU	Report	2016	https://lo.dk/wp- content/uploads/2018/01/fo lder-igu.pdf
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Sund fornuft i første delaftale om integration	Article	2016	https://lo.dk/sund-fornuft-i- foerste-delaftale-om- integration/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Positive træk i regeringens integrationsudspil	Article	2016	https://lo.dk/positive-traek- regeringens- integrationsudspil/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Hurtig afklaring vil sikre bedre integration af flygtninge og indvandrere	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/hurtig- afklaring-sikre-bedre- integration-flygtninge- indvandrere/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Arbejde er vejen til bedre integration	Article	2015	https://lo.dk/arbejde-vejen- bedre-integration/
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	Øget beskæftigelsesfokus i integrationsindsatsen	Press Release	2016	https://lo.dk/wp- content/uploads/2017/03/bi lag-e-oeget- beskaeftigelsesfokus-i- integrationsindsatsen- enderlig-pdf.pdf
Landsorganisatio nen i Danmark	DA og LO er enige om et fælles indspil til trepartsdrøftelserne	Article	2016	https://lo.dk/lo-enige- faelles-indspil- trepartsdroeftelserne/
Blik & Rør	Fælles integrationsuddannel se lægger op til misbrug	Press Release	2016	https://www.blikroer.dk/nod e/956
Blik & Rør	Ønskeseddel til trepartsforhandlinger	Press Release	2016	https://www.blikroer.dk/nod e/942
Blik & Rør	Trepartsforhansdling er: Delaftale giver godt afsæt for videre drøftelser	Press Release	2016	https://www.blikroer.dk/nod e/953
Blik & Rør	Regeringen dropper forslag om indslusningsløn for flygtninge	Press Release	2016	https://www.blikroer.dk/nod e/931

FOA	FOA foreslår integrationselever inden for den danske model	Press Release	2016	https://www.foa.dk/global/news/pressemeddelelser/2016/februar/foa-foreslaar-integrationselever-inden-for-den-danske-model
FOA	Dennis K: Derfor skal flygtninge have en plads i køen	Op-ed	2016	https://www.foa.dk/forbund/temaer/p-aa/trepartsforhandlingerne/dennis-k-derfor-skal-flygtninge
FOA	FOA om trepart: Det er ikke vores aftale	Press Release	2016	https://www.foa.dk/forbund/presse/seneste-pressemeddelelser/global/news/forbundsnyheder/forbundsnyheder/2016/marts/foa-om-trepart-det-er-ikke-vores-aftale
FOA	FOA: Nej tak til indslusnings-aftale	Press Release	2016	https://www.foa.dk/forbund/presse/seneste-pressemeddelelser/global/news/pressemeddelelser/2016/marts/foa-nej-tak-til-indslusnings-aftale
FOA	FOA foreslår integrationselever inden for den danske model	Press Release	2016	https://www.foa.dk/global/news/pressemeddelelser/2016/februar/foa-foreslaar-integrationselever-inden-for-den-danske-model
3F	Når en kvindelig flygtning bliver min kollega	Report	2016	https://www.3f.dk/medlems-tilbud/selvbetjening/pjecer/ligestilling/naar-en-kvindelig-flygtning-bliver-min-kollega
3F	Se video: 3F-formand om trepart: Vi har leveret flygtninge-løsning, nu må Løkke levere på uddannelse	Video	2017	https://www.3f.dk/webtv/2017/09/13/14/38/3f-formand-om-trepart-vi-har-leveret-flygtninge-loesning--nu-maa-loekke-levere-paa-uddannelse
3F	Sort Cykelhandler	Article	2017	https://tema.3f.dk/stop-social-dumping/nyheder/5b28aa2aab474118bcba313b8b73d732-20170118-sort-cykelhandler
Teknisk Landsforbund	Trepart: "En god aftale"	Article	2018	https://tl.dk/om-os/aktuelt/nyheder/2016/marts/trepart-en-god-aftale-med-respekt/
Teknisk Landsforbund	Trepart: Nu går forhandlingerne i gang	Article	2016	https://tl.dk/om-os/aktuelt/nyheder/2016/marts/trepart-nu-gaar-forhandlingerne-i-gang/
Teknisk Landsforbund	Trepart: "En god aftale med respekt for den danske model"	Press Release	2016	https://tl.dk/om-os/aktuelt/pressemeddelelser/2016/marts/trepart-en-

				god-aftale-med-respekt-for-den-danske-model/
Teknisk Landsforbund	TL varmer op til trepartsforhandlinger	Article	2015	https://tl.dk/om-os/aktuelt/nyheder/2015/december/tl-varmer-op-til-trepartsforhandlinger/
Teknisk Landsforbund	Køretur førte til praktikplads	Article	2017	https://tl.dk/om-os/aktuelt/artikler-fra-teknikerer/2017/september/koeretur-foerte-til-praktik-plads/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Meget få snuppet for ulovligt arbejde i bagerier	Article	2015	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2015/marts/meget-faa-snuppet-for-ulovligt-arbejde-i-bagerier/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Fagforbund bakker op - Danish Crown hjælper flygtninge ind på arbejdsmarkedet	Blog	2016	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/januar/fagforbund-bakker-op-danish-crown-hjaelper-flygtninge-ind-paa-arbejdsmarkedet/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Blog: Regeringen skal ikke blande sig i lønnen	Blog	2016	https://lillebaeltfyn.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/januar/blog-regeringen-skal-ikke-blande-sig-i-loennen/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Kollegerne er uforstående: Hvorfor skal Mohamed forlade Danmark?	Article	2017	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2017/december/kollegerne-er-uforstaende-hvorfor-skal-mohamed-forlade-danmark/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Blog: Integrationen skal lykkes denne gang - spørg bare dine børn og børnebørn	Blog	2016	https://sj.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/juni/blog-integrationen-skal-lykkes-denne-gang-spoerg-bare-dine-boern-og-boerneboern/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Trepartsaftale skal sikre bedre integration af flygtninge på arbejdsmarkedet	News	2016	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/marts/trepartsaftale-skal-sikre-bedre-integration-af-flygtninge-paa-arbejdsmarkedet/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Trepart: Sund fornuft i første aftale om integration	News	2016	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/februar/trepart-sund-fornuft-i-foerste-aftale-om-integration/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Fødevareforbundet NNF: Forslag om integrations-elever lyder interessant	News	2016	https://www.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/februar/foedevareforbundet-nnf-forslag-om-integrations-elever-lyder-interessant/
Fødevare forbundet NNF	Blog: Trepartsaftale skal få flere i job	Blog	2016	https://sydjylland.nnf.dk/nyheder/2016/marts/blogtrepartsaftale-skal-faa-flere-i-job/

				artsaftale-skal-faa-flere-i-job/
HK	Flygtninge og Danskere lærer af hinanden	Article	2016	https://www.hk.dk/aktuelt/nyheder/2016/06/02/flygtninge-og-danskere-laerer-af-hinanden
HK	Plads for alle der vil vigtigt og nødvendigt at integrere indvandrere	Blog	2016	https://www.hk.dk/aktuelt/blogs/ole-kjaer/2016/06/03/plads-for-alle-der-vil
HK	Flygtninge – Genvinst eller byrde	Blog	2016	https://www.hk.dk/aktuelt/blogs/formandens-blog/2016/01/30/flygtninge-gevinst-eller-byrde
HK	HK-Formand: Jeg Glæder mig til trepartsforhandlinger	Press Release	2016	https://www.hk.dk/omhk/presse/pressemeddelelser/2016/02/08/trepart
HK	Integration kræver medarbejdere	Blogs	2016	https://www.hk.dk/aktuelt/blogs/hk-midtvast-marianne-koepke--inaktiv/2016/04/04/integration-kraver-medarbejdere
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	Udlændingepolitik	Manifesto	2018	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/politik/maerkesager/udlaendingepolitik/
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	Kristian Thulesen Dahls årsmødetale 2018	Speech	2018	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/kristian-thulesen-dahls-aarsmoedetale-2018/
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	Vi skal passe på Danmark	Position paper	2017	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Vi-skal-passe-pa-CC%8A-Danmark.pdf
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	DF_valgbrochure_sep_2017-1	Election program	2017	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/DF_valgbrochure_sep_2017-1.pdf
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	DF-stramninger-flyer-juli-2018-lav	Flyer	2018	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/DF-stramninger-flyer-juli-2018-lav.pdf
Danish People's Party [Dansk Folkeparti]	Principprogram	Manifesto	2017	https://danskfolkeparti.dk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/DF_PrincipProgramA5.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Flygtninge skal være velkomne i kommunerne	Position paper	2016	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Flygtninge-i-kommunerne_12.03.2016_WEB.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Integrations- og medborgerskabspolitik	Manifesto	2015	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Integrations-%20og%20medborgerskabspolitik_31.01.2015_WEB.pdf

Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Resolutioner vedtaget på Radikale Ventres landsmøde 2014	Manifesto	2014	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Resolutioner/vedtagne_resolutioner_2014.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Resolutioner vedtaget på Radikale Ventres landsmøde 2015	Manifesto	2015	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Resolutioner/Resolutioner_vedtaget_pa_Radikale_Venstres_landsmoede_2015.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Resolutioner vedtaget på Radikale Ventres landsmøde 2016	Manifesto	2016	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Resolutioner/Resolutioner_2016.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Resolutioner vedtaget på Radikale Ventres landsmøde 2017	Manifesto	2017	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Resolutioner/Vedtagne_resolutioner_RadikaleVenstresLandsm%C3%B8de2017.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Resolutioner vedtaget på Radikale Ventres landsmøde 2018	Manifesto	2018	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/Resolutioner/Vedtagne-resolutioner-paa-Landsmoedet-2018.pdf
Danish Social Liberal Party [Radikale Venstre]	Mod til reel integration - virkeligheden kalder	Position paper	2018	https://www.radikale.dk/system/files/Dokumenter/ModTilIntegration.pdf
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Arbejdsplan	Work plan	2014	https://org.enhedslisten.dk/2016/11/14/arbejdsplan
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Enhedslistens hovedbestyrelses beretning 2013-2014	Report	2014	https://org.enhedslisten.dk/artikel/enhedslistens-hovedbestyrelses-beretning-2013-2014-72975
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Enhedslistens principprogram	Manifesto	2014	https://enhedslisten.dk/programmer/enhedslistens-principprogram
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Enhedslistens arbejdsplan 2015-16	Work plan	2015	https://org.enhedslisten.dk/files/enhedslistensarbejdsplan2015-16_0.pdf
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Organisatorisk arbejdsprogram 2015-2018	Work plan	2015	https://org.enhedslisten.dk/files/organisatoriskarbejdsprogram2015-2018_1.pdf
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Enhedslistens udlændingepolitik i Folketinget	Report	2018	https://enhedslisten.dk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Opsummering-af-Enhedslistens-udl%C3%A6ndingepolitik-i-Folketinget.pdf
Red-Green Alliance [Enhedslisten]	Udlændinge og Integration	Statement	2018	https://enhedslisten.dk/politikomraade/udlaendinge-og-integration
Liberal Alliance [Liberal Alliance]	Retfærdigegrænser for flygtninge og indvandrere Liberal Alliances udspil til en ny udlændingepolitik	Political proposal	2014	https://www.liberalalliance.dk/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Udlaendingeudspil_LA_240414.pdf

Liberal Alliance [Liberal Alliance]	Human og fornuftig hjælp i nærområderne – LiberalAlliances udspil til omlægning af flygtningeindsatsen	Political proposal	2016	https://www.liberalalliance.dk/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Flygtningeudspil-LA-2016.pdf
Liberal Alliance [Liberal Alliance]	Principprogram	Manifesto	2016	https://www.liberalalliance.dk/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Liberal-Alliance-Principprogram.pdf
Liberal Alliance [Liberal Alliance]	Liberal Alliances arbejdsprogram	Work plan	2016	https://www.liberalalliance.dk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/arbejdsprogram_v3.pdf
Social Democrats [Socialdemokraterne]	Fælles om Danmark. Socialdemokratiets Principprogram 2017	Manifesto	2017	https://www.socialdemokratiet.dk/media/6554/socialdemokratiets-principprogram-faelles-om-danmark.pdf
Social Democrats [Socialdemokraterne]	Retfærdig og realistisk. En udlændingepolitik der samler Danmark	Manifesto	2018	https://www.socialdemokratiet.dk/media/7011/en-udlaendingepolitik-der-samler-danmark.pdf
Left, Denmark's Liberal Party [Venstre, Danmarks liberale parti]	Fremtid i frihed og fællesskab	Manifesto	2006	http://www.e-pages.dk/venstre/96/html5/
Left, Denmark's Liberal Party [Venstre, Danmarks liberale parti]	Statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussens tale til Venstres Landsmøde 2015	Speech	2015	https://www.venstre.dk/nyheder/landsmoede-2015-tale-af-venstres-formand-statsminister-lars-loekke-rasmussen
Left, Denmark's Liberal Party [Venstre, Danmarks liberale parti]	Partisekretær Claus Richters beretning ved Venstres Landsmøde 2015	Report	2015	https://www.venstre.dk/nyheder/landsmoede-2015-beretning-fra-partisekretaer-claus-richter
Left, Denmark's Liberal Party [Venstre, Danmarks liberale parti]	Statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussens tale til Venstres Landsmøde 2017	Speech	2017	https://www.venstre.dk/nyheder/landsmoede-2017-tale-af-venstres-formand-statsminister-lars-loekke-rasmussen
Left, Denmark's Liberal Party [Venstre, Danmarks liberale parti]	Forpligtende internationalt fællesskab	Flyer	2018	https://www.venstre.dk/politik/principprogram/forpligtende-internationalt-faellesskab
Socialist People's Party [Socialistisk Folkeparti]	Principprogram for SF – Socialistisk Folkeparti	Manifesto	2012	https://www.arbejdermuseet.dk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/SF2012.pdf
Socialist People's Party [Socialistisk Folkeparti]	En human flygtningepolitik	Position paper	2018	https://sf.dk/det-vil-vi/integration/

ANNEX II - Policy and service taxonomy

Policy/s ervice	Composition /substance (short description)	Year of imple- mentation	Coverag e	Actors involved	Fundi ng mech anism	Functioning as barrier or enabler	Link to information /pdf
Employ ment- related policies							
IGU Program me	Two-year programme that includes language education, vocational training courses and paid internships. Participants receive financial assistance during periods of education training.	2016	Refugees and their family members	The Danish Government, Confederation of unions (LO), Confederation of Employers (DA), Social Partners	Public	Enabler in the sense that its primary aim is to integrate refugees into the labour market through experience and skills-building. The question of whether they get access to the <i>right</i> kind of job is still a point of contention.	http://uim.dk/arbejdsomrader/Integration/integrationsgrunduddannelser
AMU Program me	Vocational training programme geared towards skills development, solving adaptation programs and increase employees' level of qualification.	1950s	Open to all individuals.	Ministry of Education, Social Partners, Social partners, National Training Council, local level boards and training committees at schools and centres.	Public	Enabler as it is meant to upgrade the skills and qualifications of individuals in keeping with nature and needs of the Danish labour market.	https://uvm.dk/arbejdsmarkedssuddannelser-amu/om-amu

Active Employment Measures	Assist unemployed individuals with upgrading their skills.	Varies since this involves a variety of measures. However, a 2014 law was passed to improve the skills of unemployed individuals	Unemployed individuals	Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment	Public	Enabler as these initiatives are meant to upgrade the skills of unemployed individuals and assist them in re-integrating into the Danish labour market	https://www.star.dk/en/active-labour-policy-measures/
Financial Incentives for Municipalities	Cash reward for municipalities for each refugee in job or education.	2016	Municipalities	Danish Government and Local Government Denmark (KL)	Public	Since municipalities are responsible for 'matching' MRAs with appropriate jobs, this initiative could ostensibly be considered an enabler. However, it does encourage municipal authorities to 'push' refugees to take on <i>any</i> job, rather than the <i>right</i> job.	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-05/flygtningestrommer-ind-paarbejdsmarkedet
Mentorship programmes	In 2015, 5 municipalities received funding to establish a mentor corps to help refugees integrated into the Danish labour market	2015	Refugees	Municipalities in Haderslev, Sorø, Ringsted, Næstved og Helsingør.	Public	Considering the importance of networks in Denmark (cf. 4.2.3), this initiative can be considered a significant enabler	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2016/flygtningefar-hjaelp-af-frivillige-mentorere
Initiatives targeting 'non-western' immigrant women	In 2018 the government set aside DKK 140 million for the period 2019-2022, to be used for initiatives geared towards integrating non-western immigrant women into the Danish labour market.	2018	Non-western immigrant women	Local Government Denmark (KL), Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration (SIRI) and	Public	This initiative is meant to enable immigrant women's access to the Danish labour market. Since it was implemented in 2019, it is difficult to adjudge whether or not it is an enabler/barrier.	http://uim.dk/nyheder/2018/2018-10/regeringen-saetter-ind-for-at-fa-flere-ikke-vestlige-kvinder-i-arbejde

ANNEX IIIA - Interviews

	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution *
Ministry Interview 1	June 8th	Spokesperson	Ministry
Ministry Interview 2	November 19th	Chief Consultant	Ministry
Governmental Agency Interview 1	December 5th	Chief Consultant	Governmental Agency involved in the recruitment of migrant workers
Municipality Interview 1	December 21st	Integration Consultant	Municipality
Municipality Interview 2	January 3rd	Integration Consultant	Municipality
Municipality Interview 3	January 17th	Leader of Integration Team	Municipality
Political Party Interview 1	November 26 th	Parliamentarian	Political Party
Political Party Interview 2	December 12th	Spokesperson	Political Party
Political Party Interview 3	January 10th	Spokesperson	Political Party
Political Party Interview 4	February 7th	Member/Formar Parliamentarian	Political Party
Confederation of Employers Interview 1	October 22nd	Chief Consultant	Confederation of Employers
Confederation of Labour Unions Interview 1	October 31st	Spokesperson	Confederation of Labour Unions
Labour Union Interview 1	November 13th	Chief Consultant	Labour Union
Labour Union Interview 2	December 11th	Chief Consultant	Labour Union
Private Sector Employer Interview 1	November 22nd	Operations Manager	Private Company
Public Sector Employer Interview 1	November 5th	Human Resources Manager	Public University
Public Sector Employer Interview 2	January 21st	Adult Education Specialist	Community Centre
NGO Interview 1	May 23rd	Senior Advisor	Civil Society Organization

NGO Interview 2 ⁵³	December 13th	Director of Integration	Civil Society Organization
NGO Interview 3	January 9th	Director	Civil Society Organization
NGO Interview 4	February 8th	Project Manager	Civil Society Organization
Social Partner Interview 1	December 13th	Chief of Communications	Social Partner
Social Partner Interview 2	October 26th	Director	Social Partner

⁵³ NGO Interviews 1 and 2 were conducted with two different representatives of the same civil society organization

ANNEX IIIB - Interviews

Interviews (Past Beneficiaries)										
Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Refugee, Interview 1	December 14th	34	M	Married	Afghanistan	2010	MA	PhD	Businessman	English, Danish, Pashto, Dari
Refugee Interview 2	December 21st	28	M	Single	Afghanistan	2012	BA	Student	Student	English, Dari, Urdu
Refugee Interview 3	October 26th	26	M	Single	Uganda	2014	MA	Driver	Artist	English, Swahili
Refugee Interview 4	November 28th	32	M	Married	Iraq	2009	MA	Student	Writer	English, Kurdish, Arabic
Refugee Interview 5	December 21st	26	M	Single	Iraq	2010	BA	Student	Writer	English, Kurdish, Arabic
Refugee Interview 6	November 15 th	22	M	Married	Iraq	2011	MA	Cleaner	Journalist	English, Kurdish, Arabic
Refugee Interview 7	November 7th	34	F	Single	Syria	2012	BA	Shop Attendant	Artist	English, Arabic
Refugee Interview 9	February 6th	42	M	Married	Afghanistan	2008	BA	Cycle shop owner	Businessman	English, Urdu, Danish, Dari

Refugee Interview 10	November 12th	24	M	Single	Afghanistan	2008	BA	Artist	Attended school	English, Dari, Farsi, Danish
Non-refugee Interview 1	November 25th	42	M	Married	India	2009	MA	Driver	Computer Engineer	English, Danish, Tamil, Hindi
Non-refugee Interview 2	December 13th	29	F	Married	India	2014	MA	IT Specialist	IT Specialist	English, Hindi, Marathi
Non-refugee Interview 3	November 29th	31	F	Single	India	2013	PhD	Researcher	Student	English, Hindi, Punjabi
Non-refugee Interview 4	November 29th	32	F	Married	India	2012	MA	IT Specialist	IT Specialist	English, Hindi, Gujrati
Non-refugee Interview 5	October 29th	40	F	Single	India	2011	PhD	Academic	Academic	English, Bengali, Hindi
Non-refugee Interview 6	October 26 th	41	F	Married	USA	2008	PhD	Academic	Academic	English
Non-refugee Interview 7	October 17 th	28	F	Single	USA	2012	BA	Educational Consultant	Student	English, Danish
Non-refugee Interview 8	October 11th	29	M	Single	USA	2009	BA	IT specialist	Student	English
Non-refugee Interview 9	November 6th	24	F	Single	USA	2012	MA	Marketing Executive	Student	English, Danish
Non-refugee Interview 10	October 22nd	25	M	Single	USA	2014	BA	MA student	Student	English, Danish

ANNEX IV - Summaries of conducted interviews

Stakeholders		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
Ministry Interview 1	This was the second stakeholder interview conducted for this report. This interviewee expressed support for the 'employment first' policy. His support was rooted in his conception of non-Western MRAs as a burden. It is for this reason that he said that he wanted MRAs "to be self-reliant and not depend on social benefits from the welfare state". He also believed that non-Western MRAs did not have any valuable skills and education. And when asked if it is possible that the push for 'employment first' may drive MRAs into jobs that are exploitative, he said, "they don't have any skills to exploit".	June 8th
Ministry Interview 2	This ministry interview revolved around the political debate in Denmark on MRA unemployment and criminality and the 'Ghetto Law'. Like in the Ministry Interview 1, she too considered it self-evident that MRAs lack any valuable skills. When asked if this conception was based on empirical data, she considered it to be "naïve" to not recognize that MRAs "don't have too many skills or qualifications that have any value in Denmark". When pressed, during the interview, to reveal any available data on this, she insinuated that the interviewer's (Somdeep's) was pursuing this line of questioning because he felt stigmatized as a non-Western MRA in Denmark.	November 19th
Governmental Agency Interview 1	Since this agency works towards recruiting migrant labour, much of the discussion were on the bureaucratic challenges of integration MRAs into the Danish labour market in the <i>right</i> way. She revealed that it is indeed true that many skilled MRAs end up in un-skilled positions due to the 'employment first' policy. She added that all stakeholders were not on board with the tripartite agreement. She said, "The problem is that LO, DA and the government decided on the policy. But it is the job of the municipality to implement and they were not taken into consideration". She went on to say, "Municipalities in Denmark are very different, and the integration departments and the job centres do not always work together. So, much of my work involves travelling across the country convincing municipalities to get on board".	December 5th
Municipality Interview 1	This interview was conducted with the representative of a municipality that is considered high 'performing' – meaning that they have been successful in 'pushing' the majority of MRAs in their constituency into the labour market. Therefore, when asked if the municipality has a system in place to adjudge the qualifications of MRAs, he said, "We are required to ensure that immigrants find a job as quickly as possible. We can of course choose to send their qualifications to the Ministry of Higher Education for an	December 21st

	assessment. Sometimes we do this. But we are not going to wait for this assessment. In the meantime, the migrant will have to take whatever job is available". Considering the difference in approaches seen in Municipality Interviews 1 and 2 (below), this shows the importance of accounting for the agency of municipality bureaucrats and the manner in which they <i>choose</i> to interpret the 'employment first' policy.	
Municipality Interview 2	This was a particularly revealing interview that showed the limitations placed on municipalities and the extent to which they are institutionally pushed to 'match' MRAs with <i>any</i> job rather than the <i>right</i> job. Accordingly, an integration consultant said, "The mandate for us is very clear. We have to get refugees and migrants on the quickest way to employment. But sometimes I notice that some people already have most of the right qualifications to get a good job and all they need is some training courses. So, I make sure that they get that training and eventually get the right job. Of course, this can be considered to be a violation of the rules and someone may come and ask for a reason why I have done this. Nonetheless, we try to do the best for the migrant to make sure that they enter the job market in the right way"	January 3rd
Municipality Interview 3	This interview was conducted over the phone due to scheduling issues. The interviewee was very interested in viewing the labour market integration issues through an academic lens. He too presented a perspective whereby he saw immense value in the 'employment first' policy. Yet, he also saw challenges and argued that there are fundamental differences in the work cultures of Danes and MRAs. He clarified however that this perspective was not rooted in prejudice. He said, "I am not saying that there is something wrong with immigrants who come from Africa. But there is obviously a difference in how they work. Before the fall of the Berlin wall there were differences between East Germany and West Germany as well. It's the same thing".	January 17th
Political Party Interview 1	This interview was important in revealing the nature of the political landscape in which current policies of labour market integration are being formulated and implemented. Accordingly, the interviewee made it clear that if a political party was to maintain its relevance in mainstream politics, they need to operate within a political discourse that considers integration as achieved when a migrant is employed and therefore <i>not</i> a burden to the Danish state. With regards to asking questions that consider integration to be much more substantial as a process she said, "If you try to say that migrants add some value to Danish society or if you ask, 'what kind of jobs are we offering refugees?', 'Are these the right kind of jobs?', 'Are we leveraging the skills and experiences of refugees in the best way possible?', you are considered to be naïve and idealistic. So, if we want to stay relevant in these political discussions, we cannot ask these critical questions or recommend an integration strategy that is much more substantial than labour market integration".	November 26 th

Political Party Interview 2	This interview was conducted with a representative of a political party that is entirely un-aligned with the right-wing parties in Denmark – socially and economically. Therefore, the interviewee was most critical of the burden perspective and highlighted the party's long-standing stance that migrants are not a burden to the Danish state. He said, "We have for a long time pushed for the recognition of the skills, experiences and education of migrants. But saying that migrants have certain skills that are valuable to Denmark is not an attractive political discourse". However, recognizing that the party is being 'pushed' to take on the mainstream perspective, he said, "There are many members who are not in agreement with my perspective. I know some who want to take on the mainstream idea of migrants as a burden".	December 12th
Political Party Interview 3	This interviewee is from a political party that, while in the opposition, often supports policies of the right-wing parties. To this end, she strongly believed that there were cultural differences between MRAs and Danes and that often the values of the former are incompatible with those that define Danish society. For her, nowhere was this more visible than in the number of MRA women who are not integrated into the Danish labour market. She said, "We consider the employment of migrant women to be a priority. The statistics are clear and show that women with a migrant background are underrepresented in the Danish labour market. But this also shows a cultural barrier and something we need to solve".	January 10th
Political Party Interview 4	While this interviewee was affiliated with a left-leaning party that is critical of government policies, he considered himself as not principled in the sense that he judged policies on the basis of their merits rather than the political party that formulates it. Accordingly, he said that he was much more centrist in his approach to labour market integration and considered MRAs to indeed be a burden. Moreover, he rationalized the network-based system of employment as an understandable feature of the Danish labour since Denmark was a small country. He said, "...We like to know one another and work with familiar people. So, networks and who you know becomes very important here". He further added, "But you have to also think from the perspective of employers. They get so many CVs. They have no idea about the education of many immigrants. So, in the end it is much easier to hire someone you know"	February 7th
Confederation of Employers Interview 1	As a representative of a confederation of employers that is one of the key signatories of the tripartite agreement, this interviewee strongly supported the 'employment first' policy. Yet, his support was primarily rooted in securing the interests of Danish employers. He said, "Our main goal is to make sure that Danish employers have a diverse labour market to choose from". When asked what	October 22nd

	'diverse' means, he said, "This could mean the IT sector where many Danish companies need qualified people. But this could also mean the cleaning sector where there is a shortage". He then insisted that the confederation's stance was not political and that it is up to the government to decide if/when the refugees are to be returned to their home country. While they are in Denmark, however, refugees must work and be of value to Danish companies.	
Confederation of Labour Unions Interview 1	Since the confederation of labour unions in Denmark plays a critical role in policymaking, this was an important interview for understanding the broader politics/negotiations that lie behind law-making in regard to the labour market. The interviewee revealed a number of challenges faced in the implementation of labour market integration policies in the interest of refugees. He said however, "The main challenge has been to come to an agreement with all of our members [unions] in terms of what is the best way to introduce these people into the Danish job market". He then added, "Everyone is concerned about refugees entering the labour market and working for lower wages and this will impact the Danish worker negatively". Then, speaking of the value of the IGU program, he said, "It is a good compromise. It gives refugees the needed experience to take a normal path into the Danish labour market. But their wages are also comparable in terms of internship salaries and it's only a two-year program. So, these workers will not be working for cheap for a long time".	October 31st
Labour Union Interview 1	As a representative of one of the largest labour unions in the country this was an important interview in terms of the union being a key stakeholder in the negotiations that lead to labour market policies. To this end, this interviewee insisted that their primary goal is to ensure the protection of Danish labourers. He added that many of the sectors the labour union represents are where refugees end up taking jobs and therefore noted that the vocational training provided by the IGU programme is very useful as it ensures that they are qualified to be integrated into the Danish labour market. He added, "When foreigners, especially refugees began coming to Denmark from Syria in masses in 2012, many people said these were highly educated and skilled. But we have talked to the municipalities, social partners and NGOs and everyone told us that this is a myth. Most have low-levels of education and skills".	November 13th
Labour Union Interview 2	This was an interesting interview considering the fact that this labour union was very much involved in the negotiations that led to the IGU programme but were nonetheless deeply critical of the political discourse (of success) that has surrounded the implementation of the initiative. He therefore said, "Before we had implemented the IGU programme, there was a certain agreement in the government that it was a success. How can a two-year programme be declared a success before it was implemented? Even after six months, many political partners and social partners were making public statements declaring that IGU was a success. We know that this is because there was an agreement on a narrow	December 11th

	understanding of integration, even though we know that integration has other important factors". In a sense then, this interviewee made us realize the politics that underlies the shift in the understanding of what integration stands for in Denmark.	
Private Sector Employer Interview 1	This private sector employer was very positive in terms of the integration of MRAs into the Danish labour market. This was because a significant proportion of his employees had a migrant background. More importantly he countered the narrative that all or most MRAs do not have any skills or qualifications that are of value to the Danish economy. This was evident in the following account: "We always hear that immigrants and refugees have no education or skills. That may be true in some cases, but I have several highly skilled employees who are refugees. They are doctors, engineers and some were high level executives in big companies in their homeland. With me they are driving. There is something wrong here". He then added, "the main problem is that there is no mechanism or system in place that tries to record the skills of refugees. I was sitting in a meeting one time with municipal authorities and private sector employers. A representative of a telecommunications company said they need people with managerial experience in telecommunications. I said, I have a driver from Syria who was a high-level manager in a telecommunication company. Then I looked at the municipality representative and said it was their responsibility to match the refugee with the job and not assume that they can't do anything".	November 22nd
Public Sector Employer Interview 1	Compared to the private sector employer, this human resource specialist was critical of the possibility of successfully integrating MRAs in general and refugees in particular into the Danish labour market. She pointed, for one, to the differences in the work culture: "The refugee I have hired did not show up to work one day. When I called her, she said that she didn't come because she was late. I was confused and said that she should still come to work even though she is late. But then I figured out that the problem was that where she worked back home, if you were even a minute late, someone else would take over your shift. So, she thought it was the same system. I had to explain to her that in the Danish workplace only she has the responsibilities for her tasks and her colleagues are dependent on her. So, she must show up". However, she also revealed the problems employers will face if the hiring of MRAs is driven by an urge to 'do good' without having the proper infrastructure to support the integration of MRAs into a Danish workplace. She noted, "I hired the refugee student worker because I wanted to help. But I am alone in this. There is no support for this from my department. I don't know what her needs are, and I have to do everything on my own. I wouldn't hire a refugee again without any real organizational support".	November 5th

Public Sector Employer Interview 2	This interview once again revealed the importance of having the proper infrastructure and institutional set-up in place to ensure the successful integration of MRAs. As a worker at a community centre where there are several employed migrants this interviewee did not experience any difficulties in hiring refugees. She said, "We have done this before so for us it was not a big jump to hire refugees. There are always problems when you start but we never see this as the end of the process of integration. It is just a start and more often than not things work out".	January 21st
NGO Interview 1	Being the first stakeholder interview, it was critical in helping us frame our fieldwork and gave us a very good understanding of how the conception of integration has changed in Denmark. This was captured well in this already cited interview quote: "If you look at the nature of Danish integration policies before 2015 it was like a staircase. Before you can be out in the labour market, you had to climb these 'integration steps' that included language education and maybe even some training before you could look for a job. This was a long process and you had to wait for a long period before you are considered capable of participating in the Danish labour market. Now, a migrant is considered qualified to work immediately after they arrive in Denmark". This interviewee however added that this shift in the understanding of integration can of course overshadow the reality that integration, in fact, is a far more substantial process.	May 23rd
NGO Interview 2	While this interviewee is the Director of Integration at an NGO, she was also a former parliamentarian. Therefore, she was well suited to give a broader understanding of how/why labour market integration came to be synonymous with integration in general. She said, "One reason [for the shift in the understanding of integration] is the broader thinking [in Danish society] of how much employment is a value for most people...[in] people's everyday thinking about their life, and there is a lot of identity value. I think it's a lot of worth you put in having a job". She was of course critical of this perspective and said, "...I think there is the whole way the public opinion is being shaped by politicians. And the story that is being told [is that] immigrants are a burden. [But] it is a quick fix to think of that [employment] as the main issue and of course for a lot of refugees, a lot of immigrants, employment would also be part of the solution; also, as a pathway to social integration of sorts. But then, from my perspective, you also know that you can easily work as an immigrant and still not be socially integrated. Work places can also be segregated. You could also be employed and maybe not even meet a Danish speaking person all day. So, even though you have a job it is not necessarily true that having a job would make you socially integrated as well". In the end, she added that integration must happen on the terms of migrants and as a pilot initiative she wanted to start an orientation programme that would inform MRAs about Denmark in their <i>own</i> language. She added, "Why do they need to wait to learn Danish to understand Danish society".	December 13th

NGO Interview 3	This being an NGO concerned with cultural activities, the discussions were not as focused on the labour market integration of MRAs. However, the interviewee noted, “We have to understand whether you say integration is about getting a job or something else, we need to get the perspective of migrants”. He then added, “Now we have a new project where young immigrants give lectures at companies that want to hire foreigners and tell them about how they experience integration in Denmark”.	January 9th
NGO Interview 4	This interview was conducted with a prominent Danish NGO that, according to the interviewee, “plays an important role in many aspects of integration in Denmark”. When she was asked about the focus on labour market integration, she added, “That is a political focus. We all know this. For our work that is not a meaningful understanding of integration”. Then arguing for a far more substantial understanding of integration, she added, “We see that building networks is the most important part of integration. We have programs that pair refugees with Danish volunteers who support them in their everyday lives. There is no money involved so it’s an equal relationship. But it makes refugees feel like they have a network of friends in Denmark”.	February 8th
Social Partner Interview 1	This was an important interview in terms of pointing to the existence of social partners who consider their ‘operational baseline’ to be that MRAs can serve some value to the Danish economy. Their work focuses on encouraging private and public sector employers to hire MRAs. Explaining the organization’s approach, she said, “We always like to say to Danish companies and managers that it is okay to make mistakes. We need to be more tolerant to refugees and migrants and allow them to fail and learn from their mistakes and the breaking of Danish norms. They should be given the freedom to do this and eventually they will become no different than their Danish colleagues”. When asked how receptive Danish companies were to this way of thinking, she replied, “You see this is happening more and more. Strong managers take a leadership role in these matters. Sometimes they take the strategy where they openly discuss the fears of the Danish employees. Other times they take a much firmer position and say, ‘Look Samira has travelled across several countries with her children before she came to Denmark. She did it looking for a better life. This was not for fun. And now that she is in Denmark, we have to welcome her’. Most of the time this strategy works”.	December 13th
Social Partner Interview 2	This was a very important social partner interview because they were the first organization in Denmark to advocate diversity in the Danish workplace. Considering their long-standing work on the subject they also have a much more fundamental understanding of the problems of labour market integration in Denmark, as they advocated (albeit, unsuccessfully) a foundational re-thinking of the prevalent narrative tropes in the political discourse. This was evident when he said, “We tried to change the narrative and not use the word ‘indvanderer’ (immigrant) and say ‘nydanske’ (new Dane) instead. But now it’s just a buzzword. And, people are still	October 26th

	angry with the work we do and think that we are trying to change Denmark. I personally get threatening letters, death threats saying that we are destroying Denmark”.	
Beneficiaries		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
Refugee Interview 1	This interviewee was the most well-established refugee interviewed for this project. For one, having worked with various NGOs in Denmark on the welfare of refugees he had a good understanding of the challenges of integrating into Danish society as a refugee. Yet, he also revealed the extent to which success and failure of refugees in Denmark was dependent on the agency and entrepreneurial spirit of the refugees themselves. He noted, “No one helped me here. All the municipality wanted me to do was get a job. But I have been to Europe before becoming a refugee. I was a successful businessman back in Afghanistan. So, I know how things work here. But for many people this is difficult, and they need support; systematic support so that everyone can succeed”.	December 14th
Refugee Interview 2	With many stakeholders arguing that MRAs in general and refugees in particular do not have valuable skills and qualifications, this interviewee demonstrated the extent to which this burden perspective animates the way in which the refugees are pushed into the job market without taking into consideration their aspirations for their life in exile. This was evident when he said, “After my asylum application was approved and I was assigned a place to stay, I remember meeting my case-handler at the municipality. I knew that in return for social benefits I had to either start working or find an education. But, when I arrived at the meeting the focus was only on finding a job, <i>any</i> job”.	December 21st
Refugee Interview 3	This Ugandan refugee once again revealed the extent to which success/failure as a refugee in Denmark is dependent on a refugee’s own entrepreneurial ways. Reflecting on his own success in securing an education and job in Denmark, he said, “Back home I hustled my way to success. I was an artist and actor, so I know how to talk to people. In Denmark I used these skills to build relationships at the asylum centre. I was friendly with everyone. Then the administrator of the centre noticed me and said that he wanted to help me get my career started in Denmark. So, with his help, I was able to convince Aalborg University to recognize my BA degree and I started an MA here. After the MA, I built relationships with social partners who then helped me find a job. But this is all because of my efforts. There is no system in place in Denmark where they check your education and experience. I was successful only because I was able to do it myself”.	October 26th

Refugee Interview 4	This interview (along with interview 5) was particularly elaborative in demonstrating the extent to which a mis-match between the skills/qualifications of refugees and the (often-low-skilled) opportunities offered to them can have a detrimental impact on their general welfare. He noted, "The problem here is not that we have to deal with the integration processes. It is that the authorities here assume that I am useless. They don't look at your experience or education. All they want to do is push you out of the system by getting you a job. They don't care what kind of job". He then added, "I can say that I am successful because I am studying and will get a BA soon. But back home I was a writer. I sometimes get sad about the amount of time I have lost in Denmark".	November 28th
Refugee Interview 5	This interviewee revealed the importance of having a network in Denmark in order to secure a job. He said, "People have a negative view of refugees. So, getting a job with someone you don't know is next to impossible. I have always found jobs, small or big, with people I know. You need to know people here in Denmark to move forward. This is a challenge for refugees because we don't have a fixed place to stay. If you are a single man like me the municipality will just move, you to a new place every few months. So, it is very difficult to have Danish friends or neighbours and we cannot build a network". Furthermore, he added that not having a network can lead to exploitative working conditions. Describing one such instance, he said, "I found a job at a restaurant. They said come and work for a day as a trainee for free and from tomorrow you can start a full-time job. So, I worked 12 hours for them. Next day there was no job and they never answered my calls".	December 21st
Refugee Interview 6	This interviewee was a Kurdish activist in Iraq and had to flee Iraqi Kurdistan as she feared being arrested by the Kurdish authorities for writing an article critical of the Kurdish regional government. She noted at the outset that there was a significant mismatch between her life in Denmark and her life in Iraq. She said, "I don't understand this talk about integration. There is a big difference in my life. I was a journalist in Iraq. People knew me, they respected me. Here [in Denmark] I clean. So, am I integrated?". However, despite this disparity she added, "I am somehow happy. I have political protection here. I am safe. I am making new friends. One day maybe I will become a journalist here. Who knows? The most important thing for me is that I am safe and happy".	November 15 th
Refugee Interview 7	This interview was a prominent artist in Syria. Yet, in Denmark he has only been able to secure low-skilled forms of work and currently has a job as a shop attended. Explaining the negative affect this has on his well-being, he said, "It is just so sad. When I call my parents, I have to always lie to them. I say my life is great here. Everything is beautiful. I don't show them pictures of the place I live and where I work. This is the first time I have lied to my parents". He then added, "This is not a life. It is better to die in Syria because this is not living".	November 7th

Refugee Interview 9	As a business owner in Denmark, this interviewee was most positive about the prospects of refugee integration in the country. He said, "If I can do it, anyone can do it. It is not easy to make a life here. I also have a family here. There are cultural challenges, language problems and of course many people don't like refugees". When asked if he considers himself as successfully integrated, he noted, "In a way, I now speak the language and have a business. So, you can say that". When asked about best practices for how refugees can be integrated into Danish society, he added, "We have to realize no one will take care of your interests here. The municipality has its own agenda. The politicians have their own agenda. You have to do everything on your own. Only then will you succeed".	February 6th
Refugee Interview 10	Since this interviewee came to Denmark as a teenager, his process of integration was significantly different than the other refugee interviewees. He began his integration process as a student and, in due course, received his citizenship. Therefore, when asked about his identity as a refugee he said, "I am both Danish and Afghan. Since I came to this country young I have more of a network and feel more part of this society". However, during the interview, he did reflect on the divisive political discourse on refugees in Denmark and said, "What we need is the refugee perspective. No one asks what we think. How do we experience integration? So, as a spoken word artist, in my work and when I talk to young people, I tell them it is time for us to speak up and explain how we experience life in Denmark".	November 12th
Non-refugee Interview 1	The assumption that MRAs lack any significant skills or that their experience in their home country has little relevance in Denmark, is often associated with refugees. However, this interview demonstrated the extent to which this can equally affect non-refugee migrants and that the burden perspective also animates <i>their</i> encounters with the municipality. This was amply evident in the following account relayed by this interviewee: "I have been working as a driver in Denmark even though I have a degree in computer engineering. My field is in high demand, but I couldn't find a job when I came to Denmark on the Greencard Scheme. So, I did this job to support my family. Now I have Danish permanent residency and I went to (the) municipality to look for some financial assistance so that I can take a training course that would help me find a job in the IT sector. But they refused and said that my experience is in driving and so I should stay in a driving job and not try to shift careers". When asked about what he planned to do next, he said, "Since I have permanent residency, I know that my status here is secure. So, I may get out of the system and not take unemployment benefits and instead just pay for this training on my own".	November 25th
Non-refugee Interview 2	This interview was important in terms of once again demonstrating that swift labour market integration is not guaranteed when one has the skills that are in demand in the Danish labour market. Moreover, the interviewee indicated that there is often a de-valuation of non-Danish qualifications, especially at the municipality's job centre where case-handlers are tasked to ensure	December 13th

	that MRAs swiftly enter the labour market and are often not concerned whether a migrant is able to secure the <i>right</i> job. She said, “Back home, I had a very good high paid job and I was being head hunted. Before I moved to Denmark, companies in the UK and Germany were trying to recruit me. But in Denmark none of the companies invited me for an interview. So, taking the advice of my neighbour I went to the jobcentre at the municipality. Here I am, with experience in a major company. But the municipality did not look at my education or experience. It was almost like they completely ignored whatever I had achieved. Instead, they wanted me to take a cleaning job”. Then reflecting the detrimental effect this can have on the well-being and sense of self-worth for the migrant she said, “Now I have a good job. But it was humiliating to go to the municipality. I felt I had no value”.	
Non-refugee Interview 3	Despite being a high-skilled migrant who, in the current political discourse, would be considered best suited to integrate into Danish society, her experience in Denmark was quite the contrary. She said, “I have been employed as a PhD researcher in Denmark for more than three years. But I don’t have any Danish friends. My supervisor is Danish, and he is of course very helpful and nice. But we are not friends”. She then added, “It is not that Danes are bad people or have a problem with foreigners. It’s just that the cultural differences are too big. I don’t drink or speak Danish, so it is impossible sometimes to socially spend time with my Danish colleagues”, In a sense, this interviewee also revealed the possible existence of a significant cultural barrier between MRAs and Danes that prevent the former’s substantial integration into Danish society. Moreover, her experience contradicts the assumption among many stakeholders that having a job would naturally lead to the integration of migrants in Denmark.	November 29th
Non-refugee Interview 4	This interview once again was critical in demonstrating that there exists (among Danish employers) an assumption that migrant employees can be a burden to a Danish workplace. The presence of such prejudice is evident in this interviewee’s account of an unsuccessful attempt in securing a job in Aarhus: “It was my first job application in Denmark. Initially they were very positive. I went through several rounds of interviews and was successful. But after the final interview they told me that they hired someone else. Later I found out that it was a Dane...Officially, I was not given a reason. But I was friends with the HR manager on LinkedIn and she posted something saying that if Danish companies want to grow, they need to hire foreigners. Later I met her at a networking event, and she said that the only reason I was not hired was because I was not Danish and having a Dane in the company was easier for them than a foreigner”.	November 29th
Non-refugee Interview 5	This interview was conducted with a prominent academic who moved to Denmark with the assumption that there was a transparent work culture. Yet, she realized the barriers one faces in a Danish workplace in terms of the importance that is often placed on established social and professional networks. She	October 29th

	noted, "...I quickly realized that here it is all about who you know. Around me I can see that promotions and opportunities are only given to people you know. Everyone has their network already and for a foreigner like me it is very difficult to get into these networks. Sometimes I have seen job openings that are supposedly public. But when I look at the job description it is so specific that I know who the job is for".	
Non-refugee Interview 6	This interview was conducted with a very prominent academic in Denmark. When asked about the barriers she faced while integrating into the Danish labour market in general and workplace in particular, she said, "I have faced no problems. It is also because I am white and American. The skin colour helps and getting a visa was never an issue". When specifically asked about her experiences in the Danish workplace, she added however, "There are of course some cultural challenges. Language is a big problem. The issue sometimes is that people assume that if you don't speak Danish you are somehow avoiding responsibilities. This kind of prejudice exists".	October 26 th
Non-refugee Interview 7	This interviewee relayed a far more challenging path to her integration in Denmark. Aware of the divisive political rhetoric in the country, she noted, "When I came here, I was very much in tune with the way politicians talk about immigrants. So, I knew what I was getting into". Then she relayed her own challenges in Denmark: "As an American I am very privileged, but I was unlucky. When I first got a job here and applied for a work permit, it was denied because my employer could not show that a Dane could not do this job. They had to use a lawyer and eventually we won, and I got my visa. More recently I applied for permanent residency and it was rejected because my past internships were not deemed as legitimate forms of employment". Then, when asked about the effect such experiences have had on her, she said, "I am very stressed. Of course, I have a job and I can stay here but this kind of rejection really makes you paranoid all the time. And of course, I am privileged, and I can always go back to America but imagine if you were a refugee?".	October 17 th
Non-refugee Interview 8	At the outset this interviewee noted that he did not have any negative experiences entering the job market in Denmark. He said, "I have a very specific set of IT skills that very few people have here in Denmark. So, when I applied for a job there were many offers. Also, I work in start-ups where the language is global. So, for an American it is very easy". When asked about his experience securing a Danish work visa, he said, "I have never had any problems. The employer does everything for me". Then when asked about his attempts to integrate into Danish society, he said, "I know that it is bad to say but I don't really want to learn Danish. Everyone I know speaks English and that is enough for me. I don't really care. I should learn Danish, but I would rather enjoy my evenings than spend them in Danish class".	October 11 th

Non-refugee Interview 9	As a marketing executive working in a large Danish company, this interviewee (like the other American interviewees) also said that she has faced very few challenges in the Danish labour market and the Danish workplace. She said, "It is a big international company and most people are either foreigners or Danes who have lived abroad. The working language is English. They know how to help us with visa bureaucracies. So, in general it is quite easy". However, when asked if she faced any significant cultural barriers in the Danish workplace, she noted, "Nothing major but sometimes you notice how all the high-level executives are Danish. There you can see that we have a limit on how high I can rise in a Danish company. Also, sometimes you get emails where Danes seem annoyed that everything is in English. These things remind you that sentiments like this are always in the background".	November 6th
Non-refugee Interview 10	This interviewee came to Denmark as an exchange student and has since enrolled into a master's degree programme at a reputed Danish university. He did not express any problems entering Denmark or securing a job. However, he did reveal the importance of having a network: "It was quite easy for me. When I was an exchange student, I worked hard to build contacts here. Most students were partying, but I was doing internships. Because of this when I came back to Denmark for an MA, I was able to easily find a part time job. That's the good thing here. If you know people you will find something".	October 22nd

5 Finland

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5.1 Introduction

This report identifies and analyses various kinds of policy factors that affect the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (MRA) into the Finnish labour market. The purpose is to identify and assess which policies and services function as barriers and which as enablers. This assessment is done based on various stages of research. The number of migrants in Finland remains small compared to most European and SIRIUS-partner countries. However, their labour integration has not been overly successful. Unemployment amongst migrants is significantly higher than among native born, although there is great variation between different migrant groups. Especially the integration of non-EU migrants, which is also the focus group of our SIRIUS research, into the labour market has been challenging. To advance integration, various integration policies and services have been created. The analysing the functioning of these policies is the main focus of this report.

In the first stage, we have completed a discourse analysis, studying the way that different actors central to integration issues frame the labour market integration MRA. The discourse analysis illustrates that integration issues in Finland are largely discussed consensus based. Although different actors emphasise different things and there are also contrary opinions, most of the topics and solutions brought up are similar to each other across actors. Integration is mainly framed through finding work and learning the language. The opportunities that MRA bring to Finland are clearly emphasised more than the possible challenges. Several barriers to integration are however also identified in the discourse, including a lack of language skills, networks, qualifications, a recognition of qualification and ineffective integration procedures.

In the next stage, we identified the existing integration policies and services available for migrants. Corner stones to Finnish integration services are the initial information provided to migrants after moving to Finland, the initial assessment done to determine the services needed, the individual integration plan in which the integration procedures of migrants are agreed upon and the integration training. Most of the integration services are however only available for unemployed or income support receiving migrants.

In the third part, we performed a meta-analysis of previous research and assessments, which largely focused on the central services and policies identified in the previous stage of the research. It seems that especially the integration plans have been found beneficial to integration according to previous research

In the last stage of our research, we investigated the strength and weaknesses of policies and services through semi-structured interviews with migrants and stakeholders. Altogether 37 interviews were conducted. The findings of the interviews are elaborated under five different topics, which are 1) information about Finland, 2) integration services 3) integration service, training and courses 4) finding work in Finland and 5) recognition of skills and qualifications.

5.2 Overview on the Framing of MRA and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse

This discourse analysis studies the discourses of the various actors that have a central role in labour market integration of migrants including government ministries, political parties, official national institutions, NGOs, faith based organizations, labour unions and employer organizations. Representative texts were selected from the material available on their websites, including articles, briefings, blog posts, publications and brochures. Only texts related to the labour market integration of migrants were selected. In addition, key word searches were used to identify available material. Material published from 2014 to September 2018 was selected. Altogether, 250 texts were included in the analysis. More specific information on what texts were included can be found in ANNEX I & II. The analysis identifies thematically what issues regarding labour market integration are brought up by policy makers and actors and how they are framed.

5.2.1 General Framing of Labour Market Integration Issues

The discourses identify various **actors as being responsible for**, or at least as having a role in, the labour market integration of migrants. These include government officials, national institutions, the migrants themselves, cities and municipalities, neighbourhoods, “social partners,” civil society organizations and NGOs, enterprises and employers, colleagues, unions, schools and education facilities, teachers and fellow citizens. However, the role of the officials in integrating migrants is most commonly emphasised. This is done especially in the documents by officials such as ministries and national institutions. The basic idea seems to be that migrants are integrated, rather than they themselves integrate into society. Although the agency of migrants themselves is not noticeably stressed, some of the documents also mention the migrants’ own responsibility. The migrants’ own responsibility is highlighted mainly in the Finns party documents. In the discourse of the other actors this is stressed mainly by emphasising the role that migrants’ motivation and activity have in the integration process. Some actors such as NGOs and the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment state that the integration process is not just driven by officials but rather by everyday life in Finland. None of the actors included in the analysis, except The Finnish Immigration service, explicitly state that integration is not their responsibility. **The European Union** is consistently mentioned as an actor in migration and integration issues throughout the texts usually in terms of various regulations and directives, such as the Dublin regulation or the Blue card regulations. The EU’s role is thus framed as bureaucratically shaping the environment, but not as an actor. Overall, the role of EU is not questioned or problematized, although the challenges it faces are recognised.

The importance of **collaboration** between various actors is stressed by all the actors, as is the lack of collaboration between key responsible actors. The discourses note that even though collaboration does occur, it is not intensive enough. Therefore, as a remedy, the need to develop further collaboration between actors is constantly emphasised. None of the actors dispute the need for this. However, no clear practical solutions are suggested.

What is understood as integration is not much discussed or contested in the documents. There seems to be a strong consensus that integration includes finding employment (by maybe first attending education) and learning the language. Overall a **strong labour market**

orientation can be detected in the texts and all the actors acknowledge the role of employment in the integration process. Moreover, there is a strong emphasis on **the role that companies are seen to have** in integration. There is a trend encouraging integration during employment. Instead of migrants first integrating and learning the language, which had been emphasised until now, learning the language and integrating in society is now seen as something that should happen while already employed. This also means that the (expected) role of enterprises in the integration process is larger than before. This is reflected in a sort of “synergy thinking”, which is widespread in the documents: the various factors of integration, such as learning the language, should occur while doing other things, such as being useful to society and achieving professional/educational development. The role of employers in the integration of those migrants that are recruited from abroad or become employed soon after arrival, is emphasised especially by the Service Union United (PAM) and the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK).

Specific **economic advantages** for Finland are mentioned in the texts. These advantages, most of which follow the same logic, are mentioned in a great number of the texts. Discourse regarding labour market integration is thus commonly framed in a positive and opportunistic overtone. Almost all of the advantages have to do with strengthening the economy by providing labour force, new skills, new contacts and new information. The advantages can be roughly divided into microeconomic ones and macroeconomic ones. On the microeconomic level, the advantages to Finnish enterprises and their competitiveness are emphasised. These micro issues are framed, along with the potential that migrants have for e.g. internationalizing companies, as opening new markets abroad, providing new networks and contacts and yielding new innovations. Also, the cultural influences that migrants bring with them are considered an advantage to the strengthening of enterprises. However, the ineffective use and recognition of migrants’ skills in companies is mentioned as a barrier.

On a macroeconomic level the benefits of as many migrants as possible being employed, and the effects on public finances and the dependency ratio are emphasised. A common issue is the ageing population of Finland. This is frequently connected to the positive effect that migration has on e.g. alleviating labour shortages and the dependency ratio. Noticeably, multiculturalism and diversity are rarely framed as having value of their own, but rather as means to an end.

The texts generally **divide migrants into two main categories**: asylum seekers and other migrants. The other migrant category is generally seen to include everyone who is not an asylum seeker: those that already have refugee status, family based migrants and labour migrants. Although the importance of recognising the heterogeneity of migrants is referred to in many of the discourses, in practice migrants are often lumped together in the texts. Asylum seekers are the single group discussed the most in the documents, which can largely be explained by the sudden rise in asylum applications around 2015. In general, the immediate reception of asylum seekers is a more prominent topic in the texts compared to the topic of long term labour market integration. Although there is a clear emphasis on asylum seekers in the documents, other migrant types are also brought up, albeit less frequently. In particular, how to keep or attract highly skilled migrants and students to Finland is often discussed. During the time period selected for analysis, several changes to policies and legislation were made to accommodate the migration of the highly skilled. These changes are discussed in the texts and overwhelmingly seen in a very positive light. None of the actors express noticeable objections to making it easier for highly skilled individuals and those educated in Finland to

migrate and work in Finland. Not even the Finns party, who are generally quite critical on migration, had significant objections regarding this topic. There is thus clearly an elite of migrants who are unquestionably considered as having a positive influence on Finland.

5.2.2 Framing of Labour Market Integration Barriers and Enablers

In the texts, a number of labour market barriers are brought up and discussed. These include e.g. a lack of language skills, a lack of recognition of qualifications, cultural differences, discrimination and a lack of networks. Various remedies are brought up. Before going into specific barriers to integration, it should be noted that a central cross-cutting aspect of the discourse regarding labour market integration is the constant insistence on a **need for speed**. All of the actors frame integration as urgent. According to the discourse, there is a need to speed up e.g. the integration process, the asylum application procedures, the language learning process, the process of improving migration management and infrastructure, and education paths. The consensus frame diagnoses a general lack of efficiency and swiftness in integration.

A central part of official integration policy in Finland is that integration training is offered mainly to unemployed migrants. In the discourse, this **integration training** is unanimously framed as something that has a positive effect on integration. None of the actors question the role of integration training. However, the form of the current training is criticized and a need for improvement is frequently noted. Problems diagnosed include e.g. the inefficient time spent in asylum centres, waiting periods before being able to start the training, and already employed migrants being completely left out of the official integration training services. Suggested remedies include speeding up the process, including those that are waiting for asylum and already employed in the services and adding more resources.

Another central problem identified in the texts is the **lack of recognition of migrants' skills**. On one hand, migrants are thought to lack of certain skills important for labour market integration. On the other hand, migrants are identified as possessing various skills useful to Finnish enterprises. **Qualifications acquired in the country of origin** are seen as an important asset, which, however, is often underutilized due to a lack of recognition or incompatibility with Finnish qualifications. On a practical level, information about the value and compatibility of migrants' skills and qualifications is seen as insufficient and at times inefficient. Various actors are portrayed as wasting time collecting the same information in an overlapping way. As a solution, various actors seem to concur unanimously that the recognition of skills and qualifications should be quicker and more thorough.

One of the main issues continuously brought up in the discourse regarding migrants' skills is the importance of learning the Finnish languages. A **lack of language skills**, mostly Finnish but also English, is diagnosed by all of the actors as a severe barrier to labour market integration. As a remedy, the consensus is that language learning should be emphasised and improved even further. Suggestions include that language training should be more flexible and available, language learning opportunities for employed individuals should be enhanced and more advanced courses should be offered. The importance of learning Finnish is especially emphasised by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The need to strengthen the Finnish **language skills of international students** is also noted by many actors. There seem to be actors, such as the government and the Ministry of Education and Culture, that advocate making language courses compulsory to some extent for international and/or exchange

students or at least making them a more prominent part of their curriculum. This frame is linked to the endeavour of attracting highly skilled persons to the Finnish labour markets.

There is another somewhat contrary discourse emphasizing the **opportunities for migrants that do not require good language skills**. This discourse somewhat challenges the commonly accepted assumption that language should be the first step to becoming part of society and integrating. For example, although the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment champions the importance of language skills, it also emphasizes that language requirements for certain jobs should be re-evaluated, and that no unnecessary language requirement should be demanded. As a remedy for the language barrier, the ministry even suggests that more public services should be offered in English. Correspondingly, various other actors also emphasise that language learning, and especially improving already existing basic language skills, should happen while being employed or being educated, rather than solely beforehand as a prelude to entering the labour market. In these assertions, there is a logic of synergy and simultaneity.

The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions frequently brings up a concern for those migrants that do not speak the language or know their labour rights properly. This is related to **racism and discrimination**, which are widely condemned in the discourse. A good atmosphere and openness are framed as advantages for all, whereas equality is framed as a fundamental part of the Finnish society and labour markets. The integration of migrants is framed only few times in the discourse as a security issue, related to e.g. radicalization and terrorism. However, the actors clearly do not emphasize this topic in the context of labour market integration.

In the discourse regarding labour market integration, **cultural differences** are not framed as a significant problem. Although cultural differences are acknowledged, they are approached in a pragmatic way: migrants have to be told about e.g. the Finnish work culture when they arrive, but the issue is not significantly problematized. Some stereotypical remarks can be found regarding culture, such as Finns being quiet and determined. In the case of self-employed migrants, a lack of knowledge of the local business culture is framed as a barrier to integration and success. This is emphasised especially by the Confederation of Finnish Industries and the Federation of Finnish Enterprises.

Self-employment is emphasised as an important pathway for migrants into labour market integration. Many of the actors, such as the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the Confederation of Finnish Industries and the Federation of Finnish Enterprises state that they promote migrant entrepreneurship. The self-employment discourse reflects an expectation that migrants should be active participants in the integration process. Becoming an entrepreneur is, however, not seen as a straightforward process and various barriers are detected. Although many of the problems migrant entrepreneurs face are similar to those faced by native Finns, there are also some specific problems, including a lack of networks, language skills, information and knowledge on where to find information, cultural knowledge, as well as inflexible bureaucratic practices. Suggested remedies include bringing all entrepreneurship services under one roof and publicizing them better, and incorporating entrepreneurship information into the integration training. In general, self-employment is framed as a positive option and potential drawbacks of being an entrepreneur are not discussed.

In the discourse, the lack of **networks** is identified as a severe barrier to labour market integration. Related to this, the sharing and availability of information is also a prominent topic.

Networks are seen to provide migrants with opportunities and information that they need to successfully integrate into society. Most migrants, however, lack close ties with native Finns. This is problematized, since it may lead to frictions between different groups in society. As a remedy, providing opportunities to make contacts with the other migrants and with native Finns is suggested. NGOs especially are seen to have a central role in this.

The migrants' own voices are visible only very rarely. In a few texts there are some notations on what a migrant said about the issue being discussed. The agency of migrants in the integration process is not disputed, but neither is it brought forth or emphasised. In a few of the analysed documents, mainly of the pamphlet or information sheet type, the migrants' voices are visible through quotations about their experiences in Finland. These are, however, mainly used to illustrate the information given in the text. The texts by the Federation of Finnish Enterprises include, compared to the other actors', more of migrants' own voices, especially in the form of things that interviewees have said.

The main frame according to which **women** are discussed is the realisation that the integration of women into the labour market has not been very successful. Women are mentioned mostly through statements such as 'we are not doing well in the integration of women into the labour market'. Poor results are widely recognized and acknowledged. Despite this, there is little discussion on how to improve the situation. There is, however, a clear concern about the labour market integration of stay-at-home mothers. The integration possibilities and services available to them are seen as lacking and problematic. Compared to women, **young persons** are discussed less often. Whereas the integration and education of migrant children is seen as important and framed in educational terms, the integration discourse of young adults is less discussed. The integration of small children is also closely connected to issues regarding the integration of women. The challenges of integrating young persons who have already passed the age limit for compulsory education is recognized, although few solutions are presented.

Migrant labour market integration, and especially the lack of it, is also closely related to the **welfare benefits** that migrants receive. Different actors frame the migrants' welfare benefits differently. Especially the Finns party frames the migrants' welfare provision as a problem to public finance and as something that is luring migrants to Finland. This rhetoric can be seen as affecting outcomes, since the current sitting government, which the Finns party is a part of, tried to push through a change in legislation, which would have reduced the welfare benefits migrants receive. This proposition did, however, not go through and it was found unconstitutional because it puts people into an unequal position. The government has made several statements regarding this proposition in a matter-of-fact tone, whereas some of the labour unions question or express uncertainty about the proposition. The Social Democratic Party noticeably emphasises equality in the context of welfare services for migrants.

Statements about the **current situation and future visions** of migration and labour market integration are dominated by discourse about the increase in asylum applicants since 2015. Some actors, such as the current government, describe the current situation as uncontrolled. Moreover, a common sentiment seems to be that the effects of the rapid increase in asylum seekers has far-reaching consequences and will affect the migrant infrastructure for years to come. Then again, the situation of the aging population in Finland and the dependency ratio are frequently brought up and thus a need for more migrants is rationalized. A common future vision noticeable throughout the texts is the assumption that migration will likely further increase in the future and consequently put pressure on the migration infrastructure. The need to prepare and strengthen the procedures is strongly connected to this. The discourse also

note that in the future, there is a further need to attract more highly skilled migrants. Overall, future visions regarding economic migrants are not prominent in the discourse compared to discourses regarding other migrant categories.

5.3 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRA

Nordic labour markets are not very open to immigrant labour, and the integration of migrants has not been very successful in Finland. There are a number of structural factors that reduce the demand for immigrant labour and which raise the threshold for labour market inclusion. These include high labour costs, the fact that there are hardly any low-paying jobs for unskilled or semiskilled workers in industry, the prevailing tight social networks, and the fact that labour force participation of both sexes is equal, which means that women are filling the labour gap. (Forsander, 2004, pp. 214–215.)

In Finland, there is a large degree of autonomy for municipalities in implementing integration policies. Policies and services for migrants can be divided into general services that are offered to all and services and policies that are especially targeted at migrants. (Arajärvi, 2009, pp. 63, 89.) Municipalities organize integration services as part of their basic services and as separate integration services. Besides municipalities also non-governmental organizations have an important role in organizing integration services.

Integration policies are based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) which entered into force on 1 September 2011. Central building blocks are the initial assessment, integration plan and integration training. Right after migrating to Finland, the migrant receives basic information about the Finnish society and the possibilities for support in the integration process. In the initial assessment, the preparedness for integration as well as the service needs of the migrant are determined. The initial assessment is done for unemployed job seekers, those receiving income support and those that ask for it. Based on the information gathered, the need for a personal integration plan is estimated. The initial assessment and the integration plan are conducted either by the local Employment and Economic Development Office (TE-office) or by the municipality. The integration training consists of language tuition and communication skills, labour market skills, society skills, mentoring, and a labour market training period. The state reimburses the cost of these activities to municipalities.

Preparatory training and literacy tuition are organized so that the migrant can acquire the language and study skills needed to participate in regular classes. In Finland, there is no systematic database on the degrees that migrants have acquired in their country of origin. The Finnish National Agency for Education (Opetushallitus) recognizes degrees completed abroad based on the migrants' applications, which are subject to a charge. University degrees can be recognized as being on the same level as in Finland by Opetushallitus, as a degree of a certain level may be required for e.g. governmental positions. Degrees of regulated professions must be recognized by the corresponding authority, such as by Valvira (National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health) in the case of health care-related degrees. The Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland (SIMHE) –services aim to make it easier to acknowledge the previously gained knowledge of immigrants and to guide them into relevant study/career paths. The Finnish National Agency for Education (Opetushallitus) granted in 2018 over 8 million Euro in total for projects expediting language learning and integration.

Many of the employment-related policies are not migrant specific. Policies such as the start-up grant for new entrepreneurs, employer pay subsidies, apprentice training, and the youth guarantee apply equally to jobseekers with a Finnish citizenship as well as migrants with a residence permit. Integration Social Impact Bond (Integration SIB), however, is targeted specifically towards migrants. The goal is to make it quicker and easier for migrants to find work, with the help of the European Investment Fund and Social Impact Bonds (SIBs), i.e. private investment. Work is offered in fields that lack employees, and the training and education takes place on the job. Additionally, initiatives such as the Startup Refugees aim to assist migrants with employment and entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship, with the possible help of a start-up grant, is presented on the webpages of the TE-office as a feasible path to employment for migrants. The government has also addressed the role of migrants in the internationalization and innovation activities of Finland and Finnish companies by, for example, launching the Talent Boost programme. Mentoring for migrants is coordinated by the Family Federation of Finland (Väestöliitto) as well as by the Startup Refugees network.

The need for mental health policies and services for refugees has been acknowledged, as well as the vulnerable position of young unaccompanied migrants. Municipal (special) health care is responsible for the health care of migrants. Furthermore, The Finnish Association for Mental Health offers services dedicated to migrants, and there are different projects aimed at developing and improving mental health services for refugees and other migrants.

A categorization of policies and services intended to facilitate integration can be found in ANNEX III.

When considering the consistency between policy rhetoric and policy responses, some remarks can be made and it seems that there are differences between the policy discourses, identified in chapter 1 and the actual implemented policies. Especially the fact that the need to recognize migrants' heterogeneity is emphasised in the discourse stands out as something not realized in actual integration policy. There is still improvement to be made regarding e.g. the availability of different types of courses offered to migrants that enable various levels of studies but also various different learning styles. Furthermore, also the need for speed that is emphasised in the discourse does not actualize in policy responses yet, especially if we consider the integration of asylum seekers. Even though the advantages of swift integration are recognised, in practice there are still long waiting times that hinder integration and even compromise future integration. Also, in discourse, the role of integration occurring on the job, in other words during employment, is emphasised. Additionally, also the role that employers have in integration is emphasized. In practice however, there are very few tools to actually enable or promote integration during employment and the role of employers in the process. In fact, it seems that this is mostly left up to the employers themselves to initiate and regulate. The advantages and benefits that the skills and qualifications acquired previous to migration can have to Finnish society and economy is also constantly emphasised in the policy discourse. The practical level policy responses however indicated, as well as the interviews analysed in chapter 5, that the recognition of previous qualifications and skills, and their utilization in the labour market are still very much challenged and insufficient.

5.4 Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA

This section is a meta-analysis of the previous assessment of the most important migrant labour market integration policies in Finland, which are identified as: the initial information offered about Finland to migrants, the initial assessment by the TE office, the individual integration plan, integration training, recognition of qualifications, policies on finding work, and municipality level integration plans.

In the Finnish integration policy framework, the extensive welfare state has to be taken into account. Social benefits depend on household income and thus the labour market integration of migrants is strongly connected to the social benefits they receive. The general policy in Finland is that once a migrant lives permanently in a municipality they are entitled to the same services and policies as Finnish citizen. This also includes welfare services such as unemployment benefits, education, or health care services. Benefits are not dependent on nationality, however, those migrants that do not (yet) live in Finland permanently, such as e.g. asylum seekers, international students or seasonal workers are not automatically entitled to welfare services. Furthermore, those migrants that are not registered as residents at a Finnish municipality, are also not part of official integration policies. The existing integration policies, on which this meta-analysis will focus, are thus intended for those living in Finland “permanently”. In practice, official integration policies are mainly implemented on the local level by the municipalities and the Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices).

Soon after arrival, migrants are offered **basic information about Finnish society** and informed of their possibilities to receive support in integration, in multiple language and in written format. In practise, this policy is implemented through info desks and a guidebook. In many places, first-hand information and guidance has in many places been organized through various fixed-term projects (JTO-palvelut et al., 2010, pp. 42). The project based nature of the service means that provision has been inconsistent, which is reflected in survey results from 2009 according to which, almost half of the migrants who answered the survey rated the services through which the initial guidance and advice was given to them as poor. Only 22 % of the migrants who answered found the services to be good. (JTO-palvelut et al., 2010, pp. 24.) A frequent problem is that migrants do not know to ask for the services that are available for them (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 77). The number of info desks of a more permanent nature, has however been growing. According to a survey among municipalities, 64% of them offer guidance at info desks meant for migrants (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp. 11).

In the beginning of the integration process, those migrants that are unemployed job seekers or receiving income support, will go to the Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices) or to the municipality for an **initial assessment**. The purpose of this is to establish first contact and to assess the preparedness for integration and the service need of the migrant. Based on the initial assessment, it is decided if an integration plan is needed, and if so one is created. The implementation of initial assessment policy has less ambitious than what is set out in the legal framework (Maahanmuuton ja kotouttamisen suunta 2011–2014, pp. 73, 2015; Ministry of economic Affairs and Employment, 2016; Siirto & Hammar, 2016). This is especially true for migrants that are not immediately entering the labour market such as partners of labour migrants, students and the elderly. (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen

suunta, 2015, pp. 73.) This is problematic since the initial assessment is especially important for these migrant groups that are further away from the labour market, such as for example those at home with children and the elderly (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 78). It seems municipalities do not actively inform migrants about the possibility to have an initial assessment done because of a lack of resources, and migrants do not know to ask. (Siirto & Hammar, 2016.) There is no precise information about the number of initial assessments made by the TE-offices, but according to estimates all migrants receive an initial assessment for determining the services they need (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 74). Municipality officials have reported that they find the division of work regarding the initial assessment between the municipalities and TE-office somewhat unclear in some cases, which is also a reason why some are left without an assessment and some receive it twice (Ala-kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 78). There is for example no system in place that would enable to use the information gathered about migrants' qualifications during the initial assessment, when applying to e.g. education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2019, pp. 23). There is thus a need to clarify procedures and strengthen coordination. Overall there seems to be a need to improve the collaboration between actors working on labour market integration (Ramboll & Karinen, 2011, pp. 62).

The making of an **individual integration plan** should be started at the latest two weeks after the initial assessment has been made. The integration plan is made in co-operation between the municipality/TE-office and the migrant. For unemployed job seekers the integration plan is made at the TE-office and for others at the municipality. In the integration plan, those services that will advance integration are written down. Migrants have the responsibility to take part in the preparing of the integration plan and to follow the activities that are agreed upon in the plan. Not following the integration plan may lead to the migrant's integration benefits being reduced. Integration plans are not binding contracts for the officials in the same sense: i.e. the integration services are not obligated to actually offer the services decided upon in the integration plan (Arajärvi. 2009, pp. 66).

Research has found the individualized integration plans to be effective (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 34; Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 75; Hämäläinen & Sarvimäki, 2011; Hämäläinen & Sarvimäki, 2008; VATT-working group, 2014). Findings indicated that receiving an integration plan substantially increased employment and annual earnings and reduced welfare dependency. The integration plans seem to have decreased the time spend in traditional active labour market courses such as job-seeking courses and increased participation in courses outside of the labour administration and in language courses, which provide migrants an opportunity to build up their host-country specific human capital. (Sarvimäki & Hämäläinen, 2010; Sarvimäki & Hämäläinen, 2016.)

TE-offices are more active in preparing individual integration plans than municipalities. According to a survey carried out in 2012, 85 % of the TE-office employees found the integration plan to be an effective measure for integration. However, even though the composing of the first integration plan is carried out somewhat effectively, there does not seem to be enough time for officials to follow-up and update the integration plans. (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 75–76). In municipalities, the integration plans are most likely prepared with under aged migrants who come without parents and for refugees (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 76; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp. 16). Other under aged migrants and the elderly are most likely left without an individual integration plan (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp.

16). The reason that there are fewer integration plans made than was targeted is the lack of resources and available integration services to offer (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 77). In many municipalities, the involvement of clients is seen as a challenge. Migrants are found not always to realise the significance of the integration plan to integration. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp. 16.) Moreover, previous research has also found, that migrants are often not aware if an integration plan has been made for them and what the plan actually includes (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 77; Eronen et al., 2014, pp. 26). This means that migrants' own involvement in the preparing of an integration plan does not actualized as well as hoped. According to earlier reports, the integration plan should in fact be made available to all migrants. Moreover, it should be looked into which parts of the integration plan could be made binding for the officials. Arajärvi suggested that a binding parts could for example be the language courses. (Arajärvi, 2009, pp. 88–89.)

Following the initial assessment and the integration plan, **integration training** is offered to migrants. Distinctly from most OECD countries, and Nordic countries as well, integration training in Finland is offered to all migrants who are seeking work or reliant on income-support. Unlike in many other countries, the majority of participants are in fact not humanitarian migrants. (OECD, 2018, pp. 95–96.) The maximum number of hours that the integration training may be continued is 2100 hours, which is substantial in international comparison (OECD, 2018, pp. 27). The training consists of instruction in Finnish/Swedish language, labour market skills, communication skills, cultural skills and mentoring. Also, other studies that improve a person's vocational and labour market skills can be included. The training should also include a labour market training period. (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 80, 83.) In practice, language learning is heavily emphasised in the integration training and comprises about 2/3. However despite the large number of hours dedicated to language learning, results have been poor: in 2016 more than 4/5 participants failed to attain the target of B1.1 (OECD, 2018, pp. 27-28.) When considering this we however have to keep in mind that Finnish is among the more difficult languages to learn. For most parts, the integration training has to follow the recommendations made on the integration curriculum by the Finnish National Agency for Education (Kokeilulakia valmisteleva strategiatyöryhmä, 2009, pp. 4). For adults who are not literate, adult reading and writing courses can be included. Providing these courses has however been a challenge for municipalities (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp. 18.) The Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices) and the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY) are responsible for inviting tenders and obtaining trainings from course organizers. There has been a strong direction in recent years to combine vocational training and language training. (Ramboll Finland oy & Karinen, 2011, pp. 28.) During the integration training migrants can receive unemployment benefits.

The capacity of integration training available has not corresponded to the number of incoming migrants, which has caused delays and queues (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 73–79). Integration training has not been sensitive enough to the individual backgrounds and starting points of different migrants (Kokeilulakia valmisteleva strategiatyöryhmä, 2009, pp. 4). In 2014, less than half of the labour migrants in Finland had participated in a language course (National Institute for Health and Welfare, 2018). There are thus some migrant groups that are not in reach of integration services such as e.g. labour migrants and their family members (Ramboll & Karinen, 2011, pp. 23). For various reasons especially women, who have moved to Finland as partners and women who take care of

children at home, are at risk of not participating in the integration training. Foreign-born women are more likely to drop out of the labour market after having children and rely on Child Home Care Allowance, due to the fact that they less likely have had stable employment prior (OECD, 2018, pp. 24). Previous assessments have recommended, that migrant parents should be offered possibilities to attend training in ways that accommodate every-day childcare. (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 112.) These sorts of opportunities that e.g. offer childcare during integration classes have previously often been organized within project frameworks, which means that practices are fragmented and periodic. (See Eronen et al. 2016 for evaluation of different models).

Besides the integration services of the TE-offices, also other services offered by the TE-offices should be available and offered to migrants. Moreover, whether the integration trainings actually responds to labour market developments has been questioned. (Ramboll & Karinen, 2011, pp. 23, 53.) In sparsely populated areas with little services, internet courses are used to enable integration training (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 88). It should however, also be kept in mind that the opportunities and ability of migrants to use electronic services is often inferior to the native population (Arajärvi, 2009, pp. 90).

For unemployed migrants, a plan to find employment is made by the TE-office, after the integration training has ended. However, it has also been noted, that more measures helping migrants find employment should be available and offered after integration training. (Ramboll & Karinen, 2011, pp. 28, 32.) The fact that in many cases a plan for employment is only made after language acquisition and integration training, is somewhat problematic. This often means a long period away from the labour market. Earlier research has recommended that the connections between integration training and employment opportunities should therefore be enhanced. (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 127.) Especially the need to provide language courses that are intertwined with labour markets has been identified. Employers should encourage the continuing development of their employees' know how. For migrants this could in practice mean the strengthening of their language skills. (Maahanmuuton ja kotouttamisen suunta 2011–2014, pp. 42.) Earlier research has also noted, that after integration training has ended, there are not enough explicit services and opportunities available and a need has been identified for the possibility to continue e.g. language studies after integration training has ended (Ala-kauhaluoma at al., 2018, pp. 90; Eronen et al., 2014, pp. 70). The studying of Finnish should also be more obligatory for migrant employees and international students, whose Finnish language skills are generally quite poor (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 97).

The skills and qualifications of migrants are frequently not recognized. Degrees obtained in Finland, go into the national degree register but when migrants move to Finland their educational background information is however not systematically gathered into this database (Busk et al. 2016, pp. 32; Eronen et al. 2014, pp. 31). The recognition decisions of foreign qualifications are made by field-specific authorities. The recognition process cost 200-350 euros and requires a lot of time and paperwork. Moreover, it can only be done in Finnish, Swedish and English (Paakkinen, 2016, pp. 34). Often qualifications are found not comparable to their Finnish equivalent and supplementary training is required. The process is thus slow and difficult for migrant to manage. Thus earlier research has recommended that the process should be used more efficiently and the availability should be broadened (Aikuiskoulutuksen tehtävät maahanmuuttajien työllistymisen edistämisessä –valmisteluryhmä, 2009). There have been efforts to improve the identification and recognition of skills through the Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland (SIMHE) project (Finnish National Agency for

Education, 2017). The Migration Institute is currently developing a process in which the educational and vocational background of asylum seekers would be registered immediately on arrival during the reception period (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2017, pp. 18).

There are also policies that explicitly intended to **help migrants directly the job search, and to place them in internships and apprenticeship programs**. Work experience that is acquired in Finland is found especially important for further employment (Kostiainen & Laakso, 2014). Nordic countries have among the highest expenditures on active labour market measures in the OECD. According to Ho & Shirono the average foreign-born unemployment rate across the Nordics would have been c. 2.2 percentage points higher if Active labour market policy spending were reduced to the average OECD level. (Ho & Shirono, 2015, pp. 24.) The participation rate of migrants in labour market oriented activating measures in 2006-2011 was around 40 %, whereas that of the general population was around 25-30 % (Sihto, Tuomaala & Sardar 2012, pp. 2). It seems that job seeking migrants participate in activating measures more often than those unemployed with a Finnish background (Aho & Mäkiäho, 2017, pp. 69). In previous analyses, it has been found that integration services close to the labour market, such as vocational training provided as an active labour market policy and wage subsidies, facilitate labour market integration best (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 87; Aho & Mäkiäho, 2017, pp 10). However in 2017, only 4,9 % of non-EU national public employment service clients participated in subsidised employment, compared to 24,1 % of native born public employment service clients (OECD, 2018, pp. 146). Besides wage subsidies programmes, facilitating and enabling internships is also an important service. The purpose of TE-office facilitated job trainings is to support individuals with choosing a career path and expedite re-entering the labour market. However in its current form TE-office supported internships cannot be used to accumulated language skills and work experience in the same way as before, and thus a need for a support form that would enable this is identified. (Eronen et al. 2014, pp. 21, 73.) The Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices) has a central role in the labour market integration of migrants. However, in earlier research critical opinions towards the TE-office have been noted. Migrants have found that the TE-office is of hardly any use to them at all. Some migrants have experienced that TE-offices are not interested in them or in their skills. It seems that the TE-offices cannot offer personalised help and the kind of services that woman with an immigrant background need. NGO were found to have a substitutive role in this regard. (Steel & Jyrkinen, 2017, pp. 39 –40.) As part of labour market integration, a need to support employers in hiring migrants is identified. According to Ala-Kauhaluoma et al. (2018) there is a need to produce new services for employees to hire more migrants. Such services could for example include giving employers different sorts of benefits and compensations for hiring migrants. (Ala-Kauhaluoma et al., 2018, pp. 91.) Moreover, also e.g. a need to improve services targeted at over 30-years old migrants is identified (Eronen et al. 2014, pp. 74).

To improve integration there is a policy dictating that all municipalities have to have a **municipality level integration plan** that can either be made by each municipality themselves or collectively by several municipalities together. The municipality level integration plan is the prerequisite for state support funding. (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 95.) Previous analyses indicate that there is no exact knowledge of how many municipality level integration plans there are and what their quality is. Different municipalities have produced different kinds of programmes and there are variations on how up-to-date and comprehensive they are. The implementation of the policy is impacted by e.g. the autonomy of the municipality

and the number of migrants that there live in each municipality. (Ala-Kauhahuoma et al., 2018, pp. 73–74.) Officials have noted that the migrant legislative framework in fact guides the actions of the municipality more than integration strategies and programmes (Ala-Kauhahuoma et al., 2018, pp. 74). A need to develop follow-up and effectiveness estimates is identified (Maahanmuutto ja kotouttamisen suunta, 2015, pp. 95). According to a survey among municipalities, the content of the municipality level integration programmes and their composition process had improved from 2012 to 2015. The integration plans are also more frequently considered in municipality level budget planning and wider municipality strategy. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, 2016, pp. 11–13.) The kind of progress in municipalities, in which the integration of migrants is considered as part of the basic strategies of various sectors, instead of as a separate process, has been found functioning (Ala-Kauhahuoma et al., 2018, pp. 73). The new level of regional government that might be taken into use in Finland, in the nearby future, will also affect integration policy. The regional government and the municipalities are supposed to arrange integration together, which is why a need for tighter co-operation between the two is identified. Officials have noted that it would be important for the regional governments to prepare a regional government level integration plan. (Ala-Kauhahuoma et al., 2018, pp. 74–75.)

5.5 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews

During the research for this work package a total number of 37 interviews were conducted in Finland. The purpose was to assess the strengths and weaknesses of integration policies and services in Finland. To do so, 20 migrant representatives from various migrant groups were interviewed. The two largest non-EU migrant groups, Russian and Chinese migrants, were included⁵⁴. Migrants who had arrived as refugees from common countries of origin such as Somalia, Iraq, Syria and Iran were also interviewed. Only migrants who had already lived in Finland for some time and thus had experience with the integration services already were interviewed. Moreover, the idea was to choose individuals who had not come to Finland too long ago either, because their experiences of integration services might be too different and in many ways outdated. The migrants that were interviewed had arrived to Finland in 2009–2017. Besides migrants, also the opinions and experience of policy makers (5) and implementers (12) were recorded. The policy implementers interviewed are individuals who work with migration issues. These were selected from the local level and included mostly local officials. The policy makers are members of the city council or city board, some also involved in regional or national politics. According to the policy makers, immigration related issues come up in the city council almost exclusively when deciding on budgets and refugee quota sizes.

Most of the interviews were conducted face to face at a place of the interviewees choosing. A couple of interviews were also conducted over the phone. The interviews lasted between 15–60 minutes. More information about the interviews can be found in ANNEX IV & V.

⁵⁴ Average from 2008–2014

5.5.1 Information about Finland

The Finnish integration policy states that migrants should receive basic information about Finland and about their rights in society and in the labour market after migrating to Finland. This policy has been implemented since 2011 and almost all of the migrant interviewees had moved to Finland after that. In practise, the policy is implemented through info desks and a guidebook given to migrants when moving to Finland.

The overall finding is that there is large variation in the way that migrants perceive whether they have received **basic information** or not. Most of the interviewees felt that they did not receive basic information or that the information that they received was not sufficient. Consequently, it seems that the policy on conveying information to migrants is not implemented altogether successfully. Furthermore, the policy implementers noted that it can be difficult for migrants to comprehend the structures of the society and where to find integration support. Many of the interviewees felt that they had to make a lot of effort to find all the information themselves from e.g. the internet. Many also noted that they had to rely on social contacts and family members whom had migrated before them for information.

"I have dug up everything myself. Just from the internet. We do not have kind of Finnish or Russian language service" (Past beneficiary, Interview 19)

"- you have to ask some people living here and then it really depends on luck how much information you get or not heheh" (Past beneficiary, Interview 10)

Some of the interviewees mentioned that it would have been very useful to receive an information package or a list of things on where to start the settling process. Since this kind of provision should already exist, it means that it either does not reach the migrants, its format is not found useful or it is not recognized as such. According to a policy implementer, migrants receive so much information that it is often impossible to take it all in. If this is combined with unfamiliarity with the local social system or mistrust in officials, challenges may arise.

"An information course of packages would be very helpful." (Past beneficiary, Interview 10)

"For instance if at Kela [The Social Insurance Institution of Finland] there was some kind of info in Russian, and it would have to be in other languages as well, which would provide help and where one could get service and other things. Since we found it really difficult." (Past beneficiary, Interview 19)

Those interviewees who already had a work position when coming to Finland noted that their **employer had given them some information** about the Finnish society and helped them settle. It seems that especially universities as employers offer some integration services to migrant employees. The policy implementers interviewed emphasised the role that employers could and should have in integration.

"So, I would look employers into their blue eyes at this point. It would be beneficial to take care that their own employees fare well and advance in their career and further

educate themselves and language skills are one such important part” (Implementer, Interview 6)

One of the interviewees had come to Finland through a recruitment agency and noted that she received some information about Finnish society already before migrating. Moreover, some of the interviewees who had arrived as asylum seekers mentioned that they had participated in an **info course**, during which they were given basic information about Finland. This course was found useful. However, the course is part of the integration training and thus not available for all migrants.

“Basic information was given in the beginning during a course that was organized in Arabic. In my own mother language. They told us about Finland in general. I was new and I did not have many questions - - now it would be good if it was organized again since now I would have questions. If it was organized one more time it would be good.”
(Past beneficiary, Interview 9)

5.5.2 Integration Service, Training and Courses

A central part of the Finnish integration policy is the integration training offered to migrants. The content of the integration training is determined according to the individual integration plans made at the TE-office for unemployed job seekers and at the municipality for others, in co-operation with the migrants. About a half of the interviewees had received an integration plan and a half had not. An integration service provider assessed that many migrants are completely unaware of their integration plans, even when such plans have been made for them.

“In the beginning an integration plan was made. I was satisfied with the plan and it was good that things were discussed and planned together. The planned things have been fulfilled.” (Past beneficiary, Interview 7)

“No, no I did not receive anything I think. Or maybe they are in Finnish...?” (Past beneficiary, Interview 4)

Those that had not received an integration plan were mostly ineligible to receive it because they came to Finland to work or to study. The integration plans and integration training do thus **not pertain to all migrants**. The migrant interviewees were mostly aware of this and some made critical remarks. Many of those who had not taken part in the integration training, would have preferred to have had the option.

“Because I do not have another choice. I do not have the services. The services are mainly meant for the unemployed persons” (Past beneficiary, Interview 10)

“They are not offering me any specific help because they think it is the job of your employer. So for people who came here with a job they will need to pay to go to language courses themselves and they are basically responsible for integration themselves.”
(Past beneficiary, Interview 11)

Integration services in Finland thus focus on those who do not come to Finland for work or study purposes. Those employed or studying are largely responsible for their own integration and there are no official services available for them. They are dependent on finding language courses and other services from the free market or from NGOs. Moreover, refugees who are

not yet granted asylum are not part of the official integration services either and can thus spend even long time periods in Finland without e.g. attending proper language courses. The fact that integration services are limited to only a part of the migrants, was also seen as problematic by the policy implementers and many were open to the idea that the services should be extended to a wider number of migrants. It seems that to advance integration it would be necessary to consider how the integration of those that are employed or not yet official citizens could also be supported and whether certain services, such as free of charge official language courses, could also be made available to these individuals.

"I was surprised with how long people can be in Finland without being part of the integration services. It can be a couple of years without having received any official services. It is a grand weakness. It should only be months before at least some kind of integration plan is made, no matter if one has been granted asylum or not" (Implementer, Interview 3)

"It is so stupid, I cannot use a stronger expression hehe, that it should really be properly organized that at least learning the language, learning comprehensive school subjects would be possible there ((= at asylum centres)) and if that is not organized this country cannot be called a civilized country." (Implementer, Interview 6)

A significant part of the integration training consists of **language courses**. All of the migrants who were interviewed were interested in learning the language and had participated in language courses. Also in the policy implementers' opinion, migrants are generally very interested in learning the language. The language courses that are part of the integration training are free of charge and many were pleased about this. However, the quality and suitability of the language courses were somewhat criticized. Many of the interviewees found the courses either too difficult or too easy and brought up that it was difficult to find a suitable level course. Some of the interviewees, especially among those that had come as asylum seekers, found that their lack of writing and reading skills was not acknowledged enough during the courses, which made it difficult for them to learn. An integration service provider noted that there are mechanisms that do not allow the combining of courses that have different sources of funding, such as integration training and writing and reading courses. Furthermore, those that already had fair skills of Finnish found that there were not enough courses for advanced students available. Some of the policy implementers also brought up criticism regarding integration training and noted that the courses do not conform well to the fact that migrants are a very heterogeneous group.

"First when I went to the course my pen always broke. I did not know how to use a pen since in my home country I did not go to school. Nobody noticed this." (Past beneficiary, Interview 2)

"I get a feeling that those courses are made ready and people have to adjust to the courses instead of courses having to adjust to people." (Implementer, Interview 1)

Those that had come to Finland for work or studies had difficulty finding suitable courses of good quality from NGOs and the free market. The fact that these courses are not free of charge was an obstacle for some of the interviewees. Many were wondering why there are no services available to encourage those enthusiastic to learn the language. Some interviewees thought that the circa three years reserved for integration training and official language courses is enough, whereas others found it too short.

"I wanted to go to university, to the kind of course for advanced Finnish language, but it was kind of such that one has to pay for it, and then I did not have enough money" (Past beneficiary, Interview 12)

"- every semester I have to search what opportunities I have. And most of them are quite limited. Then the teaching quality and the not the teachers are not very stable." (Past beneficiary, Interview 10)

"The TE-office said that I am not allowed to take Finnish language courses anymore. But I need it. My language skills are weak" (Past beneficiary, Interview 3)

Both the policy makers and implementers emphasised that sometimes the waiting periods before the integration training are too long. Related to this, there was a constant emphasis from the implementers regarding **speeding up the integration process**. Interestingly, this kind of emphasis was not noted in the migrant interviews. In general, the implementers conveyed that the integration process is too slow, the official decision to receive asylum or residence permits takes too much time and the waiting time for integration training is too long. The need to speed up the integration process and the availability of integration services was thus emphasized in both the implementer interviews and the policy discourse. In the interviews this discussion was especially related to asylum seekers. Several policy makers suggested a quick entry to working life and on-the-job learning for migrants who have received a resident permit. The integration services providers disagreed with it, however, emphasizing that successful integration and the processes of learning a language take time and should not be rushed.

"They wait for half a year before they can take a Finnish language course. That is too long. But if you can take one immediately it is really good because this provides rhythm to the day, language learning and activity" (Implementer, Interview 1)

"According to our observations, the people who after being granted refugee status leave the asylum reception centres to move into municipalities are pretty wrecked. What are the prerequisites then for settling down and starting integration in full strength of body and soul and moving onwards. That is a big challenge for integration services." (Implementer, Interview 2)

"- If you are pushed there too early, it just slows down the integration process. - - There should be an understanding of what is the process of learning a language and what is integration, not so that let's just send everyone to the working life quickly, like that's a solution for everything." (Implementer, Interview 14)

The preparatory education for vocational training in which students can try out different professions and the basic education offered for adults were brought up as favoured and useful measures. Some of the migrant interviewees also noted that they had a support person in the beginning of their integration, which they had found very useful. This kind of service had, however, been available to only some of the interviewees and thus seems like an option worth looking into more.

Overall, the **role of education** and internships in integration was strongly emphasized in the interviews, by the policy implementers especially. Education is clearly seen as one of the most important ways of integrating into the Finnish society, which has to do with the fact that Finnish citizens are generally very highly educated. The fact that the refugees still living in asylum centres can also study was seen as a promoting integration policy. Internships are seen as

useful ways for migrants to familiarize themselves with the labour market and different professions, and to speak Finnish outside the classroom. Moreover, internships are seen as an important opportunity for native citizens to get to know migrants and overcome prejudice. However, the problem seems to be that internships rarely offer a straight pathway to employment since they are often offered again and again in the same institutions and workplaces. To improve integration, different kinds of enterprises and institutions should thus offer internship opportunities for migrants.

"Our area of strength is higher education, technology, health technology and other kind of IT. That know-how. Unfortunately these new demographic groups and people do not really fit very well into this mould. And seen from this perspective they come from an even larger disadvantage compared to us when it comes to education - - " (Implementer, Interview 2)

"If everyone goes to the same day-care centre, no, it is absolutely impossible that everyone will find employment. It feels that clients rotate in pretty much the same internship positions. I wish it were wider." (Implementer, Interview 1)

Several of the policy makers suggested that people who have migrated to Finland a longer time ago should be involved in planning the integration services, as they have experienced the challenges of integration first hand. Moreover, information regarding integration services might reach groups such as stay-at-home mothers through ethnic organizations. Some noted that there should be an immigration coordinator in the city and less fragmentation among different integration-related processes and services.

5.5.3 Finding Work in Finland

Finding work in Finland was seen as difficult. Most of the migrant interviewees felt that one has to be very active in order to find work. Some felt that migrants are generally hired and that there is no discrimination whereas others mentioned that Finnish people are usually preferred and migrants are only hired if no Finns are available. It seems quite common for migrants to feel that they have to be extra good at what they do to get hired. Most of the interviewees had an idea of how they would like to advance in their career and some had plans to start their own business. At the moment, none of the interviewees were entrepreneurs. There is clearly a feeling among migrants that certain sectors offer more employment opportunities for migrants than others, especially the care sector and the IT-sector. This notion was shared by the policy implementers and policy makers who expressed both positive remarks about certain sectors pulling in migrants and critical remarks about migrants being pushed into certain occupations. One policy implementer used the term "victim of being pushed into practical nursing" jokingly, which illustrates that although receiving an education is important, it is also important to consider migrants' own views on matters of occupation and education. Another implementer emphasised that even though migrants' own wishes should be heard, it is more important to just get them started with something in the beginning of their integration. The policy maker interviews included some opinions both for and against having a system that allowed for (temporarily) lower salaries for immigrants. The opposing arguments framed it as a breach of equality and labour law. A supporting policy maker stressed the importance of getting at least some kind of work experience and suggested internships as a low-threshold entry to the job market.

"One has to look diligently and study, then you can find employment" (Past beneficiary, Interview 6)

"I think that because in Finland, I heard that from the health care sector, the social sector and the IT-sector it is easier to find work. Thus I thought that practical nursing would be better for me" (Past beneficiary, Interview 1)

"Surely we have the practical nursing school which pulls in people and into which people are pushed" (Implementer, Interview 5)

"As a starting point the bar should be kept low and people should be guided to education that is easily approachable. Even if that means going through certain stereotypes about women going to the care sector or something like this. Above all, the most important thing is to get a fixed point into society and working life. Whatever it may be. This will then help people go onwards" (Implementer, interview 2)

Having good **language skills** was often mentioned as a prerequisite for finding work. Especially the migrant interviewees considered speaking Finnish crucial. The policy implementers emphasised the role of learning the language as well but brought forth ideas that there should also be more employment opportunities for those without perfect Finnish language skills and that in some work placements, for example, English language skills could be sufficient. Many policy makers and implementers emphasized that learning the language can and should happen during employment, which is a discourse that was also common in the policy discourse analysis.

"Of our customers only few find employment. It takes at least two, three years to learn the Finnish language and to get employed. It is often forgotten that Finnish is not one of the easiest languages to learn. Without it, it is rare for someone to find employment." (Implementer, Interview 1)

"In Finland it is somehow so important to know Finnish that I find it overemphasised. We should start looking for employment opportunities in which you could manage in English. Maybe in those one could move forward faster than in traditional Finnish employment positions" (Implementer, Interview 3)

Besides language barriers, bureaucratic obstacles were also seen as hindering labour market integration, especially according to the policy implementers.

"Our customers do not understand why they cannot just go for just a couple of weeks to try something and get paid or even go without payment." (Implementer, Interview 2)

"In the labour market there is too much regulation and too little low threshold employment, that makes it [finding employment] more difficult." (Implementer, Interview 2)

When the interviewees were asked whether they had experienced **discrimination** most emphasised that they themselves had not had any problems, in working life especially. However, many mentioned that they had encountered racism in the form of e.g. someone making comments or yelling at them in the street. In general, the interviewees seemed to have the idea that there is very little cronyism in Finland and although social networks are seen as beneficial, they are not considered imperative for finding work. By contrast, the policy implementers emphasised the role of networks and a need to support their creation was identified. Several policy makers also expressed concern over prejudice or racism.

*"- there are so many hidden jobs starting already from like middle school work practices
- those people who do not, in a way, have those kinds of networks and readiness
should be supported"* (Implementer, Interview 4)

In the migrant interviews, the **TE-office** and **Kela** were mainly mentioned as institutions supporting integration. It seems that these institutions are recognized by migrants and represent the official side of integration services through which policies are implemented. It should be noted that mainly the migrants that are unemployed, looking for work and/or receiving some form of social support are involved with these institutions. Many of the interviewees who had been in contact with the TE-office were satisfied with the services and help offered to them. Especially the courses offered were seen as useful and of good quality. However, many of the interviewees also stated that the TE-office can only do so much and that you have to be very active yourself to find work. The TE-office was thus generally seen by the migrants as an institution which offers information about finding work but that the actual finding of work has to be done by each on their own. Some were critical about this whereas others felt that they do not need any help.

"At least you get more information and what should be done first and what next" (Past beneficiary, Interview 12)

"They gave me a lot of information. Some different websites. And this person he suggested that I can take some courses." (Past beneficiary, Interview 15)

"At least I got the expression that you have to find employment yourself and that the TE-office cannot offer me anything. You have to be active yourself and you do not need to wait for too much help from there." (Past beneficiary, Interview 16)

5.5.4 Recognition of Skills and Qualifications

Migrants seem to think that it is difficult and unlikely to find work in the profession one has studied and practiced in one's country of origin. Many of the interviewees have previous high-level education and working experience. However, only a few of them were working in this profession in Finland. Some of those that had managed to find work in their own profession emphasised how lucky they had been. In general, the migrant interviewees felt that their previous qualifications and skills were not of much help to them in Finland. Some of the policy implementers also noted that they had come across notions that migrants' previous work experience and qualifications are not valued and the problems related to this were recognized. A demonstrative remark was made by one interviewee, who felt like she had to accept a job offer that did not correspond to her qualifications because she had the feeling that finding work is so difficult in Finland that one cannot turn down any opportunities.

"When I moved to Finland I have understood that I am here a complete zero. A complete zero. My degree does not mean anything" (Past beneficiary, Interview 19)

"You see a lot that people start veeeery much from the beginning in educating themselves and go into completely new fields and occupations. For some this is a good path but we should invest in taking the whole work history into account and knowing how to find things there that can be utilized or so." (Implementer, Interview 4)

Because many felt that they could not find work in their previous profession they had started **to study a new profession in Finland**. This is strongly related to the fact that many of the

qualifications that migrants have are not straightforwardly recognized in Finland and that to get their qualifications recognized migrants must often re-do a part of their education. This process can be complicated and time-consuming, as one of the policy implementers noted. Oftentimes, to get supplementary training, migrants actually have to apply to a university through general submission procedures, which can be difficult because of e.g. a lack of language skills or a lack of general understanding of the educational system. Some of the interviewees had done supplementary training to become qualified in their profession in Finland, whereas most had embarked upon an entirely new career path. Some also brought up that they were not encouraged by officials to find work in their previous profession, which then led them to find a new career path.

"Well I am very satisfied that I found employment precisely according to my profession. Because it is very rare and people often, at least foreign migrants, study another profession even though in their home country they have received a higher education qualification but here they go to vocational school to study to become a cleaner or a practical nurse" (Past beneficiary, Interview 16)

"That no one wanted to listen that I wanted to be a math teacher. Because it did not sound like I had the opportunity for this" (Past beneficiary, Interview 17)

"There should be more complementary training available. That one could in a way complete those ((complementing)) bits more precisely - -" (Implementer, Interview 5)

Many of the policy makers noted that migrants can be an asset to the Finnish economy, as highlighted in the policy discourse as well. According to the interviewees, migrants bring in knowledge from their own backgrounds and understand what needs to be considered when Finland participates in international relations and trade. Migrants' role in compensating for the decline of the Finnish working-age population was also acknowledged.

"I wish that we would see immigrants as a network to the rest of the world. - - I think it is absurd to think that our foreign trade or international relations would not benefit from the fact that we have people here with their own networks and relations." (Policy maker, interview 10)

Based on the information gathered in these interviews it seems that although the policy discourse and the interviewed policy makers emphasise that the previous qualifications and experiences of migrants should be utilized and that the skills that migrants bring with them can be beneficial to Finland, it seems that in practice this policy has not been implemented very strongly yet.

5.6 Conclusion

The fact that an official form of **integration training** is offered to (some) migrants in Finland can on a general level be identified as a facilitator to integration. Furthermore, the content of integration training is individually designed in the integration plans, which makes the integration programmes an incisive and befitting tool to integration. While planning the content, migrant's prerequisite to integration are taken into notice and migrants themselves can to some extent affect what their integration training consists of. The integration trainings can include diverse things for each migrant, such a different level language courses, reading courses or e.g. vocational skill courses. This is definitely an improvement to a one size fits all

integration design. The heterogeneity of migrants is thus somewhat taken into account. There is however still room for improvement. The analysis of this work package indicates that there is still further need to recognize the different e.g. learning levels and styles of different individuals. It seems that especially concerning language courses there is still a need to improve especially those courses for migrants who have very low reading and writing skills and for those on the other hand that already have good language skills but want to and need to improve their language skills further.

The **time limit** to integration training is in general the first 3 years of living in Finland which can then be prolonged for various reasons to 5 years. Although this time is more than enough for some migrants to integrate, for others it seems to form a barrier to integration. Due to various reasons the time period assigned to integration is not enough for all migrants, who then after the time period bump into an “integration wall” since no official services are available any longer. To improve integration services there is thus a need to consider why the assigned time period is not enough for some migrants and how it would be possible to improve the integration and provide further services for those that need them for a longer time period. This is also strongly connected to the need to further improve the joints between services. The fact that some feel that they are not integrated within the 3-5 years’ time periods means that there is a need to guide and steer these individuals towards further services which are at the moment offered by NGOs and learning institutions.

Based on the analysis it seems that there are still various barriers to the **integration of women**. Some of the largest obstacles seem to have to do with the fact that child caring and attending integration training are often mutually excluding. Especially during the time that children are very small and do not go to day care yet, migrant women are often home without attending any kind of integration programmes or services. Since integration training is mainly designed as a full time activity this forms an obstacle to many. To improve integration, different option should be considered regarding how to make it possible for those parents with very small children to possibly already attend some form of official integration training. Now these individuals are dependent on courses offered by NGOs which do offer good opportunities for some but are unavailable for others.

An **underlying structural issue** of Finnish integration policy is that it is mainly designed to help those that are working aged unemployed Finnish residents. Because of this, those that are already employed or still waiting for their asylum application decision are mostly excluded from integration services such as integration training. This illustrates a strong labour market integration orientation. Based on the analysis this emphasis however leads to the fact that some people are pretty much left to their own devices when integrating. Employers are supposed to take care of the integration of their migrant employees. The interviews with those migrants that are employed however indicate that the measures taken by employers vary greatly and that although some may receive support in integration many are left to sort it out themselves. This issue culminates especially around language courses. In a somewhat simplified and exaggerate way it could be stated that there is no general integration policy or at least services in Finland, only a labour market integration policy. Since integration is about more than just finding a job, employment should not be the only indicator. More official services such as language courses should also be available for those that are for example already employed, or who for other reasons fall outside the category of “unemployed job-seeker”. This would require that in addition to offering full-time integration training, part time integration

related courses should be available to serve those that do not have the opportunity to attend full time.

The **waiting period that asylum applicants spend** in asylum centres is a problem and a barrier to integration. The fact that asylum application procedures are slow leads to asylum seekers spending long time periods without official integration services, since the official integration services are only available once the refugee status is granted and the refugee is assigned to a municipality. Although some activities and courses are offered by the reception centres and by NGOs these are not as intensive and encompassing as the official integration training courses. Based on the analysis, the waiting time spend in asylum centres is inefficient from the viewpoint of integration. This resonates with the general emphasis of a need to speed up the entire integration process. It should be looked into whether asylum seekers living in asylum centres could already start attending official integration training to some extent. This is all part of the larger need to further investigate and look into the possibilities, through e.g. cost benefit analysis, of making the official integration services, especially integration training courses, available for a wider group of migrants including e.g. asylum seekers and employed migrants.

The analysis strongly indicates that the **recognition of migrants' skills and qualifications** is still difficult. Especially migrants themselves seem to have the idea that moving to Finland often means starting one's education from the beginning again. Although the policy discourse strongly emphasises the advantages that previous knowledge and education could bring to Finland, this issue is only visible in the rhetoric, but not in the practice. This however is not an easy issue to fix since it is very closely connected to the high education level and demand prevailing in Finland, combined with a lack of low skills working opportunities available. The analysis indicates that there is no one simple thing to change since e.g. the recognition of qualifications cannot be streamlined, but instead is always an individually tailored process. Based on this research it seems that at least figuring out how to make this process easier and more comprehensible for migrants is something that needs to be focused on. Further research is however needed to figure out how the recognition of foreign qualifications and skills can be facilitated. Migrants are supposed to receive **information about Finland** and Finnish society soon after moving to Finland. The analysis indicates that this policy has not been implemented very successfully yet and almost all of the interviewees described that in the beginning they felt a lack of information and support that was making it difficult for them to cope in Finland. This slows down the integration process and makes it less effective. Interviewees found mentoring programs very useful. Having someone tell in your own language where to find information, which official to approach for various needs and e.g. how to do grocery shopping is a very powerful tool and support to integration. Based on our analysis this option should more available to migrants through e.g. promoting the use of those that are expert through having been through similar experience themselves.

Another thing to consider is the fact that it seems that migrants are not applying for employment on a level playing field. There is a strong sense that **Finnish employees are favoured** in recruiting. Further developing equal recruiting through e.g. anonymising practices should thus be considered when possible. Based on the analysis especially the phase of getting employed is one in which migrants face discrimination. The interviewees, once they had been employed, did not report any indication that they were discriminated in the work place.

Based on the analysis some best practices from the Finnish context are identified:

- Finnish integration policy is based around **individual level integration plans**, which involve various language and other courses as needed, and are highly tailored to individual needs. Migrants and experts alike see these as mostly effective. The cost efficiency of the individual plans is shown in previous research. Although there still seem to be some issues with migrants recognizing the role of the plans, in general they lead to migrants being able to affect the content of their own integration. Furthermore, **integration training** as a policy seems to be working to some extent. The fact that integration training is to some degree individualized takes into account that not all migrants are similar. There still seem to be some practical difficulties in implementation and not all migrants find courses that fit their needs. The integration training is a full-time intensive form of integration. Although the analysis indicates that not all migrants are satisfied with all the courses they have attended, most interviewees however found that overall the courses were useful. In fact, also many of those migrants that did not have the opportunity to attend the integration training expressed a wish to do so. Examples of courses that were found very useful by the interviewees include a course during which migrants can try out different vocations and courses of primary education for adults. During these courses learning the language occurs while doing other things.
- Moreover, a successful integration **policy regarding asylum seekers** is the fact that asylum seekers can already study in e.g. vocation schools or higher education while they are still waiting for their asylum decision. Although asylum seekers are not yet part of official integration services, they do have to opportunity to be active during the waiting period. As a starting point this is a good policy that offers opportunities for asylum seekers. Furthermore, the fact that asylum seekers can work in Finland quite soon after arriving already during the waiting period is also a good practice. Although finding work as an asylum seeker is difficult the analysis shows that it is not impossible and that in fact some are able to use this opportunity.

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Appendices

ANNEX I - Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text (	Title	Type of text	Year of publication	Link/pdf
Prime Minister's Office	Pääministeri Jyrki Kataisen hallituksen ohjelma	Programme	2011	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/hallitusohjelmat/-/asset_publisher/72-paaministeri-jyrki-kataisen-hallituksen-ohjelma
Government	Valtioneuvoston tiedonanto eduskunnalle 24.6.2014 nimitetyn pääministeri Alexander Stubbin hallituksen ohjelmasta	Programme	2014	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/145135/Stubbin+hallituksen+ohjelma/fafd39bc-307c-4cde-8b4c-b97724cf24ef
Government	Hallituksen turvapaikkapoliittinen toimenpideohjelma	Programme	2015	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/1058456/Hallituksen+turvapaikkapoliittinen+toimenpideohjelma+8.12.2015/98990892-c08e-4891-8c23-0d229f1d6099
Government	Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittiset toimenpiteet	Programme	2015	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10616/334517/Hallituksen+maahanmuuttopoliittiset+toimenpiteet/186046e8-46c7-450c-98cf-45b2e2d19c2c
Government	Ratkaisujen Suomi Pääministeri Juha Sipilän hallituksen strateginen ohjelma 29.5.2015	Programme	2015	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/1427398/Ratkaisujen+Suomi_FI_YHDISTETTY_netiti.pdf
Ministry of the Interior	Work in Finland — Government Migration Policy Programme to Strengthen Labour Migration	Programme	2018	http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/160518/05%202018%20SM%20Work%20in%20Finland.pdf
Ministry of Education and Culture	Maahanmuuttajien osaaminen tunnistettava nykyistä paremmin	Briefing	2017	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-osaaminen-tunnistettava-nykyista-paremmiin
Ministry of Education and Culture	Jyväskylän yliopisto ja Metropolia Ammattikorkeakoulu ohjaavat maahanmuuttajia korkeakoulutukseen	Briefing	2016	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/jyvaskylan-yliopisto-ja-metropolia-ammattikorkeakoulu-ohjaavat-maahanmuuttajia-korkeakoulutukseen
Ministry of Education and Culture	Kaksi miljoonaa maahanmuuttajien koulutukseen kansanopistoissa ja kansalaisopistoissa	Briefing	2018	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kaksi-miljoonaa-maahanmuuttajien-koulutukseen-kansanopistoissa-ja-kansalaisopistoissa

Ministry of Education and Culture	Maahanmuuttajien kielenopetukseen ja kotoutumiseen lisävauhtia	Briefing	2018	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-kielenopetukseen-ja-kotoutumiseen-lisavauhtia
Ministry of Education and Culture	Maahanmuuttajien koulutuksen kehittämiseen ja integrointiin uusia ehdotuksia	Briefing	2017	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-koulutuksen-kehittamiseen-ja-integrointiin-uusia-ehdotuksia?_101_INSTANCE_0R8wCyp3oebu_languageId=en_US
Ministry of Education and Culture	Maahanmuuttajien koulutuspolkuja vauhditetaan	Briefing	2017	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-koulutuspolkuja-vauhditetaan
Ministry of Education and Culture	Maahanmuuttajille uusi joustava koulutusmalli	Briefing	2017	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajille-uusi-joustava-koulutusmalli
Ministry of Education and Culture	Opetusministeri Grahn-Laasonen: OECD on oikeassa – perhevapaauudistus auttaisi kotoutumista	Column	2018	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/oecd-on-oikeassa-perhevapaauudistus-auttaisi-kotoutumista
Ministry of Education and Culture	Pohjoismainen yhteistyö maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisessa tervetullutta	Article	2016	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/pohjoismainen-yhteistyö-maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumisessa-tervetullutta
Ministry of Education and Culture	Selvitys: Turvapaikanhakijoiden koulutustaustaa, työkokemusta ja opiskeluvalmiuksia kartoitettiin	Briefing	2016	https://minedu.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/selvitys-turvapaikanhakijoiden-koulutustaustaa-tyokokemusta-ja-opiskeluvalmiuksia-kartoitettiin
Ministry of the Interior	Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus	Publication	2016	http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/75154
Ministry of the Interior	Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus	Publication	2017	http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/79281
Ministry of the Interior	Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus	Publication	2018	http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/handle/10024/160869
Ministry of the Interior	EU:n ulkopuolelta tulevien opiskelijoiden ja tutkijoiden oleskelulupia pidennetään ja työnhakuun kannustetaan	Briefing	2018	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410869/eu-n-ulkopuolelta-tulevien-opiskelijoiden-ja-tutkijoiden-oleskelulupia-pidennetaan-ja-tyonhakuun-kannustetaan
Ministry of the Interior	EU-direktiivi edistää opiskelijoiden, tutkijoiden, harjoittelijoiden ja vapaaehtoistyöntekijöiden liikkuvuutta	Briefing	2016	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410869/eu-direktiivi-edistaa-opiskelijoiden-tutkijoiden-harjoittelijoiden-ja-vapaaehtoistyontekijoiden-liikkuvuutta
Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment,	Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma tähtää työvoiman maahanmuuton vahvistamiseen	Briefing	2018	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/hallituksen-maahanmuuttopoliittinen-ohjelma-tahtaa-tyovoiman-maahanmuuton-vahvistamiseen?_101_INSTANCE_3wyslLo1Z0ni_groupId=10616

Government's communication department				
Ministry of the Interior	Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittisen ohjelman kuulemistilaisuudessa raikasta keskustelua	Article	2017	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410869/hallituksen-maahanmuuttopoliittisen-ohjelman-kuulemistilaisuudessa-raikasta-keskustelua
Ministry of the Interior	Kausityöntekijöitä koskeva direktiivi hyväksytty	Briefing	2014	https://intermin.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kausityontekijoita-koskeva-direktiivi-hyvakskyty
Ministry of the Interior	Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus tarkastelee turvapaikanhakijatilanteen kehittymistä ja työvoiman maahanmuuttoa	Article	2017	https://intermin.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuton-tilannekatsaus-tyoperaisen-maahantulon-painoarvo-kasvaa
Ministry of the Interior	Maahanmuuton tilannekatsaus: Työperäisen maahantulon painoarvo kasvaa	Briefing	2018	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410869/maahanmuuton-tilannekatsaus-tyoperaisen-maahantulon-painoarvo-kasvaa
Ministry of the Interior	Suomessa tutkintonsa suorittaneiden työnhaku helpottuu	Briefing	2015	https://intermin.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/suomessa-tutkintonsa-suorittaneiden-tyonhaku-helpottuu
Ministry of the Interior	Suomessa tutkintonsa suorittaneiden työnhakumahdollisuuksia parannetaan	Briefing	2014	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410869/suomessa-tutkintonsa-suorittaneiden-tyonhakumahdollisuuksia-parannetaan
Ministry of the Interior	Työvoiman maahanmuutto puhuttaa EU:ssa ja Venäjällä	Article	2015	https://intermin.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/tyovoiman-maahanmuutto-puhuttaa-eu-ssa-ja-venajalla
Ministry of the Interior	Valtakunnallinen suurtahtuma Integration 2018 vastaa kotouttamiskentän tarpeisiin	Briefing	2018	https://intermin.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/valtakunnallinen-suurtahtuma-integration-2018-vastaa-kotouttamiskentan-tarpeisiin
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	Maahanmuuttajanaisten ja -miesten asemasta ja sukupuolten tasa-arvosta		2016	Maahanmuuttajanaisten ja -miesten asemasta ja sukupuolten tasa-arvosta
Ministry of Social Affairs and Health	Hallitus peruu ehdotuksensa maahanmuuttajien kotoutumistuesta	Briefing	2016	https://stm.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/hallitus-peruu-eidotuksensa-maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumistuesta
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ammatilliseen työvoimakoulutukseen osallistuvat maahanmuuttajat työllistyvät muita paremmin	Article	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/ammatilliseen-tyovoimakoulutukseen-osallistuvat-maahanmuuttajat-tyollistyvat-muita-paremmiin
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma on julkaistu – painopisteenä työvoiman maahanmuuton edistäminen	Article	2018	https://intermin.fi/maahanmuuttopoliittinen-ohjelma
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Hallitus perui lakiesityksen maahanmuuttajien kotoutumistuesta	Briefing	2016	https://stm.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/hallitus-peruu-eidotuksensa-maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumistuesta

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue alkoi Vantaalta	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-alkoi-vantaalta
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien korkeakoulutus- ja urapolkuja tuetaan Jyväskylän yliopiston ja Metropolia Ammattikorkeakoulun hankkeissa	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-korkeakoulutus-ja-urapolkuja-tuetaan-jyvaskylan-yliopiston-ja-metropolia-ammattikorkeakoulun-hankkeissa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä nopeutetaan uusilla panostuksilla	Briefing	2017	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-tyollistymista-nopeutetaan-uusilla-panostuksilla
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Tuore selvitys kartoittaa kotoutumisen toimijoiden työnjakoa ja tulevaisuutta	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/tuore-selvitys-kartoittaa-kotoutumisen-toimijoiden-tyonjakoa-ja-tulevaisuutta
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Turvapaikanhakija töihin – uusi opas kokoaa faktat	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/turvapaikanhakija-toihin-uusi-opas-kokoaa-faktat
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	OECD: Suomen täytyy kiinnittää huomiota erityisesti naisten ja lasten kotouttamiseen	Article	2018	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/oecd-suomen-taytyy-kiinnittaa-huomiota-erityisesti-naisten-ja-lasten-kotouttamiseen
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Selvitys kotoutumiskoulutuksen ammatillistetuista malleista	Article	2018	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/selvitys-kotoutumiskoulutuksen-ammattillistetuista-malleista
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Työpaikoilla monikulttuurisuuden hyödyntämisessä on paljon kehittämisen varaa	Article	2017	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/tyopaikoilla-monikulttuurisuuden-hyodyntamisessa-on-paljon-kehittamisen-varaa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Suosituksia maahanmuuttajien yrittäjyyden tukemiseen	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/suosituksia-maahanmuuttajien-yrittajyyden-tukemiseen
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Valtion kotouttamisohjelma pyrkii tehostamaan kotouttamista ja lisäämään yhteistyötä	Article	2016	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/valtion-kotouttamisohjelma-pyrkii-tehostamaan-kotouttamista-ja-lisaamaan-yhteistyota
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Kotouttaminen siirtyy maakunnan järjestettäväksi	Article	2018	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kotouttaminen-siirtyy-maakunnan-jarjestettavaksi
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Kotouttamisen osaamiskeskus kerää perhelähtöisen kotoutumisen hyviä käytäntöjä	Article	2018	https://kotouttaminen.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/osaamiskeskus-keraa-perhelahtoisien-kotoutumisen-hyvia-kaytantoja
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment; Lindström, J.	Suomi kehittää kotouttamista kunnianhimoisesti	Blog post	2018	https://tem.fi/blogi/-/blogs/suomi-kehittaa-kotouttamista-kunnianhimoisesti

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Stenman, K.	Onnistunut kotoutuminen on aktiivista osallistumista yhteiskuntaan	Blog post	2016	https://tem.fi/blogi/-/blogs/onnistunut-kotoutuminen-on-aktiivista-osallistumista-yhteiskuntaan
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Kasvuyritysten ulkomaiset osaajat nopeasti Suomeen	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kasvuyritysten-ulkomaiset-osaajat-nopeasti-suomeen
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Lindström: Työelämän monimuotoisuuden edistäminen on tärkeää	Article	2018	https://valtionneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410877/lindstrom-tyoelaman-monimuotoisuuden-edistaminen-on-tarkeaa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä nopeuttava kokeilu kiinnostaa kansainvälisesti	Article	2018	https://valtionneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410877/maahanmuuttajien-tyollistymista-nopeuttava-kokeilu-kiinnostaa-kansainvalisesti
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ministeri Lindström ja työmarkkinajohtajat keskustelivat työvoiman maahanmuutosta	Article	2017	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/ministeri-lindstrom-ja-tyomarkkinajohtajat-keskustelivat-tyovoiman-maahanmuutosta
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ministeri Lindström tutustui kotouttamiseen Helsingissä	Article	2017	https://tem.fi/tyoministeri/-/asset_publisher/ministeri-lindstrom-tutustui-kotouttamiseen-helsingissa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ministeri Lindström: Suomi kehittää kotouttamista kunnianhimoisesti	Article	2018	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/ministeri-lindstrom-suomi-kehittaa-kotouttamista-kunnianhimoisesti
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien koulutuspolkujen nopeuttaminen ja joustavat siirtymät -työryhmän loppuraportti ja toimenpide-esitykset	Publication	2017	http://docplayer.fi/52850472-Maahanmuuttajien-koulutuspolkujen-nopeuttaminen-ja-joustavat-siirtymat-tyoryhman-loppuraportti-ja-toimenpide-esitykset.html
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ministeri Lindström: Maahanmuuttajien kotouttamiseen uusia keinoja	Briefing	2015	https://valtionneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410877/ministeri-lindstrom-maahanmuuttajien-kotouttamiseen-uusia-keinoja
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue käynnistyy	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-kaynnistyy
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Haku käynnistyy: Järjestöille avustusta maahanmuuttajien kotoutumiseen	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/haku-kaynnistyy-jarjestoille-avustusta-maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumiseen
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Katsaus: Maahanmuuttajan kotouttamisjärjestelmän tulee tukea tulijan jaksamista	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/katsaus-maahanmuuttajan-kotouttamisjarjestelman-tulee-tukea-tulijan-jaksamista
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Kuntien on syytä varautua maahanmuuttajien vastaanottoon	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kuntien-on-syyta-varautua-maahanmuuttajien-vastaanottoon

Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue jatkuu Tampereella	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-jatkuu-tampereella
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue tavoitti satoja maahanmuuttajia ympäri Suomea	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-tavoitti-satoja-maahanmuuttajia-ympari-suomea
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajayrittäjät kaipaavat yhteistyötä ja verkostoitumista kantaväestön kanssa	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajayrittajat-kaipaavat-yhteistyota-ja-verkostoitumista-kantavaeston-kanssa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien kotouttamiseen 800 000 euroa hankerahoitusta	Briefing	2016	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410877/maahanmuuttajien-kotouttamiseen-800-000-euroa-hankerahoitusta
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä tehostetaan yksityisellä pääomalla	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-tyollistymista-tehostetaan-yksityisella-paaomalla
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Ministeri Lindström: Kotouttamistoimissa pyrittävä kustannustehokkuuteen	Briefing	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/ministeri-lindstrom-kotouttamistoimissa-pyrittava-kustannustehokkuuteen
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Oleskeluluvan saaneiden siirtyminen kuntiin käynnistynyt	Briefing	2016	https://valtioneuvosto.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/1410877/oleskeluluvan-saaneiden-siirtyminen-kuntiin-kaynnistynyt
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Uuden kokeilun tavoitteena työllistää tuhansia maahanmuuttajia	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/uuden-kokeilun-tavoitteena-tyollistaa-tuhansia-maahanmuuttajia
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Monikulttuurisuudessa menestyneet yritykset palkittiin	Article	2015	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/monikulttuurisuudessa-menestyneet-yritykset-palkittiin
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment; Ministry of Education and Culture	Työryhmä esittää kehittämistoimia maahanmuuttajien koulutuspolkuihin ja siirtymiin	Article	2017	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/tyoryhma-esittaa-kehittamistoimia-maahanmuuttajien-koulutuspolkuihin-ja-siirtymiin
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue jatkuu Lahdessa	Briefing	2016	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-jatkuu-lahdessa
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Kysely: Kokemus lisää luottamusta ulkomaalaistaustaisiin työntekijöihin	Briefing	2018	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kysely-kokemus-lisaa-luottamusta-ulkomaalaistaustaisiin-tyontekijoihin
Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment	Maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä nopeutetaan uusilla panostuksilla	Briefing	2017	https://tem.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/maahanmuuttajien-tyollistymista-nopeutetaan-uusilla-panostuksilla

The Centern Party	Huolenpitoa huomennakin - Keskustan vaihtoehto kuntavaaleissa 2017	Election manifesto	2017	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/KESK/933
The Centern Party	Ajankohtaislinjaus Keskustan ratkaisuja pakolaisongelmaan	Briefing	2015	https://www.keskusta.fi/loader.aspx?id=b5ee93da-5e43-4af9-b930-2225cf76411f
The Centern Party	Keskustan vaaliohjelma	Election manifesto	2015	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/KESK/1121
National Coalition Party	Kokoomuksen työlista	Election manifesto	2015	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/KOK/1024
National Coalition Party	MILLAINEN ON HYVÄ KUNTA? Kuntavaaliohjelma.	Election manifesto	2017	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/KOK/937
Finns party	Arjesta se alkaa - Perussuomalaisten kuntavaaliohjelma 2017	Election manifesto	2017	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/PS/927
Finns party	Perussuomalaisten eduskuntavaaliohjelman pääteemat	Election manifesto	2015	https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/ps_ek2015_vaaliohjelma_paatteemat.pdf
Finns party	Perussuomalaisten Maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma 2015	Programme	2015	https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/ps-maahanmuuttopoliittinen_ohjelma_2015_v3.pdf
SDP	Suunta Suomelle	Election manifesto	2015	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B8AFa3xbB8dpMDIqU1FEZFJtJA/view
SDP	Pidetään kaikki mukana. SDP:n teemat kuntavaaleissa 2017	Election manifesto	2017	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/SDP/944
SDP	Ongelmista ratkaisuihin SDP:n juurevan kotoutumisen ohjelma	Election manifesto	2016	https://www.fsd.uta.fi/pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/SDP/1004
Left Alliance	Vasemmiston tavoitteet kuntavaaleissa	Election manifesto	2016	https://www.fsd.uta.fi/pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/VAS/941
Left Alliance	Jälleenrakennetaan hyvinvointivaltio	Election manifesto	2015	https://www.fsd.uta.fi/pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/VAS/1195
The Greens in Finland	Äänelläsi rakennetaan parempi huominen	Election manifesto	2015	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/VIHR/1141
The Greens in Finland	Yhdessä rakennamme paremman huomisen - vaaliohjelma	Election manifesto	2016	www.fsd.uta.fi/~pohtiva/ohjelmalistat/VIHR/934
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskuksen maahantulon yhteistyöryhmä koordinoi operatiivisia viranomaistoimia Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Kainuun alueella (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus)	Briefing	2015	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/-/pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskuksen-maahantulon-yhteistyoryhma-koordinoi-operatiivisia-viranomaistoimia-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ja-kainuun-alueella-pohjois-po
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	ELY-keskus esittää Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Kainuun alueen kunnille yli tuhannen pakolaisen vastaanottamista (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus)	Briefing	2016	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/-/ely-keskus-esittaa-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ja-kainuun-alueen-kunnille-yli-tuhannen-pakolaisen-vastaanottamista-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskus-

Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Kuntia pyydetään etsimään mahdollisuuksia ottaa vastaan turvapaikanhakijoita (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus)	Briefing	2015	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/ely-keskukset/-/asset_publisher/AfqS9B9msc2w/content/kuntia-pyydetaan-etsimaan-mahdollisuuksia-ottaa-vastaan-turvapaikanhakijoita-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskus-;jsessionid=02AA2F929405635FD75FE427B51AEAD1
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskuksen maahantulon yhteistyöryhmä kokoontui 18. syyskuuta (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus)	Briefing	2015	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/-/pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskuksen-maahantulon-yhteistyoryhma-kokoontui-18-syyskuuta-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskus-
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Turvapaikanhakijoille tarvitaan edelleen majoitustiloja Pohjois-Pohjanmaalla ja Kainuussa (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ELY-keskus)	Briefing	2015	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/-/turvapaikanhakijoiden-maara-hienoisessa-kasvussa-pohjois-pohjanmaalla-ja-kainuussa-pohjois-pohjanmaan-ely-keskus-
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Kotona Suomessa –pilottihankkeiden työn tuloksia sekä hankkeissa kehitettyjä toimintamalleja esiteltiin Helsingin Messukeskuksessa (Uusimaa)	Article	2018	http://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/uutiset-2018/-/asset_publisher/zLV23p6BEOJa/content/kotona-suomessa-%E2%80%93pilottihankkeiden-tyon-tuloksia-seka-hankkeissa-kehitettyja-toimintamalleja-esiteltiin-helsingin-messukeskuksessa-uusimaa-;jsessionid=F32CB7F4F720A2BB171C7DA158930EED
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisen edistämiseksi myllytettiin hankkeita Kouvolassa (Kaakkois-Suomi)	Article	2018	http://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/uutiset-2018/-/asset_publisher/zLV23p6BEOJa/content/maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumisen-edistamiseksi-myllytettiin-hankkeita-kouvolassa-kaakkois-suomi-;jsessionid=DC36D8880D15EED3B0333BA89427CAD1
Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment	Video maahanmuuttajille suomalaisen yhteiskunnan kehityksestä (Uusimaa)	Briefing	2017	https://www.ely-keskus.fi/web/ely/-/video-maahanmuuttajille-suomalaisen-yhteiskunnan-kehityksesta-uusimaa-
Migri	Working in Finland, Know your rights	Pamphlet	2017	https://migri.fi/documents/5202425/6246802/Working+in+Finland+%28en%29
Migri	Suomeen tulevat startup-osaajat voivat hakea omaa lupaa 1.4.2018 alkaen	Article	2018	https://migri.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/suomeen-tulevat-startup-osaajat-voivat-hakea-omaa-lupaa-1-4-2018-alkaen
Migri	Kotouttaminen kuuluu vasta oleskeluluvan saaneille	Article	2016	https://migri.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/kotouttaminen-kuuluu-vasta-oleskeluluvan-saaneille
Migri	Suomeen kausityöntekijäksi tulevien on 1.1.2018 alkaen haettava lupa	Article	2017	https://migri.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/suomeen-kausityontekijaksi-tulevien-on-1-1-2018-alkaen-haettava-lupa

Migri	Turva-hanke pyrkii edistämään turvapaikanhakijoiden sopeutumista suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan	Article	2017	https://migri.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/turva-hanke-pyrkii-edistamaan-turvapaikanhakijoiden-sopeutumista-suomalaiseen-yhteiskuntaan
Migri	Työnantajan on varmistettava, onko turvapaikanhakijalla oikeus tehdä töitä – palvelu siirtyy puhelimeen	Article	2016	https://migri.fi/artikkeli/-/asset_publisher/tyonantajan-on-varmistettava-onko-turvapaikanhakijalla-oikeus-tehdä-toita-palvelu-siirtyy-puhelimeen
TE-office	Guide for new immigrant clients of the employment and economic development office	Guide	2015	https://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/pdf/TE_info_esite_englanti.pdf
TE-office	Work in Finland, Guide for employees and entrepreneurs interested in Finland	Guide	2014	https://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/en/pdf/workinginfinland.pdf
TE-office	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue tavoitti satoja maahanmuuttajia ympäri Suomea	Briefing	2016	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/01_2016/2016-11-11-01/index.html
TE-office	Maahanmuuttajataustaisille työntekijöille maksutonta työsuhdeneuvontaa	Briefing	2016	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/01_2016/2016-03-23-01/index.html
TE-office	Maahanmuuttajia kannustetaan ryhtymään yrittäjiksi	Briefing	2016	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/01_2016/2016-05-18-01/index.html
TE-office	Maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä nopeutetaan uusilla panostuksilla	Briefing	2017	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/00_2017/2017-06-02-1/index.html
TE-office	Työnantaja voi varmistaa puhelimitse Maahanmuuttovirastosta, onko turvapaikanhakijalla oikeus tehdä töitä	Briefing	2016	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/01_2016/2016-11-02-01/index.html
TE-office	Työmarkkinalähtöiset toimenpiteet tukevat maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä parhaiten	Briefing	2017	http://www.te-palvelut.fi/te/fi/nain_asioit_kanssamme/te_palvelut/ajankoht_aista/00_2017/2017-06-13-02/index.html
Pakolaisapu	Pakolaisapu palkitsee innovatiivisen kotoutumisteon	Briefing	2018	https://pakolaisapu.fi/2018/08/09/pakolaisapu-palkitsee-innovatiivisen-kotoutumisteon/
SPR	Turvapaikanhakijoille tarkoitettu työelämään tutustuminen (TET) laajenee valtakunnalliseksi	Article	2016	https://www.punainenristi.fi/uutiset/20161129/turvapaikanhakijoille-tarkoitettu-tyoelamaan-tutustuminen-tet-laajenee
SPR	Vastuu rasistiseen käytökseen puuttumisesta on jokaisella	Article	2018	https://www.punainenristi.fi/uutiset/20180316/vastuu-rasistiseen-kaytokseen-puuttumisesta-jokaisella
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland; Oinonen, U.	Kirkkojen vieraanvaraisuudessa ollaan evankeliumin ytimessä	Article	2017	https://evl.fi/uutishuone/artikkelit/-/article/28628173/Kirkkojen+vieraanvaraisuudessa+olla+evankeliumin+ytimessa

Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	Pakolais- ja maahanmuuttajatyö	web page	2018	https://evl.fi/sanasto/-/glossary/word/Pakolais-+ja+maahanmuuttajaty%C3%B6
Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland	Seurakunnissa myös monikielistä toimintaa	wep page	2018	https://evl.fi/osallistu/antia-arkeen/maahanmuuttajatoimintaa
Finnish Orthodox Church	Juuret ja monikulttuurisuus – osa kirkkoa	Article	2017	https://ort.fi/uutishuone/2017-01-18/juuret-ja-monikulttuurisuus-osa-kirkkoa
Finnish Orthodox Church	Monikulttuurisuus on kirkon arkipäivää	Article	2017	https://ort.fi/uutishuone/2017-06-28/monikulttuurisuus-kirkon-arkipaivaa
Amnesty Finland	Kirje hallitusneuvottelujen maahanmuuttotyöryhmälle	Open letter	2015	https://www.amnesty.fi/kirje-hallitusneuvottelujen-maahanmuuttotyoryhmalle/
Amnesty Finland	Miten osallistua keskusteluun pakolaisista?	Article	2018	https://www.amnesty.fi/miten-osallistua-keskusteluun-pakolaisista/
Amnesty Finland	Sanoilla on väliä	Article	2017	https://www.amnesty.fi/sanoilla-on-valia/
Amnesty Finland	"Tämä on meidän asia nyt"	Article	2018	https://www.amnesty.fi/tama-on-meidan-asia-nyt/
IOM Finland	Askel askeleelta kohti syvempää ymmärrystä suomalaisesta yhteiskunnasta	Blog post	2018	https://iom.fi/fi/askel-askeleelta-kohti-syvemp-ymm-rryst-suomalaisesta-yhteiskunnasta
IOM Finland	Rohkaisua ja realismia: Työelämäkoulutusta turvapaikanhakijoille	Blog post	2018	https://iom.fi/fi/rohkaisua-ja-realismia-ty-el-m-koulutusta-turvapaikanhakijoille
IOM Finland	Kotouttaminen	infomation sheet	2018	https://iom.fi/sites/default/files/Updated%20leaflets/PDO-esite%20suomeksi_Updated2018.pdf
IOM Finland	Looking for a Job?	Leaflet	2018	https://iom.fi/en/node/173
IOM Finland	Kausityöntekijät Suomessa	Infomation sheet	2018	https://iom.fi/sites/default/files/leaflets/IOM_Pikaopas_Kausi ty%C3%B6_FINAL_FI.pdf
UNHCR	UNHCR Observations on the draft Law Proposal for an Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration	Statment	2017	https://www.unhcr.org/neu/fi/12644-unhcr-observations-on-the-draft-law-proposal-for-an-act-on-the-promotion-of-immigrant-integration.html
UNHCR	Oikeusvaltion periaate ja siirtymäkauden oikeusjärjestelyt	Web page	2018	https://www.unhcr.org/neu/fi/mitae-me-teemme/suojaus/oikeusvaltion-periaate-ja-siirtymaekauden-oikeusjaerjestelyt
UNHCR	Uudelleensijoittaminen	Web page	2018	https://www.unhcr.org/neu/fi/mitae-me-teemme/ratkaisuja/uudelleensijoittaminen
PAM	Työn äärellä PAMin maahanmuuttajaselvitys 2018	Publication	2018	https://www.pam.fi/media/1.-materiaalipankki-tiedostot-nakyvat-julkisessa-materiaalipankissa/tilastot-ja-tutkimukset/1080_pamin_maahanmuuttajaselvitys_2018.pdf
PAM	Maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma 2015-2019	Programme	2015	https://www.pam.fi/media/1.-materiaalipankki-tiedostot-nakyvat-julkisessa-materiaalipankissa/pamin-strategia-ja-ohjelmat/maahanmuuttopoliittinen_ohjelma-2015-2019.pdf

PAM	Noin puolet Maahanmuuttajien työsuhte - neuvonnan yhteydenotoista palvelualoilta	Article	2018	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2018/07/noin-puolet-maahanmuuttajien-tyosuhdeneuvonnan-yhteydenotoista-palvelualoilta.html
PAM	Kotouttamiskoulutuksesta hyötyä maahanmuuttajille ja liitoille	Article	2016	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2016/09/kotouttamiskoulutuksesta-hyotya-maahanmuuttajille-ja-liitolle.html
PAM	Maahan muutta jat kysyvät eniten palkoista – ystävät soittavat neuvontaan kieli taidottoman puolesta	Article	2016	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2016/08/maahanmuuttajat-kysyvät-eniten-palkoista-ystavat-soittavat-neuvontaan-kielitaidottoman-puolesta.html
PAM	Maahanmuuttajien kohtaamia epäkohtia työelämässä - työsuopimus ja palkkakuitti vaikea tarkistaa kielimuurin vuoksi	Article	2017	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2017/06/maahanmuuttajien-kohtaamia-epakohtia-tyoelamassa-tyosuopimus-ja-palkkakuitti-vaikea-tarkistaa-kielimuurin-vuoksi.html
PAM	PAMin asiantuntija Mikko Laakkonen: Maahanmuuttajataustaiset pamilaiset haluavat parantaa suomalaista työelämää	Article	2018	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2018/06/pamin-asiantuntija-mikko-laakkonen-maahanmuuttajataustaiset-pamilaiset-haluavat-parantaa-suomalaista-tyoelamaa.html
PAM	Selvitys: Ulkomaisen työvoiman alipalkkaus on yleistä kiinteistöpalvelualalla	Briefing	2015	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/tiedote/2015/10/selvitys-ulkomaisen-tyovoiman-alipalkkaus-on-yleista-kiinteistopalvelualalla.html
PAM	Työperäisen maahanmuuton lisääminen ei saa kannatusta palvelualojen työntekijöiltä	Briefing	2014	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/tiedote/2014/10/tyoperaisen-maahanmuuton-lisaaminen-ei-saa-kannatusta-palvelualojen-tyontekijoilta.html
PAM	Ulkomaisten siivoojien alipalkkaus yleistyy	Article	2015	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/ulkomaisten-siivoojien-alipalkkaus-yleistyy.html
PAM	Uuden elämän hinta – kukaan ei valvo, paljonko ulkomaalainen maksaa, jotta saa tulla Suomeen töihin	Article	2017	https://www.pam.fi/uutiset/2017/06/uuden-elaman-hinta-kukaan-ei-valvo-paljonko-ulkomaalainen-maksaa-jotta-saa-tulla-suomeen-toihin.html
the Finnish Construction Trade Union	Ilman ammattiliittoja maahanmuuton ongelmat olisivat suurempia	Article	2015	https://rakennusliitto.fi/2015/08/25/ilman-ammattiliittoja-maahanmuuton-ongelmat-olisivat-suurempia/
the Finnish Construction Trade Union; Suokas, K.	Virolaisten jäsenten työttömyysturvassa ongelmia	Article	2016	https://rakennusliitto.fi/2016/11/17/virolaisten-jasenten-tyottomyysturvassa-ongelmia/
the Finnish Construction Trade Union	Ei lisää halpatyövoimaa Suomeen	Article	2017	https://rakennusliitto.fi/2017/09/29/ei-lisaa-halpatyovoimaa-suomeen/
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Ammatillisen koulutuksen säästöt, maahanmuuttajien ammatillinen koulutus ja perusopetuksen rahoitus	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/aineistot/lausunnot/amatillisen-koulutuksen-saastot-maahanmuuttajien-amatillinen-koulutus-ja-perusopetuksen-rahoitus

The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Hallituksen esitys laiksi kolmansien maiden kansalaisten maahantulon ja oleskelun edellytyksistä	Statement	2016	https://www.sak.fi/aineistot/lausunnot/hallituksen-esitys-laiksi-kolmansien-maiden-kansalaisten-maahantulon-ja-oleskelun-edellytyksista
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Kymmenen ehdotusta maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisen ja työllistymisen helpottamiseksi	Publication	2017	https://www.sak.fi/serve/bWVkaWEvNTA4My9maWVsZF9maWxl
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Anna ideasi maahanmuuttajien kotouttamiseen	Article	2015	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/anna-ideasi-maahanmuuttajien-kotouttamiseen
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Kielitaito on maahanmuuttajanaisten avain työelämään	Article	2014	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/kielitaito-maahanmuuttajanaisten-avain-tyoelamaan
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Kymmenen keinoa edistää maahanmuuttajien työllistymistä	Article	2017	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/kymmenen-keinoa-edistaa-maahanmuuttajien-tyollistymista
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Liittojen ovet avoinna maahanmuuttajille	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/liittojen-ovet-avoinna-maahanmuuttajille
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttaja ei saa olla työntekijöiden halpakasti	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttaja-ei-saa-olla-tyontekijoiden-halpakasti
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajanaisten euro on 62 senttiä	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajanai-sen-euro-62-senttia
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajat saavat ammattiliitoista tietoa Maailma kylässä –festivaaleilla	Article	2015	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajat-saavat-ammattiliitoista-tietoa-maailma-kylassa-festivaaleilla
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat nopeita koulutusväyliä työllistyäkseen	Article	2017	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajat-tarvitsevat-nopeita-koulutusvaylia-tyollistyaakseen
The Central Organisation of	Maahanmuuttajien maksuton työsuhdeneuvonta avautuu tänään	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajien-maksuton-tyosuhdeneuvonta-avautuu-tanaan

Finnish Trade Unions				
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajien palvelut samaan paikkaan	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajien-palvelut-samaan-paikkaan
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajien työsuhdeneuvonnan yhteydenottajista joka toinen palvelualoilta	Article	2017	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajien-tyosuhdeneuvonnan-yhteydenottajista-joka-toinen-palvelualoilta
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Maahanmuuttajien työsuhdeneuvonta: Kysymykset tuplaantuivat – Palvelu jatkaa vähintään vuoden loppuun	Article	2018	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/maahanmuuttajien-tyosuhdeneuvonta-kysymykset-tuplaantuivat-palvelu-jatkaa-vahintaan-vuoden-loppuun
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Monikulttuurisuus haastaa työpaikan pelisäännöt	Article	2014	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/monikulttuurisuus-haastaa-tyopaikan-pelisaannot
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Monikulttuurisuus huomioitava työpaikoilla	Article	2015	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/monikulttuurisuus-huomioitava-tyopaikoilla
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Nuoret ja maahanmuuttajat alepalkalla töihin?	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/nuoret-ja-maahanmuuttajat-alepalkalla-toihin
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Puhukaa suomea!	Article	2015	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/puhukaa-suomea
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	SAK mukana maahanmuuttajia ja työtä koskevassa paneelissa	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/sak-mukana-maahanmuuttajia-ja-tyota-koskevassa-paneelissa
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	SAK avaa maahanmuuttajien työsuhdeneuvonnan	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/sak-avaa-maahanmuuttajien-tyosuhdeneuvonnan
The Central Organisation of	SAK palkittiin maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisen edistämisestä	Article	2016	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/sak-palkittiin-maahanmuuttajien-kotoutumisen-edistamisesta

Finnish Trade Unions				
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	SAK:n Maahanmuuttajien työsuhdeneuvonta mukana International House Helsingissä	Article	2017	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/sakn-maahanmuuttajien-tyosuhdeneuvonta-mukana-international-house-helsingissa
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Suomalainen työelämä tarvitsee suvaitsevaisuusloikan	Article	2015	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/suomalainen-tyoelama-tarvitsee-suvaitsevaisuusloikan
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Työelämän pelisääntöihin uusi käännös – Työelämän termit avautuvat nyt myös arabiaksi	Article	2018	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/tyoelaman-pelisaantoihin-uusi-kaannos-tyoelaman-termit-avautuvat-nyt-myo-arabiaksi
The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions	Ulkomaalaisten työntekijöiden oikeusturva paranee	Article	2014	https://www.sak.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/ulkomaalaisten-tyontekijoiden-oikeusturva-paranee
The Union of Health and Social Care Professionals in Finland	Lisää resursseja osaamisen kartoitukseen ja työyhteisöjen valmennukseen maahanmuuttajien kotouttamisessa	Article	2016	https://www.tehy.fi/fi/ajankohtaista/lisaa-resursseja-osaamisen-kartoitukseen-ja-tyoyhteisojen-valmennukseen
TEHY; Hankonen, R.	Maahanmuuttajan perehdytys hyödyttää työyhteisöä		2016	https://www.tehylehti.fi/fi/uutiset/maahanmuuttajan-perehdytys-hyodyttaa-tyoyhteisoa
TEHY; Turunen, V.	Maahanmuuttajia ei tunneta työpaikoilla, vahvuudet jäävät pimentoon		2017	https://www.tehylehti.fi/fi/tyoelama/maahanmuuttajia-ei-tunneta-tyopaikoilla-vahvuudet-jaavat-pimentoon
TEHY	Pakolaisesta esimerkiksi muille	Article	2016	https://www.tehy.fi/fi/ajankohtaista/pakolaisesta-esimerkiksi-muille
TEHY	STTK haluaa Suomen kodiksi ja pääsyn työelämään myös maahanmuuttajille	Article	2017	https://www.tehy.fi/fi/ajankohtaista/sttk-haluaa-suomen-kodiksi-ja-paasyn-tyoelamaan-myo-maahanmuuttajille
The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers	Lausunot 18.1.2018	Statement	2018	https://tieteentekijoidenliitto.fi/files/2341/Tieteentekijoiden_liiton_lausunto_eduskunnalle_laiksi_kolmansien_maiden_kansalaisten_maahantulon_ja_oleskelun_edellytyksista_tutkijoina_opiskelijoina_työ_harjoittelijoina_ja_vapaaehtoistyöntekijöinä_18.1.2018.pdf
The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers	EU:n ulkopuolelta tulevien opiskelijoiden ja tutkijoiden oleskelulupia pidennetään	Article	2018	https://tieteentekijoidenliitto.fi/media/uutisia/eu_n_ulkopuolelta_tulevien_opiskelijoiden_ja_tutkijoiden_oleskelulupia_pidennetaan.3099.news

The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers	Academics' career prospects increasingly uncertain	Article	2017	https://tieteentekijoidenliitto.fi/en/material/press_releases/academics_career_prospects_increasingly_uncertain.2427.news
The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers	JYTTE TALKS! 1/2017	Article	2017	https://tieteentekijoidenliitto.fi/liitto/jasenyhdistykset/jyvaskylan_yliopiston_tieteentekijat_ry_(jytte)/ajankohtaista/englanninkielinen_jytte_keskustelee!_1_2017.2390.news
EK	Luonnos hallituksen esitykseksi eduskunnalle laiksi kolmansien maiden kansalaisten maahantulon ja oleskelun edellytyksistä tutkijoina, opiskelijoina, työharjoittelijoina ja vapaaehtoistyöntekijöinä ja eräiksi siihen liittyviksi laeiksi	Statement	2018	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/lausunnot/2018/01/22/luonnos-hallituksen-esitykseksi-eduskunnalle-laksi-kolmansien-maiden-kansalaisten-maahantulon-ja-oleskelun-edellytyksista-tutkijoina-opiskelijoina-tyoharjoittelijoina-ja-vapaaehtoistyontekijoina-ja/
EK	EK: Siirtolaiset mukaan rakentamaan Suomea	Briefing	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/tiedotteet/2015/09/10/ek-siirtolaiset-mukaan-rakentamaan-suomea/
EK	"Kun on suomalaisia ystäviä, oppii suomen kielen"	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/19/kun-on-suomalaisia-ystavia-oppii-suomen-kielen/
EK	Asenne ratkaisee myös maahanmuuttajan työllistymisen	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/06/asenne-ratkaisee-mynos-maahanmuuttajan-tyollistymisen/
EK	Blogissa: "Ulkomaiset työntekijät ovat meille välttämättömyys"	Blog	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/05/blogissa-ulkomaiset-tyontekijat-ovat-meille-valttamattomyys/
EK	Häkämies Tampereella: Yrittäjyys hyvä mahdollisuus oleskeluluvan saaneille naisille	Briefing	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/tiedotteet/2016/06/14/hakamies-tampereella-yrittajyys-hyva-mahdollisuus-oleskeluluvan-saaneille-naisille/
EK	Koulutus auttaa sopeutumaan suomalaiseen yhteiskuntaan	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/08/koulutus-auttaa-sopeutumaan-suomalaiseen-yhteiskuntaan/
EK	Lakimuutoksella helpotusta oleskeluluvan saaneiden pankkiasiointiin	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/01/lakimuutoksella-helpotusta-oleskeluluvan-saaneiden-pankkiasiointiin/
EK	Maahanmuuton asiantuntija bloggaa: Turvapaikan saaneet töihin	Blog	2016	https://ek.fi/blogi/2016/09/23/maahanmuuton-asiantuntija-bloggaa-turvapaikan-saaneet-toihin/
EK	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue jatkuu Lahdessa	Article	2016	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2016/10/17/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-jatkuu-lahdessa/
EK	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue käynnistyy	Article	2016	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2016/05/18/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-kaynnistyy/
EK	Maahanmuuttajasta yrittäjäksi -kiertue tavoitti satoja maahanmuuttajia ympäri Suomea	Article	2016	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2016/11/10/maahanmuuttajasta-yrittajaksi-kiertue-tavoitti-satoja-maahanmuuttajia-ympari-suomea/
EK	Maahanmuuttajien osuus uusyrityskeskusten asiakkaista lisääntynyt	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/12/10/maahanmuuttajien-osuus-uusyrityskeskusten-asiakkaista-lisaantynyt/

EK	Miten palkkaan turvapaikanhakijan?	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/02/miten-palkkaan-turvapaikanhakijan/
EK	Selvitys: Yhteiskunnan ymmärtäminen ja verkostot ovat tärkeitä maahanmuuttajataustaiselle yrittäjälle	Article	2014	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2014/06/23/selvitys-yhteiskunnan-ymmartaminen-ja-verkostot-ovat-tarkeitamaahanmuuttajataustaiselle-yrittajalle/
EK	Työ tekijäänsä kotouttaa	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/15/tyo-tekijaansa-kotouttaa/
EK	Työperäisen maahanmuuton edistäminen tavoitteena, mutta keinot vähissä	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/05/15/tyoperaisen-maahanmuuton-edistaminen-tavoitteena-mutta-keinot-vahissa/
EK	Ulkomaisten työntekijöiden määrä kasvoi kolmanneksen	Article	2014	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2014/01/24/9046/
EK	Turvapaikanhakijasta veronmaksajaksi – työ on parasta kotoutumista	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/23/turvapaikanhakijasta-veronmaksajaksi-tyo-on-parasta-kotoutumista/
EK	Uussuomalaiset vievät Suomea hyvään tulevaisuuteen	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/23/uussuomalaiset-vievat-suomea-hyvaan-tulevaisuuteen/
EK	Vuodessa suomalainen työelämä ja yhteiskunta haltuun	Article	2015	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/2015/10/13/vuodessa-suomalainen-tyoelama-ja-yhteiskunta-haltuun/
EK	Yritys, tarjoa koulutetulle turvapaikan saaneelle portti työelämään	Article	2016	https://ek.fi/ajankohtaista/hyotytietao-yrityksille/2016/03/11/yritys-tarjoa-koulutetulle-turvapaikan-saaneelle-portti-tyoelamaan/
KT	Monimuotoisuus vaikuttaa myönteisesti työyhteisöihin	Article	2016	https://www.kt.fi/uutiset-ja-tiedotteet/2016/monimuotoisuusbarometri
KT	Ulkomailla opiskelleiden lääkäreiden laillistaminen muuttuu	Article	2015	https://www.kt.fi/uutiset-ja-tiedotteet/2015/ulkomailla-opiskelleet-laakarit-kaksivaiheinen-laillistaminen
KT	Ulkomailla opiskelleiden lääkäreiden laillistamista vaiheistetaan	Article	2015	https://www.kt.fi/uutiset-ja-tiedotteet/2015/ulkomailla-opiskelleiden-laakareiden-laillistaminen
PALTA	Palvelualoilla ei ole sijaa rasismille	Article	2016	https://www.palta.fi/palvelualoilla-ei-ole-sijaa-rasismille/
RT	Valtaosa maahanmuuttajista kokee tulevansa kohdelluksi hyvin töissä	Article	2016	http://www.rakennusteollisuus.fi/INFRA/Ajankohtaista/tiedotteet2-kansio/2016/valtaosa-maahanmuuttajista-kokee-tulevansa-kohdelluksi-toissa/
RT	Onnistuneita tuloksia maahanmuuttajien kouluttamisesta rakennusosalalle	Article	2017	http://www.rakennusteollisuus.fi/Ajankohtaista/Tiedotteet1/2017/onnistuneita-tuloksia-maahanmuuttajien-kouluttamisesta-rakennusosalalle/
RT	Pohjois-Savon Raksa Coach projekti etenee	Article	2017	https://www.rakennusteollisuus.fi/Ajankohtaista/Tiedotteet1/2017/pohjois-savon-raksa-coach-projekti-etenee/
RT	Rakennusteollisuus: Uusi direktiivi mahdollistaa ulkomaisen työvoiman työehtojen tehokkaamman valvonnan	Article	2014	http://www.rakennusteollisuus.fi/Ajankohtaista/Tiedotteet1/2014/Uusi-direktiivi-mahdollistaa-ulkomaisen-tyovoiman-tyoehtojen-tehokkaamman-valvonnan/

RT	Uraauurtava koulutushanke alkaa elokuussa Pohjois-Savossa	Article	2016	https://www.rakennusteollisuus.fi/Ajankohtaista/Tiedotteet1/2016/uraauurtava-koulutushanke-alkaa-elokuussa-pohjois-savossa/
Federation of Finnish Enterprises	Lausunto hallituksen esityksestä ulkomaalaislain ja ulkomaalaisrekisteristä annetun lain muuttamisesta (HE 129/2017 vp)	Statement	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/statement/566227-lausunto-hallituksen-esityksesta-ulkomaalaislain-ja-ulkomaalaisrekisterista
SY	Lausunto ulkomaalaislain ja ulkomaalaisrekisteristä annetun lain muuttamisesta	Statement	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/statement/558052-lausunto-ulkomaalaislain-ja-ulkomaalaisrekisterista-annetun-lain-muuttamisesta
SY	Kolmansien maiden kansalaisten maahantulon ja oleskelun edellytyksistä tutkijoina, opiskelijoina, työharjoittelijoina ja vapaaehtoistyöntekijöinä	Statement	2018	https://www.yrittajat.fi/statement/568914-kolmansien-maiden-kansalaisten-maahantulon-ja-oleskelun-edellytyksista-tutkijoina
SY	Lausunto hallituksen esityksestä työttömyysturvalain ja kotoutumisen edistämisestä annetun lain väliaikaisesta muuttamisesta	Statement	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/statement/543517-lausunto-hallituksen-esityksesta-tyottomyysturvalain-ja-kotoutumisen-edistamisesta
SY	Maahanmuuttajayrittäjyyden koordinaattoriksi Kaisu Keisala-Kaseja	Briefing	2018	https://www.yrittajat.fi/tiedotteet/572807-maahanmuuttajayrittajyyden-koordinaattoriksi-kaisu-keisala-kaseja
SY	"Maahanmuuttajilla on yrittäjämäinen asenne"	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/savon-yrittajat/a/uutiset/559704-maahanmuuttajilla-yrittajamainen-asenne-valimeren-makuja-ja-kulttuuria-turkista
SY	Etsimme mentoreita maahanmuuttajayrittäjille	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/keski-suomen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/539772-etsimme-mentoreita-maahanmuuttajayrittajille
SY	Helsinkiin puuhataan basaaria: "Myös vaikeasti työllistettävät suomalaiset voisivat mennä sinne yrittäjiksi"	Article	2015	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/493672-helsinkiin-puuhataan-basaaria-myo-vaikeasti-tyollistettavat-suomalaiset-voisivat
SY	Jo joka kolmas yritys on maahanmuuttajan perustama	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/espoo-yrittajat/a/uutiset/564676-jo-joka-kolmas-yritys-maahanmuuttajan-perustama
SY	Joensuu ottaa edelläkävijän roolin – Maahanmuuttajille yrityspalvelut omalla äidinkielellä	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/490987-joensuu-ottaa-edellakavijan-roolin-maahanmuuttajille-yrityspalvelut-omalla
SY	Järjestö: Turkisyrietykset vetävät maahanmuuttajia maakuntiin	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/555364-jarjesto-turkisyrietykset-vetavat-maahanmuuttajia-maakuntiin
SY	Kattava verkkojulkaisu maahanmuuttajayrittäjyyden tukemiseksi	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/helsingin-yrittajat/a/uutiset/562855-kattava-verkkojulkaisu-maahanmuuttajayrittajyyden-tukemiseksi
SY	Koulutussopimukselle sysäys eteenpäin – apua myös maahanmuuttajien kotouttamiseen	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/491620-koulutussopimukselle-sysays-eteenpain-apua-myo-maahanmuuttajien-kotouttamiseen

SY	Maahanmuuttajayrittäjien toive: Lisää englanninkielistä veroneuvontaa	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/566741-maahanmuuttajayrittajien-toive-lisaa-englanninkielista-veroneuvontaa
SY	Maahanmuuttajayrittäjille uusi opas – ”ensimmäinen laatuaan Suomessa”	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/en/news/562823-maahanmuuttajayrittajille-uusi-opas-ensimmainen-laatuaan-suomessa
SY	Maahanmuuttajayrittäjät kokevat yrityksen perustamisen melko helpoksi - suomen kieli tuottaa haasteita	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/helsingin-yrittajat/a/uutiset/566726-maahanmuuttajayrittajat-kokevat-yrityksen-perustamisen-melko-helpoksi-suomen-kieli
SY	Maahanmuuttajia kotoutetaan mobiilipalvelulla – Tarjoaa myös uutiset	Article	2015	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/132456-maahanmuuttajia-kotoutetaan-mobiilipalvelulla-tarjoaa-myo-uutiset
SY	Maahanmuuttajien yritystoiminta rikastuttaa koko Lappia – ”Täällä tarvitaan monenlaista työntekijää, osaajaa ja yrittäjää!”	Article	2018	https://www.yrittajat.fi/lapin-yrittajat/a/uutiset/575714-maahanmuuttajien-yritystoiminta-rikastuttaa-koko-lappia-taalla-tarvitaan-monenlaista
SY	Maahanmuuttajista toivotaan yrittäjiä – ”Välty virheiltilä: kysy ja hae neuvontaa ajoissa”	Article	2018	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/572574-maahanmuuttajista-toivotaan-yrittajia-valty-virheiltilä-kysy-ja-hae-neuvontaa-ajoissa
SY	Nuoret ja maahanmuuttajat innokkaita perustamaan yrityksiä	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/549187-nuoret-ja-maahanmuuttajat-innokkaita-perustamaan-yrityksia
SY	Näiden maahanmuuttajien yritys työllistää jo yli sata ihmistä	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/543809-naiden-maahanmuuttajien-yritys-tyollistaa-jo-yli-sata-ihmista
SY	Pitchauskisan voittajat ratkaisivat, kuinka maahanmuuttajien työnhaun leirinuotiot syttyvät	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/545863-pitchauskisan-voittajat-ratkaisivat-kuinka-maahanmuuttajien-tyonhaun-leirinuotiot
SY	Pitääkö pizzerian perustajalla olla yliopistotason taidot?	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/565277-pitaako-pizzerian-perustajalla-olla-yliopistotason-taidot
SY	Selvitys: Maahanmuuttajan yrittäjäntiellä liikaa kuoppia	Article	2014	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/500821-selvitys-maahanmuuttajan-yrittajantiella-liikaa-kuoppia
SY	Startupyrittäjien maahanmuuttoa helpottava lakiesitys eteni lausuntokierrokselle	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/554612-startupyrittajien-maahanmuuttoa-helpottava-lakiesitys-eteni-lausuntokierrokselle
SY	Turvapaikanhakijan työsuhde voi päättyä äkisti	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/hameen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/566600-turvapaikanhakijan-tyosuhde-voi-paattya-akisti
SY	Työkokeilun kautta vakitoihin	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/hameen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/538070-tyokokeilun-kautta-vakitoihin
SY	Ulkomaalaistaustaisen työssäoppijan avuksi suomenkielen verkkokurssi	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/hameen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/516838-ulkomaalaistaustaisen-tyossaoppijan-avuksi-suomenkielen-verkkokurssi
SY	Vain sisältö ratkaisee -kampanja kannustaa palkkaamaan kansainvälisen osaajan	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/varsinais-suomen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/566516-vain-sisalto-ratkaisee-kampanja-kannustaa-palkkaamaan-kansainvalisen-osaajan

SY	Vertaista vailla -hanke edistää maahanmuuttajien yrittäjyystaitoja	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/varsinais-suomen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/550084-vertaista-vailla-hanke-edistaa-maahanmuuttajien-yrittajyystaitoja
SY	Vuoden pakolaismies: Työelämän muutos suosii yrittäjyyttä	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/540714-vuoden-pakolaismies-tyoelaman-muutos-suosii-yrittajyysta
SY	Yrittäjyysoppia maahanmuuttajille: ”Tiedonpuute jarruttaa, siksi yrityksen perustaminen viivästyy”	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/566071-yrittajyysoppia-maahanmuuttajille-tiedonpuute-jarruttaa-siksi-yrityksen-perustaminen
SY	Yrittäjä, anna ideasi ja auta maahanmuuttajia kotoutumaan	Article	2015	https://www.yrittajat.fi/pohjois-pohjanmaan-yrittajat/a/uutiset/517624-yrittaja-anna-ideasi-ja-auta-maahanmuuttajia-kotoutumaan
SY	Yrittäminen houkuttelee maahanmuuttajia – ”Suomalaiset nuoret ovat laiskoja”	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/490963-yrittaminen-houkuttelee-maahanmuuttajia-suomalaiset-nuoret-ovat-laiskoja
SY	Yrityksen perustamisopas nyt myös selkokielellä	Article	2017	https://www.yrittajat.fi/hameen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/560574-yrityksen-perustamisopas-nyt-myo-selkokielella
SY	Yrityksille pian entistä enemmän kansainvälistä osaamista – Näin se on mahdollista	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/491281-yrityksille-pian-entista-enemman-kansainvalista-osaamista-nain-se-mahdollista
SY	Yrityksiä kutsutaan mukaan mentoreiksi maahanmuuttajayrittäjille – Tukea yritysduille	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/539839-yrityksia-kutsutaan-mukaan-mentoreiksi-maahanmuuttajayrittajille-tukea-yritysiduille
SY	Yrityksiä voidaan tukea maahanmuuttajien rekrytoinnissa	Article	2016	https://www.yrittajat.fi/hameen-yrittajat/a/uutiset/559992-yrityksia-voidaan-tukea-maahanmuuttajien-rekrytoinnissa
SY	Yritysten perustaminen vähentynyt – maahanmuuttajat entistä kiinnostuneempia yrittäjyydestä	Article	2015	https://www.yrittajat.fi/uutiset/217120-yritysten-perustaminen-vahentynyt-maahanmuuttajat-entista-kiinnostuneempia

ANNEX II – Description of texts included in discourse analysis

Executive power actors: For the discourse analysis, the ministries relevant in migrant issues were identified as the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Justice. The discourses representing the voices of these actors were selected for analysis from the ministry webpages. In this selection, available material found on the websites including articles, briefings and blog posts were browsed to find and select those that were related to migrant labour market integration. Certain publications that were found relevant were also selected. In addition, key word searches were used to identify available material. Material published from 2014 to September 2018 was selected. In some cases, however, certain materials were only available starting from 2015 or 2016. In the selection of the material, it was discovered that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice do not take part in the migrant integration discourse significantly and thus their voices are not included in the analysis but rather seen as absent. In the case of publications, those that were produced by the ministries themselves and not by outside researchers or consults were included. Altogether 69 texts representing the voice of executive actors in the discourse related to migrant integration were selected.

Government: During 2014-2018 there have been three governments in Finland: PM Katainen's government from 2011-2014, PM Stubb's government from 2014-2015 and PM Sipilä's government from 2015-. The government programmes of all of the governments were included in the analysis. In addition, three other central government documents related to migration were included: the Government's Migration Policy Measures (2015), the Government Action Plan on Asylum Policy (2015) and the Government's Migration Programme (2018). Altogether 5 texts representing the government were included.

Parties: During 2014-2018 there were two national elections in Finland: the parliamentary election (2015) and the municipality election (2017). The party election manifestos that the parties had prepared for these elections were chosen for analysis. The parties that had a support of 5% or more were included, which were the National Coalition Party, the Centre Party, The Finnish Social Democratic Party, The Finns party, The Greens in Finland and the Left Alliance. Some of the parties had a separate position paper on migration issues, which were included in the analysis. Altogether 15 texts representing the parties were included.

Official institutions: The official national institutions working on MRA labour market integration issues were included. The most central ones were defined as the Finnish Immigration Service (Migri), the Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices), and the Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY). In the selection, available material from these actors found on their websites (including articles, publications, brochures and briefings) were browsed to find and select those related to migrant labour market integration for further analysis. The Finnish Immigration Service and the Ely-Centres were found not to have many texts regarding labour market integration. The Immigration Service mainly had texts focusing on the bureaucratic side of the asylum application process, family reunification and students coming to Finland. Altogether 22 texts were included in the analysis.

NGOs: The main non-governmental organizations in Finland working with migration issues were identified as the Finnish Red Cross, Pakolaisapu and Pakolaisneuvonta. In addition to these, also some **local offices of international organizations** were included, namely IOM, Amnesty and UNHCR. The webpages of these organizations were browsed to find texts related to the labour market integration of migrants. However, very few texts were found, which led to the conclusion that although these organizations have a central role in migration issues, they do not take part in the labour market integration discussion significantly. This is not to say that they do not organize activities regarding labour market

integration, which some of them do, but rather it seems that instead of these issues dominating the discourse agenda, other issues are more prominent (such as family reunification, asylum procedures and catastrophe aid). A salient topic in the discourses of the NGOs and the local offices was found to be equality and anti-discrimination. In total, 15 texts of non-governmental organizations were included.

Faith based organizations: The two official churches of Finland (the state religions) were included: the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Finnish Orthodox Church. The webpages of these organizations were browsed to find texts (news, statements, publications) related to the labour market integration of migrants. Very few text related to migration were found, and none strictly on the labour market integration of migrants. 5 texts regarding multiculturalism were found and included in the analysis.

Labour unions: The major central labour organizations were defined as The Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK), the Finnish Confederation of Salaried Employees (STTK) and the Confederation of Unions for Professional and Managerial Staff in Finland (Akava). In addition to these actors, 1-2 sectoral labour unions from each of these central organizations were included based on their significance related to migration issues. These are Service Union United (PAM), The Finnish Construction Trade Union, The Union of Health and Social Care Professionals in Finland (TEHY) and The Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers (FUURT). Available material found on the websites including articles, brochures, briefings and blog posts was browsed to find and select those that are related to migrant labour market integration for further analysis. 49 texts from central organizations and sectoral unions were included.

The central employer organizations for this research were defined as the Confederation of Finnish Industries (EK), Federation of Finnish Enterprises (SY) and The Local Government Employers (KT). Besides these also the Service Sector Employers (Palta) and the Confederation of Finnish Construction Industries (RT), which are sectoral organizations, were included. 70 texts representing employer organizations were included.

Total 250 texts

ANNEX III - Policy & service taxonomy

Policy /service	Composition/substance (short description)	Year of implementation	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler to integration	Link to infp
Immigration policies							
Guidance and advice	Right after migrating to Finland migrants are offered basic information about Finnish society and the possibilities to receive support in integration. The information is provided in multiple languages and also in written format.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 7–8 §) which entered into force on 1 September 2011.	All migrants.	Each official is responsible for producing the information, which the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment then coordinates, translates and distributes.		When the information reaches the migrant it functions as an enabler. However, problems with migrants receiving the information have been reported.	Info
Initial assessment	During the initial assessment the preparedness for integration and the service-need of the migrants is determined. The assessment also often functions as opportunity to establish contact with the migrant. It should be initiated within two months of the first contact. Based on the initial assessment the need for an integration plan is estimated. The initial assessment for migrants by the TE-offices is in many ways similar to that made for other customers.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 9–10 §) which entered into force on 1 September 2011.	The initial assessment is done for unemployed job seekers, those receiving income support and for those that ask for it.	Conducted by the TE-office (working age & job seeking persons) or the municipality (others).	For each assessment municipalities get 700 e remuneration.	Enabler, although according to the Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, the initial assessment of asylum seekers should be conducted earlier, possibly at the reception centre (pp. 33).	Info
Individual integration plan	In the integration plan the migrants' skills are recognized and mapped, and their level of literacy as well as previous education and work experience are reviewed. Their Finnish/Swedish skills and study abilities are evaluated. Hopes for a future career are taken into consideration. The making of the plan should be started at the latest two weeks after the initial assessment has been made. Refusal of participation may result in the restriction of benefits.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 11–18 §) which entered into force on 1 September 2011.	For those who need it, including unemployed job seekers, recipients of income support, and underaged migrants without a guardian, who have a residence permit. The integration services are available to the migrant for 3 years (maybe extend to up to 5 years do to various reasons)	For unemployed job seekers the integration plan is made at the TE-office and for others at the municipality. Made in cooperation with the migrant.	Appropriations under the main title of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (TEM: Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, pp. 19)	The individualized integration plans have been found an effective measure for the labour market integration of migrants. However, since it is mainly targeted at unemployed migrants there is a large group who do not receive it.	info
Integration training	Integration training is formed of various courses and trainings on Finnish/Swedish language skills, labour market skills, communication skills, society skills and mentoring. The training should also include a labour market training period. The length of the integration training is a maximum of 60 course credits/study weeks. The aim is to reach a B1.1 (CEFR) skill level in Finnish or Swedish. Integration training is organized mainly as labour policy-related adult education, or as self-motivated studies (e.g. in a comprehensive school / high school).	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 20–24 §) which entered into force on 1 September 2011. The integration training curriculum for adult immigrants by Finnish National Agency for Education (OPH) was introduced in 2012.	Targeted at unemployed migrants and those receiving income support. Mainly for immigrants that are no longer in the age-group to participate in compulsory education. Participation is a prerequisite for receiving unemployment benefits.	Responsibility of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, procurement of training is done by ELY-centres in cooperation with TE-offices. Integration training is organized by various educational institutions.	Appropriations under the main title of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment (TEM: Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, pp. 19)	Integration training functions as an enabler to integration. However, the labour market connections to integration should be strengthened. There is also room to improve the recognition of migrant heterogeneity.	info
Municipality level integration programmes	Municipalities have to have an integration programme that can either be made by each municipality themselves or collectively by several municipalities together. The municipality level integration programme is the prerequisite for state support funding. The municipalities must ensure that municipal services are appropriate for the needs of immigrants.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 32–33 §) which entered into force on 1 September 2011.	Concerns all migrants of a specific municipality or area.	Each municipality or a group of municipalities is responsible for the programme and for initiating cooperation; local authorities must participate in the making, implementation, and follow-up of the programme regarding their own sectors.		Different municipalities have produced different kinds of programmes and there are variations on how up-to-date and comprehensive they are	info

Education related policies							
Recognition of skills and qualifications	For the recognition of a previous degree completed abroad the migrant must do an application to the Finnish National Agency for Education (OPH). University degrees can be recognized as being on the same level as in Finland by the OPH. Degrees of certain regulated professions must be recognized by the corresponding authority such as by Valvira (National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health) for health care-related degrees. In Finland, there is no systematic database on the degrees that migrants have acquired in their country of origin.	SIMHE: the initiative was taken by Ministry of Education and Culture in late 2015.	Recognition of previous degree applies for both Finnish and foreign nationals with a degree completed in a non-Finnish educational institution. Formal recognition is not necessary when applying to private companies (excluding regulated professions).	Finnish National Agency for Education (OPH) and specific corresponding authority for each profession Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland (SIMHE) is a project that aims to make it easier to acknowledge the previously gained knowledge of immigrants and to guide them into relevant study/career paths through guidance discussions.	To get previous degrees recognized the applicant pays a fee of 234-353€ (+ extra costs for recognition of additional competencies). The SIMHE project is funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture.	The current system is somewhat difficult and may function as a barrier. This is also partly due to the costs of recognition of qualifications. Process should be easier, faster and cheaper to function as enabler. Migrants often end up working in fields or positions in which their experience and knowledge are not applicable.	info
Preparatory training	6-10-year-old refugees receive >900 hours and older children >1000 hours of preparatory training for comprehensive school. The aim is to acquire sufficient language/other skills to participate in classes. Preparatory training is also offered to those who wish to study in a vocational education institute or in a university of applied sciences. Upper secondary schools may offer preparatory tuition as well.	The Finnish National Agency for Education has regulated preparatory training for basic education since 2015, for high school education since 2015, for vocational training since 2012,	All migrants who need preparatory training to take part in the Finnish educational system.	Educational institutions	Appropriations under the main title of the Ministry of Education and Culture (TEM: Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, pp. 19-20)	Preparatory training functions as an enabler since it widens the possibilities of migrants to participate in education in Finland.	info
Basic education for adults and writing and reading courses for illiterate	Municipalities organize basic education for adults in high school institutions for adults, adult education centres, folk high schools, vocational adult education or as part of compulsory education. Illiterate adult migrants are also offered writing and reading courses that are organized as part of adult basic education, liberal adult education or integration training.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010) which entered into force on 1 September 2011.	All adult immigrants who have received insufficient schooling in their country of origin to meet the demands of studying in an information society.	Municipalities are responsible for basic education. Regarding reading and writing schools the responsibility was moved from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment to the Ministry of Education and Culture in the beginning of 2018. Educational institutions.	The organizing and funding of reading and writing courses has been placed at the Ministry of Culture and Education since 2018. Previously it belonged to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment. Basic Education for adults is funded through the Ministry of Culture and Education.	Functions as an enabler since it widens the possibilities of migrants to participate in society and especially in further education in Finland. Migrants that are close to or over the age of compulsory education have been recognized as a group at risk of not receiving sufficient education.	info
Finnish/Swedish courses	Migrants can attend free-of-charge Finnish/Swedish courses organized by the TE-office if this has been agreed upon in their individual integration plans. It is also possible to attend a language course of one's choice, or to learn languages independently. Those who wish to apply for Finnish citizenship must be able to speak Finnish or Swedish or to use Finnish sign language.	The literacy training curriculum for adult immigrants by the Finnish National Agency for Education (OPH) was introduced in 2012.	Immigrants who have agreed with the TE-office that language courses are a part of their integration plan.	TE-office and educational institutions such as adult education centres and (summer/open) universities. Also, various NGOs offer language courses. In some towns, a combination of a Finnish course and children's day care is offered for stay-at-home parents.	Appropriations under the main title of the Ministry of Education and Culture (TEM: Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, pp. 19-20) In 2018 the Finnish National Agency for Education (OPH) granted over 8 million € in total for 73 projects that aim to expedite language learning and integration.	Learning Finnish/Swedish is regarded as a key factor in integration.	info

Employment related policies							
Youth Guarantee (Nuorisotaku)	According to the youth guarantee, everyone under the age of 25 (and recent graduates under 30) is offered a job, a study place, a place in on-the-job training or rehabilitation within 3 months after becoming unemployed. This also includes migrants who live in Finland permanently. The educational guarantee, which is a part of the youth guarantee, states that all persons who have just completed comprehensive school get a place in further education or training.	The Youth Guarantee took effect in the beginning of 2013.	Covers all under-25-year-olds and under-30-year-old recent graduates, migrants and Finnish nationals alike.	The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (who is responsible for the guarantee of education and training, the young adults' skills programme, the youth workshop and outreach youth work). The project was implemented in collaboration with the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.	10 million allocated from state budget for three-year budget plan (originally 60 million yearly)	Has been successful in decreasing youth employment.	info
Self-employment grants	The purpose of start-up grants is to encourage new businesses and promote employment. The grant provides an entrepreneur with a secure income during the time that getting the business up and running is estimated to take – however for no more than 12 months. The start-up grant consists of a basic grant, which amounts to 32.40 € a day. Enterprise Finland Telephone Service offers help with starting a business and applying for the start-up grant. (source: TE-palvelut). The TE-office will determine the viability of each case before approving the start-up grant.	Start-up grants have been awarded since the 1980s.	Unemployed job seekers, those not unemployed but seeking to become full-time entrepreneurs after taking part in paid employment, education or domestic work, and part-time entrepreneurs moving into full-time entrepreneurship.	TE-office, Enterprise Finland, Start-up Refugees (NGO) The organization Start-up Refugees helps refugees to find employment or to start a business of their own.	The grant is paid from the development and administration centre for ELY Centres and TE-Offices.	Lowers the immediate loss of income when setting up a business. The start-up grant cannot distort competition, which means that, for instance, hairdressers, masseurs and restaurateurs and are rarely eligible for it.	info
Work try-out(s), coaching, rehabilitative work experience	In work try-outs the aim is to help decide on a career/educational path, or to support in returning to work force after a break. The individual finds a work place independently or with the help of the TE office. They receive the same or increased (unemployment) benefits during the work try-out. The maximum duration of a work try-out is 12 months. Furthermore, job seekers may get up to 50 hours of job coaching per year. A job coach can help with e.g. searching and applying for work. People who have a right to an integration plan are <i>not</i> permitted to take part in rehabilitative work experience.		Job seekers: especially those who have been out of the work force for a while, and those who are (re-)considering their career/study options.	TE-office, employers, job seekers who need support in finding work.	The work try-out is funded through the TE-office. For the person attending the work try-out, the same or increased (unemployment) benefits apply.	Can function as an enabler since it offers migrants a possibility to find a career path they want to pursue.	info
Pay subsidised employment	An employer may be eligible for a pay subsidy when hiring an unemployed jobseeker (who fills certain criteria). The length of the subsidy period depends on the duration of the individual's unemployment, the impact of the disability or illness on work performance, and on the employer. The employer may also be eligible for a pay subsidy for apprenticeship training.	Current form based on the Act on public employment and business service 28.12.2012/916	Potential employers of those jobseekers that have shortcomings in their professional skills or have an injury or illness that affect their work abilities.	TE-office, employers	Funded through the TE-office.	Lowers the employer's cost of hiring workforce. This may benefit immigrants who have difficulties obtaining work because of e.g. prejudice or imperfect language skills.	info
Apprenticeship training	Apprenticeship training (oppisopimuskoulutus) is a way to acquire a vocational qualification by learning at the work place on a fixed-term contract. The employer pays the apprentice's salary, and the employer can apply to the TE-office for a pay subsidy if the apprentice was unemployed before the apprenticeship. The work is combined with studies at an educational institution.	Based on the Act on Apprenticeship Training (1605/1992), Act on Vocational Education (11.8.2017/531)	Anyone over the age of 15.	Employers, TE-office, apprenticeship training offices offer help with e.g. agreements and practical arrangements.	Employers pay the salaries and may be eligible for a pay subsidy from the TE office.	Immersion in working life while learning, integrated language learning seen as a benefit.	info

Fast track employment through an impact investment experiment	Koto-Sib is a fast track training and employment programme for immigrants. Employment is promoted through private investment, using the SIB (Social Impact Bond) model of impact investing. The immigrant's education and training take place on the job. Work is offered in a field where employees are needed, e.g. logistics, hotels and catering, building, recycling, cleaning, manufacturing. The immigrant remains a customer of the TE office and may be eligible for unemployment benefit during the training, but after the training period, the employer may hire him/her and pay regular wages. The immigrant will receive support and advice for three years, also after they have found a job. The programme's goal is to employ 2500 migrants during a three year period.	2016– 2019	17 to 63-year-old immigrants who have registered as unemployed job seekers. Reading and writing skills at least in one’s own language are a requirement.	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Epikus Oy (the fund manager), FIM, TE-office, employers, Sitra (advisor).	European Investment Fund, through Social Impact Bonds (SIB). Total funds are 13,5 million euro. The (private) investors fund the programme and the public sector pays for the results, i.e. when the migrant is employed.	Improves access to working life. The work that is offered varies according to in which fields employees are needed. The wishes/goals of immigrants are secondary. Language learning is supposed to take place in the work place: However, in cases in which work is completely independent this may be compromised.	info info
Mentoring for migrants	There are various mentoring programmes for migrants that are organized by various actors such as the Family Federation of Finland. Such programmes for example include the Matkalla työelämään - project/mentoring model (ESR) for migrants who have been away from the working life due to child-rearing or health reasons, and the Womento-project for skilled female migrants. Start-up Refugees has a mentoring programme especially for refugee women, and it recruits business angels to help new entrepreneurs.	Matkalla työelämään - project: 1 October 2017–31 March 2020. Womento-project 2011–	Migrants entering the work force and setting up businesses.	Organizing actors mainly include various institutios and NGOs.	Various sources of funding that is mainly project based. The "Matkalla työelämään - project" for example is funded by the European Social Fund.	Mentoring functions as a enabler to migrant integration since it may improve migrants’ ties to employment and widen social networks.	info info
Immigrants and innovation policy	The government has launched a joint cross-sectoral programme called Talent Boost – International Talents Boosting Growth. It aims to make Finland more attractive to highly-skilled international professionals, and to benefit from the expertise and networks of immigrants to support the growth, internationalisation and innovation activities of Finnish companies.	International Talents Boosting Growth -agenda was launched by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment in autumn 2016.	Immigrants (including degree students) and highly skilled international professionals.	The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment is the coordinator of the programme. Relevant ministries (TEM, OKM, SM, UM, VNK, VM), cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Tampere and Turku. Dialogue with stakeholders.	The implementation of the International Talents Boosting Growth -agenda is funded through structural funds: 1,7 million from ERDF and 1,3 million from ESF.	The programme is targeted towards a preferential type of immigrant whose employment opportunities it may increase.	info
Welfare related policies							
Family reunification	A foreign spouse of a Finnish citizen, a family member of a foreign citizen working or studying in Finland, or a family member of a person who arrived in Finland as a refugee may apply for family reunification. The definition of a family member is stated in the Aliens Act (301/2004). Since the 2016, all migrants including those receiving subsidiary protection or with refugee status need to prove that they have sufficient means to provide for their family.	Based on the Aliens Act (301/2004) which entered into force on 1 May 2004, and its amendments. Fees were introduced for family reunification applications in 2016 by a decision by the Ministry of the Interior	Foreign family members of Finnish citizens, and family members of foreign citizens with a Finnish residence permit.	The Finnish Immigration Service (MIGRI). The applications are processed in Finnish missions abroad and by the Finnish Immigration Service in Finland.	The family member in Finland ('the sponsor') must have sufficient income to be able to support their family, with some exceptions for those who have been granted asylum or accepted as quota refugees, and in some other special cases. However, the income stipulation is always valid if the family has been formed only after the sponsor has arrived in Finland.	Family reunification is an important part of integration. Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights states that everyone should have the right to respect for private and family life. Income requirement have made family reunification more difficult and this may hinder the integration of those migrants already in Finland.	info info
Regional placements	The placement process begins with the initial assessment, as asylum seekers will be directed to municipalities that provide educational and employment opportunities that are relevant to their skills. The placement of refugees has been agreed on (between municipalities and ELY-centres) before they arrive in Finland. The aim is to settle asylum seekers who have gotten a residence permit into municipalities within two months' time. However, asylum seekers who have gotten a residence permit can move independently in spite of the regional placement.		Quota refugees and asylum seekers with a residence permit.	Municipalities, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY-centres), the Finnish Immigration Service, reception centres.	The state reimburses municipalities for each migrant received: 2300€/year for over 7-year-olds and 6845€/year for those under 7. Reimbursements are provided for four years in total for quota refugees and three years for those who came as asylum seekers. Additional 700€ is paid when a person completes the initial assessment.	Regional placements are implemented for the purpose of preventing the agglomerating of migrants into certain municipalities and cities. Regardless of this policy migrants often end up moving to larger cities that function as economic growth areas.	info info info

Child day-care / early childhood education	If both parents are employed, their child can attend day care full-time. If one parent is at home it depend on the municipality whether the child can attend full-time or 20 hrs/week. However, if the child needs special support or because of a challenging family situation, they may be eligible for full-time care. Cost of day care is regulated and depends on the parents' income. Parents caring for under 3-year-old children at home are usually eligible for a home care subsidy (kotiheidontuki).		The subjective day care right is determined by each municipality. The mentioned exception of needing special support may apply to children with a migrant (-parent) background who may need assistance with learning Finnish.	The municipalities are responsible for arranging the services, for their quality and supervision. Variois day-care providers (both public, private and NGO)	The organizing of day-care and early childhood education is heavily subsidised by the government. The amount that families pay for day care depends on the family's income; family size; and how many hours a week your child will attend early childhood education. If the family has a very low income, early childhood education may be free of charge.	Publicly subsidised child day-care services enhance migrants' opportunities to take part in the labour market.	info
Mental health policies for migrants and refugees	In general, (special) health care services are available to migrants in the same way as to any inhabitant of a municipality. There are some services/projects directed specifically at migrants: - The Finnish Association for Mental Health offers crisis help and training groups for migrants. They coordinate a Mental well-being and inclusion in multicultural Finland (MIOS)-project, which consists of group work activities across Finland and producing a self-help app. The association has also published a guide for those who work with migrants. - The PALOMA project (Developing National Mental Health Policies for Refugees) aims to develop a national model for mental health work with refugees and individuals from similar backgrounds. A PALOMA handbook for professionals was published in May 2018.	MIOS project: 2018–2020. PALOMA project: 1 January 2016 – 31 December 2018.	Immigrants with a refugee (or similar) background affected by traumatic events and/or expressing mental health-related symptoms.	Various collaborators including the National Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), various hospitals, NGOs and institutions.	The general special health care services are publicly funded. The same charge applies for migrant users as to Finnish citizens. The various projects receive funding from different actors. (MIOS: Leverage from the EU 2014-2020, European Social Fund. PALOMA: EU's Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).	The availability of mental health services increases the integration of migrants and especially of those migrants that are affected by traumatic experiences.	info info
Support for young unaccompanied migrants	Underaged unaccompanied asylum seekers are directed into group homes, sheltered housing, folk high schools or private accommodation. They are eligible for support services until they are 21. Additionally, the TRUST-project examines different ways of strengthening the social integration and transcultural belonging of young unaccompanied migrants, in co-operation with the youth themselves, stakeholders, and care practitioners. The "Together" -concept aims to actively support the agency of young MRAs. The activities should be managed and outlined by the youth themselves, but may include e.g. peer support groups, coordination of volunteering, or organizing events. The concept can be modified, developed and implemented freely, the TRUST-project should be mentioned as the originator.	Based on the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 27 § Act on the Reception of Persons Applying for International Protection (746/2011) and Child Welfare Act (417/2007) apply as well. The TRUST-project 2016 to 2018.	Young persons who have migrated alone.	Young persons who have migrated alone, people who work with them, officials/authorities and experts. Local implementation of the Together-concept requires funding and a coordinator.	The TRUST-project is funded by the Academy of Finland.	The support offered to young unaccompanied migrants is intended to substitute for some of the support lost due to not having family and social networks in Finland. It functions as an enabler to integration.	info info info
Promoting good relations among Finnish nationals and migrants	Good relations policies aim to increase interaction between different groups of people, which affects people's sense of security, attitudes, and participation. They also enhance cross-cultural dialogue as well as the participation of immigrants. Trust - Good Relations in Finland -project follows the EU-funded Good Relations project which introduced the good relations model to Finland. The project is implemented by the Ministry of Justice and mainly funded by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment. (https://yhdenvertaisuus.fi/en/trust-good-relations-in-finland)	According to the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 35 and 37 §) The TRUST-project 2016 to 2018.	Targeted at migrants and native citizens.	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, Ministry of Justice, the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO), different NGOs The Ministry of Employment and Economy and ELY-centres have a responsibility to promote good ethic relations. Municipalities and local authorities aim to do this on a local level.	The Trust - Good Relations in Finland -project is mainly funded by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment.	Promoting good relations functions as an enabler to migration since it may increase discrimination and racism and enhance the social networks of migrants (and natives as well).	info info

Others							
Policies related to right to maintain own language and culture	Children of MRAs have the opportunity to study their native language. For this language classes are organized. The possibilities and e.g. the language classes available vary between municipalities. Immigrant, multicultural, religious and other associations may help with practicing one's own culture and meeting people with similar backgrounds.	The right to one's own language and culture is constitutional. Maintaining one's own culture and language is included also in the definition of integration in the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration (1386/2010; 3 § and 29 §)	MRAs children, students with a native language other than Finnish, and students who have lived abroad for several years and want to maintain their language skills.	Ministry of Education and Culture, educational institutions.	Appropriations under the main title of the Ministry of Education and Culture are allocated to instruction of the pupils' mother tongues in basic education (TEM: Government Integration Programme for 2016-2019, pp. 20)	The possibility to maintain once own language and culture functions as an enabler to integration.	info
Renunciatio n of racism	Promoting an open discussion culture without allowing racism is one of the key components of the Governmental Integration Programme 2016–2019. The National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019 also stresses the importance of equality and non-discrimination. The Ministry of Education and Culture has a Meaningful in Finland - Action Plan which aims to prevent racism and hate speech and promote inclusion. The Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO) is a body that advances, monitors, and offers expertise on ethnic relations.	Meaningful in Finland 2016–, Governmental Integration Programme 2016–2019, National Action Plan on Fundamental and Human Rights 2017–2019.	The whole of Finland.	The Ministry of Justice (coordinates the implementation of the National Action Plan & ETNO); ELY-centres (regional advisory boards of ETNO); the Ministry of Education and Culture (Meaningful in Finland)	Ministry of Education and Culture 6 mil € (Meaningful in Finland)	Enabler of integration	info info
Legal assistance for asylum seekers	Legal assistance for asylum seekers was limited in 2016 through changes in the Aliens Act and the Legal Aid Act. Legal costs are reimbursed in the asylum application stage only for particularly cogent reasons, or if the asylum seeker is an unaccompanied minor. Hourly wages of lawyers were changed into issue-based fixed fees. A competence criteria was also introduced to legal aid: the adviser must be a public legal adviser or an attorney. Most cases are handled by a legal aid counsel instead of a private attorney. The Finnish Refugee Advice Centre is an NGO that offers refugees legal advice.	The Aliens Act (301/2004) and the Legal Aid Act (257/2002) were tightened in 2016. The Finnish Refugee Advice Centre since 1988.	Asylum seekers.	Ministry of Justice, State Legal Aid Offices, The Finnish Refugee Advice Centre	Publicly funded	Legal assistance functions as an enabler for those that can receive it.	info info

ANNEX IV A – Interviews

Pseudonym	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution
Stakeholder 1	4.10.2018	Integration official	City/municipality
Stakeholder 2	9.10.2018	Manager of asylum reception centre	Asylum seeker reception centre
Stakeholder 3	9.10.2018	Trade/industry coordinator	Municipality/region
Stakeholder 4	24.10.2018	Director of NGO	NGO
Stakeholder 5	29.10.2019	Higher education coordinator	Higher education institution
Stakeholder 6	18.12.2018	Specialist in international matters	Employment and Economic Development Office /official institution
Stakeholder 7	18.10.2018	Local politician	Local level political body
Stakeholder 8	22.10.2018	Local politician	Local level political body
Stakeholder 9	22.10.2018	Member of the Parliament	National level political body
Stakeholder 10	24.10.2018	Local politician	Local level political body
Stakeholder 11	6.11.2018	Local politician	Local level political body
Stakeholder 12	21.11.2018	Labour union policy maker	Labour union
Stakeholder 13	17.12.2018	Customer service specialist	Social Insurance Institution of Finland /official institution
Stakeholder 14	15.1.2019	Integration trainer	Private integration services provider
Stakeholder 15	15.1.2019	Responsible for migrant services	Private integration services provider
Stakeholder 16	16.1.2019	Integration trainer	Integration services provider/learning institution
Stakeholder 17	16.1.2019	Integration trainer	Integration services provider/learning institution

ANNEX IV B - Interviews

Pseudonym of Interviewee	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Beneficiary 1,	8.10.2018	34	Female	Husband + 1 kid	China	2013	Higher education	Studying to become practical nurse	Accountant	Finnish and Chinese (at least)
Beneficiary 2,	19.10.2018	31	Female	Husband + 4 kids	Iraq	2013	Basic education	Doing basic education for adults	No profession in country of origin	Soran (kurdi), a little Finnish, can understand a little English
Beneficiary 3,	19.10.2018	54	Female	Husband + 2 kids	Iraq	2011	Vocational education (business academy)	Doing internship in NGO	Worked in insurance company before getting married and having kids	Arab and Finnish (at least)
Beneficiary 4,	22.11.2018	29	Female	Parents lives in China. No family in Finland.	China	2015	Higher education	PhD student	Student + teaching English	Mandarin, English and very little Finnish.
Beneficiary 5,	1.10.2018	27	Female	No family in Finland, husband lives in other EU country.	Somalia	2015	no info	Doing language course	No info	Somali and some Finnish (at least)

Beneficiary 6,	1.10.2018	21	Male	No family in Finland	Somalia	2015	Basic education	Doing basic education	No profession in country of origin	Somali and Finnish
Beneficiary 7,	19.10.2018	33	Female	Husband + pregnant	Syria	2015	Basic education	Doing basic education for adults	No profession in country of origin	Arab and some Finnish (at least)
Beneficiary 8,	19.10.2018	27	Female	Husband + 1 kid	Iran	2015	Higher education	On maternity leave but language course about to start	No profession in country of origin	Persian, a little English, a little Finnish
Beneficiary 9,	19.10.2018	30	Female	Husband + pregnant	Iraq	2017	Vocational education	Doing integration training	Administrative work	Arab, Finnish, English
Beneficiary 10,	25.10.2018	26	Female	Finnish boyfriend, family in China	China	2014	Higher education	Working in media company	No profession in country of origin	English, Chinese, Japanese and little Finnish
Beneficiary 11	8.11.2018	29	Female	Parents live in China. No family in Finland	China	2014	Higher education	PhD student	Worked in educational sector + Chinese academy for social science + as financial analyst.	English, Finnish (a2), Chinese native language, little bit of German.
Beneficiary 12	8.11.2018	31	Female	Husband + kid + pregnant	China	2009	Vocational education	Substituting in care sector	Nurse (came straight from nursing school to Finland)	Finnish, Chinese and a little English
Beneficiary 13	22.11.2018	42	Female	Husband + 1 kid	Russia	2010	Higher education	Studying at university	Journalist	Finnish, Russian, English (at least)

Beneficiary 14	29.11.2018	28	Male	No family in Finland	Iraq	2015	Higher education	Working as hair dresser	Teacher + hair dresser	Arab, English and Finnish
Beneficiary 15	3.12.2018	29	Female	Husband + 1 kid	Russia	2013	Higher education	On maternity leave	No profession in country of origin	Russia, English and some Finnish.
Beneficiary 16	10.12.2018	42	Female	Husband + 2 kids	Russia	2011	Higher education	Working in museum	Historian + teaching history	Russian, Finnish and English
Beneficiary 17	10.12.2018	37	Female	Husband + 1 kid	Russia	2011	Higher education	Working as a special needs assistant in school	Math teacher + working at the ministry of finance in Russia	Russian, Finnish, English
Beneficiary 18	10.12.2018	37	Male	Wife + 1 kid	Russia	2011	Vocational education	Working as electrician	Working in business and administration, ADP-support person	Russian and Finnish
Beneficiary 19	11.12.2018	28	Female	Husband + 3 kids	Russia	2012	Higher education	Studying to become practical nurse	Lawyer working at police station	Russian, Finnish and English, Italian basics
Beneficiary 20	20.12.2018	25	Male	Family in Finland	Somalia	2008	Vocational education	Working in home help services	No profession in country of origin	Finnish, Somali. Arab, English

ANNEX V - Summaries of conducted interviews

	Short description of interview	Date of interview
Stakeholder 1	The interviewee is working in a leading position in the field of social work. Her customers are mostly refugees who have been assigned to a municipality. The refugees are generally her customers for the first 3 years of their stay. In her experience, integration services are mostly working well. Labour market integration is however the most difficult part. During the time that the migrants are her customers, they mostly focus on learning the language and only few of them get employment during this time. According to her, it is very important to learn the language but there should also be more opportunities available in education and work for those that do not speak perfect Finnish yet. People should be able to enter language courses right away and continue the learning at same time as they get employed or begin their studies. She notes that some people like women and the elderly often stay behind but that they are giving special attention to this in her work place. The available integration courses are OK according to her but they are too similar to each other, in that they all focus on traditional studying. This is however not the optimal way of learning for everyone. Thus according to her, courses should increasingly take into consideration the heterogeneity of people. All people she has met in her work have had dreams and according to her we should help them achieve them instead of offering them the easiest option. She notes that social networks and friendships are important but not easy to build in Finland.	4.10.2018
Stakeholder 2	The director of an asylum seeker reception centre was interviewed. Most of his customers are waiting for a decision on their asylum application or more specifically on the decision on the appeal to their asylum decision. His customers are not a part of the integration services of the municipalities and thus they are left without integration services such as integration training or integration plans. The interviewee finds this problematic. The asylum reception centre takes care of the basic services of asylum applicant and helps them try to find work. As part of this, the centre intermediates an internship program. Within the programme asylum seekers work for a max. of 3 weeks in a company or organization and through this they gain experience about working in Finland. The interviewee also notes that besides working, many of his customers are studying. Asylum applicants are allowed to take part in education while waiting for the decision on their application. According to the interviewee this has a big impact on integration. The interviewee notes that labour market integration is however difficult and that there are many regulations that make it harder. Some of these regulations should be dismantled according to him. Moreover, he notes that overall the entire asylum application process is too slow and that some people have to wait for years. This does not do good to their mental and physical health and thus has a negative effect on integration.	9.10.2018

Stakeholder 3	A trade coordinator working at a municipality was interviewed. Her job is to e.g. help companies find employees and support them in the processes of employing migrants. The main point that the interviewee stressed is that the integration process should be started earlier. Many people are in the country for years before they became part of the official integration programme and receive integration training. Moreover, those who receive a work permit and start to work in Finland are also left outside of the official integration process and integration training. This will according to the interviewee cause problems, especially since there is a need to bring in more people to work. Integration services should be extended also to those that are already employed or still waiting for their permit decision. Also, employers could have a more active role in integration and according to her many employers have expressed a willingness to co-operation in this. The interviewee notes that integration policies are also a part of regional politics. In small municipalities, there are no integration services available, since they are only organized if there are a certain amount of migrants. Because of this, if migrants want to receive integration training, they often move to bigger cities. The interviewee notes that the knowledge of Finnish is overemphasised in Finland. According to the interviewee the situation of women and children is in some cases problematic. Children should go to day-care part time even if the parents are unemployed. This way the child will learn Finnish and the parents can have hobbies and be integrated through this. The situation of women is also problematic in cases in which the family has arrived as asylum seekers but then the husband has received a work permit. If the family receives a negative asylum decision, for his family to be able to stay in Finland, the husband needs to reach a sufficient income level, which is often difficult. Thus the wife and children who are already in Finland are left in grey area. The interviewee notes that she has found that it is easier for men to receive a work permit. This is because it is mostly male dominated professions that pass through the "availability test", which is a pre-requisite for getting a work permit.	9.10.2018
Stakeholder 4	An executive director of a NGO working with migration issues was interviewed. The NGO is a central actor in the local migration field and its main task is to organize activities and opportunities that bring together native citizens and migrants. This includes e.g. language courses, youth activities, cultural activities and courses on how to learn to study. Volunteers and those that are expert through their own experience have a central role in the organization. The interviewee underlines, that in integration, peers and those that have had similar experiences, provide an important source of help and that this potential should be used more frequently. The NGO's main focus group is those people that live in Finland permanently, but also e.g. asylum seekers are welcomed in their activities. An important role that the municipality has outsourced to this NGO is the organizing of an info centre, in which migrants can get information about living in Finland, employment and the officials operating in different fields. According to the interviewee the organization has a central role in bringing together people from different background and offering services to those that "fall between" official services. According to the interviewee special focus in integration should be put on making labour market connections. According to the interviewee migrants' lack of networks is a serious barrier and this should be tackled from various angles e.g. in school and integration training. The interviewee also notes that although many integration services, such as e.g. the initial assessment and integration plan, are	24.10.2018

	offered to migrants in the beginning, these measures remain distant for migrants and many are unaware of them. The interviewee finds that too often in Finland, when migrants come, they have to start over almost completely. This is because their previous experiences and qualifications are not recognized and utilized effectively enough.	
Stakeholder 5	A higher education designer focused in her work on migrant issues was interviewed. Her job includes e.g. counselling those migrants that are interested in higher education and developing processes regarding migrants attending higher education in Finland. According to her, migrants in principle have the equal rights to study in higher education in Finland. In practice, however they face many challenges. Higher education is competitive and since migrants often do not have a Finnish high school diploma they have to get into universities or polytechnics through a competitive entrance exam. According to the interviewee, there are large differences in how strong the push effect by integration service officials is towards higher education. In some areas, migrants are actively steered towards higher education opportunities and in others they are not. Generally studying in higher education in Finland demands either very good Finnish or English language skills and good knowledge of the education system in general. The availability of English programmes is better in polytechnics and in university bachelor's programmes, compared to master's programmes. The process of recognizing migrants' previous qualifications is often long and somewhat difficult since it often includes having to do complementary courses and meeting supplementary requirements. How to execute this in practice can be difficult to comprehend and accomplish for migrants. According to the interviewee, more flexible ways to higher education should be developed (e.g. the open university path way). Asylum seekers can also apply to study in higher education but the interviewee has not encountered many who have during their asylum process started higher education studies in universities. Integration courses are still too homogeneous and the heterogeneity of migrants is not taken into account enough.	29.10.2018
Stakeholder 6	An employee from the Employment and Economic Development Offices (TE Offices) was interviewed. Her work is focused on helping migrants find employment. She is both planning and implementing employment policies and services. She meets regularly with migrant clients. The way that the integration plans and integration trainings are organized were discussed with her. According to her the employment situation of migrants has improved and also the integration services and training have improved significantly from the time that she started working in the field in the 1990's. The queues to integration training are moderate and there are a sufficient number of courses available. However, budgets are also tight at the employment office. According to her experience, education and internships have an important role in helping migrants find employment. The recent increase in asylum applicants has according to her increased the number of clients at their services. This increase was however not been entirely matched by more resources.	18.12.2018

Stakeholder 7	The interviewee is a town board member. According to the interviewee, town decision-makers deal with migration-related things when deciding on the number of refugees. Decision-makers do not know about the services or policies available for MRAs, because they have so much on their agenda. They get no data on e.g. the employment rate or situation of MRAs – instead, they just receive the total employment rate. This is something that people do not want talk about. Mainly the same group of people participate in integration services year after year, and thus do not integrate to the society. Very few migrants go to work and participate in the Finnish society of their own accord. Instead, many people stick to their own culture and group of people. The key to strengthening integration would be to have more obligations for the migrants, such as the obligation to learn the language and to participate in integration activities. The interviewee thinks that challenges for migrant women include that it is often hard for them to leave their homes, because the men want to keep a watch on them. Young people tend to learn Finnish and integrate more naturally, as they attend school and interact with Finnish people. The skills and qualifications of MRAs should be mapped more carefully, so that they could be trained more briefly to jobs that are at least somewhat corresponding to their knowledge. Low-threshold jobs could best be provided by NGOs.	18.10.2018
Stakeholder 8	The interviewee is a town board member. The interviewee states that topics related to MRAs in the town council/board are mainly about budgets. He thinks that the first generation of immigrants always integrates weakly, whereas the second generation succeeds in it much better. Therefore, attention should be focused on children, since it is often the parents' wish, too, that the children will have a good future. The interviewee emphasizes the role of entrepreneurship and on-the-job learning. Many migrants come from entrepreneurial backgrounds, but in Finland the threshold of entrepreneurship is high, and migrants have not been utilized in the Finnish export industry either. Vocational education should be more accessible and entered sooner. Most of the integration measures could be done already in the reception center, since there is a lot of time for that. In order to do that, (certain) integrational responsibilities should be transferred from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment to the Ministry of the Interior. The time spent in the reception center, where the employees learn to know the asylum seekers, is in a way wasted when the integration process starts from zero after the migrant leaves the center. The transition from the center to normal life can be difficult. Educational and work opportunities could be organized from the reception center. The asylum seekers could start using the municipality's (social and medical) services right away, instead of using services provided at the reception center and then switching to completely different municipal service providers.	22.10.2018
Stakeholder 9	The interviewee is a Member of the Finnish Parliament. In his opinion, learning Finnish is central in the integration process. Language studies should begin already when the asylum seekers are waiting for a residence permit. He finds that integrating men and women do not differ. The possible differences mainly come from within the migrant community and have to do with understanding the Finnish system in which men and women are treated the same way. There should be more opportunities	22.10.2018

	for courses, education and training for working life. These kind of courses may be more widely available to men. The regional government will take on the responsibility for integration measures. In cooperation with towns and funded by the state, the regional government will especially work with measures that will help migrants get work. Work is essential in the socialization to the surrounding world. Educational and course-organizing institutions are needed for work-ability preparation.	
Stakeholder 10	The interviewee has participated in the activities of a migration-related NGO. She criticizes the integration services are not taking into account the different starting levels of migrants: some have gone to school for a couple of weeks, whereas others have a higher education or broad and versatile vocational know-how. Language learning also starts off too slow: people should be immersed in the language right away. Voluntary services in Gloria, a local NGO, have become a part of the integration process. According to the interviewee, social networks are key in integration: peer networks to exchange experiences about living in Finland, and Finnish networks to get references from Finns for job applications, for example. The interviewee mentions the subjective right to day-care as an important factor in the language learning of the children of immigrants. The interviewee says that the main impact of the economic crisis on immigration has been a rise in prejudice and a mentality of 'why should we give immigrants something that Finns don't have'. She worries about the racist, international, ideological change and emphasizes politicians' responsibility in reacting to it. We should see immigrants as networks to the rest of the world and they should be involved in decision-making and developing the region.	24.10.2018
Stakeholder 11	The interviewee is a member of the town council. He criticizes Jyväskylä for not having an immigration coordinator, and for generally not being a model town in immigration-related issues. Jyväskylä's position as a youthful student town is important, but resources are not used wisely. When deciding upon issues concerning immigrants, it is important to include immigrants' own voice in the decision-making process – as experts by experience. He also thinks that many offices that deal with integration could benefit from having male employees; this is because in some refugee groups, talking and opening up to another man would be easier. The immigrants' motivation should be taken into account: if they want to become a doctor, do they get the counseling they need, or is becoming a practical nurse the only option? The interviewee heavily criticizes the comments made by the labour union Akava chair Sture Fjäder and Nobelist in Economics Bengt Holmström on how immigrants could get a lower salary and limited social security. This kind of dual labour market would be a breach against the Finnish values of equality and non-discrimination. Instead of talking about the challenges of immigration, the interviewee suggests that we should see the opportunities and resources involved in having more people of working age. A shift in attitudes also needs to take place. If immigrants cannot get a job or see a future in Finland, they will move to other EU countries after getting a citizenship.	6.11.2018

Stakeholder 12	The interviewee states that the same labor legislation, working life rules, collective agreements etc. apply to immigrants as to Finns but even blatant discrimination sometimes exists and immigrants get paid less. Many immigrants will work in low-wage jobs but collective agreements should regulate the wages, because it is in the best interest of all employees. According to the interviewee's own experience, immigrants join unions enthusiastically. Migrants may end up working in the black economy more likely in certain fields, i.e. in construction, catering, cleaning. According to the interviewee, this is a sign of the society's failure in integration, when the immigrant has no other choice to provide for his family. Immigrants do contact the union when there are malpractices, and so do Finns, when they notice that someone is not getting the same pay, for example. Finland needs immigrants because many workers are retiring and the birthrate is declining. The interviewee states that people have noticed that we do not live in a welfare state anymore, because this government has limited labor law, universal validity, right to strike. To fight back we need the immigrants to join us. The interviewee stresses that everyone deserves a proper job and a proper wage, and criticizes the TE-office and the activation model.	21.11.2018
Stakeholder 13	The interviewee works as a customer service specialist in Kela. The issues and benefits Kela operates with are universal: they apply to everyone who is entitled to Finnish social security. After migrants with a refugee or asylum seeker background get a residence permit, they apply for a right to social security. Benefits secure the initial subsistence for the migrants who often do not get a job or a study place right away. Based on the TE-office's statement, unemployed migrants have a right to either unemployment benefit or income support. The interviewee states that a key factor in integration is that the migrants have their own social worker who is aware of what needs to be done next. Supporting immigrants' own initiative is also important. Migrants get information about Kela and its' services, but sometimes all the information given to migrants can be too much to take in at once – therefore it could be useful to think about what information to share and when. Some clients come to Kela repeatedly with the same questions, either because they forget, or because they mistrust officials and want to see if they get the same answers from different employees. The interviewee hopes that Finns would be more tolerant towards migrants. She sees that migrants are generally very active, and thinks that we should worry about young Finns living on welfare instead. Co-operation of different authorities would help eliminate overlapping work, and thus resources could be put into better use. At a local level there is some co-operation already, but challenges include the exchange of information between officials and its' legal limitations, and rules on how an employee is allowed to use their working time.	17.12.2018
Stakeholder 14	Interviewees 14 and 15 were interviewed together. According to the interviewees, the strength of the integration training is that it is quite systematic and takes into account different target groups quite well. The biggest weakness is that because different services are organized with different funding, different target groups are also eligible for them, and they cannot be combined. The integration training offered by the society is only available for the unemployed, while e.g. integrating foreign students would contribute to them staying in Finland after graduation. Integration plans are in most cases unclear to the	15.1.2019

	immigrants. The integration training includes Finnish, working life knowledge, social and cultural knowledge, counselling, work placement, and some electives. The interviewees state that the current discussion culture seems to favour expediting immigrants' transition to working life, without taking into account the processes of learning a language. Without sufficient language skills there are setbacks at work and at vocational training. The integration process is slowed down, the immigrant may have to return to language courses and at some point the integration period will be over. In addition, the fact that work and integration training cannot be combined can be problem, since it becomes the employed immigrant's responsibility to find evening courses of Finnish. A solution would be that immigrants would continue the integration training part-time while working. Educating migrant women about their study opportunities could be beneficial to their integration, whereas young migrants may need more counselling.	
Stakeholder 15	Interviewees 14 and 15 were interviewed together. According to the interviewees, the strength of the integration training is that it is quite systematic and takes into account different target groups quite well. The biggest weakness is that because different services are organized with different funding, different target groups are also eligible for them, and they cannot be combined. The integration training offered by the society is only available for the unemployed, while e.g. integrating foreign students would contribute to them staying in Finland after graduation. Integration plans are in most cases unclear to the immigrants. The integration training includes Finnish, working life knowledge, social and cultural knowledge, counselling, work placement, and some electives. The interviewees state that the current discussion culture seems to favour expediting immigrants' transition to working life, without taking into account the processes of learning a language. Without sufficient language skills there are setbacks at work and at vocational training. The integration process is slowed down, the immigrant may have to return to language courses and at some point the integration period will be over. In addition, the fact that work and integration training cannot be combined can be problem, since it becomes the employed immigrant's responsibility to find evening courses of Finnish. A solution would be that immigrants would continue the integration training part-time while working. Educating migrant women about their study opportunities could be beneficial to their integration, whereas young migrants may need more counselling.	15.1.2019
Stakeholder 16	Interviewees 16 and 17 were interviewed together. The interviewees are integration service organizers. Their customers are sent in by the TE-office, where the migrants are put into different level groups. The courses consist of Finnish, and social and cultural knowledge etc. are integrated into the teaching. According to the interviewees, waiting times before getting into integration training are sometimes too long. Occasionally the students are also placed in a wrong-level course. The interviewees do not see the students' integration plans, although they could contain information that would be useful to the organizers. As the common language between the students and the organizers is Finnish, the organizers may not be able to really discuss with the students until after several months of classes. The organizers get some information about the	16.1.2019

	students from TE-office, but it is often not enough. Students usually complete the training and few drop out. Some would even like to continue longer. The training is intensive, and the teachers check attendance every day. Mothers of small children have some time before the course starts to look for a day-care place for their children. The interviewees think that it could be good if asylum seekers had some integration training already while in the reception center. This could include information about the Finnish society and culture. The work placements included in the integration training are a good way to learn about the whole employment process, from applying to actually doing the work.	
Stakeholder 17	Interviewees 16 and 17 were interviewed together. The interviewees are integration service organizers. Their customers are sent in by the TE-office, where the migrants are put into different level groups. The courses consist of Finnish, and social and cultural knowledge etc. are integrated into the teaching. According to the interviewees, waiting times before getting into integration training are sometimes too long. Occasionally the students are also placed in a wrong-level course. The interviewees do not see the students' integration plans, although they could contain information that would be useful to the organizers. As the common language between the students and the organizers is Finnish, the organizers may not be able to really discuss with the students until after several months of classes. The organizers get some information about the students from TE-office, but it is often not enough. Students usually complete the training and few drop out. Some would even like to continue longer. The training is intensive, and the teachers check attendance every day. Mothers of small children have some time before the course starts to look for a day-care place for their children. The interviewees think that it could be good if asylum seekers had some integration training already while in the reception center. This could include information about the Finnish society and culture. The work placements included in the integration training are a good way to learn about the whole employment process, from applying to actually doing the work.	16.1.2019

Beneficiary 1	The interview was done with a woman 34-year-old woman who had moved from China to Finland in 2013. Her husband is from Finland. In China, she had studied accounting and worked as an accountant but in Finland she could not work in this profession because the knowledge of e.g. legislation is country specific and also the requirements for education are different. She is studying to become a practical nurse. This education will take c. 3 years. She chose this education because the language requirements are not too difficult and because there is a need for workforce in Finland in this sector. Because she has come with her husband integration has been easier, but she has found it difficult to get Finnish friends. She has found the language courses useful especially because they are free of charge.	8.10.2018
Beneficiary 2	A 31-year-old women from Iraq was interview. She had come to Finland with her children in 2013 to be reunited with her husband, who had come to Finland earlier. Currently she is doing primary school for adults, which will take c. 2-3 years. In school, she is learning Finnish, English and other subjects. She did not go to school in Iraq. Before starting primary school in Finland, she did language courses, which she did not like. The language courses did not take into consideration the fact that she did not even no how to hold a pen, which is why she did not learn much. She is more content with the school she is doing now. In her current school, the subjects, teachers and classes change during the day which she finds pleasant. She does not know for sure what she would like to do after primary school, but maybe she would like to become a hairdresser. Most help she has received from social workers and the NGO she has been participating in. She is not satisfied with the help of the Social Insurance Institution of Finland, since according to her they have been incapable of helping her. She has a strong motivation to learn Finnish.	19.10.2018
Beneficiary 3	A 54-year-old woman from Iraq was interviewed. She had been in Finland since 2011 and before this she had lived in Syria for 5 years. She had come to Finland with her family thought the UNHCR refugee recruitment. In Finland, she had participated in many language courses and short time labour market trainings and internships. Now she is doing a short term subsidized labour stint at a NGO. After this, she would like to study to become a teacher assistant. She emphasised that the language course policies in Finland are not sufficient. According to her the currently offered 3 years is not long enough to learn the Finnish language. Being an older migrant herself, she emphasised that young and old people should not be offered the same courses.	19.10.2018

	According to her older people need more support and more courses since they learn slower than young people.	
Beneficiary 4	A 29-year-old women from China was interview. She had come to Finland as a PhD student and she has been here since 2015. Before coming to Finland, she had done her master's degree in the UK. She came to Finland as a student and thus she did not receive official integration training or an integration plan. The university provided some support but most help she has gotten from her supervisor and colleagues. Her colleagues are Finnish and they have gotten to know each other well. She also hangs out with other Chinese migrants. After finishing her PhD she would like to stay in Finland, but she does not know if I she can find a position. She has learned a little Finnish but she finds that she does not really have the time to participate in language coursers nor in NGO activities. She finds it difficult when letter and emails are only in Finnish and hopes that more information would be translated into English.	22.11.2018
Beneficiary 5	A 27-year-old woman from Somalia was interview. She has been in Finland since 2015. She came to Finland to escape war. She does not have family in Finland but her husband lives in another European country. She is studying Finnish. She finds Finland peaceful but thinks that it is difficult for migrants to find employment.	1.10.2018
Beneficiary 6	A 21-year-old man from Somalia was interviewed. He has been in Finland since 2015. He came to Finland alone as a refugee and he has no family members here. Now he is doing basic education for adults and in the future he would like to become a car mechanic. He says that he did not have a future in Somalia but that in Finland live is good. According to him, you have to study and be hard-working to find employment.	1.10.2018
Beneficiary 7	A 33-year-old woman from Syria was interviewed. The woman had come to Finland from Syria, as an asylum seekers, in 2015, with her husband. They had lived in an asylum centre for 9 months. The interviewee found this time spent in the centre especially difficult. The interviewee had taken some Finnish language courses but she did not speak Finnish very well. She noted that during her time in the asylum centre, she did not participate in language courses since no separate courses for men and women were organized. Because of this, only men participated in the course. She did not know where else she could have found help to learn the language. Now she is doing primary education for adults. She did not go to school in Syria. She would like to become a cosmetologist and she believes that this will not be very difficult. She feels that the NGO, that she has been participating in, which she found through a friend, has helped her integrate.	19.10.2018

Beneficiary 8	A 27-year-old woman from Iran was interviewed. She came to Finland in 2015 with her husband. In Finland, she has been taking care of her young son. She has not taken any language courses yet, and only speaks little Finnish mixed with English. She is about to start her first language course. In Iran, she has studied environmental science and might like to continue in the same field. She however she thinks that it will be difficult to find work in Finland. Her husband is employed as a car mechanic.	19.10.2018
Beneficiary 9	A 30-year-old women from Iraq was interviewed. She had come to Finland through family reunification c.1.5 years ago. Currently she is taking part in integration training which in mainly formed of Finnish language courses. She has found this useful and has learned a lot about Finland. In the beginning, she participated in a one-month course about information regarding Finland. The course was organized in her own language, Arabic, and she found it very useful. Since she knew so little about Finland at that point, she did not have many questions to ask. Now she would have more questions. An integration plan has been made for her by the TE-office, but she is unsure what happens to the plans now that she is pregnant and will go on maternity leave soon. She would like to become a practical nurse. She has been doing a 4-week internship at a NGO. In Iraq, she studied to become a secretary/administrative employee, but she does not believe that she will be able to use this qualification in Finland. Besides, she does not like this profession, and would not want to continue in it. Her husband is working in construction. The fact that she and her husband know English has been a barrier to them learning Finnish since everyone they speak to immediately switches to English if they have the opportunity.	19.10.2018
Beneficiary 10	A 27-year-old woman from China was interviewed. The interviewee had come to Finland first as an exchange student and then as a master student in 2013. During her studies, she had found work in Finland and because of this she had stayed in Finland after graduating. She has a permanent contract at the media company she is working at, which is related to the field that she has studied. In her job, she does not need Finnish language skills but after she decided to stay in Finland for work, she started learning the language. She has taken language courses offered by learning institutions, which are not free of charge. She has not received any official integration assistance such as an integration plan or integration training. The fact that she has a full time job is affecting the time that she has for language training. Her boyfriend is Finnish. She finds that is difficult to compete with native Finns for employment since migrants have less social networks ant contacts to help them. She does not yet have a permanent residence permit but is planning to apply for one when it becomes possible.	25.10.2018

Beneficiary 11	A 28-year-old woman from China was interviewed. She works at a Finnish university as a PhD researcher and she has been here since 2014. Before moving to Finland, she had lived in several European countries, while doing her master's degree. When she moved here, her employer helped her with settling. She did not receive official integration services such as integration training. She notes, that at the moment, the integration services are targeted mainly at family migrants and refugees. She is looking for work opportunities and she finds it hard. She finds that she will have to be more highly skilled and work harder than Finnish people to find employment in Finland. She is also considering moving to another country, depending on work. She finds that for highly skilled migrants there should be more help in the integration process and that for them their skills is more important than learning the language. However, she also finds that in general, learning the language is important for finding employment. She has taken some Finnish language courses and speaks some Finnish.	8.11.2018
Beneficiary 12	A 31-year-old women from China was interviewed. She had come to Finland in 2009. She was recruited directly by a Finnish agency, from a Chinese nursing school, with 30 other students to work as a practical nurse in Finland. Before coming to Finland the agency offered Finnish language classes. After moving to Finland she worked as a practical nurse in a retirement home for several years. After this she set up her own company which she ran for about one year. She is currently pregnant and doing part time temporary work. Because she was employed when she came to Finland, she did not get integration services. She would have liked to participate in advanced Finnish classes, but did not have to money to do so. Her husband is Finnish. In the future, she would like to set up her own business in the restaurant sector.	08.11.2018
Beneficiary 13	A 42-year-old women who had moved to Finland from Russia was interviewed. She had moved to Finland after she had married a Finnish man. After moving, she did language courses which she found very good. Between courses, she was on maternity leave. The language courses took a little over one year. After this, she worked at a large local supermarket. This work did however not correspond with her education since she is a journalist. She found working there hard and some of her colleagues were not friendly to her. After 3 years, she stopped working there and started her own company of Russian product import to Finland. This she did a little more than a year. She would have needed to invest more money in the company, which she did not want to do. Now she is studying to become a Russian language teacher. She believes that she will likely have to take some part time positions first, after graduating. She finds that she does not have time to participate in organizations or to volunteer at the moment.	22.11.2018
Beneficiary 14	A 28-year-old man, who had come to Finland in 2015 as an asylum seeker from Iraq, was interviewed. He had lived in an asylum centre for about 6 months. After this, he had received a positive decision on his	29.11.2018

	application. A month after this he found employment as a barber. He has worked at the same place ever since. Currently he is also doing a hairdresser/barber education at a vocational school to become certified. He has many friends and believes that they have helped him most in integration. According to him, he did not receive official help after leaving the asylum centre. He has taken Finnish courses and learned Finnish on the job. He thinks that it is very important for migrants to have something to do and to have daily activities instead of staying at home and not doing anything. According to him the recipe to a good life is staying constantly active.	
Beneficiary 15	A 29-year-old woman who had originally moved to Finland to study in a master programme was interviewed. She moved to Finland alone from Russia in 2013. During her studies in Finland, she did an internships during which she experienced working life in Finland. After graduating, she decided to stay in Finland since her husband, whom she had met while studying, was working in Finland. Her husband is also Russian and he is employed. While looking for work, she followed a course on entrepreneurship organized by the employment office. She found the help from the employment office and the course useful. As part of this course, she also did another internship at an NGO. Before employment, she however went on maternity leave. She is planning to start looking for employment after 6 -12 months from now. She thinks it might be quite difficult to find employment in the area in which she is living and she is thus thinking about moving to the capital area. She studied Finnish language during her master programme and continued afterwards taking evening courses. She has Finnish citizenship.	3.12.2018
Beneficiary 16	A 42-year-old woman who had moved to Finland from Russia was interviewed. She had moved to Finland with her family in 2011 because of her Finnish family roots. She finds herself very lucky to have found work in Finland in the field in which she has worked and studied in Russia. Since she already spoke some Finnish when she migrated, she did not take the basic language courses available in Finland. She notes that there should be more opportunities for those language learners who already have good skills. She finds that the employment office cannot really help her in any ways since they cannot provide any real work, only information. She says that she had to be very active herself and turn every possible stone to find employment. She also started doing voluntary work right after moving to Finland, which provided her friends and contacts. She found it very helpful that there was a person employed by the city who spoke Russian and help them after coming to Finland. This person e.g. helped them with finding the offices they needed and get in contact with the local Finnish-Russian association. Although she has not faced discrimination or hate-speech she notes that her children have experiences this and she notes that schools should do much more with multiculturalism and integration.	10.12.2018

Beneficiary 17	A 37-year-old woman from Russia was interviewed. She had lived in Finland since 2011 and moved there because of her husband's Finnish family roots. In the beginning, she did language courses and also participate in an integration course during which it was possible to try out several professions. She found this very useful and it helped her decide what she wants to do in Finland. She feels however that she was not encouraged by the employment officers to pursue the career path that she would prefer. Currently she is working in the education sector as a personal assistant and in the future she would like to become a teacher in Finland. She has a degree in this from Russia, but has to do supplementary courses in Finland to become qualified there. She finds that it is in general difficult for migrants to find work in Finland.	10.12.2018
Beneficiary 18	A 37-year-old man from Russia was interviewed, who had moved to Finland in 2011. He had moved to Finland because of his family roots. He moved to Finland with his wife. He also has other family members who have moved to Finland. He notes that in the beginning, they did not receive much information about Finland and working in Finland and that is why they had to rely on the knowledge of other family member and friends. He is currently working as an electrician. This is a profession that he learned in Finland. In Russia he worked in an office as an ADP-support person. He has both Finnish and Russian citizenship. He has not experienced discrimination in the work place in Finland.	10.12.2018
Beneficiary 19	A 28-year-old woman who had moved to Finland from Russia was interviewed. She had come to Finland in 2012 with her family who have Finnish family roots. She was unable to find work in the occupation that she had studied (higher education) in Russia and she thus started studying a new occupation. She says that she understood that her previous education was worth nothing in Finland and that she would have to start from the beginning. After 1,5 years of studying a technical profession she however found that it would be difficult to get employed in this profession in the area that she lives in and thus she picked a new education as a practical nurse. She has completed this education and is now following a higher education to become a nurse. In the future, after she has graduated and worked for some time, she would like to set up her own company. She finds that there is some discrimination and that it is difficult to get employed in Finland as a Russian. However, she is optimistic that if you are active you will find employment. In the beginning, she followed full time integration training for about 7 months during which she improved her language skills. She already had some basic Finnish skills from school in Russia. She did not find the employment office useful and she did not receive any basic information about Finland after migrating. She had to find all the information herself and now she has been helping other migrants. According to her there should be more information in the beginning about where to get help and services, also in Russian.	11.12.2018

Beneficiary 20	The interviewee came to Finland from Somalia in mid-2008 as a 15-year-old asylum seeker.. He studied Finnish and completed his basic education in two years. He then started studying to become a practical nurse. At the same time, he took upper secondary school courses and completed a certificate of matriculation, thus graduating in 2014 with a double degree. He now has a permanent job that corresponds to his education. The interviewee is content with life in Finland. There have been hardships but he is now employed and everything is fine. After first arriving in Finland, he made an integration plan in the TE-office. His study plans were a part of the integration plan. He studied Finnish throughout his educational path. His integration has been influenced by the fact that he feels safe in Finland, there are opportunities and people who encouraged him, and economic and other support. Financial support and student housing enabled him to study in vocational school.	20.12.2018

6 Greece

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6.1 Overview on the Framing of MRA and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse

6.1.1 Brief Methodological Overview

Analyzing the framing of MRA and integration issues in policy discourse was a rather challenging exercise. Generally, it found to be difficult to search for texts, since many actors have been dealing with other issues mainly with reception or other aspects of integration, such as education. Initially, the search for the texts was done manually through the materials available in actor's official websites (press releases, statements, programs, interviews etc.) Then we proceeded through key word searches to fill the total number of 134 texts. There was a rather limited number of texts in SYRIZA (Coalition of Radical Left) possibly due to its direct relation with executive power as the governmental party and in the right parties that were mostly dealing with issues of reception, illegality and the European dimension of migration. Greek Ombudsman was the only implementer of migration policy with sufficient number of texts dealing exclusively with discourse related to legal issues. Texts were not found for UNHCR, the Greek Council of Refugees, and the National Commission for Human Rights as they were involved with other issues such as reception, human rights, and health and living conditions. Respectively, the local office of IOM in Greece was dealing mostly with voluntary return and reintegration programs and unaccompanied children while the church with legal counseling for family reunification, acquisition of Greek citizenship and other issues. Finally, although texts from the most important unions are included in the analysis, there were no texts from unions in domestic work, the cleaning industry and health-care were half of the migrant women work, because there are few trade union in sectors such as with low representation rates.

6.1.2 From Entry and Reception to the Access in the Labor Market

Policy discourses regarding MRAs integration in the labor market has undergone a significant downgrade the past years as demonstrated by the difficulty of finding relevant texts. As the Ministry of Migration Policy highlights the situation is still problematic in spite of the relative upturn in relation to the large inflows of 2015 due to the large number of MRAs targeted by the programs and the fact that inevitably, the previous years have been given more weight and resources to the reception. However, the targeting of the social dialogue is changing from reception to access in the labor market due to the visible signs of permanence of migrants and refugees. Along with issues of exclusion and unequal treatment at work, active employment policies have been added in the agenda, mainly in the context of the preparation of the National Strategy for Integration of 2018 (Ministry of Migration Policy 2019).

6.1.3 Legal Aspects, Labor Rights, Discrimination and Barriers to Access the Labor Market

Economical crisis and high unemployment rates combined with the unresolved issues of previous years and the settlement of newcomers' refugees magnified specific barriers that hinder MRAs integration in labor market. Legal barriers were actor's main concerns. The

prolonged absence or changes of the legal framework that regulate the stay and work of thousands of immigrants has created from time to time deadlocks and insecurity. The process of granting and renewing residence permits has been criticized by the parties and several NGOs for the mandatory high fees for issuing residence permits, and the income criteria and the number of stamps needed which resulted in many non-renewals. Administrative delays during the applications for resident permit left many migrants with temporary protection against expulsion, but with no right to legal access to labor market for a long time while were also problems regarding the initial grant for work permit for asylum seekers. This led migrants to turn to “black work” in order to survive with a significant cost for the insurance funds as SYRIZA points out. Moreover, NGOs highlight that the long delay of the filing procedure for the application for international protection push third country national to undeclared work since pre-registered asylum seekers are deprived from the right to work. In this situation, more administrative problems are being added in the provision of social security number (AMKA) and tax number (AFM) which create consequent difficulties in the right of asylum seekers to register in OAED (Public Employment Service), as NGOs and Executive Power points out. Furthermore exclusions on the basis of nationality in the choice, access and pursuit of a particular occupational activity were the subject of a large number of reports examined by Greek Ombudsman and the housing and legal support program REACT⁵⁵.

Specifically for the agricultural sector, KINAL – a party issued from an initiative to merge centre-socialist parties - KKE (communist party) and the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE) believe that the implementation of the provision for the special work permit of irregular workers (Law 4384/2016) didn't work either. This act provided that farmers who wanted to employ irregular migrants legally, had to pay high fees while if the employer was not consistent with his obligations or when the work was completed the migrant was deported. In reality, irregular migrants continue to work without papers and with the constant fear of deportation. However, the situation in agricultural sector cannot be explained exclusively from its legal aspect. For POTAMI (centre party) the xenophobia of the Greek society combined with the interests of some for cheap labor, resulted in the reluctance of political actors to consider the issue, fearing the reactions. For GSEE, the inability or unwillingness for inspections, and the impracticable of penalty for employers who recruit irregular migrants, formed a lawless environment with phenomena of labor exploitation. Furthermore the absence of previous experience of migrants in trade unions and their intimidation through policies of persecution, deportation and even torture, has led to a problematic and insufficient relationship with trade unions such as the All-Workers Militant Front (PAME)⁵⁶ points out.

Since Manolada case (case law of Chowdury and Others v. Greece, ECHR 2017) did not lead to a coherent policy of coping with the massive phenomenon of labor exploitation and undeclared work of MRAs, effective protection of migrant's labor and social security rights without discrimination is one of the main subjects discussed mainly by the political actors, employers organizations and of course labor unions. Inhuman working conditions are a reality for migrants especially in agricultural sector with exhausting working hours, violation of minimum wages, unhealthy and unsafe working conditions, illegal hold of migrant's papers and intimidation and repression by employers. Furthermore, as Greek Forum of Migrants

⁵⁵ REACT program aiming, was the record and tackle of discriminations through the operation of Information and Support Offices in Athens and was implemented by the NGOs PRAXIS and CIVIS PLUS.

⁵⁶ PAME is a coordination centre within the Greek trade union movement, founded on the initiative of the Communist Party of Greece. While it works independently from GSEE - the official highest, tertiary trade union body in Greece - and its structure, it was added in the discourse analysis as it has under its influence unions with high migrant presence (Unions in construction food and clothing industry).

(GFM)⁵⁷ points out, undeclared work is also a main issue in the area of domestic work where 40% of women migrants are working under irregular condition.

Furthermore, the inability to exploit MRAs skills is presented as a barrier. Ministries highlight that the lack of knowledge about MRAs skills, work and educational profile won't allow the implementation of targeted work programs. Thus it won't be feasible to connect MRAs to professions that meet the needs of the market and in positions that may have a fuller specialization in relation to the domestic workforce. The validation of the skills and the recognition of the qualifications are particularly important for asylum seekers and refugees, because they are not equipped with appropriate documentation proving their education and qualifications. Finally, for KINAL, despite the fact that many of the immigrant languages are spoken in emerging market countries with particular investment and commercial interest, there has been no effective use of their own language and the subsequent potential human resource by Greek businesses.

6.1.4 The Role of Migration for Economic Growth and Overall Employment Level

Beyond the specific above-mentioned barriers, integration of MRAs in the labor market was framed through the relationship between migration, economic growth and employment level. The main question that directed the debate was whether MRAs are a net benefit to the economy, or a liability. For the majority of the actors (Ministry of Migration Policy, SYRIZA, KINAL, POTAMI, GSEE and employers organizations) MRA complement the natives while at the same time they contribute to attenuate the emerging demographic problem. They suggest that there are jobs that domestic workforce don't want to do such as agricultural work and auxiliary work in houses and food service. In particular the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV), an employer organization that represents large businesses, highlights that the employment of migrants does not seem to reduce the overall employment levels of Greek men, refuting the claim that "foreigners" deprive Greeks of jobs, while employment of foreign women has a positive impact on the overall employment of women⁵⁸. At the same time, demography is a challenge for Greece, as low birth rates coupled with longer life expectancy lead to a decline in employment and disastrous pressure on the insurance system. The young structure of the migrant population contributes significantly to the slowdown of demographic aging and its consequences, since they will work for many years and will contribute to the Greek insurance system until they reach the pension.

Nevertheless, SYRIZA and the Ministry of Migration Policy emphasize the need for balance between MRAs and Greeks benefits in order to avoid conflicts within the population. Their concern is to have a clear balance between the rights and opportunities offered to the migrant population and the employment opportunities that are given to Greek citizens. Thus, the National Strategy for Integration of 2018 was designed in such a way as not to come into contrast with Greek society problems.

KKE, however, stresses that this rhetoric, that praises the economic benefits from MRAs and derives from the overall EU policy, is not innocent. For KKE the problem relies on the EU's refugee-immigration policy which connects the number of immigrant refugees with the needs of the economy and leads to control immigration flows on the basis of these needs. This is why there is a special preference for Syrian refugees, since EU distinguished the possibilities of exploiting a scientific and skilled workforce that can easily be adapted to different working environments, with much lower wages, benefits and rights. Respectively the unions in clothing

⁵⁷ GFM, founded in September 2002, is a network of migrant organizations and communities numbering around 40 organizations.

⁵⁸ Possibly the presence of foreign women with the work of Greek women is complementary, as taking care of children and elderly people allow Greek women to work.

and construction industry along with PAME, due to its close association with KKE express the same opinion that government is imposing immigration legislation based on EU's guidelines, which serve the needs and interests of employers or as it is blandly mentioned "Blue Card' for useful specialized migrants, "Lampendusa" and "Farmakonisi" for the useless."

While the majority of the actors promote the integration of MRAs in the labor force either for the economic benefits emerging or on the grounds of solidarity, right wing parties such as ANEL and Nea Dimokratia seems to not share these views, especially as regards the irregular migrants. ANEL opposes the view that there may be financial benefit and development perspective for Greece emerging from the engagement with migration issues. Respectively for Nea Dimokratia, the arguments for demographic stimulation and income for pension funds, are used as an alibi for a legalization policy which will attract more irregular migrants. The extreme views are evidently raised by Golden Dawn (extreme-right party) which declares that every working third country national equals with an unemployed Greek and that unemployment in Greece is dangerously high to support that extra workforce.

6.1.5 Discourse and Implementation of Policies

Despite the different views of the actors, many cooperated in designing and implementing policies. There was a common ground between employers' organizations and GSEE that the social dialogue for the fight against discrimination must become central issue between the actors with respective initiatives⁵⁹. NGOs worked with each other and with local government in many projects- many of which were funded by European sources. City of Athens has established the Athens Coordination Center and Refugee issues (ACCMR)⁶⁰ that aims to function as a coordination hub for the fruitful exchange of good practices and know-how between local and international NGOs, international organizations and municipal bodies. Views of government, ministries, regional government and SYRIZA also converge in that access to labor market is considered a key pillar of integration and the main challenge for Greece is to facilitate MRAs while unemployment rates are still high in a manner that will benefit host society. This agreement is somewhat expected given the direction of the Ministry of Migration Policy and the government to work closely with the local government in developing decentralized active integration policies; this direction is reflected both in the National Strategy for Integration of 2018.

Additional measures were proposed for resolving the massive exploitation of MRAs in the workplaces. In general, unions have promoted the demand for a fair and equal treatment of MRAs, since they are part of the working class and besides its weaknesses, displayed solidarity towards MRAs. Unions and their structures (such as the Office of Economic Immigrants of GSEE, the Support Structure for Immigrants and Refugees of the Athens Labor Center (EKA)⁶¹ and Secretariat for Migrants and Refugees of PAME) organized seminars to raise awareness, took action against racism and xenophobia, organized services to provide legal counseling and information about MRAs rights, and intervened in competent services or employers. However, they demonstrate the participation of MRAs itself in unions and in social

⁵⁹ In order to promote this dialogue, and with the slogan "The world of employment together for equality", the national representatives of workers and employers (GSEE, SEV, GSEVEE, ESEE, SETE), with the contribution of the ILO, implemented nationwide actions to promote equality and to combat discrimination in the workplace.

⁶⁰ <https://www.accmr.gr/en/>

⁶¹ EKA is a secondary trade union organization under GSEE that unites all the trade unions that are active in Athens.

and political activities, as the most important factors in solving their problems and the antidote to xenophobia and racism. Also, the unions in construction and clothing industry and political actors proposed certain measures to ensure labor rights of MRAs like regular inspections by health committee to ensure adequate and healthy conditions, collective labor agreements and regular inspections by the Labor Inspectorate for violations of labor law⁶². Greek Ombudsman for its part as a promoter of equal treatment intervened several times in cases of discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin in employment and occupation. For employer's organizations, the ethnically diverse workforce that is established must be protected from illegal exploitation and exclusions. From this perspective, GSEVEE - an employer organization that represents Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants - participates in the MigrAID project⁶³ that develops educational programs not only for migrant communities but also for the preparation of trade unions and businesses in order to be able to manage ethnic diversity in the workplace.

Lastly, unions and political actors except extreme right party, agree that an organized legalization of MRAs, and in particular agricultural workers under specific conditions who lack residence or work permits, could help the fight against undeclared work and exploitation while the criteria of income and stamps must re-examined⁶⁴.

The overview on the framing of MRA and integration issues suggests that the integration of migrants and refugees in the labor market is a rather recent topic in policy discourse. The discourse is mainly articulated around issues such as the conditions for entry and reception, the legal aspects, labour rights and barriers to access employment and the role of migration for economic growth and overall employment level. The overview suggests also that discourse and policy implementation are often interrelated and that, most of the time, ideological aspects imply pro-migrant or counter-migrant discourse of actors and of political parties in particular.

6.2 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRA

Despite the transformation of Greece from a sending to a receiving migration country, the socio-economic integration of migrants was not for long a main topic in the migration agenda. Although some initiatives have been taken in the second half of the 2000s, they were mainly seen as specific actions than as real policy measures for the integration of migrants. Recent refugee flows and increase in asylum seekers has led to underline the need for migrants' socio-economic integration policies; however, even in our days, policy measures are mainly part of national plans than of a real national policy for the integration of MRAs.

62 KINAL, POTAMI and GSEE specifically believe that the ratification of the International Labor Convention 129 "On Labor Inspection in Agriculture" is imperative in order to formalize the competence of labor market control bodies and to extend their activity to the agricultural sector. Also the Ministry of Labor, Social Security and Social Solidarity, proceeded in 2017 in targeted actions with the Labor Inspectorate in the context of Europol's "EMPACT-Trafficking in Human Beings" European Operational Action Plan and is working on a plan to strengthen the response of undeclared work in the agricultural sector.

63 <https://migrad.eu/>

64 In addition, PAME suggests that on any case of employers' terrorism and arbitrariness against migrant workers, the special residence permit provided in article 44 of Law 3907/2011 should be given as a direct measure.

Immigration policy in particular is articulated through three main issues: a) the legal stay of immigrants, mostly for those entering the country before the recent refugee crisis, b) the reception of refugee streams from 2015 onwards and, to a much lesser extent, c) the socio-economic integration of immigrants.

The first issue was tackled through the focus on the simplification of the legal and institutional framework which resulted to the introduction of the Migration and Social Integration Code (Law 4175/2014). The Code, further strengthened by Joint Ministerial Decision 30651/2014 and Law 4332/2015, has rationalized the issue and the renewal of residence permits and facilitated the access of migrants to labor market by simplifying the procedure and extending the duration of their legal stay. As for refugees and asylum seekers, the increase in (sea) flows, the closure of the so-called Balkan route in March 2016, the EU-Turkey agreement also in March 2016 and the transposition into Greek law of the EU Directive (2013/32/EU) on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection, resulted to new asylum legislation (Law 4375/2016, amended by Law 4399/2016, Article 86). The implementation of the new legislation led to different asylum procedures for those applicants who arrive in Greece after the EU-Turkey agreement (fast-track procedure) as compared to those who were relocated to the mainland and had reached the country before this date (AIDA 2018).

In principle, the “metaklissi” procedure, based on the assessment of the internal labor market needs and the invitation to foreigners, who have previously to apply in their country of origin for a labor entry visa to Greece, along with the completion of complex paperwork by the employer, remains the main option for legal migration for employment purpose.

As for the socio-economic integration of migrants, local offices that are under the municipalities' jurisdiction called “Kentra Koinotitas” (Centers for Migrants Integration) are responsible for the integration of foreign population. Moreover Kentra Koinotitas are responsible for the implementation of actions towards integration such as language courses and other trainings. The institution of Kentra Koinotitas although new, aims to cover the lack of a solid integration plan provided by the state. The Non Governmental Sector is largely involved.

In general, policies regarding the socio-economic integration of migrants are implemented as social inclusion programmes organized in the mainland for MRAs exclusively with co-financing from International Organisations. Thus, language courses are provided from the state however civil society institutions are the main provider of this service. At national level, two major initiatives as regards the knowledge of Greek have been undertaken (Kontorizou 2018). The first refers to the “Education of immigrants in the Greek language, the Greek history and the Greek culture – ODYSSEUS” programme aimed at providing the language skills, as well as the social and intercultural competences required for the social inclusion of the participants and their families. The second refers to language and history courses for migrants which were included in several programmes implemented by the Ministry of Interior in the context of the European Social Fund (ESF) projects. Other language programs were provided from the Educational Organization AKMON in cooperation with the Association of Afghan Immigrants and Refugees targeting refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore local non Governmental Organization such as Metadrasi and Steki Metanaston have provided free courses of Greek language for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

There are no specific mechanisms for the recognition of qualification and skills. At that purpose, the European Qualification Passport of Refugees, thought with a limited coverage, was introduced as a pilot initiative in 2017 (see also Section 5). “It is a special document issued to refugees with higher education qualifications, even in situations when they are not able to provide supporting documentation such as university degree, diploma, language certificate etc. It also contains information about work experience and language proficiency that the refugee may have” (Council of Europe, 2017). It holds reliable information and it is considered as a first step towards employment and admission to further studies. For obtaining the

document there is a two-step procedure which includes a first selection of candidates based on information about his/her education, language proficiency and work experience followed by an interview with a team of evaluators. The first group of candidates was interviewed from 7 to 9 March 2017 in Athens.

Access to vocational education and to the job training as provided by the national legal framework and namely the Article 27 of the Presidential Decree 141/2013 (Article 26 of the Directive), is granted for the beneficiaries of international protection (i.e. recognized refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection status) who have the right/can (to) participate in educational/training programmes for adults, related to employment and vocational training, including training courses for upgrading skills and gaining practical experience in work environments, and counselling services, implemented by authorized institutions, under the same conditions as the Greek citizens, without targeting specifically the MRAs. The same condition applies also for all the third country nationals that reside legally in Greece. Usually the implementation and the designing of actions that include counseling on labor market integration, vocational orientation and psychosocial support is assigned to institutions of civil society (such as various NGO'S e.g METADRASI, Greek Council of the Refugees) leaving to the government the monitoring and the allocation of funds usually coming from European programmes (EMN 2018). It is worth mentioning that in respect to job search assistance programmes, there was lack of them for the nationals even before the crisis, let alone the population in question.

Efforts to fight employment to the irregular market has been reflected in the initiatives aiming at combating undeclared work i.e. work related to the activities that are not declared to the authorities either because they are illegal per se, or in order to avoid paying taxes and social security contributions. At that respect, in collaboration with ILO, the three year (2017-2020) roadmap for fighting undeclared work was ratified providing a set of 25 policy recommendations to implement a holistic integrated strategic approach to tackle undeclared work in Greece (European Commission 2017; ILO 2016a, 2016b). This initiative is expected to have relevant implications for migrants, since undeclared work mainly concern sectors and occupations with migrant concentration, notably agriculture, construction, distributive trades, hotels and restaurants and among domestic workers. It is also worth noting that a new method of payment and retention of insurance contributions ("ergossimo") was introduced in 2010 aiming also at combating undeclared work (see Section 5).

In principle, third country nationals have access to social welfare service. This is applied to legal migrants, as well as to the beneficiaries and applicants of international protection. In particular for unemployment services, they are provided by the Public Employment Service (OAED) and include unemployment benefit, participation in subsidised vocational training programmes and employment counseling. OEAD also provides other benefits, such as family allowance, maternity allowance or access to its day nurseries. In general, social welfare including the provision of cash and accommodation assistant has been a reality since 2015, when Greece received a massive flow of a new population (ESTIA and HELIOS programmes). Those allowances have targeting mostly refugees and applicants of international protection and into a much more lessen extent migrant population.

Education of migrant children has for long been an issue in Greece. However, a particular attention has been paid to that issue after the refugee crisis of 2015. Legislative initiatives (Law 4415/2016) and special educational programmes were adopted in 2016 (Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs 2017; Ziomas et al. 2017; Skleparis 2018) in order to face with the challenge of ensuring access to education for refuge and migrant children. The "Reception/Preparatory Classes for the Education of Refugees" (DYEP) programme was launched in 2016. It concerns the establishment and the operation of classes in certain public school identified by the Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, in the mainland of Greece. Classes are operated at the afternoon (from 14:00 to 18:00) providing courses in the English language, in Greek as a second language, in mathematics, sports, arts and computer science (Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs 2017; Skleparis

2018). In addition, as provided by recent legislation (Law 1403/2017) refugee and migrant children may also attend reception classes.

Access to health for third country nationals who hold the necessary legal documents, or are members of undocumented vulnerable groups is applied at the same conditions as for nationals. Thus, in principle, they have free access to public health institutions and medical care as well as the members of their family.

6.3 Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA

Given that integration of MRAs is a rather recent topic in Greece, assessment of MRA integration and policies specifically are issues that are not much researched. Most of the time, research is focused on some policy aspects related to the employment of migrants in the informal sector, to their upward mobility and to the gender and ethnic dimensions of migrant integration.

The limited effectiveness of policies aiming to fight employment in the informal sector is one of the main policy aspects of migrant integration. Since the onset of immigration flows to Greece at the early 1990s, the employment in the secondary labor market has been the main way for the economic integration of migrants. This is combined with temporality and seasonality in migrant employment which is very often coupled with informal activities and informal work. Several recent reports (e.g. European Commission 2017; Karantinos 2016; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017), indicate that, in practice migrants are mostly seen as a flexible and temporary labor force responding to the seasonal needs in agriculture, construction, distributive trades, hotels, restaurants and (domestic) services provided to households. This is also confirmed by findings of research projects; findings of IRMA project⁶⁵ (2015) on “Governing Irregular Migration: States, Migrants and Intermediaries at the Age of Globalisation” highlight the existence of an informal labor market, which needs cheap and flexible seasonal work in tourism and agriculture (Triandafyllidou and Gemi 2015). These pull factors, combined with migrations networks are seen as critical elements in shaping the ‘irregular’ migration condition.

In particular for agriculture sector, the integration of the immigration flows from 1990 onwards has been happened through their participation in the secondary labor market predominated by precarity, insecurity and low wages (Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017). In general, the fact that temporary migrant labor has been a major way for entering the labor market for irregular migrants and asylum seekers newly-arrived in Greece, has led to socio-economic divisions among migrant groups in relation to their legal status, their duration of stay and also along ethnic lines. Those diversities are intensifying by the inefficiency of the ‘metaklissi’ scheme which according to IRMA project it does not correspond to the country’s labor market structure, and by a failure of adequate application of seasonal workers schemes. According to the IRMA project “The Greek state should provide incentives to employers to better enforce the law on seasonal work, put into place bureaucratically simplified procedures and inform workers about their rights”. This will contribute to avoid situations where irregular migrants apply for asylum in order to acquire a legal status, even if for a short period of time.

In practice, there is a need for further improving the situation with regard to the prevention of undeclared and uninsured employment, two main features of migrant employment (European Commission 2017). As it is suggested, undeclared work “should be treated not only as a purely economic but also as a social phenomenon. People often view undeclared

⁶⁵ A project funded by the General Secretariat for Research and Technology of Greece through the ARISTEIA programme (2012-2015) and carried out by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

employment as something legitimate, and this might perhaps explain why previous policy efforts (comprising of altering administrative procedures and making fines more severe), have partly failed (European Commission 2017).

Recent policies aiming to regularize and legalize the illegal stay of migrants seem to facilitate their upward mobility and long-term stay (Karantinos 2016). Indeed, migrants constitute a well settled population group in Greece, since around 40% of them by now hold long term stay permits and that those permits along with family reunification permits form now the vast majority of all stay permits for third country nationals residing in Greece (Triandafyllidou and Gemi 2018). At that respect, it seems that there is an improvement in terms of overcoming obstacles related to the residence permit requirements and procedures, two issues which, according to relevant research, such as the “Integration of female migrant domestic workers- Strategies for Employment and Civic Participation” project (Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies 2008; Parsanoglou and Tsiamoglou 2008), were very often seen as the main barriers to the integration of migrants and of migrant women in particular.

Another significant aspect related to policies on migrant integration is to what extent those policies and programmes in Greece meet the specific integration needs of vulnerable migrant groups. In particular for women, research, such as the Assess project on “Monitoring and Assessing the Integration of Vulnerable Migrants in Greece” (Anagnostou and Gemi 2015), indicate that many migrant women have limited opportunities to benefit from policies and specific gender targeted programmes aimed at labor market integration, vocational training and education since policies and programmes are fragmented and ad hoc. In addition, their citizenship is a barrier to access new opportunities, and “so does the fact that migrant women are predominantly employed in the informal sectors of the economy, such as in the care services and domestic work”. An additional aspect of non adequate policies is that migrant women are treated by the institutional frame as dependent family members rather than as autonomous and active actors.

Policy-related aspects are also underlined by research on the integration of refugees into the labor market. In particular for the project on “Building Futures: Aspirations of Syrian Youth Refugees and Host Population Responses in Lebanon, Greece and the UK” (UK Research and Innovation 2019, SolidarityNow 2017), findings indicate that for the vast proportion of refugees (67%) language is identified as the main obstacle to access the labor market. The results also highlight that a large proportion of refugees (70%) do not have any documentation to prove their education level, making it difficult for them to enter the labor market quickly, and that they are largely depended from the financial aid provided by humanitarian organizations.

A last, but extremely relevant point, concern the effectiveness of policies towards the refugees living in the islands. Indeed, all reports prepared by public authorities, independent bodies, international organisations, NGO’s and researchers indicate that the situation remains critical since the refugees continue to live in inhuman conditions with no prospects for entering the labor market (see for example AIDA 2018, The Greek Ombudsman 2017, Koulocheris 2017).

Previous research on MRA’s and their integration into the labor market has underlined a variety of topics such as employment sectors, legal and employment statuses, gender issues, education and language skills of the MRAs, topics that resonate to wide extent with the implemented policies. However, previous research is reflected more in reports, aiming to highlight the main features of the integration of migrants in the labor market, than to provide policy assessments and recommendations as regards the socio-economic integration of MRAs.

6.4 Overview of Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews

6.4.1 The Main Findings of the Interviews

Brief methodological overview

Interviews with past beneficiaries were conducted for two groups, namely immigrants and refugees, settled in the country in 2008-2014. On the basis of statistical data on population by citizenship issued from the last population census (2011) carried out by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT. 2018) the two most numerous immigrant nationalities, i.e. Albanians and Pakistani have been chosen for the interviews. As for refugees, the choice to interview Syrian and Afghan refugees was based on a) the number of refugees by citizenship issued from the UNHCR (2018) and the Eurostat (2018) database and b) the sex ratio within each citizenship. Stakeholders were chosen on the basis of the aim to conduct interviews with policy makers and with persons belonging to the policy implementation side. As for migrants, we have firstly been in contact with migrant's associations and NGO's working with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Finding refugees, in particular females, was the main difficulty that we have had to face.

The challenge of the effectiveness of integration policies

In Greece, given the longstanding economic recession and the recent increase in refugee flows, the socio-economic integration of MRAs remains a challenge. One of the main issues related to that integration is the effective implementation of adequate policies. A typical example is the development of the Centers for Migrants Integration (KEM) which is considered as a relevant policy initiative for migrant integration. Although, in principle, at Centers for Migrants Integration the integration program includes language courses, lessons for computer skills and vocational guidance, in practice, the effective implementation of this initiative is far from being satisfactory. Indeed, as it is reported by the stakeholders *"The problems of the Greek public administration in the establishment of KEMs are many. For example, in our municipality we wanted to start operating, but it was not foreseen in the Programming of the Region. So far, it is not possible to modify it"* (Municipality, Executive of the Employment Program for Asylum Seekers and Refugees, Interview 11).

The lack of monitoring the implementation and the effectiveness of policies is also an issue as regards migrant integration policies. The "metaklissi" procedure, one of the rare possibilities for "inviting" migrants to enter the country for employment purpose is questionable in terms of its effective implementation. In practice, given the flexibility of labour needs in sectors where migrants are employed, employers are very often demanding changes in their workforce needs. It also seems that no substantive dialogue procedures have been put in place between the various actors involved in the planning process. As it is reported by stakeholders' views *"The main problem with the invocation process ("metaklissi") is the lack of a monitoring procedure"*. (Staff of Manpower Employment Organization (OAED), Interview 4).

However, the recent legislation aiming to facilitate the legal stay of the third country nationals in Greece, in the context of the economic hardship, can be seen as a very positive development. The simplification of the procedures and the possibilities for obtaining residence permit for a quite long period of time contribute to favour the socio-economic integration of migrants. This view is shared by both the stakeholders and the migrants as well. *"From when I got permission I can find job wherever I want. I can go wherever I want. I had no papers for*

4 years. I did not like it! Now I can go where I want. I like it" (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). "...There was also a time when I had no papers and I was hiding from being caught by the police" (Past beneficiary, Interview 8).

Discrimination and informal work

Although migrants are more vulnerable than nationals to experience discrimination and labor exploitation, those phenomena are less reported than occurred, in particular in the case of work in the informal sector. This is because of the fear the migrants face when making complaints as well as the lack of information. As it is reported *"We know from our daily routine that the phenomena of exploitation and discrimination of MRAs are multiples of what is reported" (Representative on issues of discrimination and equality, Interview 8).* In addition, labor inspectorate fails to proceed in adequate controls, mainly because of limited staff and the absence of satisfactory control mechanisms. As it is reported by stakeholders *"Sanctions for non-compliance with labor law may have increased. However, this is only on paper"* Employees in Labor Inspection (SEPE). This dimension is also raised by past beneficiaries. *"I was working in a company... They owed me money... I went to a job supervisor for the pay owed me but it did not happen" (Past beneficiary, Interview 4).* In addition, in some cases, elements of xenophobia are reported by migrants. *"...the employee [at the public employment service] was treating him in a bad way such as he was thinking that we are foreigners and we do not have rights" (Past beneficiary, interview 13).*

Integration of vulnerable groups

Labor market integration is a difficult process for the most vulnerable groups of MRAs, in particular for women and for people with disabilities. The former are unable to work. The latter are in a position but very often are not allowed by their culture. It seems that there is a need for additional interventions of intercultural mediation to familiarize themselves with the idea that women in the West work. And these interventions must also be made to their spouses and to themselves. As reported, *"Things are more difficult on two occasions. For people with disabilities and women (NGO, Social Integration Staff, Interview 16) and "...My husband did not want me to find a job but I did not want to stay at home" (Past beneficiary, Interview 3).*

The role of informal networks

Following an official (and legal) path to find a (first) job is a rare exception for migrants. Entry to the labor market becomes effective mainly through the informal networks (relatives and friends). Personal contacts and family are playing a major role for the first entry into the labour market and this seems to imply to both migrants and refugees. Past beneficiaries clearly indicate those issues. *"A compatriot was working in a company and saying he was asking for a worker" (Past beneficiary, Interview 4). "I have found lot of jobs through friends and contacts but also through personal effort" (Past beneficiary Interview 12). "It's easier to find jobs through friends and acquaintances than the state" (Past beneficiary, Interview 3).*

Disincentives to integrate into the labor market

Another relevant topic related to the labor integration of MRAs, is that the current framework of employment policies seems to create disincentives to integrate into the labor market, in particular for asylum seekers. *"Because, now, they get some benefits. If they find work, then benefits will be cut shortly. That's why they choose to get benefits and do undeclared work" (NGO, Executive of the Social Integration Program for Asylum Seekers, Interview 13).* Another barrier to the integration of migrants seem to be that in several cases, in particular for refugees and asylum seekers, Greece is considered as a transit and not as a real settlement country.

In other words, the initiatives for MRAs integration in the Greek labor market risk to be ineffective, since refugees in particular are often not interested in joining the Greek labor market. As reported by stakeholders *"Most also expect refugees to be identified to leave for Germany or Sweden or the Netherlands"*. (NGO, Executive of the Social Integration Program for Asylum Seekers, Interview 13).

Connecting MRAs with the State

The most recent initiatives aiming to facilitate the integration of the MRAs into the labor Market lead to closely connect MRAs with the State. The main interventions of the Greek public administration are the registration of asylum seekers in its basic mechanisms: social security number (AMKA), tax number (AFM), etc. According to stakeholders *"Not enough to find a job but it is a fundamental prerequisite"* (Ministry, Department of Socio-Economic Integration, Interview 3). Nevertheless, the contact of migrants with the State administration mainly concerns asylum and residence permits services than employment services. In several cases migrants ignore the existence of such services or they consider those services as unsatisfactory for helping them to find a job; the poor knowledge of the Greek language is also a barrier for the effective use of those services. As reported by past beneficiaries *"I do not know OAED (Public Employment Service) not any other organization for job counselling"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 14). *"I did not have contact with the State or the Public Employment Services for work. They did not give me and they still do not give me"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 7).

The importance of language knowledge

The lack of knowledge of the Greek language and the fact that language courses are rarely provided by the State are additional difficulties for MRAs to enter the labor market. Most of the time migrants enter the informal labour market and they start speaking the language in the work place. The poor knowledge of the language prevents them from experiencing an upward mobility and of a great participation in social life. Although NGO's and civil society organisations play a very significant role in providing language courses to foreign population, there are some problems with the recognition of language skills. According to work consultants *"How can we talk about job integration when there are no language programs? ...All the burden of preparing for the employment of MRA falls on our backs"* (NGO, Work consultant, Interview 12). The lack of knowledge of the Greek language is also reported by past beneficiaries as one of the main difficulty that they have had to face. *"The hardest thing was that I did not know the language. I did not feel well and wanted to leave"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). *"Regarding the situation in my country life here is better although I want to learn the language in order to be part of the society, and be occupied with merchandizing"*. (Past beneficiary, Interview 14).

6.4.2 Analysing the Strength and Weaknesses of the Past and Existing Policies and Services

Measures taken in the field of the legal stay of MRAs are strengths of past policies. This concerns both, the efforts to legalize irregular migrants and to manage and accelerate asylum procedures, at least for the international protection candidates living in the mainland of Greece. However, policies have failed to face with the needs and the management of issues concerned the potential beneficiaries of international protection living in the islands. Thus the

situation in the islands remains critical without good prospects for improvement in the very near future.

In general, it seems that past policies were combined with the gradual socio-economic integration of the long term settled migrant population, through the various provisions as regards the legal stay, the knowledge of the Greek language, the acquisition of citizenship and the efforts to fight undeclared work. Nevertheless, it does not hold true for refugees and asylum seekers where, despite the efforts which are made to integrate them, they face with precarious living conditions. The limited opportunities for learning Greek language, the difficulties in the contact with the national administration, the often unfavourable stereotypes of the administration staff as regards the ethnic composition of refugees and the limited assistance provided by the public employment services are the main barriers for integrating international protection beneficiaries in the labor market. However, compared to the past, the situation, for some of them, has been improved as regards the past in relation to economic benefits and to accommodation schemes.

One of the main weaknesses related to the existing policies and services as regards the integration of the MRA into the labor market is that they are not targeted enough and they are quite fragmented. Indeed, integration measures suffer from temporality and lack of monitoring and evaluation processes; they are mostly ad hoc measures closely related to fund availability issued from international organisations. For employment of MRAs in particular, there are no clear and specific interventions; measures taken are part of horizontal measures mostly to combat overall unemployment.

The lack of co-ordination procedures between different Ministries related to the employment of migrants is also a weakness of existing policies. In practice, there is a need for an inter-ministerial policy co-ordination scheme that could more efficiently disburse European funds and maximize the social impact of various measures.

The expected implementation of the 2018 National Strategy for Social Inclusion of MRAs can be seen as strength of policies for MRAs. Mainly because, it is considered that the bases for targeted actions for these vulnerable groups are laid for the first time and that the involvement of the Governmental Social Policy Council is expected to guarantee the promotion of the implementation.

However, the implementation of new measures will be confronted with staff cuts in national administration resulted from the economic recession. This is particularly pronounced in sectors which are relevant for services provided to migrants such as education and language skills, public employment services, labor inspectorate and health services.

6.5 Conclusion

There can be no doubt that migration remains one of the most significant socio-economic issues for Europe (Eurofound 2016; OECD 2016) and Greece in particular (Triandafyllidou and Gemi 2018). After the past transformation of Greece from a sending to a receiving country, which resulted to the entry of a great number of economic migrants, recent refugee crisis has modified the features of migrant population. In particular, Greece since 1990 has altered her migration profile and has been an immigration country receiving a lot of migrant population. The year 2015 has been also a crucial point considering that Greece has received extensive flows of asylum seekers and refugees seeking for protection and security. Inevitably, labor

market integration of various groups of migrants (migrants, refugees and asylum seekers) follows different and most probably diverging paths.

In addition, contextual factors and over time changes in the economic environment has had a significant impact on the framing and the implementation of policies as regards the socio-economic integration of MRAs in the host society and their legal status in particular. Indeed, the legal stay of migrants and the availability of reception facilities for refugees and asylum seekers have been two significant issues as regards the policy implementation. At that respect, immigration policy has undoubtedly contributed to simplify and better manage the procedures relative to the residence permits by reducing the risks of irregularity for a significant number of migrants, in particular within the context of the persistent economic recession. As it is already mentioned (Section 3), around 4 out of 10 settled migrants by now hold long term stay permits (Triandafyllidou and Gemi 2018).

From the other hand, developments in the legislative framework of asylum led to a clear division between reception and asylum procedures for those entering the country before and after 20 March 2016 and consequently for those staying on the mainland or on the islands. The Greek administration addressed the first challenge (i.e. to enable people who were transferring to and living in temporary accommodation facilities on mainland Greece to access the asylum process) in a quite satisfactory way by accelerating the procedure for the issuing of the decision on claims for international protection (Ministry of Migration Policy 2017). However, it failed to face with the second challenge (i.e. to rapidly evaluate the asylum applications of those who crossed the sea borders after 20 March and were being held in the hotspots for readmission to Turkey). Consequently, the hotspots were overcrowded and the reception conditions were poor in terms of sanitation and hygiene, and the access to health care was limited, in particular for vulnerable groups (ECRE et al. 2016; NCHR 2017).

Entry and integration of MRAs in the labor market was also affected by economic downturn and the subsequent austerity measures. Thus, high unemployment and restrictions in labor rights in sectors such as construction, transport and retail where male migrants are mainly employed, led to a challenging and unfavourable environment for the access of MRA's into the labor market. It also holds true for migrant women, mainly employed as providers of private care, domestic workers or workers in cleaning sectors; their employability has been affected since the population has now consider those services as a luxury. In practice, given that third country nationals are mostly low-skilled workers who are employed in low-skilled jobs, they remain extremely vulnerable to unfavourable economic conditions.

In practice, the framing and the implementation of policies fail to face with the barriers, such as the inability of transferring skills and credentials to a European context, the precarious legal status, the limited education and language skills and the limited work experience, that immigrants are confronted with when they are seeking stable jobs (Benton and Patuzzi 2018). This is obviously related to the polarisation and the fragmentation of policies aiming to facilitate the access of migrants to the labor market and to the limited involvement of the Public Employment Services (Karantinos 2016) in the labor market integration of migrants. It is also connected with the features of the Greek labor market (Belegri-Roboli et al. 2018; Koulocheris 2017). Third country nationals, particularly those with a short time residence in Greece, are mostly pushed into the underground economy and undeclared work, an issue which is of relevant importance in the context of adverse economic conditions. Despite the intensification of labor inspections, there is no sign of improvement up to now, mainly because of the non-systematic application of those inspections as well as of people's views who very often consider undeclared employment as something legitimate. Thus, migrants are trapped in low

wage and low-skilled occupations very often in the informal sector with no labor rights, without social insurance (EMN 2018) and with limited opportunities for any improvement in their socio-economic status. Although sectors such as catering, tourism and agriculture, which are in constant growth over the recent years, offer increasing opportunities to migrants for entering the labor market, those sectors are characterised by work flexibility, irregularity, discrimination and undeclared work. Last, but not least, given the persistent economic recession in Greece and the lack of job search assistance programmes, the integration of MRAs, and particularly that of refugees and asylum seekers, is hindered by the fact that they are likely to desire to be relocated in another European country and they do not have the willingness to be fully integrated in the labor market of a country which is seen more as a transit than a settlement country.

Ethnic diversity and duration of stay of immigrant population have to be seen as significant factors of diverging schemes of migrant integration into the labor market. Thus, ethnic groups such Albanians and Pakistani, entering Greece in the first period of its transformation from a sending to a receiving country, are more likely to be better integrated in the labor market than the recent refugee streams originated from Afghanistan and Syria. Most probably because, the former are in better position than the latter in terms of the long legal stay, the existence of ethnic informal networks, the knowledge of the Greek language and the familiarization with the State administration.

A certain number of initiatives, which can be considered as best practices, are worth mentioning:

- The introduction of **a new method of payment and retention of insurance contributions** (“ergossimo”), aiming at combating undeclared work, can be considered as an example of best practice for the Greek case. The “ergossimo”, introduced for the first time in Greek legislation with Law 3863/2010, is a kind of a special pay check which concerns workers exercising non-fixed or casual work (form of employment in which the worker is not entitled to the regular provision of work) with one or more employers. The “ergossimo” does not focus on businesses or individual employers, but on workers, in particular those in specific disciplines, occupations or jobs (such as domestic workers, construction workers and agricultural workers). Consequently, it is in fact a means of combating undeclared work, and in particular tax evasion and it is as such that it has been classified in the Greek legal order. Several modifying interventions for the worker's measure were made in the following years. These amendments are mainly related to procedures for extending the measure of “ergossimo” to other sectors of employment as well as the procedures for monitoring its implementation. It is also worth noting that Article 2 of Law 4225/2014 attempts to include “ergossimo” as a subject of labor inspections exercised by IKA (Social Insurance Institute). A large proportion of recipients who were targeted by this measure were immigrants, both domestic and farm workers.
- Another example of best practice is the **European Qualification Passport of Refugees**. It is a specially developed assessment scheme for refugees, even for those who cannot fully document their qualifications. It is based on available documentation and structured interview. Started in 2017 as a pilot initiative, it involves several actors, namely, The Greek Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs, the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research, the Conference of University Rectors of Italy, the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, the UNHCR Office in Greece the Council of Europe and several qualification recognition centres in Armenia, Canada,

France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK. This measure is definitely a facilitator to labor market integration. It is aiming to eliminate a barrier and to provide the recognition of skills in order to match the needs of the labor market. Although in initial phase it is a comforting measure. Nevertheless the coverage of this initiative is quite restrictive as it refers only to refugee population.

- A last best practice relies on the fact that **accommodation programs** are now closely related to the process of integration. Until now these programs had to do with the provision of psychosocial support and economic benefits. The attendance of language courses or job counselling was on the side, since the situation was characterized as an emergency situation. In present, things have changed and the process of integration is on the spot. The learning of Greek language is a prerequisite for the beneficiaries of the programs, in particular the accommodation program HELIOS; moreover, the participation of the beneficiaries in the society is one of the fundamental goals that have to be achieved.

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Appendices

ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text (Policymaker/Actor)	Title	Type of text	Year of publication	Link/pdf
Ministry of Migration Policy	Συνέντευξη του Υπουργού Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής κ. Γιάννη Μουζάλα στο ΑΠΕΙ	Interview	2017	http://www.immigration.gov.gr/article-details/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_qAPKlk32D3aH/20182/48026?back=news
	Interview of Minister of Migration Policy Mr. Yiannis Mouzalas at the Athens News Agency			
	Παρουσίαση προγράμματος HELIOS για την κοινωνική ένταξη προσφύγων και μεταναστών	Official presentation	2018	https://government.gov.gr/parousiasi-programmatos-helios-gia-tin-kinoniki-entaxi-prosfigon-ke-metanaston/
	Presentation of the HELIOS Program for the Social Integration of Refugees and Immigrants			
	Ομιλία ΥΦΜΕΠΟ Γιάννη Μπαλάφα στην εκδήλωση του ΥΜΕΠΟ για την Παγκόσμια Ημέρα Προσφύγων	Speech	2018	http://www.immigration.gov.gr/article-details/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_qAPKlk32D3aH/20182/54511?back=press-release
	Speech by Deputy Minister of Migration Policy Yannis Balafas at the Ministry of Immigration Policy on World Refugee Day.			
	Εθνική Στρατηγική για την Ένταξη: Ο ρόλος της Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης	Article	2018	http://www.avgi.gr/article/10811/8795840/ethnike-strategike-gia-ten-entaxe-

	National Strategy for Integration: The Role of Local Government. Article by Miltiadis Klapas, General Secretary of Migration Policy			o-rolos-tes-topikes-autodioikeses
	Εθνική Στρατηγική για την Ένταξη 2018	National Strategy	2018	PDF
	National Strategy for Integration			
Ministry of Digital Policy Telecom municatio ns and Media	Ενημερωτικό Δελτίο για το Προσφυγικό-Μεταναστευτικό	Newslett er	2018	http://www.mindigital.gr/index.php/press_releases-m/2149-enimerotiko-deltio-gia-to-prosfygiko
	Newsletter for refugee-immigration			
	Έκδοση του 2 ^{ου} τεύχους Ενημερωτικού Δελτίου για το Προσφυγικό-Μεταναστευτικό	Newslett er	2018	http://www.mindigital.gr/index.php/press_releases-m/2387-ekdosi-2ou-teyxous-tou-enimerotikoy-deltiou-gia-to-prosfygiko
	Second newsletter for refugee- immigration			
	Έκδοση του 3 ^{ου} τεύχους Ενημερωτικού Δελτίου για το Προσφυγικό-Μεταναστευτικό	Newslett er	2018	http://www.mindigital.gr/index.php/press_releases-m/2860-ekdosi-3ou-teyxous-tou-enimerotikoy-deltiou-gia-to-prosfygiko
	Third newsletter for refugee- immigration			
Municipal ity of Athens	Δήμος Αθηναίων: Πρόγραμμα Κοινωνικής Πολιτικής 2015 - 2019	Program	2015	http://www.cityofathens.gr/sites/default/files/2015-2019_Proγραμμα_Koinwnikis_Politikis.pdf
	Municipality of Athens: Social Policy Program 2015 - 2019			
	Ένταξη προσφύγων, μεταναστών και ευπαθών κοινωνικά ομάδων στην αγορά εργασίας	Worksho p Program	2018	https://goo.gl/82ouC4
	Integration of refugees, migrants and vulnerable social groups into the labor market			

	Εκπαιδευτικά Προγράμματα	Information about Educational Programs	-	http://www.cityofathens.gr/node/2545
	Educational Programs			
	Πάνω από 350 νέοι πρόσφυγες συμμετείχαν στο Refugee Code Week	News brief	2017	https://goo.gl/oD57QF
	More than 350 young refugees participated in the Refugee Code Week			
	Cities Grow: Αθήνα και Μόναχο ενώνονται για την ένταξη προσφύγων και μεταναστών στην αγορά εργασίας	News brief	2018	https://goo.gl/2ggDis
	Cities Grow: Athens and Munich unite for the integration of refugees and immigrants into the labor market			
	Ζούμε μαζί – Εργαζόμαστε Μαζί: Ο πρόσφυγας δεν είναι ταυτότητα, είναι μια προσωρινή ιδιότητα	News brief	2018	https://goo.gl/zJjein
	We live together - We work Together: Refugee is not an identity, it is a temporary property			
SYRIZA	Οι Θέσεις του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ για την Κοινωνική Ασφάλιση	Positions	2014	https://left.gr/news/oi-theseis-toy-syriza-gia-tin-koinoniki-asfalisi
	SYRIZA's Social Security position			
	Πολιτική ένταξης και όχι αφομοίωσης των μεταναστών και προσφύγων	Member of the Parliament Speech	2018	https://left.gr/news/politiki-entaxis-kai-ohi-afomoiosis-ton-metanaston-kai-prosfygon
	Integration policy and not assimilation of migrants and refugees			
	Οικοδομώντας ένα νέο μοντέλο ένταξης του προσφυγικού και	Article of Deputy of	2018	https://left.gr/news/oikodomontas-ena-neo-montelo-entaxis-toy-prosfygikoy-

	μεταναστευτικού πληθυσμού	Ministry of Migration Policy		kai-metanasteytikoy- plithysmoy
	Building a new model for integrating the refugee and migrant population			
	Τμ. Εργατικής Πολιτικής του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ: Να στηρίξουμε με κάθε τρόπο τους μετανάστες εργάτες γης στη Μανωλάδα	Announc ement	2018	https://www.syriza.gr/article/Tm.-Ergatikhs-Politikhs-toy-SYRIZA:-Na-sthriksoyme-me-kathe-tropo-toys-metanastes-ergates-ghs-sth-Manwlada.html
	SYRIZA Labor Policy Department: To support in every way the immigrant land workers in Manila			
	Εισήγηση της Βασιλικής Κατριβάνου στο ν/σ του Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών "Κώδικας Μετανάστευσης και Κοινωνικής Ένταξης"	Presenta tion by Member of the Parliame nt	2014	https://www.syriza.gr/article/id/54925/Eishghsh-ths-Basilikhs-Katribanoy-sto-n-s-toy-Ypoyrgeioy-Eswterikwn-Kwdikas-Metanasteyshs-kai-Koinwnikhs-Entakshs.html
	Presentation by Vasiliki Koutrivanou to the Ministry of the Interior of the "Code of Immigration and Social Inclusion" I			
	Δήλωση του βουλευτή Πιερίας ΣΥΡΙΖΑ σχετικά με τη διαδικασία απόκτησης άδειας παραμονής για 100.000	Stateme nt	2017	https://www.syriza.gr/article/id/68925/St.-Kastorhs:-Mia-logw-kai-ergw-apanthsh-toy-Ypoyrgeioy-Metanasteytikhs-Politikhs.html
		By Member of the Parliame nt		
	Statement by Pieria's Member of the Parliament on the procedure for obtaining a residence permit for 100,000 immigrants.			
ANEL	ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΗΤΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΝΑΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΒΕΛΩΝΗ ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ	Press Release	2014	http://www.anexartitoiellines.gr/post.php?post_id=4220

	ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΕΔΙΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟΥ ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΞΗ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ			
	Speech at the discussion regarding the ministry of interior draft law for immigration and social integration of immigrants			
	STATUTE OF ANEL, 3rd conference, 2016	Statute	2016	http://www.anexartitoiellines.gr/files/%CE%A3%CE%A5%CE%9D%CE%95%CE%94%CE%A1%CE%99%CE%9F%202016/%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%A4%CE%99%CE%9A%CE%9F.pdf
	Η ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΩΣ ΑΝΑΠΟΣΠΑΣΤΟ ΤΜΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ – ΕΝΑ ΑΛΜΑ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΥ, ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗΣ, ΑΓΩΝΑ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ΜΕ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ	Proposal for the Regional Court of	2017	http://www.anexartitoiellines.gr/files/%CE%A4%CE%95%CE%9B%CE%99%CE%9A%CE%97%20%CE%A0%CE%A1%CE%9F%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%97%20%CE%97%CE%A0%CE%95%CE%99%CE%A1%CE%9F%CE%A5.pdf
	DEVELOPMENT OF IPIRUS AS AN INTEGRATED DEPARTMENT OF TOTAL DEVELOPMENT OF GREECE	Develop ment and Productiv e Reconstr uction of Epirus		
	ΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΓΟΡΗΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗ	Press Release	2015	http://www.anexartitoiellines.gr/

	ΕΥΒΟΙΑΣ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΜΑΥΡΑΓΑΝΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΣΧΕΔΙΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΙΘΑΓΕΝΕΙΑ- ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΥΤΙΚΟ			
				post.php?post_id=5816
	POSITIONS OF THE SPECIAL SPEAKER OF ANEL OF EVIA NIKOS MAVRAGANIS AT THE DISCUSSION OF THE LEGISLATION FOR CITIZENSHIP- MIGRATION			
	ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΡΙΝΑΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΒΕΛΩΝΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΩΘΥΠΟΥΡΓΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΥΣ ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΩΝ, ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣ ΤΑΞΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗΣ	Press Release	2014	http://www.anexartitoiellines.gr/parl_control_more.php?post_id=2377
	ΘΕΜΑ: «Πρωθυπουργικές θεωρίες για ανάπτυξη μέσω της (λαθρο)μετανάστευσης»			
	Question by Marina Xrisoveloni, Member of the Parliament to the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Interior and National Security.			
	TOPIC: "Prime Minister theory for Growth through illegal Migration"			
Nea Dimokrati a	ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ	Question in the Parliament	2018	http://mvarvitsiotis.gr/post/1589/ateleiwth-talaipwria-xiliadwn-nomimwn-metanastwn
	Ατέλειωτη ταλαιπωρία χιλιάδων νομίμων μεταναστών			

	National Plan to Address It			%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CF%89%CC%81%CF%80%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B7%CF%82%20%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85%20%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%85%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%BF%CF%85%CC%81%20010616.pdf
	Refugee-Migration Problem			
Golden Dawn	Πολιτικές Θέσεις	Positions of Golden Dawn	-	http://www.xryshaygh.com/kinima/thesis
	Political Positions			
	Λ. Φουντούλης: Η αθρόα εισδοχή λαθρομεταναστών θα οδηγήσει σε κοινωνική έκρηξη!	Intervention by Member of the European Parliament	2016	http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/l.-fountoulhs-tha-uparjei-koinwnikh-ekrhjh#ixzz5SyPqMTI4
	L. Fountoulis: The massive admission of illegal immigrants will lead to a social explosion!			
	Δουλειές για λαθρομετανάστες υπάρχουν: Άδεια εργασίας και παραμονής σε εκατοντάδες χιλιάδες αλλοδαπούς - Οι Έλληνες να φύγουν!	Article	2016	http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/douleies-gia-lathrometanastes-uparchoun-adeia-ergasias-kai-paramonhs-gia-ek
	Jobs for illegal immigrants: Work and residence permit for hundreds of thousands of foreigners - Greeks to leave!			
	Το ΔΝΤ σε γραμμή Τσίπρα προβλέπει και πανηγυρίζει: 4 εκατομμύρια λαθρομετανάστες θα μπουν στην Ευρώπη μέχρι το 2017	Article	2016	http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/to-dnt-se-grammh-tsipra-problepei-kai-panhgurizei-4-ekatomuria-lathrometan#ixzz5SyPWLWcW

	IMF on line with Tsipras predicts and celebrates: 4 million illegal immigrants will enter Europe by 2017			
	Κάθε ξένος εργάτης, ένας Έλληνας άνεργος	Article	2018	http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/kathe-jenos-ergaths-enas-ellhnas-anergos#ixzz5SnJ3PyWX
	Every foreign worker equals with an unemployed Greek			
POTAMI	Όταν ο μετανάστης σου πληρώνει τη σύνταξη είναι καλά;	Article	2017	http://topotami.gr/otan-o-metanastis-sou-plironi-ti-sintaxi-ine-kala/
	When the migrant pays your pension is good?			
	Positions of POTAMI	Positions	-	http://topotami.gr/theseis-metanasteutiko/
	Οι μετανάστες και οι προστάτες τους	Article	2014	http://topotami.gr/metanastes-ke-prostates-tous/
	Migrants and their patrons			
	Η ένταξη των προσφύγων προ των πυλών	Article	2016	http://topotami.gr/i-entaxi-ton-prosfigon-pro-ton-pilon/
	Integration of refugees around the corner			
	Ερώτηση σχετικά με το ζήτημα της εργασιακής εκμετάλλευσης μεταναστών	Question in the Parliament	2015	http://topotami.gr/erotisi-schetika-me-to-zitima-tis-ergasiakis-ekmetallefsis-metanaston/
	Question regarding the labor exploitation of migrants			
	Καλοδεχούμενοι πρόσφυγες	Article	2015	http://topotami.gr/kalodechoumeni-prosfiges/

	Welcome refugees			
	Οι μετανάστες ως σκιές	Article	2014	http://topotami.gr/metanastes-os-skies/
	Migrants as shadows			
ΚΚΕ	Θέσεις της Κεντρικής Επιτροπής του Κομμουνιστικού Κόμματος Ελλάδας, για το 20 ^ο Συνέδριο	Positions	2017	https://www.rizospastis.gr/pdf/20_synedrio_theseis.pdf
	Positions of the central committee of the Communist Party of Greece,			
	for the 20th conference			
	Η πολιτική προσέλκυσης προσφύγων απο τη γερμανική –κυρίως– άρχουσα τάξη	Political Analysis	2016	https://www.komep.gr/2016-teyxos-3/gia-to-prosfygiko-metanasteytiko-zhthma-kai-ta-kathhkonta-ton-kommoyniston
	The German recruitment refugee policy from upper class			
	Παρεμβάσεις του ΚΚΕ για τους μετανάστες εργάτες γης στη Μανωλάδα	Article-news brief	2018	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=9889456
	ΚΚΕ interventions for migrant land workers in Manolada			
	Στερεί δικαιώματα, διευκολύνει τους εργοδότες	Article	2014	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=7876697&textCriteriaClause=%2B%CE%9C%CE%95%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%9D%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%A4%CE%95%CE%A3+%2B%CE%95%CE%9D%CE%A4%CE%91%CE%9E%CE%97
	Deprives rights, facilitates employers			

	Οι πρόσφυγες ως επένδυση	Article	2017	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=9208924
	Refugees as an investment			
	Οργανώνουν τη συμμετοχή τους στο Διήμερο εκδηλώσεων της ΚΟ Αττικής του ΚΚΕ	Article-news brief	2018	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=9896381
	They organize their participation in the two-day event of KKE			
	Υπερψηφίστηκε επί της αρχής το νομοσχέδιο για την ιθαγένεια - Η τοποθέτηση του ΚΚΕ	Article-positions	2015	https://www.902.gr/eidisi/voyli/70186/yperpsifistike-epi-tis-arhis-nomoshedio-gia-tin-ithageneia-i-topothetisi-toy-kke
	The bill on citizenship was voted in principle - The position of the KKE			
KINAL	Ανακοίνωση της Δημοκρατικής Συμπαρατάξης με αφορμή την Διεθνή Ημέρα του Μετανάστη	Press Release	2017	http://www.pasok.gr/%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CE%BA%CE%BF%CE%AF%CE%BD%CF%89%CF%83%CE%B7-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B4%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%BF%CE%BA%CF%81%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE%CF%82-%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BC%CF%80%CE%B1%CF%81%CE%AC-30/
(and former DHSY)				
	Announcement of Democratic Compatriation on the International Day of the Migrant			
	Ανακοίνωση Τομέα Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής και Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων Κινήματος Αλλαγής για την κυβερνητική επιχείρηση συγκάλυψης στη Μανωλάδα	Announcement	2018	https://goo.gl/q963vE

	Announcement of the Migration Policy and Human Rights sector of KINAL for the government's covert operation in Manolada			
	Ερώτηση της κ.ο. της δημοκρατικής συμπαράταξης που αφορά στην απασχόληση των παράτυπα διαμενόντων πολιτών τρίτων χωρών στην αγροτική οικονομία.	Question in the Parliament	2017	http://www.dimar.gr/?P=8944
	Question of DHSY concerning the employment of illegal citizens of third countries in the agricultural economy.			
	Ανακοίνωση του Τομέα Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής και Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων του Κινήματος Αλλαγής, με αφορμή την τροπολογία του Υπουργείου Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής για τα παράβολα των μεταναστών.	Announcement	2018	https://kinimaallagis.gr/anakoinosi-tou-tomea-metanasteftikis-politikis-kai-anthropinon-dikaionaton-gia-ta-paravola-ton-metanaston/
	Announcement of the Migration Policy and Human Rights Sector of KINAL due to the Ministry of Migration Policy amendment on Immigrants' Fees.			
	Θέσεις	Positions	-	https://kinimaallagis.gr/sc/hedio-ellada/anoikti-koinonia-dikaionata/
	Ανοικτή Κοινωνία – Δικαιώματα			
	Positions			
	Open Society - Rights			

Greek Ombudsman	Διαμονή και εργασία	Information about interventions	-	https://www.synigoros.gr/?i=foreigner.el.diamoni
	Residence and work			
	Δελτίο Τύπου: Να καταργηθούν όλα τα κατάλοιπα διακρίσεων με βάση την καταγωγή, ζητά ο Συνήγορος του Πολίτη	Press Release	2014	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/docs/531645.pdf
	Press Release: Remove all remnants of discrimination based on origin, the Ombudsman asks			
	Ετήσια Έκθεση, 2015-προσφυγικό ζήτημα και μετανάστευση	Annual Report	2015	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/docs/ee2015-04-prosfigiko.pdf
	Annual Report, 2015-refugee and migration issue			
	Ετήσια Έκθεση, 2016-προσφυγικό ζήτημα και μετανάστευση	Annual Report	2016	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/ee2016-04-prosfigiko.pdf
	Annual Report, 2016-refugee and migration issue			
	Περίληψη Υπόθεσης-Χορήγηση επάρκειας προσόντων διδασκαλίας ξένης γλώσσας σε ΥΤΧ, νομίμως διαμένοντες στην Ελλάδα επί μακρόν	Case Summary	2015	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/150624-perilipsi.pdf
	Case Summary - Grant of foreign language teaching qualification to third country nationals, legally residing in Greece for a long time.			

	Περιληψη Υπόθεσης-Χορήγηση αρχικής προσωρινής άδειας εργασίας σε αιτούντες άσυλο και λοιπές κατηγορίες	Case Summary	2015	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/150616-perilipsi.pdf
	Case Summary - Provision of initial temporary work permit to asylum seekers and other categories			
	ΚΑΤΑΠΟΛΕΜΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΩΝ	Special Report	2016	https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/docs/ee2016-14-diakriseis.pdf
	Ειδική Έκθεση 2016			
	COMBATING DISCRIMINATION			
	Special Report 2016			
Solidarity Now	ΝΑ ΔΙΕΥΚΟΛΥΝΘΕΙ Η ΠΡΟΣΒΑΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΟΡΑ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ	Statement	2016	http://www.solidaritynow.org/access-labor-market-must-facilitated/
	ACCESS TO THE LABOR MARKET MUST BE FACILITATED			
	1 ΣΤΟΥΣ 3 ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ 1 ΣΤΟΥΣ 6 ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ ΒΡΗΚΑΝ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΟΣΤΗΡΙΞΗ ΤΟΥ SOLIDARITYNOW	Newsletter	2017	http://www.solidaritynow.org/employability_pr/
	1 TO 3 GREEKS AND 1 TO 6 REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS FOUND WORK WITH THE SUPPORT OF SOLIDARITYNOW			
	SNAPSHOT 4: Facilitating access to the labor market: How SN teams facilitate Greeks, migrants and refugees with access	Newsletter	2017	http://www.solidaritynow.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/SNAPSHOT_4.pdf

	to employment opportunities?			
	Εγκατάλειψη σπουδών λόγω πολέμου, εμπόδιο η έλλειψη γνώσης ελληνικών στην εύρεση εργασίας αποκαλύπτει έρευνα του SOLIDARITYNOW	Newsletter	2017	http://www.solidaritynow.org/glasgow/
	Abandonment of studies due to war, the lack of greek knowledge as a barrier to find work, as a research of SOLIDARITYNOW reveals			
	Προσφυγική κρίση και ενσωμάτωση: τα επόμενα βήματα	Article	2017	http://www.solidaritynow.org/integration_article/
	Refugee crises and integration: The next steps			
	ΣΤΟ ΔΙΑΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ «ΔΙΑΔΡΟΜΕΣ» ΔΙΑΝΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΣΗΣ!	Newsletter	2018	http://www.solidaritynow.org/diadromes/
	IN THE INTERCULTURAL CENTER "DIADROMES" RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE DISTANCES ARE TRAVELED!			
	ATHENS VOICE: ΝΑ ΒΡΟΥΝ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ, ΝΑ ΔΙΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΟΥΝ ΞΑΝΑ ΤΗ ΖΩΗ ΤΟΥΣ!	Article	2018	http://www.solidaritynow.org/ATHENS-VOICE/
	ATHENS VOICE: TO FIND WORK, TO CLAIM AGAIN THEIR LIVES!			
Praxis	Πρόγραμμα για τη Στέγαση και την		2015	https://www.praksis.gr/assets/files/stegasi_kai_epan

	Επανάταξη στην Περιφέρεια Αττικής	Newslett er		entaksi/periferia_attikis.pdf
	Program for Housing and Reintegration in the Region of Attica			
	Τοπικές Δράσεις Κοινωνικής Ένταξης για Ευάλωτες Ομάδες	Report	2014	PDF
	Local Social Integration Actions for Vulnerable Groups			
	PRAKSIS Employability	Informati ve text	-	https://www.praksisemployability.gr/index.php/GR/plirofories .
	Success Stories	Newslett er	-	https://www.praksisemployability.gr/index.php/GR/images/Success_Stories_December_2014-April_2016.pdf .
	program report 2015,Employability Center	Report	2015	https://www.praksis.gr/el/%CE%B2%CE%B9%CE%B2%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%BF%CE%B8%CE%B7%CE%BA%CE%B7/%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%B5%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B5%CF%82
	REACT: Αντιδρούμε, διεκδικούμε, αλλάζουμε	Newslett er	2016	https://goo.gl/dzRZRa
	REACT: We react, we demand, we change			
	EQUAL II	Newslett er	-	https://goo.gl/N98KmP
	Choosing to dream «Βάζω όλη μου τη δύναμη	Article	2018	

GENERATION 2.0	σε αυτήν την προσπάθεια»			https://g2red.org/el/choosing-dream-give-force-effort/
	Choosing to dream "I put all my strength in this effort"			
	Καμπάνια «Diversity in the Workplace»	Informative Text	2018	https://g2red.org/el/diversity-in-the-workplace-campaign/
	Campaign "Diversity in the Workplace"			
	Εργαστήρια Απασχολησιμότητας για Πρόσφυγες & Αιτούντες Άσυλο	Informative Text	2017	https://g2red.org/el/employability-workshops-for-refugees-asylum-seekers/
	Employability Laboratories for Refugees and Asylum Seekers			
	Η έννοια της ένταξης για την Κυβέρνηση σύμφωνα με την Εθνική Στρατηγική για την Ένταξη των υπηκόων τρίτων χωρών του 2013	Article	2015	https://g2red.org/el/what-integration-means-for-the-government/
	The concept of integration for the Government based on the National Strategy for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals of 2013			
	Choosing to dream «Θέλω να γίνω δικηγόρος που θα υπερασπίζεται τα δικαιώματα γυναικών, προσφύγων και μεταναστών»	Article	2018	https://g2red.org/el/choosing-to-dream-fawzia/
	Choosing to dream "I want to become a lawyer who will defend the rights of women, refugees and immigrants"			

	Employability Guide for Greece	Guide	2017	https://g2red.org/el/employability-guide-tutorial-videos/
	Τι θα ευχόσασταν να γνώριζαν οι εργοδότες για εσάς και τις δυνατότητές σας;	Article	2018	https://g2red.org/el/what-do-you-wish-employers-knew/
	What would you like employers to know about you and your abilities?			
	Διευκολύνοντας την πρόσβαση στην εργασία για ευάλωτους πληθυσμούς	Informative Text	2017	https://g2red.org/el/facilitating-access-work-vulnerable-populations-athens/
	Facilitating access to work for vulnerable populations			
	Εργασιακή Συμβουλευτική	Informative Text	2017	https://g2red.org/el/career-counselling/
	Work Counseling			
	Choosing to Dream – «Όπως η πίεση μετατρέπει το κάρβουνο σε διαμάντια, έτσι φέρνει και τον άνθρωπο στην τελειότητα! »	Article	2018	https://g2red.org/el/choosing-to-dream-as-pressure-makes-coal-into-diamonds-it-also-brings-man-to-perfection/
	Choosing to Dream - "As pressure transforms charcoal into diamonds, it brings man to perfection!"			
Greek Forum of Migrants	ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ vs ΕΝΤΑΞΗ. Πού βρισκόμαστε; Μια συνομιλία με το Υπουργείο.	Article	2018	https://www.migrant.gr/cgi-bin/pages/index.pl?arlang=Greek&argenkat=%CE%95%CE%A1%CE%93%CE%91%20%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%99%20%CE%94%CE%A1%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%95%CE%99%CE%A3%20%20%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%91%20%CE%94%C
	MIGRANTS vs INTEGRATION. Where			

	are we; A conversation with the Ministry.			E%99%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%99%CE%A9%CE%9C%CE%91%CE%A4%CE%91&arcode=180423183532&type=article
	Κοινή επιστολή 25 οργανώσεων / ΠΑΡΑΒΙΑΣΗ δικαιωμάτων	Press Release	2017	https://www.migrant.gr/cgi-bin/pages/index.pl?arlang=Greek&argenkat=PRESS%20ROOM&arcode=170807135519&type=article
	ΘΕΜΑ: Επαναλαμβανόμενα περιστατικά παραβίασης δικαιωμάτων των αιτούντων άσυλο και προσφύγων από τη Διοίκηση (ΑΦΜ, ΑΜΚΑ, κάρτα ανεργίας, δικαίωμα στην εργασία)			
	Joint letter of 25 organizations / VIOLATION of rights			
	SUBJECT: Repeated cases of violation of rights of asylum seekers and refugees by the Administration (AFM, AMKA, unemployment card, right to work)			
	Υπόμνημα προς το Υφυπουργό Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής, Γιάννη Μπαλάφα	Memorandum	2018	https://www.migrant.gr/ftp/articlepics/objects/YPOMNHMA_GFM_YMEPO_Jan2018.pdf
	Memorandum to the Deputy Minister of Migration Policy, Yiannis Balafas			
	«Γραφεία Νομικής και Διοικητικής υποστήριξης υπηκόων τρίτων χωρών που διαβιούν νόμιμα στην χώρα»	Press Release	-	PDF

	"Legal and administrative support offices for third-country nationals legally residing in the country"			
	Κέντρα διασύνδεσης νέων στην Ελλάδα	Article	2018	https://www.migrant.gr/cgi-bin/pages/index.pl?arlang=Greek&argenkat=%CE%95%CE%A1%CE%93%CE%91%20%CE%9A%CE%91%CE%99%20%CE%94%CE%A1%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%95%CE%99%CE%A3%20%20%CE%9D%CE%95%CE%9F%CE%A3%20%CE%A0%CE%9F%CE%9B%CE%99%CE%A4%CE%97%CE%A3&arcod=180425130931&type=article
	Youth Interconnection Centers in Greece			
PAME	Εισήγηση στην σύσκεψη της Γραμματείας Θεσσαλονίκης του ΠΑΜΕ, στις 12 Οκτώβρη	Presentation of conference	2017	https://goo.gl/osR3wL
	Presentation at the conference of the Secretariat of Thessaloniki of PAME, on 12 October			
	Ημερίδα, του Εργατικού Κέντρου Αμαλιάδας με θέμα: «Μετανάστες: Καθήκοντα και υποχρεώσεις του συνδικαλιστικού κινήματος»	News Brief	2014	https://goo.gl/ceTkA3
	Meeting of the Amaliada Labor Center on "Migrants: Tasks and Obligations of the Trade Union Movement"			
	Ημερίδα του Εργατικού Κέντρου Αμαλιάδας για τους Μετανάστες: Το	Presentation of	2014	https://goo.gl/7AMb5Z

	νομικό καθεστώς των μεταναστών στην Ελλάδα	the meeting		
	Meeting of the Amaliada Labor Center for Migrants: The Legal Status of migrants in Greece			
	Intervention of PAME in the International Meeting on Immigration hosted by USB	Intervention-Speech	2014	https://goo.gl/cmrajT
	Το Πανεργατικό Αγωνιστικό Μέτωπο (ΠΑΜΕ) είναι το αποκορύμμι κάθε εργαζόμενου.	Announcement	2015	https://goo.gl/1L1K1y
	Workers can rely on PAME			
	Κεντρική εισήγηση Ημερίδας του Εργατικού Κέντρου Αμαλιάδας για τους μετανάστες	Central Presentation	2014	https://goo.gl/cJPdKv
	Central presentation of the Meeting of the Amaliada Labor Center for Migrants			
	Κινητοποίηση της Γραμματείας Μεταναστών – Προσφύγων του ΠΑΜΕ στις 16 Μάρτη στο Υπουργείο Μεταναστευτικής Πολιτικής 18.30	Announcement	2018	https://goo.gl/Roqk1y
	Protest of the Migration and Refugee Secretariat of PAME on 16 March at the Ministry of Immigration Policy , 18.30			
	Καταγγελία της Γραμματείας Μεταναστών και προσφύγων για τους εργάτες γης στη Μανωλάδα	Denouncement	2018	https://goo.gl/pysG3r

	Denouncement of the Secretariat of Migrants and Refugees for land workers in Manolada			
	Αντιπροσωπεία του ΠΑΜΕ στο πλευρό των μεταναστών εργατών γης στη Νέα Μανωλάδα (ΦΩΤΟ)	Informati ve Text	2018	https://goo.gl/UwnkGG
	PAME delegation on the side of migrant land workers in Nea Manolada (PHOTO)			
Trade Union in Construction of Athens	ΜΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΟΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ ΓΙΑ ΕΝΑΝ ΚΟΣΜΟ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΚΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΥΣΗ, ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΣ, ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΙΑ – ΜΕ ΕΠΙΤΥΧΙΑ Η ΕΚΔΗΛΩΣΗ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΩΝ ΣΤΙΣ 27 ΑΠΡΙΛΗ (ΦΩΤΟ, ΒΙΝΤΕΟ)	Informati ve Text	2017	https://goo.gl/cHDN28
	WITH THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES FOR A WORLD WITHOUT EXPLOITATION, WAR, IMMIGRATION - THE EVENT OF TRADE UNIONS IN CONSTRUCTION ON 27 APRIL, WAS SUCCESSFULLY CONDUCTED (PHOTO, VIDEO)			
	ΘΑΝΑΤΗΦΟΡΟ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟ ΑΤΥΧΗΜΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΑΣΤΙΑΚΟ ΣΤΟ ΖΕΦΥΡΙ	Press Release	2016	https://goo.gl/YQFRf8

	FATAL LABOR ACCIDENT AT THE SUBURBS IN ZEFYRI			
	Η ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΤΕΝΤΕ ΣΟΚΟΛ, ΜΕΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΙΛΙΟΥ	Speech	2017	https://goo.gl/LZumQm
	SPEECH OF THE COWORKER DEDE SOKOL, BOARD MEMBER OF THE ILION DEPARTMENT			
	ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΑΝΤΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΤΟ ROOFERS LOCAL 36 ΑΠΟ ΤΙΣ ΗΠΑ (ΦΩΤΟ)	Press Release	2017	https://goo.gl/H62TNe
	INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF THE ATHENS CONSTRUCTION LABOR UNION WITH THE ROOFERS LOCAL CONTRACT 36 FROM THE USA (PHOTO)			
Employee s' Federation of Textiles - Clothing - Leather	Η πορεία της Κλωστοϋφαντουργίας προσφέρει χρήσιμη πείρα.	Interview	2014	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=8049454
	Συνέντευξη με τον Βασίλη Σταμούλη, πρόεδρο της Ομοσπονδίας Εργατοϋπαλλήλων Κλωστοϋφαντουργίας - Ιματισμού - Δέρματος			
	The course of employees' Federation of Textiles offers useful experience.			
	Interview with Vasili Stamoulis, President of the Federation of Textile,			

	Leather and Leather Workers			
	Μαζική παρέμβαση για τους άθλιους όρους δουλειάς και διαβίωσης.	Article- Informati ve Text	2018	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=9984737
	Mass intervention for the miserable terms of work and living			
	Σε 24ωρες απεργίες οι εργαζόμενοι στην επιχείρηση «Κώστας Γεωργίου ΑΕ»	Article- Informati ve Text	2017	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=9383678
	24-hour strikes from employees in the company «Kostas Georgiou SA»			
	Σύσκεψη για τους μετανάστες εργάτες του κλάδου	Article- Informati ve Text	2015	https://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=8369818
	Meeting for migrant workers in the industry			
General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE)	Η ελληνική οικονομία και η απασχόληση, Ετήσια Έκθεση 2017	Annual Report	2017	https://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ETHSIA_EKTHESH_2017.pdf
	Greek economy			
	and employment, Annual Report 2017			
	Ανέλεγκτη η παραβατικότητα στην εργασία στον αγροτικό τομέα – Αόρατες για την Πολιτεία οι συνθήκες δουλειάς και οι κίνδυνοι ακόμα και για τη ζωή των εργατών γης	Press Release	2016	https://gsee.gr/?p=33534

	Unchecked violations in Labor in the Agriculture Sector - Invisible to the State the conditions of slavery and the risks even for the life of land workers			
	Η ΓΣΕΕ ΖΗΤΑ ΑΜΕΣΑ ΜΕΤΡΑ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΦΩΣΗΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΦΑΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΔΔΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΣ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΗΣ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΑΓΡΟΤΙΚΟ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ – ΚΡΙΣΙΜΗ Η ΔΙΑΤΑΞΗ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΣΕ GSEE ASKS IMMEDIATE MEASURES OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS DECISION ON AGRICULTURAL SECTOR CONDITIONS IN GREECE - CRITICAL THE PROVISION OF THE NEW NATIONAL GENERAL COLLECTIVE LABOR AGREEMENT	Press Release	2017	https://gsee.gr/?p=34412
	ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΩΝ WORLD REFUGEE DAY	Press Release	2017	https://gsee.gr/?p=34705
	Γραφείο Οικονομικών Μεταναστών Office of Economic Migrants	Informative Text	-	https://www.kepea.gr/article.php?cat=13

	Η ΓΣΕΕ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΖΕΙ ΤΗ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΛΙΝΤ ΤΑΛΕΜΠ	Press Release	2016	https://gsee.gr/?p=34064
	GSEE WELCOMES THE JUSTIFICATION OF WALID TALEB			
	ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΗ, μηνιαία έκδοση του ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ, Συνδικάτα και μετανάστευση	Monthly Issue	2015	https://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/MAIOS.pdf
	INFORMATION, monthly issue of ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ, Trade unions and Migration			
EKA-Labor Center of Athens	Αλλοδαποί Εργαζόμενοι	Informati ve Text	-	http://www.eka.org.gr/index.php/allodapoi-egazomenoi
	Foreign Workers			
	ΔΟΜΗ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ ΕΚΑ	Informati ve Text	-	https://www.accmr.gr/el/component/teams/team/523.html?Itemid=137
	STRUCTURE OF MIGRANTS IN ΕΚΑ			
	ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙ ΜΕ ΘΕΜΑ	Worksho p Program	2018	http://www.eka.org.gr/index.php/allodapoi-egazomenoi/132-2015-05-04-11-37-33/1743-2018-06-22-08-30-46
	"Ότι χρειάζεται να γνωρίζω για να εργαστώ στην Ελλάδα - Τα εργασιακά δικαιώματά μου"			
	WORKSHOP ON			
	"What I Need to Know to Work in Greece - My Work Rights"			
	ΕΡΓΑΣΤΗΡΙ ΜΕ ΘΕΜΑ:	Worksho p Program	2018	http://www.eka.org.gr/index.php/allodapoi-egazomenoi/132-2015-05-04-11-37-33/1746--352018
	"ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΚΑ, ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΛΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ			

	ΠΡΟΣΦΥΓΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ"			
	WORKSHOP ON:			
	"WORKING, INSURANCE AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS OF REFUGEES IN GREECE"			
	ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΩΝ, 18 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ	Press Release	2018	http://www.eka.org.gr/index.php/allodapoi-egazomenoi/132-2015-05-04-11-37-33/1813--18-
	INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS DAY, 18 DECEMBER			
	ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΗΜΕΡΙΔΑΣ ΕΚΑ – ΙΝΕ ΓΣΕΕ	Press Release	2015	http://www.eka.org.gr/images/dt/DT_020215_HMERIDA_INE_SYMPERASMATATA.pdf
	Συνδικάτα και μετανάστες: νέες προκλήσεις στη εποχή της κρίσης			
	CONCLUSIONS OF THE MEETING EKA - INE GSEE			
	Trade unions and migrants: new challenges in times of crisis			
	ΣΦΥΡΗΛΑΤΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΞΗ ΣΤΟ	Seminar minutes	2011	http://www.eka.org.gr/index.php/2009-09-29-10-25-13/54-2009-09-22-07-29-11/862-2011-02-18-08-30-13
	ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ - Ο ΡΟΛΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΑΤΩΝ			
	STRENGTHENING SOCIAL INCLUSION IN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL DIALOGUE -			

	THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS			
SEV- Hellenic Federation of Enterpris es	Εργασία χωρίς Αποκλεισμούς	Informati ve Text regardin g areas of action	-	http://www.sev.org.gr/tomeis-drason/ergasia-anthropino-kefalaio/ergasia-choris-apokleismous/
	Work without Exclusions			
	ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 19,	Special Report	2018	http://www.sev.org.gr/Uploads/Documents/50731/special_report_9_1_2018.pdf
	ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ & ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΕΙΣ,			
	SPECIAL REPORT : ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΣ, ΣΥΛΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΣΕΙΣ			
	ISSUE 19			
	ECONOMY AND BUSINESS,			
	SPECIAL REPORT: SOCIAL DIALOGUE, COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS			
	Κλειδί η επιτάχυνση των μεταρρυθμίσεων και η εφαρμογή σταθεροποιητικών πολιτικών μετά τον Αύγουστο	Weekly Press Release	2018	http://www.sev.org.gr/Uploads/Documents/51088/Weekly_12_04_2018.pdf
	Key factor the acceleration of the reforms and the implementation of stabilization policies after August			
	Ανθρώπινες Ροές στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη σήμερα. Πτυχές του Φαινομένου και Τρόποι Αντιμετώπισης.	Speech at conferen ce	2017	http://www.oke.gr/docs/ANTHROPINES_ROES.pdf
	Ομιλία Θεόδωρου Φέσσα, Πρόεδρου ΣΕΒ			

	Human Flows in Greece and Europe today.Aspects of the phenomenon and ways of dealing with it.			
	Speech by Theodoros Fessas, President of SEV			
	Κοινό δελτίο τύπου - ο κόσμος της εργασίας μαζί για την ισότητα, 2/3/2015	Joint press release	2015	http://www.sev.org.gr/graf-eio-typou/deltia-typou/koino-deltio-typou-o-kosmos-tis-ergasias-mazi-gia-tin-isotita-2-3-2015/
	Joint press release - the world of labor together for equality, 2/3/2015			
	ΠΡΟΣ ΕΝΑ ΝΕΟ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΩΣ ΙΘΑΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ	Speech	2010	http://www.sev.org.gr/uploads/Pdf/47358/OMILIA%20X%20KYRIAZH%20ELLHNIKH%20ITHAGENEIA%208%202%202010.pdf
	Ομιλία του Αντιπροέδρου του ΣΕΒ κ. Χάρη Κυριαζή στην εκδήλωση της Ελληνικής Ένωσης για τα Δικαιώματα του Ανθρώπου με αφορμή την ψήφιση του νόμου για την ελληνική ιθαγένεια			
	TO A NEW CITIZENSHIP STATUS			
	Speech by the Vice-President of SEV Mr. Haris Kyriazis at the event of the Hellenic League for Human Rights on the occasion of the passing of the Greek Citizenship Act			
GSEVEE- Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen & Merchants	ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΥΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΥΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΟΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΜΟΡΦΙΑ	Newsletter	2017	https://imegsevee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/NEWSLETTER-ISSUE-1-MIGRAID-FINAL-GREEK.pdf
	(MigrAID), ΕΚΔΟΣΗ 1			
	TRAINING THE SOCIAL PARTNERS ON ETHNIC			

	DIVERSITY (MigrAID), ISSUE 1			
	ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΥΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΥΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΟΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΜΟΡΦΙΑ (MigrAID), ΕΚΔΟΣΗ 2	Newslett er	2017	https://imegsevee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/NEWSLETTER-ISSUE-2-MIGRAID-GREEK.pdf
	TRAINING THE SOCIAL PARTNERS ON ETHNIC DIVERSITY (MigrAID), ISSUE 2			
	Εκπαίδευση των κοινωνικών εταίρων για την εθνοτική ποικιλομορφία στις ΜΜΕ – Migraid	Informati ve Text regardin g areas of action	-	https://goo.gl/LCRzPi
	Training the Social Partners on Ethnic Diversity in SMEs - Migraid			
	Χαιρετισμός του Γενικού Γραμματέα της ΓΣΕΒΕΕ, κ. Γ. Κουράση σε ημερίδα της ΓΣΕΕ για την καταπολέμηση των διακρίσεων στην εργασία και το ρόλο του κοινωνικού διαλόγου	Speech	2014	https://www.gsevee.gr/omilies/503-2015-03-12-10-04-50
	Greeting by the General Secretary of GSEVEE, Mr. G. Kourasis at a GSEE Workshop on Combating Discrimination at Work and the Role of Social Dialogue			
	Κοινωνική Πολιτική και Απασχόληση	Educatio nal Material for	2013	https://imegsevee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/

	Social Policy and Employability	GSEVEE executiv es		KOINWNIKH_POLITIKH_ _APASXOLHSH.pdf

ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy

Policy/service (name or key word)	Composition /substance (short description)	Year of imple- mentation	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or	Link to information/pdf
Immigration policies	L 4375/2016 ar. 68,68 ,71. Work permit is no longer a necessity in order to access the labor market to those who are applying for international protection the beneficiaries of international protection and those that hold the status of residence for humanitarian reason.	2016	Applicants of international protection , recognized refugees , holders of the status of subsidiary protection, holders of the status of residence for humanitarian reason.			A facilitator as this law simplifies the process of the population in target to the labor market.	http://www.y pes.gr/UserFiles/f0ff9297-f516-40ff-a70e-eca84e2ec9b9/Nom4251-010414.pdf .
	Law N° 4332 of 2015 amending the provisions of the Code of Greek Citizenship and the provisions of Law N° 4251 of 2014 for the purposes of harmonising the Greek legislation with the European Parliament and Council Directives 2011/98/EU on a single application procedure for	2015	Migrant population			An enabler for migrants as the work permit becomes single.	www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=102283&p_country=GRC&p_count=579&p_classification=

	a single permit for third-country nationals to reside and work in the territory of a Member State and on a common set of rights for third-country workers legally residing in a Member State, and 2014/36/EU on the conditions of entry and stay of third-country nationals for the purpose of employment as seasonal workers, and other provisions.						17&p_classcount=29.
Educational related policies	<i>European Qualification Passport of Refugees.</i> A specially developed assessment scheme for refugees, even for those who cannot fully document their qualifications. It is based on available documentation and structured interview.	2017 as a pilot initiative	Refugee population	The Greek Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs the Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research, the Conference of University Rectors of Italy, the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research and qualification recognition centres in Armenia, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK.UNHCR Office in Greece. Council of Europe.	The European Union	A measure that is definitely a facilitator to labor market integration. This initiative is aiming to eliminate a barrier and to provide the recognition of skills in order to match the needs of the labor market. Although in initial phase it is a comforting measure. Nevertheless the coverage of this initiative is quite restrictive as it refers only to refugee population.	https://www.coe.int/en/web/education/recognition-of-refugees-qualification-s .
	<i>“ODYSSEUS” program.</i> The project aims at supporting students to acquire the language as well as the social and intercultural skills required for the social inclusion of the students and their families.	2008-2011	Citizens of the European Union and third country nationals over 16 years old despite their nationality.	Public Institute of Youth and Lifelong learning, Ministry of Education Research and Religious Affairs.	Co-funded from the European Union and the Greek Government.	A measure that could be considered as a facilitator. The specific program is using the learning of greek language as a mean of prevention of social exclusion.	https://www.inedivim.gr/attachments/article/268/20130501-dt-odysseas.pdf .

							https://www.inedivim.gr/en/programmes-actions/%E2%80%99Codysseus-education-immigrants-greek-language-greek-history-and-greek-culture.m
	<i>Free courses of Greek English, and other languages provided from the non governmental sector mostly from NGO'S.</i>	The majority of the services became more massive from 2015.	Migrant and refugee population regardless their origin.	Various NGO'S (ARSIS, DIKTIO, EQUAL SOCIETY ,FAROS day Center, Generation 2.0, Greek Forum of Migrants, Khora Community Center, Melissa Network, Orange House, Sunday Migrant School.	European Union funds, private donor funds.	Definitely an enabler as the NGO'S are taking active part on the learning of Greek language. The government mechanism provides quite a few opportunities on that field and NGO'S are filling the gap.	https://refugees.studyingreece.edu.gr/index.php/education .
	<i>Educational Organization AKMON SA with the Association of Afghan Immigrants and Refugees. The purpose of the specific project was the improvisation of the skills of 116 beneficiaries that would result to their smoother integration to the society.</i>	2011	Refugees and asylum seekers		The action was implemented in the framework of the Annual Programme 2011 of the European Refugee Fund (ERF).	An enabler for social integration and access to labor market. However it is targeting only refugees and asylum seekers .	https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/12a_gr_integration_of_beneficiaries_en.pdf .

	<i>Pilot program of agricultural education to refugees 15-18 years old.</i> The objection of the action is to help trainees to obtain skills in order to join labor market.	2016	The population in target is refugees aged 15-18 and more specifically 100 refugees that live in an accommodation centre in Greece and 100 refugees that live in an accomodation centre in Central Macedonia.	European Fund of Asylum, Migration and Integration. Ministry of Education	European Fund of Asylum, Migration and Integration.	Although a pilot program it is considered as an enabler hence it promotes integration of refugees with the acquaintance of specific skills.	www.amifisf.gr/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Πρόσκληση-010.pdf .
Employment related policies							
	<i>L 4251/2014 article 12. Metaklisi Scheme.</i> Every employer who desires to hire employees ,based on the specific number of job posts that each Periphery has defined, he can apply to the appropriate decentralized office of his residence, referring on the number of people he will hire, their personal data their exact specialization and the duration of the contract.	2014	Third country nationals.	Third country nationals who are interested to work in Greece. Moreover the article 13 of L 4251/2014 take provision for seasonal workers of third countries under the same scheme. Metaklisi is also applied with Article 14 of L 4251/2014 to third country nationals that desire to work at the fishery sector.		The metaklisi scheme is functioning as an enabler for third country nationals. Moreover it gives to the employers the legal ground in order to hire third country nationals. The effectiveness though of this measure is disputable as there is lack of monitoring.	http://www.ypes.gr/UserFiles/f0ff9297-f516-40ff-a70e-eca84e2ec9b9/Nom4251-010414.pdf .
	Services provided from labor market agents such as job counseling. Usually those services are provided from NGO'S although migrants, refugees and asylum seekers have the right to access those programs if exist to OAED.		Asylum seekers, Refugees, Migrants.	PRAKSIS Employability Center, Greek Council of the Refugees PYKSIDA Center, Generation 2.0,	Funds from European Union, donor funds.	An enabler for the population in target. The civil society and mostly NGO's are covering this field of action.	www.praksis.gr/el/προγρ/αμματα/παρεμβασεις-που-εχουν-ολοκληρωθει/item/κέντρο-αλληλεγγύης-αθήνας-στο-φρουραρχείο

							www.gcr.gr/el/diapolitismiko-kentro-pyksida . https://g2red.org/el/ .
	Law N° 4443 of 2016 which incorporates into Greek legislation the Directive 2000/43/EC implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, the Directive 2000/78/EC which establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation. and the Directive 2014/54/EU on measures that facilitate the exercise of rights conferred on workers in the context of freedom of movement for workers; II) enacting required measures for complying with articles 22, 23, 30, 31 para 1, 32 and 34 of the Regulation N° 596/2014 on market abuse and repealing Directive 2003/6/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Commission Directives 2003/124/EC, 2003/125/EC and 2004/72/EC and incorporating Directive 2014/57/EU on criminal sanctions for market abuse and the Implementing Directive 2015/2392;		Third country nationals that might be treated differently due to their origin.			An enabler that stands against discrimination in the work field.	www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=104615 .

Welfare related policies							
	<i>ESTIA Program</i> Accommodation assistance in apartments as well as cash assistance for asylum applicants, recognised refugees, and people who have the status of subsidiary protection	2017	Asylum applicants, recognised refugees, and people who have the status of subsidiary protection.	The Greek Government, local authorities (municipalities), UNHCR.	European Commission- Civil Protection & Humanitarian Aid Operation- ECHO	Housing programmes are functioning as an enabler to labor market integration. Although sometimes can be a barrier as the basic needs of the beneficiaries are satisfied through accommodation and cash assistance. To hold a job with the minimum wage leads to the loss of those benefits and seems that the opportunity cost of access to labor market is quite low.	http://estia.13ten.net/el/home_page/ .
	<i>HELIOS program (Hellenic Integration System).</i> A pilot program aiming at examining possibilities of decentralized migrant integration practices. The program will combine existing welfare policies such as housing and cash assistance with actions regarding professional skills and active participation in the society.	2017	In the initiative stage the target group would be 80 migrants in Livadia and 40 in Thiva.	Ministry of Migration Policy, International Organization of Migration IOM, Municipalities of Thiva and Livadia.	European Union	Function as an enabler although the target group is few. A more active initiative as it combines welfare policies e.g accommodation with more active participation of the population in question to the society.	http://www.greece.iom.int/en/helios-hellenic-integration-system .
	L N 4251/2014 article 21 par. 7 states the right of access to education at the same terms as the nationals.	2014	Children that are third country nationals.			A welfare policy that serves as a facilitator. Migrant and refugee children have access to education that leads to integration.	www.taxheaven.gr/laws/law/index/law/587 .

	L 4368/2016 article 33 par 2 states the access to health for asylum seekers, refugees, those who claim humanitarian protection.	2016	Asylum seekers refugees , those who claim humanitarian protection.			A facilitator regarding the living conditions of the population in question.	www.synigors.gr/resources/docs/160817-n4368.pdf .

ANNEX III A, Interviews

	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution
Stakeholder representative 1	24/10/2018	Counselor of the Minister	Ministry
Stakeholder representative 2	16/10/2018	Director of MRA Social Integration Department	Ministry
Stakeholder representative 3	23/10/2018	Executive of the Department of Socio-Economic Integration	Ministry
Stakeholder representative 4	08/10/2018	Staff of Manpower Employment Organization (OAED)	Ministry
Stakeholder representative 5	07/11/2018	Staff of the Greek Managing Authority of the AMIF	Ministry
Stakeholder representative 6	12/11/2018	Former Special Secretary for Labor Inspection (SEPE)	Legal Entity of Public Law
Stakeholder representative 7	02/10/2018	Researcher on Migration Issues	Research Institute
Stakeholder representative 8	15/11/2018	Representative on issues of discrimination and equality	Independent authority
Stakeholder representative 9	19/10/2018	Staff of Employment Agency	Legal Entity of Public Law
Stakeholder representative 10	03/10/2018	Staff of a Directorate of Immigrants Region	Region
Stakeholder representative 11	30/10/2018	Executive of the Employment Program for Asylum Seekers and Refugees	Municipality
Stakeholder representative 12	09/11/2018	Executive of Vulnerable Group Employment Program	NGO
Stakeholder representative 13	22/10/2018	Executive of the Social Integration Program for Asylum Seekers	NGO
Stakeholder representative 14	02/11/2018	Work consultant	NGO
Stakeholder representative 15	11/10/2018	Education Staff	NGO
Stakeholder representative 16	20/11/2018	Social Integration Staff	NGO

ANNEX III B, Interviews

Interviews (Past Beneficiaries)										
Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Interview 1	20/11/2018	25 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Albania	2013	High School in Albania with topography specialization	Carpenter	Waiter, Topographer	Albanian, a little Greek and a little English
Interview 2	23/11/2018	59 years old	Man	Married (2 children)	Albania	2008	10 years of school with electrician specialization	Painter, Electrician, irons-plasterboards	Electrician	Albanian and Greek
Interview 3	27/11/2018	26 years old	Woman	Married (1 child)	Albania	2010	High School in Albania	Maid and Cleaning Lady	Didn't work	Albanian and Greek
Interview 4	30/11/2018	41 years old	Man	Married (2 children)	Albania	2008	Secondary School in Albania	Builder	Technical professions	Albanian and Greek
Interview 5	5/12/2018	32 years old	Woman	Married (1 child)	Albania	2008	High School in Albania	Maid and Cleaning Lady	Didn't work	Albanian, Greek and Italian
Interview 6	7/12/2018	35 years old	Man	Married (Family in Pakistan)	Pakistan	2011	10 years of school	Carpenter, Works with aluminium, Gardener	Farmer and Stock-Breeder	Greek and Pakistani

Interview 7	11/12/2018	23 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Pakistan	2008	Up to 1 st class of High School in Pakistan	Gardener	Farmer and Stock-Breeder	Greek and Pakistani
Interview 8	12/12/2018	37 years old	Man	Married (Family in Pakistan)	Pakistan	2008	Graduate of High School in Pakistan	Interpreter in NGO	Farmer	Greek, Pakistani and English
Interview 9	14/12/2018	39 years old	Man	Married in Pakistan	Pakistan	2010	Graduate of Secondary School in Pakistan	Delivery man in restaurant	Agricultural works	Pakistani, Italian, Greek and a little English
Interview 10	18/12/2018	32 years old	Man	Married in Pakistan	Pakistan	2008	Graduate of High School in Pakistan	Manual Works	Didn't work	Pakistani and Greek
Interview 11	13/11/2018	32 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Afghanistan	2008	Secondary school	Interpreter in NGO	Didn't work	Urdu, Pastu, Farsi, Dari, English
Interview 12	5/11/2018	23 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Syria	2008	Secondary school	Interpreter in NGO	Didn't work	Greek, Arabic
Interview 13	7/11/2018	32 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Syria	2008	Secondary school	Interpreter in NGO	Didn't work	Greek, Arabic, Kirmantzi
Interview 14	5/12/2018	23 years old	Woman	Married	Syria	2012	Secondary school	Don't work	Trader	Arabic, English
Interview 15	7/12/2018	31 years old	Man	Unmarried/Single	Afghanistan	2012	Secondary school	Interpreter in NGO	Didn't work	Farsi, Greek
Interview 16	7/12/2008	42 years old	Man	Married	Afghanistan	2008	Secondary school	Interpreter in NGO	Car engineer	Greek, Farsi

ANNEX IV, Summaries of conducted interviews

Stakeholders		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
Stakeholder 1	Analysis of key initiatives taken by the Ministry of Migration Policy of employment integration of MRAs Reference to the main advantages and disadvantages of the Greek labor market regarding the employment of MRAs "Although the Strategy has not yet been implemented, we must say that it has the approval and support of the Governmental Social Policy Council headed by the Deputy Prime Minister. This in itself provides guarantees for promotion at the stage of implementation " Reference to the key challenges faced by the Greek public policy for the employment of MRAs	24/10/2018
Stakeholder 2	Analysis of the National Strategy for Social Inclusion of MRAs "The national strategy is an important station for immigration and refugee policy in Greece. Mainly because the bases for targeted actions for these vulnerable groups are laid for the first time " Special reference to the dimensions concerning the labor integration of MRAs Personal perceptions of binding, political support and consensus on promoting the strategy at the implementation stage	16/10/2018
Stakeholder 3	Reference in the context of actions for the social integration of migrants "The main interventions of the Greek public administration are the registration of asylum seekers in its basic mechanisms: AMKA, VAT number, etc. Not enough to find work but is a fundamental prerequisite" Reference to the main barriers faced by MRAs for integration into employment and Greek society	23/10/2018

Stakeholder 4	Discussion on the Remedial tool for the official call for financial immigrants for employment Reference to the main problems faced by the call during its implementation periods "The main problem with the invocation process is that the procedures are almost never observed. Manufacturers are always demanding changes in their workforce needs. This is because no substantive dialogue procedures have been put in place in the planning process " Assessment of the social adequacy of the call as an official means of employing economic migrants	08/10/2018
Stakeholder 5	Key Issues Concerning the Cash Management and Control System Processes for MRA Integration Actions in the Labor Market Issues concerning co-ordination procedures between different Ministries related to the employment of migrants "An inter-ministerial policy co-ordination scheme would be necessary to more efficiently disburse Community funds but also to maximize the social impact of interventions" Dimensions relating to the control of eligibility of expenditure Key Issues Relating to New Financial Tools for the Employment Integration of Immigrants	07/11/2018
Stakeholder 6	Reference to the key measures taken by the Labor Inspectorate to tackle undeclared work over the last four years Analysis of the phenomenon of undeclared employment of MRA in the Greek labor market Highlighting the main problems and deficiencies faced by the Greek state's control mechanisms to identify the phenomena of delinquency in the field of work "Sanctions for non-compliance with labor law may have increased. However, this is only on paper. In practice, how do you impose sanctions when you do not have adequate control mechanisms due to the failure of the Labor Inspectorate? " Indicating the impact of the role of trade unions on the protection of the labor rights of MRAs	12/11/2018

Stakeholder 7	Analysis of the framework of employment policies in Greece for MRA before and after the crisis Interpretation of the main features of Greek employment policies for MRA as a function of the wider objectives of Greek immigration policy "There are no specific interventions for the employment of MRA until today. The measures taken are part of horizontal measures to combat unemployment. Failure to adapt to the particular needs of these populations could be considered a first key hurdle of their labor integration " Highlighting the main strengths and weaknesses of Greek employment policies from 2014 onwards Reference to the main challenges faced by MRA employment policies in the current period	02/10/2018
Stakeholder 8	Discussion on the phenomena of occupational discrimination experienced by MRAs "We know from our daily routine that the phenomena of exploitation and discrimination of MRAs are multiples of what is being denounced. This is because of the fear they face in complaints as well as the lack of information " Reference to gender discrimination and gender-based division of work of MRAs Analysis of the main obstacles to disseminating information about the rights of MRAs in the Greek labor market Reference to stereotypes of Greek society that lead to social acceptance of the labor exploitation of MRAs	15/11/2018
Stakeholder 9	Analysis of the main policies for dealing with unemployment of OAED Discussion on the interventions developed by the OAED and involving MRAs Highlighting the main deficiencies observed in the OAED around the MRA working environment Discussion on interventions that OAED could target for the employment of MRA	19/10/2018
Stakeholder 10	Analysis of the role of the Region in the dimension of legal residence and employment of MRAs in Greece Highlighting the key issues and challenges related to the employment of MRAs in the regional dimension	03/10/2018

Stakeholder 11	Analysis of the Pilot Preparation Program for the Employment Integration of Asylum Seekers and Refugees implemented by the Municipality Highlighting the main difficulties that arise during its implementation Labeling on wider administrative barriers affecting access to employment "The problems of the Greek public administration in the establishment of KEMs are many. For example, in our municipality we wanted to start operating, but it was not foreseen in the Programming of the Region. So far, it is not possible to modify it " Reporting on Challenges and Prospects for the Employment Inclusion of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in the Greek Labor Market	30/10/2018
Stakeholder 12	Discussion on the employment program implemented by the NGO to find work in vulnerable social groups Discussion on the specific actions it is developing for MRA employment within the general objectives of the employment program Reference to the key obstacles encountered by MRAs in accessing the Greek labor market "How can we talk about job integration when there are no language programs? They are people, not machines. All the burden of preparing for the employment of MRA falls on our backs "	09/11/2018
Stakeholder 13	Reference to the main actions developed to find work for asylum seekers in the NGO housing program Analysis of the main aspirations of asylum seekers to prepare them for integration into the labor market Analysis of key obstacles encountered by NGO workers in finding work for asylum seekers "The framework of employment policies, as it is today, creates disincentives for asylum seekers to enter the labor market. Why, now, they get some bonuses. If they find work, then bonuses will be cut shortly. That's why they choose to get bonuses and work undeclared. Most also expect refugees to be identified to leave for Germany or Sweden or the Netherlands. They are therefore not interested in joining the Greek labor market "	22/10/2018

Stakeholder 14	Analysis of the preparation program for the employment integration of asylum seekers and refugees Reference to employers' search procedures and partnerships developed with private human resources offices Indication of the actions developed by the organization for the development of the educational and linguistic skills of the beneficiaries with a view to finding employment	02/11/2018
Stakeholder 15	Analysis of the NGO program for learning the Greek language for asylum seekers Codification of the main shortcomings of Greek employment policies for access of asylum seekers to the Greek labor market	11/10/2018
Stakeholder 16	Reference to the cultural specificities of asylum seekers and the resulting obstacles to access to the Greek labor market Analysis of social exclusion and labor marginalization processes caused by the lack of a culture of familiarity Address the key issues to be addressed to increase female employment in the asylum and immigrant population "Things are more difficult on two occasions. For people with disabilities and women. The former are unable to work. The latter are in a position but not allowed by their culture. There is a need for additional interventions of intercultural mediation to familiarize themselves with the idea that women in the West work. And these interventions must also be made to their spouses and to themselves. "	20/11/2018
Past beneficiaries		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
Interview 1	Specialty in high school: topography. He knows a few Greek and a few English. He is unmarried and has worked as a waiter and as a surveyor-engineer through internships in Albania. In Greece he works in a shop with furniture and in houses as a carpenter. An incentive to come to Greece was the lack of job opportunities in the subject and the existence of a relative who helped finance and housing: <i>"I have been here for four to five months, I have not been to another country. I have come back here because it was my aunt. In Albania there was nothing else I could do about the subject of my profession, which is why I came to Greece. The help of my aunt was very important to me because if it was not for me, I was most likely not to come. I came here because it covered me both financially and in terms of housing and came here for a better life. "</i> He thinks he has done well that he has come to Greece	20/11/2018

	and has not faced racism so far: <i>"If you are legal here, you have the right papers and you are covered and you want to evolve, obviously there is a response from the Greek population. I have not experienced racism yet, I am well on the job. It seems better than Albania "</i>. In addition, he is delighted with his work in Greece: <i>"From a job, I waited 1-1.5 months to find. I was looking and I found myself working as a carpenter. As long as you live without money, you will do any bustle out there. Whether it is manual or not. I do this job to make some money and be able to survive. "</i> He was not given any help by organizations, NGOs and state. Helping only his own people and information about Greece since he was in Albania. <i>"I have not been covered by any organization, nor the Greek state. My cover was clearly from my own people who explained to me how things are. I did not have some help, "" I had learned about the economy and labor market of Greece. I received too much information from Albania before I came here. There was too much information about Greece. I keep learning from reality here. I have not approached an organization, an NGO or something to learn. "Support comes mainly from family, friends and Greek and Albanian colleagues. It has no relations with ethnic associations and the Albanian community. "In Greece I have Greek friends but networking is very difficult. The Albanian community here in Greece does not support me because many are children and they think they are Greeks. So to say that he is Albanian and to support me in another country, this support does not exist as well as the interaction. Family and friends have helped me to this day, "" And my colleagues who are Albanians and Greeks are treating me very well. Many times there are Albanians who help me to get to grips with the Greeks. Or, sometimes the Greeks try to help and guide me to do something in my workplace. "</i> The interviewee proposes to provide state assistance in education (mainly for language learning), housing, feeding and employment. <i>"What I would like if I were, I would like education and housing and clearly some cover in the food. You have the money today, tomorrow you do not have it. If it were not my aunt I would not have come here. Perhaps some work if it gave the state, but mainly education to learn the language and to secure a job "</i>.	
Interview 2	He has completed ten years of training in Albania and has a specialty in electrical engineering. He speaks Greek and Albanian. He is married and has 2 children, who are also married. In Albania he worked as an electrician in oil. In Greece he first walked in 1991, left and returned a few times even without remaining in the long run. In 2008 he came with a visa to stay with his family in Samos. <i>"I stayed permanently since 2008 with my wife and children. We all came with a visa. "</i> Now he makes paintings, electrically, deals with irons and plasterboard. Work was found through his compatriots initially, then through well-known and one client sent him to someone else and so networked. <i>"Now paint, electric, irons, plasterboard, I find it," "I had friends and clients here. I knew people from the past times I had come. At first we went to the square at the center and then with acquaintances. I worked one day on the next, on the other, on the other and then we met. I left the phone and they took me. "</i> In general, he has no complaints about his life and work in Greece and has not been faced with racist attitudes. <i>"Job is a job. That I could do, not something else. I could not go to the office because I did not go to school. At the age I had I could not go. "," I like the city, the people. They know me, I'm doing well, I have no complaint. "</i> She learned the language from work. His wife is working a tourist season in the lady and has stamps from there and in the winter he works in homes as a domestic assistant. Their judgment has affected them. <i>"I learned Greek at work. I know</i>	23/11/2018

	to read but not to write. "," The woman was working a bunch and learned the language. Now he works in homes. He was insured with IKA. Only by the season. "," It was a little better then. He had more work. He had more money. Now with the crisis, the job has fallen. " He secured his papers from OGA as he mentions. He has no contact with welfare, OAED has never received a bonus. It considers integration services to be mainly for young people. "I have never had a relationship with me. I had no stamps because I was working alone. I had security from OGA. My papers made it so. I worked on the olives and took the papers from there. I have never received a benefit because I was not unemployed. I did not have contact with the OAED, I did not have to go. "," Integration services are more for young people. I at such an age what do I do? "	
Interview 3	Married eight years, with one child and finished high school in Albania. Economic reasons of immigration and motivation to have a relative in Greece. "17 years old I left Albania, what to do there. In 2010 I came to Samos and I work as a maid and at home. "" I married and I left, my husband was staying here and I came here. He met me in Albania and took me without papers and then I made papers. Two years ago, I did. " Positive point of view for Greece (Samos) and work as a dishwasher, maid and cleaner. Help finding a job from friends because of difficulty communicating as she did not know the language which was the biggest difficulty she has ever encountered. "I did not like the first year. Now I do not want to leave. I like it here so quietly. I work, and better job to find I will like "," I went to the first year of 2011 in a hotel as a maid. I was working with a friend from Albania who knew the language and helped me and showed me the job. The hardest thing was that I did not know the language. I did not feel well and wanted to leave. " Her husband did not want his wife to work and so the only help she found for finding work was from her friends (Albanians). "When I came I was looking with my friend and asking in shops. My husband did not want me to find a job but I did not want to sit home. At first I went into the lady because I did not know the language. Then he put me in the hotel rooms to clean up and then he went to my wife's house to clean up. " She does not seem to have any special requirements from her job or expectations. "17 years old I did not expect I would not go to the dishwashing, what should I do? I have finished my high school, what else can I do? Waitress I do not like, I do not want to. I have nothing else to do. " She learned the language at school and collected the necessary documents on her residence permit (little help from girlfriends). "I went to school here for 3 years and that helped me take the papers. In the afternoon I went three times a week to learn Greek. My friends told me about the school. There were several immigrants. I went for 2 summers, about 2 semesters and I did Greek. I got paper from there. This paper I went to the Region along with the other papers I had taken in hospital, proofs, banks and more. I went there for my residence permit and in 3 months I got it. " The existence of a permit helped to find legal work with stamps and to generally improve the life of the interviewee. "I've been working without stamps for so long. From 2016 onwards I have stamps that I am legal, "From when I got permission I can find slavery wherever I want. I can go where I want. 4 years because I had no papers here. I liked it; I did not like it! Now I can go where I want. " Find work from familiar, friendly and informal networks like the neighborhood. Contact with OAED for unemployment benefit only and not for job search. "Now they know me here, they get me a phone call", "Now I learned about OAED for the Fund. I worked last year and this year with stamps and I think I will get a bonus.	27/11/2018

	<i>Something else I do not know about work. I have heard but have never been. I do not need that because they know me here and they get me. It's not a waste of time just that I do not have to go because they know me and I find so slavery. It's easier to find jobs through friends and acquaintances than the state. " General support from immigrant friends and networks, as well as that it has been achieved so far, is through its own efforts. "Until now I did not know about my rights because I was without papers. For the culture of the Greeks I learned it myself. I asked Albanian friends for the papers and I have many times gone to the Region alone ". No contact with organizations and NGOs. It did not face incidents of violence and racism. "I have not heard about organizations, NGOs, etc. I have not heard what he has, I do not know," "The boss was good. He did not shout, he did not hit me. "</i>	
Interview 4	He came to Athens in 1993-94 when he was 13-14 years old with his 5 brothers, but he left again in Albania. He has been living permanently in Greece since 2008. He has graduated from high school in Albania. He knows Greek. He is married and has 2 children going to school. <i>"The woman I met, in 2008-9 we got married and we did two children. In 2011 and 2014. Go to school ". At first in Kavala he worked in agricultural work and then in a factory and in construction. "I did not know the language, I only count to 10. I slowly began to learn. In the first slavery I went to a lady and picked up radishes. He gave 6 euros payday. "We started and put pavements. The payday was better than before. We were getting 18 euros. Then I went to build. " Support for finding work mainly from acquaintances and friends. "A compatriot was working for me in a company and saying he was asking for a worker". He has papers since 2009. "In 2009 we took out papers with the law of 2006". The coming of the economic crisis has hampered its financial situation. He even thought of re-immigrating to Germany this time. "I was working on a contractor. Very good human. The crisis pushed him and stepped me together. I was unemployed. ", " Then very lonely. We made it hard. We were thinking of leaving but where to go? They told me twice to go to Germany but I did not go because the kids were going to school here. I found a few jobs here. " Indeed, he owes him money from 2012-13 which has not yet gotten it. "My brother was working in a company and I too. We worked for 1.5 years, owed us money and stopped and we have not gotten yet. We made roads and owe us 2.500 euros from 2012-13 [...] I went to a job supervisor for the owed but it did not happen. "</i>	30/11/2018
Interview 5	A high school graduate in Albania, she knows Albanian, Greek and Italian and is married and having a child. She came to Greece in 2008 with her family. She faced difficulties during the migration process. <i>"In 2008 I came to Greece from the mountains (without papers) with my husband and my child. Together with another 13 people we came. We stumbled to die on the road. My husband had come here 17 years ago and he turned to get us, "" They told us lies. We were told that we would pay such a sum and you would not be making a long way (one hour) and they were lying to us. Instead of doing an hour's walk we did 7 hours in the woods with the child in the hands. We sat a couple of days in Athens and then Samos. " Finding a job (as a home assistant) through an informal network of neighborhoods and acquaintances. "When I first came I did not know a word. I did not know what you were doing either. I learned them very quickly within 5-6 months. At first I could not work because I had the child and it was small. I held a neighbor-a grandmother for a few months. My acquaintances - my neighbors found the job they knew me. I did not have a problem with slavery. At home, they were good, they were good people. I had to</i>	5/12/2018

	work because it did not come out. I worked there a year until the grandmother died "," Then with my acquaintances (Greeks) I found some work at home because I had my child with me where I was going [...] We were told neighbors, come home next door, take the child help me with something. 15-25 euro payday. I was then without papers. For three years I have papers. All this time I was working without stamps because I had no papers and people were afraid to keep me. " A good and friendly relationship with Greeks who support her and says she has not experienced racism itself, but she has heard some say on the street. "I made friends with Greeks very quickly because they loved the child. We had no subject, nor they with us [...] The ladies taught me to go next to a church with them and with the child. Together I taught them the tongue by talking [...] Wherever I go I believe I have loved me. With the grandmother's children I kept at the beginning, I'm still talking. I have heard people who sometimes say: look at the Albanian! And I do not like that. I have not made a point but I do not like it when I hear it on the street. In 2015 took leave began working a season as a hotel maid. She thinks they will take her time for a regular 8 hours and with stamps like now. "In 2015, the whole family took a 2-year leave and I renewed it for two years. Season as a maid I started working with the one I got the cards. We took the papers with a special law for humanitarian reasons, "" I think that time will be a season for me again because they appreciate my work since I am already 3 years there. I work there for 8 hours normal. " In the second work, it was done through efforts of the same and not through OAED. "By the time I got the cards I started going to the shops and asking. I did not go to OAED, or anything. I only went where I knew to ask for a job. " She has also never received unemployment benefit because she has not been interested in looking for it because he has no papers but also why she feels she is not enough and she prefers to look for another job in the winter. "I have never received a bonus. But I have heard that the state gives other Albanians because there are no jobs in the winter. I have not been interested until now because I did not have papers. I do not want to stay in the unemployment fund because I think I'm not getting the money and I do not want to work secretly. I try to work after the season, 3-4 hours because the money from the cashier is few and they do not arrive. So if I go first and after work, no one wants you, no one will get you. " Contact with organizations and NGOs so far has been with the Immigration Service. That she has accomplished is the product of her own effort and help of Greek and Albanian people known to her. "Only the Immigration Service for the permit. In the future I can go OAED. Until now I did not have a problem, I found work and I did not look for it. "," I do not know about organizations, clubs and NGOs. I have heard but I have not been going to ask. "," Thanks to what I have done I have succeeded. Albanians have helped me a bit, I have some friends, but mainly the Greek neighbors. "	
Interview 6	It comes from a family with 5 siblings. It was difficult in Pakistan. In Pakistan he worked in the fields. He came in paperless in Greece in 2011. "I was working in the fields, gathering vegetables, rice, flour and animals. It was good but difficult. Sometimes you have a profit but most damage. I came to the beginning for money. When I came I had no papers. " When he came in Greece, he stayed with a compatriot. He worked with furniture, aluminum and then as a gardener. Job was looking through his compatriots. "I found work from my acquaintances, Greece is fine. 2011 was expensive. I had a friend and I stayed with him. I first worked in furniture, aluminum and then in a	7/12/2018

	garden. "," I was looking for a paperless job. I was going to the pavements sent by my acquaintances and I was asking. " Support is mainly from friends and acquaintances (and the open school of migrants in Piraeus) and in no case from the state. He believes that if necessary he will also help him from the Pakistani Association. "I've known you here to help me. I went to the open school and learned from there to speak. The Pakistani Association can help me but I have not been here so far. We mainly help our friends and acquaintances. We do not go to the state. " During the interrogation with the outbreak of violence cases from the Golden Dawn, he had thought to leave. But now the situation has calmed down and the police have reduced controls. "Government control has now been relieved by police. Previously, things were difficult with the Golden Dawn and I wanted to go. When I saw this government I say things will calm down. "	
Interview 7	The reasons for immigration were mainly economic. "6 families, 40-50 people in a 7-room house in a village", "I was working 18 hours and I did not even get 5 euros," "in Pakistan, enough 20 euros a day to live." The motivation for migration in Greece was the existence of a relative and the best financial situation. "You better go to Europe, you have life, you will grow up and learn the language", "I came to Greece because my uncle was living ... he was sending 500-1000 euros per month for 5-6 people for a month in Pakistan". There have been several difficulties and dangers in the interviewer's progress that even threatened his life. "We walked and ran for 10 hours to enter Iran", "the army was throwing bullets on us and I was afraid ... we had fallen into a river with cold water. We dropped about half an hour, we were throwing bullets and 50 people were throwing stones, "" they caught me in Turkey and sent me to Iran and 5 times "," to come, I gave about 5,000 euros after we sold a field, "" they sent us to Constantinople and we sat for 24 hours in a container without telling us anything because we were hiding not seeing us "," then they brought us to a truck from Evros that we were for 16 hours ... I ate black chick peas that I had in my bag. " Nevertheless, he maintains a positive view of his choice to emigrate to Greece. "Well, I did, and I came down, they're killing each other. When I came here, I found work for a week in a tool shop. " The support that he had throughout this period was from relatives and friends (informal immigrant networks) regarding paper, housing and finding work. At the same time, as he claims, he had no contact with organizations and NGOs. "When I came to Greece in 2011, I went to my uncle in Kallithea. I went to the bondage of a friend and the boss asked if I wanted a job ... now I work as a gardener assistant with a friend who gives me 30 euros payday, "... I would stay in the squares and the streets if I did not know someone", "I do not have follow my rights, learn papers from anyone who has papers and have lived for many years here, "" I do not know about NGOs and organizations, no one told me. My uncle and my acquaintances told me where to go and helped me with the papers." The main difficulties faced by the state were the issue of papers (residence and work permits) as well as the fact that it did not accept any help from the state to find a job. "Difficulty from the state for papers. The most basic problem of all is paper and stamps, "" The state has not helped at all in what I have done "," I did not have contact with the state or the OAED for work. They did not give me and they still do not give me. "In closing, he proposes as an initiative by the state the creation of an office that will help immigrants to join them, by providing them with slavery, shelter and helping them with papers and learning the language.	11/12/2018

Interview 8	He came to Greece in 2013 to live better. He says there is a moral obligation for young people in Pakistan to emigrate to live their family and their parents living there: <i>"there is no insurance system in Pakistan, there are no allowances. Those who grow up expect their sons to emigrate to send remittances to them. It's hard to live there who cannot work. And whoever works produces very little money. It's not easy to live in Pakistan. "</i> In Greece, he came to after instigation of his family: <i>"Those who live in Pakistan see Europe as the land of freedom."</i> He came to Greece because he knew here. He stayed with relatives in the beginning, but he wanted to learn Greek quickly so that he could get better jobs. For four years he worked as a food distributor in catering outlets. Over the past two years he has worked as an interpreter for NGOs. However, all his work has been found through ethnic networks: <i>"I worked for years as a distributor with my motorbike. There was my compatriot who left for Germany and proposed me as a replacement. Now the refugee is asking for many interpreters to NGOs. One of my friends told me and I went. However, I do not know whether to keep this work forever. That's why I keep my job as a distributor without stamps. In the morning I am an interpreter and I continue to work as a distributor in the evening "</i>	12/12/2018
Interview 9	He came to Greece in 2010. Before emigrating here he was an immigrant to Italy. In Greece, he came because he had opened a Pakistani-known shop with ethnic products. But after two years of crisis, the shop closed it and left for Germany. Then he started working in a store that sold coal: <i>"The current job is tough. But I do not know the language well and only such jobs can do. There was also a time when I had no papers and I was hiding from being caught by the police. "</i> Since he came to Greece, he lives in an apartment with two other acquaintances. In Pakistan, he is married and has two children aged 5 and 7 years old. Also, his elderly parents live there and thinks his obligation to work in Europe to help them financially: <i>"It can be difficult for my life here, but five people must live by me in Pakistan. At some point I might try to bring my wife and children here. But I do not know when. "</i> He has not received any help from the state. What he has accomplished is with the support of relatives and friends.	14/12/2018
Interview 10	He came to Greece 22 years from Pakistan. At first he did very low-profile jobs. He was gliding at the traffic lights or selling outdoors things that his compatriots who had spent more years in Greece supplied him. In time he learned a few Greek and went to work with Greek employers through his acquaintances. In recent years he was working in the greenhouse of a florist. Money is not much (20 euros per day), but it does seem to have gained stability. Because of his young age, he has not yet married, so he has no increased obligations: <i>"From the money I make, I put 5 euros a day to send them to my homeland. With the rest I can live. Of course, they help my two brothers with whom we live together. "</i> He believes that if there was no crisis he would have done much better. But at this moment he is pleased to have a job better than washing glasses at the traffic lights: <i>"It's a tiring job and I do not make as much money as I want to go. But it is better that I have a job that I do not endanger every minute the police catch me. I believe there will be better opportunities in the future for work. "</i>	18/12/2018

Interview 11	He has completed secondary education in his country of origin although since he has been in Greece he has attended various courses and seminars. He speaks Dari, Farsi, Urdu, Pastu, English and Greek. He is single and he works as a cultural mediator and since 2016 he is part of the Project Solomon, an NGO which fights social exclusion. His journey started on 2007, he arrived in Greece but he left to United Kingdom where he stayed for a few months, when finally due to Dublin regulation he returned to Greece. In his first years he had some difficulties in finding a job but he strongly believes on personal effort. "2010 was very difficult for me because I did not knew the language, but depends on the perspective you have. I was in Zakynthos and working there for 18 months in a hotel but I came to Athens because I wanted to do something else...when I came to Athens I was unemployed for a while but I had some money saved in order to live during this period". He also quotes that refugees have no obstacles in working as mediators or working on their own but he mentions that is difficult for them to be occupied on their field of studies because their degrees are not recognized. Regarding integration services he quotes the lack of accommodation assistance which he believes that is of paramount importance" In order to be part of a society the first thing is the accommodation, to have a house. If you have a house and some economic benefits you can do something... " He also refers to the lack of integration programs such as language course. "There were some courses of Greek from the ministry. I did the Ellinomathia on the level of A2 and I gave exams on language culture and history and I pass. But imagine that I have to pay 50 euro in order to take the exams... I had to pay, but someone else may not and this stops his way. This certificate might help somebody a lot, but if he does not have the money it will stop him from doing it." He believes that things have changed for the refugees nowadays in the ground of economic benefits and thinks that if he had then this help he could have done different things "If I had accommodation or other economic benefit I would have now a university degree".» In his first steps on finding a job he had no help from integration services I was in Zakynthos, I was buying this newspaper that had job announcements.. I did not have even 80 cents to buy it.. a friend used to gave me. Then I was going to a friend from Pakistan who was older, in order to read me the announcements that I was suitable for and then through the internet I was contacting with the employees.. There might have been some integration services on helping find a job but I did not have any information". He also highlights the importance of language and believes that he did not have the adequate access from the state" If you do not know the language you do not know your rights, also there when I came there was lack of seminars for culture and history". Personal networks such as friends have helped him a lot in order to find a job" In the beginning I was trying by myself but afterwards they helped me a lot especially the Afghan community in Greece." He have faced some racist behaviors " In Zakynthos I did not know the language and I was young when I was working and I have heard some people saying that you came to our country and took our job, what are you doing here, sometimes they used bad words, or when I was visiting hospitals,.. yes I have heard a lot but I cannot say those things happen but I have felt uncomfortable, sometimes I was sorry that I was living and I would prefer to have died on the war, it was that bad for me.."	13/11/2018

Interview 12	He is 32 years old and he is from Syria. He has finished secondary education. He left his country due to economic difficulties. In Syria he did not work because he was going to school. His current job position is cultural mediator in a NGO. He speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Greek. His journey begins on 2008 when he arrived in Greece. In the beginning he was working as a waiter but without legal documents. He describes his life in Greece as good life" Life here is nice. I live normally I have friends and a job". When he came to Greece he find it difficult to find a job " In the beginning I was working with Syrians in cafes but I wanted to learn the language.. When I learned some Greek and had my documents I started to work with Greeks, thing that made me to enter the society". He has attended language courses not from the state but from an NGO called " Steki Metanaston" and the personal networks have helped him a lot during integration process" For Greek courses I was going to Steki Metanaston and I have found lot of jobs through friends and contacts but also through personal effort". He have never received services from OAED " Since 2008 until now I always had a job so I have never tried to go to OAED.. and for my documents I go by myself it is a bit difficult but I always find my way". He states that when he came the situation was quite difficult "Things were quite difficult when I came the situation was different, now refugees have everything covered, houses...expenses. When I came back then, I was on my own, if I do not have a job I would live on the streets. I remembered that for the first three years I was working just to cover my expenses..one day I was working on a gas station for 20 euro, the next day I was painting houses but afterwards through Syrians I found a job in bar". He also highlights the lack of legal help from the state regarding his documents and the bureaucracy that exist back then" To have your papers right it was quite difficult. I remembered going to Petrou Ralli (Allodapon) everyday to have the red card which I had to renew every six months. I have slept several times outside Allodapon in order to wait on the queue. I cannot forget those hard days. I was for a long time almost two years without papers".	5/11/2018
Interview 13	He is 24 years old from Syria and his is single. He has completed secondary education in his country and he does not have job experience since he left by the time he finished school. Now he works as a cultural mediator in a NGO. He speaks Arabic, Kirmanji and Greek. He left Syria on 2012 due to the war. He is very content from his life in Greece" I am very content with my life here. I feel safe and I am fine here". He faced a lot of difficulties when he came to Greece due to lack of documentation. "In the beginning when I arrive here in 2012 and for more than a year I did not have papers and I couldn't work. I did not attend school. I learn Greek from the street. ..When I got my papers I also applied for VAT and Social Security Number.. I have my uncle here who is in Greece since 1997 and he is owner of a grocery store. He helped me to open a café.. I worked there for a year and I learn Greek there. After one year the café closed and I was for 7 months unemployed." He did not have any assistance from the state or an NGO but he states that is necessary" Normally with the asylum I believe that I have the right to have some money 300 or 400 euro per month, from what I have heard and accommodation... The money are not necessary because I am working but the accommodation is quite useful... I have not received any assistance." Relatives played a major role in finding a job. He is aware of racist attitudes towards migrants and refugees "It	7/11/2018

	has happened to a friend, he went to Omonia to OAED in order to get his papers done because he was unemployed..and the employee was treating him in a bad way such as he was thinking that we are foreigners and we do not have rights".	
Interview 14	She is from Syria and she is 23 years old. She is married and she has a 2 year old son. She has finished secondary education but she stopped her studies due to the war. In her country she used to work as a merchandizer. She does not work right now. She speaks English and Greek in a basic level. She came to Greece at 2012. She states that life in Greece is better than life in her country although she believes that learning the language is essential for her integration." Regarding the situation in my country life here is better although I want to learn the language in order to be part of the society, and be occupied with merchandizing.." She has tried to find a job here but the lack of knowledge of Greek stops her from make it happen " I have tried but I did not find one, I have trouble with the issue of language". She states that Greek employers have wrong impression regarding the refugees and that is the reason that leads to not prefer them to a national" Here might be employers that have hired refugees but maybe some of them had bad behavior and that is the reason why employers have bad impression regarding the refugees.. they believe that refugees are thieves and bad people...but on the other hand they are other people that do not judge from that and want refugees." She does not know anything regarding OAED nor other service that helps with job counselling "I do not know OAED not any other organization for job counselling , the only thing I do is that I come in Melissa for language courses." She thinks that she needs more information" It should be more information some already know where they can ask questions and they get more help.. one girl for instance she went to ask for economic help and she made it.. I also know people that is getting 3 or more economic benefits.. the money are not allocated in those that they need them but in those that know how to get them". In the moment she has assistance regarding accommodation and economic benefit.	5/12/2018
Interview 15	He is 31 years old he comes from Afganistan. He has finished secondary education in his country. He could not find a job in his country and that was one among the reason of living. His current job position is cultural mediator in a NGO. He left his country 10 years ago because he also had issues with his religion. He finds his life here quite content but in the beginning he claims that it was hard. "I have been through a lot, I was alone, I did know the language but as the time was going by I found a job and now the situation is quite good... when I came I was working in a grill.." He has received the unemployment benefit from OAED for a year when he lost his job. He has attended Greek language courses at the University" My degree was recognized from DOATAP and then I apply for a Master degree.. I attended courses at the University.. for 2 years I was not paying anything but I did not learn a lot the next year I pay the course was extensive so I learn better and I got the degree." He has received assistance from a job market agent in order to help him with his resume" In 2012 I went to GCR and they helped me a lot with my resume afterwards they also hired me and I was working there". He has also attended courses regarding his current position" I have attended a course on how to translate held By Doctors without Borders". He does not	7/12/2018

	regret his decision to come to Greece as he states that he will never forget how well the Greek people treated him 'I did not have anything when I came to Greece and I cannot forget my past, Greeks helped me a lot and I will always remember that'. He believes that if he had an economic benefit when he came things could have been better "They should have give us a benefit. When I came I was living in a basement with 5-6 other people. Now it is much better with the accommodation and cash assistance. I did not have anything when I came".	
Interview 16	He is 42 years old and he comes from Afganistan, although he was raised in Iran. He is married and he came to Greece on 2008. In his country he was working as an engineer in a car factory. He has finished secondary education and currently he is working as a cultural mediator. He speaks farsi, Dari and Greek. When he came to Greece he opened two stores with clothes " I came in Greece with my own money and I opened those stores.. until2013 things were going well but then things with the economy went bad, I close the store and start working as a mediator." He found the job with help from a friend" A friend told me to send a cv and after that they hired me in Kos" In the beginning the situation was difficult" Yes I had some difficulties, I did not knew the language after one year a lawyer helped me with my papers after that I learn Greek and I opened the store." He states that he cannot work as mechanic as his qualifications are not recognized here." I brought my document from the University and they told me I had to give exams again if you want to be a mechanic again, I did not have the time to do it." Although he has attended a 3 month course at the University he states that he has learn Greek through friends and personal effort." I went for almost 3 months at the University..but the most of it I have learnt from my friends and the job I used to have".	7/12/2008

7 Italy

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7.1 Introduction

This report critically illustrates the policy barriers and enablers that contribute defining the effective capacity of the country to integrate migrants, refugees and asylum applicants into the national labour market. This will allow to identify and assess policy factors facilitating or hindering the access and integration of post-2014 migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (MRAs) into the labour market, by examining specific policy discourses and public policies in Italy, thus grasping the macro-level dimension of the subject qualitatively and intensively. First, the report investigates the discourses on MRAs that are produced by the central policy makers and actors in Italy, looking at their connection with labour market integration issues. Exploring those issues that are highest on the policy agendas and debates in relation to the labour market access and integration of post-2014 MRAs is important to understand how the frames and views of actors can act as barriers and enablers and how they affect and mediate current and planned policy responses. Next, the report provides a systematic assessment of policy measures, firstly by offering a brief and systematic overview of the currently existing policies and services that are intended to facilitate the labour market access for MRAs, focusing on immigration policies, education related policies, employment related policies and welfare related policies. We then perform a meta-analysis/literature review on the existing literature/research that has focused on assessing labour market integration policies in Italy. The overall purpose of the meta-analysis is to pick up those elements that have been identified by scholars to function as either barriers or enablers for MRAs labour market integration. Finally, we focus on the strengths and weaknesses of policies and services through semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and past beneficiaries (migrants and refugees) to find out how the policies and services intended to facilitate the labour market integration of MRAs that are used in Italy are actually working in practice. We then conclude by highlighting that Italy has proven to be a very complex case of migration management that shows along with policy enablers – for instance, the provision of training internships for MRAs and the Service of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees (the SPRAR system), which can be considered as a “best practice” by providing a wide range of services for both social and economic inclusion – several flaws, which turn into a slow and inadequately controlled process of integration of the MRAs. In the last few years, Italy has faced increasing difficulties in addressing MRAs needs and in enforcing their rights while accommodating natives’ fears. Recent legal innovations have even worsened this landscape, radically changing the original approach of the SPRAR system and weakening a system generally considered as a best practice for integration.

7.2 Methodology

Three different methodologies underpin the identification and assessment of policy factors facilitating or hindering the access and integration of post-2014 MRAs into the labour market: discourse analysis, meta-analysis and qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews with stakeholders and past beneficiaries of services. Through the combination of the findings deriving from discourse analysis, literature review and qualitative interviews we investigate and understand barriers and facilitators of integration in the Italian labour market. Each methodological approach is briefly discussed at the beginning of the corresponding section.

7.3 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a specific methodological approach to research contemporary culture and society, endeavouring to document the links between textual and oral communication and their relation to society and social change (Lupton, 2010). Discourse analysis encourages researchers to investigate policy making processes, analysing for instance how dialogue takes place, and how power relations produce dominant discourses and marginalise others (Hewitt, 2009). Migration discourse has a complex nature, being a linguistic, cultural, social and political phenomenon. It represents a wide class of diverse discourse types. The class of these types is essentially defined in terms of their reference, i.e. what they are about: the many aspects of migration as a social and political phenomenon (van Dijk, 2018). In the last years, many scholars analysed discourses about refugees and migrants in the media (print and online, see for instance Chouliaraki, Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017; Parker, 2015; Parker, Naper & Goodman, 2018). Nevertheless, few scholars have analysed policy discourses related to integration and at the best of our knowledge no publications have focused on discourses of different actors having a role in the field of integration of migrants into labour markets. Conversely, our discourse analysis aimed at including and comparing discourses of all the stakeholders which have a role in fostering inclusion and integration in the labour market of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Different types of discourses were included as presented below and in Annex I.

7.3.1 Identifying Relevant Work

We identified various actors as having a role in the labour market integration of migrants. These actors included ministries, a regional government, parties, official national institutions as implementers of policies, local offices of international organizations, NGOs, faith based organizations, labour unions and employer organizations (see Table 1, Table 2 and Annex I for further details). The search strategy aimed to identify all the relevant discourses supported by the abovementioned stakeholders in different documents (e.g. press release, policy documents, publications) from 2014 up to September 2018 (including also party manifestos and documents related to the 2013 general election). Combination of keywords related to migrants, refugees, asylum seekers (and synonyms), on one hand, and labour market, employment and employability, on the other, were used to download materials from a wide spectrum of websites. Searches were conducted in different websites and databases, as listed in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Searches

Stakeholders	Websites/Databases and Platform	Typology of Documents Downloaded
Executive Power	Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	Policy papers, Press Releases, Publications, Consultations
Regional Government	Tuscany Region	Publications
Political Parties	Manifesto-Project, Party websites (Five Star Movement, Northern League, Democratic Party, Forward Italy, Civic Choice)	Political parties and coalitions manifestos for the 2013 and 2018 general elections, for 2014 European Parliament Elections, party guidelines about immigration, press releases
Implementers of Policies	SPRAR (The Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), ANPAL (National Agency for Active Labour Policies)	Press Releases, Publications, Position papers
NGOs	OXFAM Italy, MEDU (Doctors for Human Rights), ASGI (Association for Legal Studies on Immigration), ISMU (the Foundation for Initiatives and Studies on Multi-Ethnicity)	Press Releases, Publications, Projects presentation, Guidelines for access to services
International Organisations	IOM-Italy, UNHCR-Italy, UNICEF-Italy	Press Releases, Publications, Briefing, Policy Briefs, Projects presentation
Faith Based Organisations	Italian Caritas	Publications, Action Plan
Trade Unions	CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labour), CISL (Italian Confederation of Trade Unions), UIL (Italian Union of Labour), FAI-CISL (Cisl Federation for the agricultural sector, biodiversity, food industry employees, food processing cooperatives and fishermen), FLAI-CGIL (CGIL Federation of Agricultural Workers), UILA (UIL Federation of Agri-Food Workers), FILCAMS-CGIL (CGIL Federation of Commerce, Tourism and Service Workers), FILLEA-CGIL (CGIL Federation of Building, Wood and Similar Workers), FENEAL-UIL (UIL Federation of Building, Wood and Similar Workers), FILCA-CISL (CISL Federation of Construction and Similar Workers), FISASCAT-CISL (CISL Federation of Assigned Services, Commerce, Similar and Tourism Unions)	Press Releases, Publications, Campaigns/Policy Briefs
Employers Organisation	CONFINDUSTRIA (General Confederation of Italian Industry), COLDIRETTI (National Confederation of Farmers), CONFAGRICOLTURA (General Confederation for Italian Agriculture), ACI (Alliance of Italian Cooperatives)	Press Releases, Publications, Presentations

All documents were downloaded and scrutinised by a researcher. Documents not related to integration into labour markets were excluded. Most of the documents were included in the analysis (for a total number of 152 documents, see Table 2). Annex I provides a full overview of the documents included. Almost all the selected stakeholders showed a wide range of discourses about integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into labour market. However, discourses of faith based organisations, regional government and implementers of policies rarely were focused upon the integration into labour markets, addressing more the emergency needs (for instance reception of asylum seekers, housing, etc.). Therefore, very few documents of these three stakeholders were included in the analysis.

Table 7.2. Documents

Actors	Number of Documents Downloaded	Number of Documents Included and Coded
Executive Power	22	19
Regional Government	7	4
Political Parties	20	11
Implementers of Policies	8	7
NGOs	29	28
International Organisations	16	13
Faith Based Organisations	9	8
Trade Unions	52	49
Employers Organisation	12	12
Total	175	152

7.3.2 Data Extraction and Data Analysis

All the 152 documents were scrutinised and coded by a researcher. Guidelines of the research (Delivery 3.1) helped to single out the research questions to be investigated through the qualitative analysis of the discourses. Frames of integration into labour market, barriers and facilitators of integration in the labour market (at macro, meso, micro level) and suggested remedies were coded.

The same researcher undertook a second round of coding, by clustering similar themes and finalising the data extraction and analysis.

7.3.3 Summarising the Evidence

In the wake of Fisher et al. (2006), we analysed data in order to conceptualise categories and take out the part of discourses backing the coding. We compared the discourses across documents and stakeholders in order to analyse the similarities and differences. Results, as investigated below, are presented based on integration frame (moral evaluation), barriers and eventually facilitators (definition of the problem), policy proposals (suggested remedies). Finally, in the conclusive part of the report we aimed at linking the results of this methodological approach with the literature review and the qualitative interviews.

7.3.4 Overview on the Framing of MRAs and Integration Issues in Policy Discourse

7.3.4.1 Framing the Integration of MRAs into Labour Market

Before exploring how stakeholders frame the integration of MRAs into the Italian labour market in their discourses it should be noted that the texts generally divide non-EU foreigners into four main categories: migrants, irregular migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. Migrants generally include both family based migrants and labour based migrants, with a clear prevalence of the latter. Within the sub-category of economic migrants, a special space is dedicated to seasonal workers, which occupy a fundamental role in the Italian agricultural sector. Asylum seekers and refugees are often lumped together in the discourses, which can largely be explained by the fact that the welcoming and integration of both group of migrants is a goal especially devolved to the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR), i.e. a system that was created by Law No 189/2002 and is made up of the network of local institutions that implement reception projects for forced migrants by accessing, within the available resources, the National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services, managed by the Ministry of the Interior and provided by the budget law. At local level, the local institutions, in cooperation with voluntary sector organisations, undertake 'integrated reception' interventions going beyond the simple distribution of food and housing, also providing complementary services such as legal and social guidance and support, and individual integration programmes to promote socioeconomic inclusion and integration. The SPRAR system is therefore the main implementer of integration policies and its discourses, as expected, focus almost exclusively on asylum seekers and refugees.

In addition, asylum seekers and refugees are discussed a lot also in the documents by other actors, which can largely be explained by the sudden rise in applications since 2014. In general, asylum seekers' first reception draws much more attention and is much widely discussed than long term labour market integration.

The discourse of the scrutinized documents adopts the typical typology that divides foreigners into three main groups: refugees and asylum seekers, economic migrants (with no difference between long and short term economic migrants- with the sole exception of seasonal workers) and undocumented ones. In party manifestos, especially in that of the Northern League

(League),⁶⁶ irregular migrants are framed negatively and the distinction with other type of migrants is blurred.

All actors understand integration in terms of finding a job and learning the language, therefore, even in the absence of any in depth explanation of what “integration” should mean in the different perspectives of the analysed documents, employment is unanimously perceived and prescribed as the main roadmap towards integration. However, a strong emphasis can be noted on the role that language and housing facilities are seen to have in integration. Learning the language and having a place where to live in decent conditions are perceived as pre-requisite to find a decent job avoiding exploitation and marginalisation. In the integration process, collaboration between public institutions, private companies and third sector organizations and unions is depicted as fundamental.

Three major frames can be conceptualised comparing the frames of integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into labour market. Obviously, they vary depending on the policy maker and actor championing them.

The first frame is based upon the conceptualisation that every foreigner, regardless of her/his characteristics (e.g. background, skills) should be welcomed and integrated in the Italian society. This frame emphasises the importance of solidarity and connectedness between host society and migrants, especially when refugees are single out. The concept of solidarity behind an open and integrated society was also emphasised by third sector organisations which deal with asylum seekers and refugees. According to this frame, foreigners and native people should be implicated in reciprocal exchanges, conceiving integration (mainly of asylum seekers and refugees) as a two-way process. Policy makers at Tuscan Government level alongside third sector organisations, policy implementers and trade unions are the stakeholders which bring up more emphatically this political frame which presents a more tolerant and sympathetic narrative.

According to the second frame, conversely, MRAs should be distinguished between those deserving to be welcomed in Italy and those that should not, as they are not perceived as positively contributing to the Italian society. In particular, undocumented migrants and “bogus refugees” fall in the second category because they are perceived as people who take advantage of the system. According to this frame, too many migrants represent a burden upon the welfare system. Right-wing political parties often aligned discourses about integration of migrants into labour markets to the negative effect of migration and the importance of controlling the numbers (and the characteristics) of people arriving in Italy. The League party before the election of 2018 argued the importance of putting Italian families and people first, through more controlled and enforced migration and welfare conditions. An emphasis on controlling the numbers of migrants is put also by policy makers at Italian Government level, in particular by Ministry of the Interior. This happened especially after the 2018 election, which led to the formation of the current government made up of Five Star Movement (M5S)⁶⁷ and League members (with Matteo Salvini, leader of the League, becoming Ministry of the Interior).

⁶⁶ As we explain in the following lines, the League, among the main Italian parties, is the most fiercely anti-immigration and is in government since the general elections of 2018, when the League became the third most voted party and the first in the centre-right block.

⁶⁷ The M5S is a web-populist party (Corbetta and Gualmini, 2013), which resulted as the most voted Italian party in the 2018 general election.

The last frame defines integration of MRAs (especially labour market integration) as an opportunity for Italy, with a positive and opportunistic connotation: immigration counterbalances depopulation or ageing population, fills vacancies and improves economic growth. In particular, the labour market integration of MRAs strengthens the Italian economy in various ways: it provides new labour force and new skills. Two direct advantages stem from MRA inclusion in the labour market: they can boost the growth of Italian enterprises and their competitiveness (Trade Unions and Employers Organizations) and they counterbalance the ageing of the population (Employers Organizations and Ministries). Employers' organizations and Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (especially until the 2018 general elections) are the main stakeholders which bring up this political frame. According to an annual report of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies *"in the last few years, the centrality of the foreign component in the labour market has emerged strongly, not only because of the importance that foreign workers have had and continue to have in the performance of specific tasks, but also by virtue of the compensatory effect they have determined: albeit with slight increases, in the economic crisis cycle, up until 2015 the EU and non-EU labour force offset the contraction of employment that was affecting the Italian component"* (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, 8th summary report about foreigners in the Italian labour market, 2018).

7.3.4.2 Framing of Barriers and Facilitators of Labour Market Integration

Analysing the discourses in relation of barriers and enablers of labour market integration, mainly policy implementers, policy makers at both national and regional level (namely, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies and Regional Government of Tuscany), third sector organisations and trade unions, explore in their discourses what are the challenges and the success of integration into labour market. Documents of these actors widely describe barriers, while framing facilitators more as possible solutions, instead of as actual enablers. Indeed, among facilitators of labour market integration for all main categories of non-EU foreigners (migrants, irregular migrants, asylum seekers, refugees), policy proposals rank first, overcoming existing domestic policies. In general, however, most actors cite institutional-civil society support, skills recognition and acquisition, language learning and training internships as the most important enablers. As regards economic migrants, the structure of the Italian labour market (characterized by the need of low skilled workers in specific sectors such as agriculture and construction and by the need of caregivers in personal services sectors that traditionally have asymmetric trends with respect to the economic cycle) is also cited as an important factor facilitating their entry into the labour market. Nevertheless, at the same time, professional segmentation along ethnic grounds is a barrier for social mobility and career development.

Among political actors, parties rarely discuss the facilitators and the barriers of labour market integration (this topic is practically absent in party manifestos for the 2013 general election). In particular, centre-right parties focus on security issues, borders control and expulsions of irregular migrants. This characterizes especially the discourse of the League, whose focus is on welfare chauvinism, Islamic immigration control, tightening of asylum policies, fight against irregular immigration and against NGOs involved in rescuing operations in the Mediterranean Sea. In its electoral manifesto for the 2018 general election, the League clearly states that "the current immense and uncontrolled immigration flows destabilize our country from a social point of view and offer opportunities for terrorist infiltration and extremist propaganda" (League's

manifesto, 2018). Consequently, as they say in the party's guidelines on immigration "there is only one type of immigration that is useful for the growth and development of Italy, and this immigration is identified by the needs of the labour market of our country" (League's guidelines on immigration, 2018). In the 2018 electoral manifesto of the M5S there is little attention to the issue of integration in the labour market, too. The focus, conversely, is on the fight against the business of immigration traffic and smugglers, review of European policies for greater solidarity with Italy, legal entry channels.

The frame is different as regards the Democratic Party (PD), the dominant party of the centre-left in government from 2013 until 2018. PD's electoral manifesto for the 2014 European Parliament elections advocated for "diversity as a resource: a Europe based on integration and solidarity" (PD's manifesto, 2014). Furthermore, in the party's manifesto of the 2018 general election, immigration is seen as a European issue that should be managed at the European level through common policies for economic immigration, starting with the introduction of annual European quotas of economic migrants. The party also proposed to overcome the approach of the current Italian law on immigration (the so-called Bossi-Fini law, n. 189 of 2002), considered as a barrier for regular immigration for work reasons. According to PD manifesto, within the limits of the country's capacity to effectively integrating newcomers, guaranteeing the rights of those who flee from wars and famines as well as the rights of the host society should be a priority.

While political parties do not analyse in their documents barriers or enablers in relation to employability, the Italian Government (especially the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies) mainly highlights the lack of knowledge of the Italian language, social factors (poverty, social exclusion, labour exploitation), lack of coordination between institutions and services, economic crisis, gender gap in terms of activity and employment rate, lack of skills recognition/educational mismatch, lack of institutional support (e.g. low access to the system of public job centres for vocational training), socio-cultural dynamics (e.g. religious and cultural background of certain ethnic groups which inhibits women participation to the labour market, discriminatory behaviour of employers that favours black economy) as the main barriers of integration.

On the contrary, barriers at policy level are rarely considered in the selected discourses. As regards the framing, as previously mentioned, utilitarian considerations are key. The Ministry of Labour and Social Policies in some documents advocates that more selective planning of entry flows should be put in place for work purposes and specific actions should be taken to encourage the participation of unemployed foreign workers in active labour policy programs, thus encouraging their reintegration into the labour market. Furthermore, the proposed model is based on a strategic investment in favour of processes of empowerment and autonomy in the context of work and life, in order to contribute to an effective inclusion process strengthening the social capital of both the individual and the context in which he/she lives.

Discourses about the framing of barriers are reported below based upon the distinction between migrants, irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (see Table 3 and 4).

Documents enlighten and discuss several labour market barriers, namely: lack of language skills, lack of recognition of qualifications, lack of institutional support, gender and cultural differences, lack of accommodation, social factors (e.g. *caporalato*, exploitation, black economy), lack of networks and social contacts, inefficiency of administration and bureaucracy, structure of the labour market, economic crisis, existing policies (e.g.

immigration law). According to the discourse, these barriers affect all groups of migrants: refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants (regular and irregular). However, some specificities emerge: for refugees and asylum seekers, other significant barriers are their personal-psychological conditions (e.g. physical and psychological trauma experienced in their country of origin or during the migration journey), lack of information (e.g. about the possibility to work), lack of contact with local employers, differences in the quality of integration services depending on the type of reception centre.

In general, it is worth noting that the discourse regarding labour market integration focuses insistently on a need for more efficiency and coordination between different actors involved in the integration process. The leitmotiv of Italian ineffectiveness in migration governance reflects the general perception of a certain ineffectiveness in the overall “machinery” of public administration, whereas most of the actors stress the importance of accelerating the whole “integration machine”: the asylum application procedures, the language learning process, the process of improving migration management and infrastructure, and education paths.

The lack of skills and qualifications’ recognition is another central topic in the discourse, which addresses and frames it in different ways. On one hand, discourses perceive the lack of certain skills as a barrier for labour market integration. On the other hand, discourses stress that migrants’ skills can benefit Italian enterprises. In this regard, qualifications that migrants have acquired in their country of origin are an important feature of migrants’ skills. These qualifications are considered as an important resource and it is emphasised that educated migrants may significantly contribute to the Italian labour markets. Conversely, the lack of recognition of qualifications acquired abroad is diagnosed as a barrier to labour market integration. In particular, the process in which the information about migrants’ skills and qualifications is collected, is considered as too complex and difficult.

The importance of learning the Italian language is one of the main issues continuously brought up in the discourse related to migrants’ skills. All of the actors diagnose a lack of language skills as a severe barrier: possessing basic language skills should be a prerequisite for labour market integration. However, various documents stress that most migrants arrived in Italy in the last years are low educated, with a large share of illiterate people. For these people learning a foreign language is a very difficult task. Trade Unions frequently brings up a concern for those migrants that do not speak the language or know their rights properly. This is related to racism, discrimination, exploitation by caporals and criminal gangs and mafia which are widely condemned in the discourse.

The discourse identifies the lack of networks as another severe barrier to labour market integration. This argument is very relevant for the Italian context, where job placement is achieved mainly through personal contacts and networks. This aspect, as it will be discussed further down in the report (see section 6.2.4) is even more true in Southern regions, where obtaining a job is highly conditioned by social relations and “social capital”. Networks offer migrants the necessary opportunities and information to successfully integrate into Italian society. Nevertheless, most migrants lack close ties with native Italians. This is generally framed as an issue especially as regards asylum seekers, since it may lead to frictions between different groups in society.

Finally, gender differences are identified as a barrier to labour market integration, especially as regards migrants. Indeed, many documents highlight the low employment rate of migrant women, especially in some ethnic communities, also due to the lack of familiar networks of support and public services; cultural barriers such as religious and cultural background of

certain ethnic groups which inhibits women participation to the labour market; concentration of women in specific sectors (services, trade and repairs).

Two considerations can be drawn.

First, in terms of barriers, the unspecified category of “migrants” is the mostly named by the highest number of actors, with a prevalence of regular migrants compared to irregular migrants (see Table 3 and 4). Indeed, all actors cite at least one type of barriers related to migrants’ integration in the labour market. Policy implementers represents the only exception, but it is not surprising given that in our sample the huge majority of documents comes from the SPRAR system, which deals only with asylum seekers and refugees. Conversely, parties, regional government, and faith based organizations do not explore barriers related to refugees and asylum seekers.

Second, comparing the discourses about barriers of integration of migrants (both regular and irregular), refugees and asylum seekers, it emerges that some actors cite several types of barriers, regardless of the migrant category. This holds true for the Executive, NGOs, local offices of international organisations. Conversely, unions focus much more on migrants than on refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, within unions, labour unions refer to barriers more often than employers’ organizations. The latter focus on a lower number of barriers affecting only regular migrants (economic transformations-crises, low education, social factors, socio-cultural dynamics, lack of labour inspections and employer sanctions, lack of skills recognition, language). This implies that neither institutional and policy obstacles nor barriers regarding irregular migrants are at the centre of employers organizations discourses. Conversely, labour unions focus also on irregular migrants and take into account barriers at policy level, in line with a more contentious approach. As anticipated, less attention is devoted by unions at barriers regarding asylum seekers and especially refugees. As regards the latter, social factors are the only barrier that both labour unions and employers’ organizations deal with.

Table 7.3. Barriers of Integration of Migrants in the Italian Labour Market

Barriers/Actors		Political Actors			Policy Implementers	Third Sector			Unions	
		Executive Power	Regional Government	Parties		NGOs	Local Offices - International Organisations	Faith-Based Organisation	Labour Unions	Employers Organisations
MIGRANTS	Administration-bureaucracy	X							X	
	Domestic policies			X		X		X	X	
	EU policies					X			X	
	Economic transformations-crises	X	X	X		X		X	X	X
	Gender differences	X	X			X	X	X	X	
	Lack of accommodation	X							X	
	Lack of coordination between institutions and services	X							X	
	Lack of information					X			X	
	Lack of institutional support	X				X	X		X	
	Lack of labour inspections and employer sanctions								X	X
	Lack of skills recognition	X	X				X	X	X	X

	Lack of social contacts		x			x				
	Language	x	x			x	x		x	x
	Low education					x				x
	Social factors	x	x			x	x	x	x	x
	Socio-cultural dynamics	x	x						x	x
	Structure of labour market	x				x	x			
IRREGULAR MIGRANTS	Existing policies			x	x	x	x		x	
	Gender differences									
	Lack of accommodation								x	
	Lack of institutional support						x			
	Language						x			
	Social factors			x	x	x	x		x	
	Structure of labour market						x			

Table 7.4. Barriers of Integration of Refugees and Asylum Seekers into Italian labour market

Barriers/Actors		Political Actors			Policy Implementers	Third Sector			Unions	
		Executive Power	Regional Government	Parties		NGOs	Local Offices - International Organisations	Faith-Based Organisation	Labour Unions	Employers Organisations
ASYLUM SEEKERS	Administration-bureaucracy	X								
	Domestic policies					X	X		X	
	EU policies						X			
	Economic transformations-crisis	X			X					
	Gender differences						X			
	Lack of contacts with local employers						X			
	Lack of coordination between institutions and services				X		X			
	Lack of information about the possibility to work					X	X			
	Lack of institutional support				X	X	X			X
	Lack of registered accommodation	X				X				

	Lack of skills recognition						X			X
	Lack of social contacts	X								
	Language	X				X	X			X
	Low education						X			
	Personal-psychological conditions	X			X		X			
	Social factors	X				X			X	
	Socio-cultural dynamics				X					
	Structure of labour market	X				X	X			
REFUGEES	Administration-bureaucracy	X								
	Domestic policies					X	X			
	Economic transformations-crisis	X			X					
	Gender differences						X			
	Lack of contacts with local employers						X			
	Lack of coordination between different institutions and services	X			X					
	Lack of information-knowledge (e.g. about the	X					X			

	possibility to work, about rules, laws, rights, etc.)									
	Lack of institutional support				x	x	x			
	Lack of registered accommodation	x								
	Lack of skills recognition	x					x			
	Lack of social contacts	x					x			
	Language	x					x			
	Personal- psychological conditions	x			x		x			
	Quality differences in services supply between different kind of reception centres						x			
	Social factors	x				x			x	x
	Socio-cultural dynamics				x					
	Structure of labour market	x				x	x			

7.3.4.3 The Suggested Remedies to Overcome the Barriers and Enabling Facilitators

All the actors, in their discourses, suggest possible solutions to promote the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into labour market. The sole exception are political parties, with the internal counter-trend of PD. As far as migrants are concerned, remedies are suggested by labour unions, employers' organizations, faith based organizations (i.e. Caritas), NGOs, local offices of international organizations, the Executive (namely, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies), one political party (PD) and the regional government of Tuscany. An even higher number of actors propose policy solutions to foster integration of refugees and asylum seekers, involving also policy implementers (as expected, the SPRAR system). It is worth noticing that Ministry of Interior is the main executive power actor involved in policy suggestions when the targets are refugees and asylum seekers. Conversely, a lower number of actors suggest remedies at policy level in favour of the integration of irregular migrants, namely labour unions and NGOs (but also policy implementers such as the SPRAR system, even though to a lesser extent).

First, the remedies and solutions proposed by the Executive are generally in line with the "utilitarian" frame, similarly to employers' organizations. Indeed, the Government on one hand mainly shows a restrictive approach toward immigration, limiting economic migration and strengthening controls of undocumented migrants, and on the other hand, aims at satisfying structural labour needs, therefore guaranteeing acceptable levels of employment in certain sectors. In this regard, it is important to stress that the Government has also suggested to develop policies and strategies aimed at full employment integration of foreigners and exploitation of the potentials related to this inclusion.

Second, concerning anti-exploitation and anti-discrimination policies, trade unions and NGOs provided a list of pragmatic solutions to be promoted by the Government or by businesses. In particular, some NGOs stressed the importance of reviewing national legislation in order to fully implement the European directives, revising the criteria according to which residence permits are granted to victims of "particularly exploitative conditions", and explicitly providing for more effective administrative sanctions as well as procedures and mechanisms that guarantee the possibility for irregular migrant workers to file complaints. While the Italian Government reacted with practical policies proposals concerning anti-exploitation policies (the so-called anti-*caporalato* law of 2016, n. 199), confused discourses concerning anti-discrimination policies were instead promoted. The anti-*caporalato* law puts the burden of pursuing non-exploitation on employers. NGOs also suggested solutions for the integration of irregular migrants, such as: the introduction of regularization forms for the "irregular" foreigner who can stipulate a work contract; the abolition of the crime of illegal immigration referred to in art. 10bis of the immigration law; and incentives for the regularization of domestic work by providing full tax deductibility of costs. In general, both third sectors actors and trade unions recognize that the anti-*caporalato* law, albeit some flaws concerning especially its implementation, has been an important novelty to fight against labour exploitation in the agricultural sector, to contrast the traffic of human being and to open legal pathways to labour market for both regular and irregular migrant labourers.

Third, most of stakeholders agreed upon the importance of developing tailor need services which could tackle the different needs of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Moreover,

the standardization of procedures for the recognition and valorisation of previous qualifications and skills was supported, as well as the suggestion of standardizing alternative assessment methods in case of unavailability of official documents, also providing professional and educational retraining opportunities. More effective housing policies are also generally considered fundamental to support inclusion into society and labour market of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The improvement of existing services (such as job centres but also language courses) is strongly supported, as well as the identification of new advice service. As regards language skills, there is a general consensus that language learning should be improved even further. In this regard, stakeholders suggest that language training should be more flexible and available, language learning opportunities for employed MRAs should be improved and more advanced courses should be provided. Possessing basic language skills should be a prerequisite for labour market integration. Moreover, given that many recent migrants are illiterate, it is suggested to provide literacy courses in addition to language courses. Specific suggestions about improvement of language skills are provided for asylum seekers and refugees in the reception centres. For instance, it is suggested to make the attendance of language courses held in the centres obligatory since the first reception (taking all the necessary measures to improve and simplify the participation), and to encourage participation to language courses offered at adult training centres or through third sector organizations. Overcoming the dichotomy between first reception (based on centres for extraordinary reception) and second reception (based on the SPRAR system)⁶⁸ and adopting common and high standards, which combine reception (even for short/medium term) and integration measures, are the general suggestions concerning the integration of refugees and asylum seekers.

Finally, in order to overcome the lack of networks, stakeholders suggest to increase opportunities to liaise with other migrants and native Italians. NGOs, faith based organisations such as Caritas and trade unions especially are perceived to have a fundamental role in this.

7.3.5 Discourse Analysis Conclusion

Contemporary Italian discourses identify a number of actors (who are often named in the analysed documents) that play a significant role in labour market integration of MRAs: civil servants and national institutions; regions and municipalities; fellow citizens; civil society organizations and NGOs; enterprises, employers and trade unions. Curiously, migrants do not emerge as protagonists of their own integration process, and when they are named, in the documents of the League and of the other minor far-right parties, it is to stress that migrants

⁶⁸ Legislative Decree 142/2015 establishes that asylum seekers are channelled in the Italian system of reception, which is organized in two different tiers. Operations of identification, registration of the asylum application and assessment of the health conditions are conducted in governmental first-line reception facilities, the so-called “regional hubs”, meant to progressively substitute the already existent centres of reception (the so-called CDA and CARA) (art. 9). When these operations are concluded, asylum seekers who do not have sufficient financial resources (art. 14(3)) should be transferred to second line reception centres which are managed by local municipalities within the national system of protection for refugees and asylum seekers (the so-called SPRAR network), with the financial support of the National fund for asylum (art. 14(1)). If in both first line governmental facilities and second line SPRAR facilities there are no places available, the asylum seeker should be temporarily accommodated in Centres of extraordinary reception (CAS) activated by the Prefectures. For more details, see Sirius WP2 report and section 4.2 in this report.

have a responsibility, a sort of duty, to integrate in the hosting society. In the discourse of the other actors this is stressed mainly by emphasising the role that migrants' motivation and proactive attitudes have in the integration process. Some actors such as NGOs and the Executive state that the integration process is not just driven by institutions but rather two-way process, in which both third country nationals and host communities should be involved in multilateral exchanges. None of the analysed actors explicitly says that integration is not their responsibility.

All the actors stress the importance of collaboration between various actors in order to foster effective integration paths. At the same time, the lack of collaboration and coordination between different actors is identified as the main problem for the integration process. The discourses stress that even though collaboration does occur, often it is not well coordinated. According to many actors (especially in documents of NGOs and civil society organizations, but also in publications by civil servants of the Ministry of Labour), the lack of coordination is due to the fragmentation of the institutional framework concerning labour market integration policies in Italy: national institutions (especially the Ministry of Labour) have a role of mere programs' coordination, while regional governments have the competence on integration policies and services. This leads to a very differentiated and fragmented institutional framework. Therefore, all the actors stress the importance of further collaboration between actors as a remedy for this problem. Nevertheless, no coherent practical solutions are proposed.

Women integration into the labour market has not been very successful, despite the high employment rate of under 34, especially in some sectors. Indeed, many documents highlight the low employment rate of migrant women, especially in some ethnic communities, also due to the lack of familiar networks of support and public services; cultural barriers such as religious and cultural background of certain ethnic groups which inhibits women participation to the labour market; concentration of women in specific sectors (services, trade and repairs). Nonetheless, the discourse does not go beyond this descriptive diagnosis, with little, or very trivial, discussion on how to improve the situation.

Young people' integration is less often taken into consideration in the analysed discourses. There is not a clear focus on this, although the integration of unaccompanied migrant children is indicated as a crucial point in the integration process by the SPRAR policy documents. In this discourse, integration should be pursued through education, which should be extended much further the age limits of compulsory education for this category of migrants.

Finally, the policy discourse very rarely shows migrants' own voices. Some quotes on what migrants had said or thought about the issues at the centre of the discussion appear in a few texts. Usually, this happens by reporting results of interviews to migrants. The latter, however, mainly play an auxiliary role, by clarifying the main information provided in the text, for instance to stress the problem of low wages for migrant workers. As a result of the absence of the migrants' own voice, integration is mainly perceived as a top-down process. For integration purposes, the role played by migrants' agency is mentioned, but it is not developed and emphasised.

EU directives and regulations are often discussed in the analysed documents, such as the Blue card regulations or the Dublin regulation. However, the role of EU concerning labour market integration of MRAs is not problematized or discussed more in depth. In this regard, the EU's role is considered as important, but it is framed as rather bureaucratic. However,

some actors such as NGOs stress the positive role exercised by EU directives compared to the flaws of Italian legislation. Hence, EU is perceived by these actors as a positive external constrain that obliges national legislator to update laws and develop effective policies. A similar role, according to these NGOs, is exercised by the case-law of the Constitutional Court and by international conventions ratified by Italy.

Regarding the current situation and future visions of migration and labour market integration, most of discourses are about the increase in the arrival of asylum applicants since 2014. Some actors, especially parties such as the League, describe immigration as “out-of-control”. Furthermore, there is a general consensus that the sudden growth of asylum applicants has long-lasting consequences and will have a significant impact on migration management for the next years in Italy. The need for more migrants is often justified according to a utilitarian frame linked to demography: immigration may counterbalance the effects of aging population in Italy and the dependency ratio. Throughout the texts it is commonly assumed that migration will likely further increase in the future and therefore the pressure on the Italian migration system will increase even further. In this regard, there is a common awareness of the importance of strengthening existing procedures and infrastructures. The discourse also mentions that Italy has to attract more highly skilled migrants in the next years. To conclude, long term labour market integration of migrants is much less discussed than protection and reception of asylum seekers.

7.4 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAs

7.4.1 Introduction

In Italy, migration and labour market integration policies continue to be disorganized and characterized by a structural lack of financial resources. They are the result of multiple measures and actions, which have jeopardized effectiveness and internal consistency.

On the one hand, the primary and secondary legislation – also under the EU impetus – change continuously, not necessarily through coherently and easily accessible legal innovations.

On the other hand, national policies concerning the migration and reception management necessary intersect the sub-national measures in the field of public assistance, education, health care and housing, as well as the third sector interventions in relevant sectors (intercultural education, social education, etc.). In this framework, the Italian migration and labour market integration policies are still characterized by a difficult coordination among these multiple (private and public) actors and levels of government. In 2015, to strength the governance of migration and integration policies, it was created the National Coordination Board, an interinstitutional network involving, under the coordination of the Ministry of Interior, the main organizations promoting the right of asylum. This newly created institution is competent to define the guidelines and program for the improvement of the reception system, but its plans are still far from being implemented.

The general elections of 2018 have marked a crucial turning point in the policy domain of immigration. The most recent policies implemented are dedicated to guaranteeing public security, reducing new arrivals and combating irregular immigration, rather than to integration in the labour market. An example of this approach is the recent decree-law no. 113/2018,

which – providing inter alia the abolition of humanitarian protection – deprived many immigrants of important services and reception measures.

7.4.2 Immigration Policies

After the economic crisis, the Italian authorities decided to radically reduce the entry quota for foreign workers. The opportunities to regularly enter in the Italian territory have been substantially limited to high-qualified workers, rich entrepreneurs and seasonal workers in the field of agriculture and tourism.

Moreover, in the last 12 years the Government has systematically violated art. 3 of the Italian Consolidated Law on Immigration (D.Lgs. 286/1998), not issuing the triannual programmatic document on the national policy on immigration⁶⁹.

In 2015, at the peak of the European migration crisis, the European Commission presented the so-called ‘hotspot approach’ as part of the European Agenda on Migration (COM(2015) 286 final. 2015/125 (NLE)). The hotspots are facilities for initial reception, identification, registration and fingerprinting of migrants arriving in the EU by sea. The approach aims at providing assistance to countries with high migratory pressure and at coordinating the activities of EU institutions (European Asylum Support Office (EASO), Frontex, Europol, and Eurojust) and national authorities at the external borders of the EU. Besides Italy, currently only Greece is hosting hotspots.

In implementing the European Agenda on Migration, in September 2015 the Ministry of the Interior has drafted a document titled ‘Italian Roadmap’, that includes the measures aimed at improving “the capacity, quality and efficiency of the Italian asylum system in the areas of first reception and repatriation” (Ministry of the Interior 2015: 2).

As defined in the document, a hotspot is a “designated area, usually (but not necessarily) in the proximity of a landing place where, as soon as possible and consistent with the Italian regulatory framework, new arrivals land safely and are subjected to medical screenings, receive a leaflet on legislation concerning immigration and asylum, they are controlled, pre-identified, and, after having being informed about their current condition as irregular immigrants and the possibility to apply for international protection, they are fingerprinted. Subsequently, they receive detailed information on the procedure of international protection, the relocation programme and the assisted voluntary return” (Ministry of the Interior, n.d.: 4). The document also lists the basic staffing required for each hotspot: medical staff; Frontex team to provide support for pre-identification and screening activities; EASO experts to provide information on the relocation programme; Frontex expert for the verification of documents; forensic experts for the acquisition of fingerprints

In addition to hotspots, the first line reception includes also CPSA (Centers of First Aid and Reception), CDA (Reception Centers), CARA (Reception Centers for Asylum Seekers), CAS (Centers for extraordinary Reception), which, however, lack of specific paths of integration. While the hotspot and the first line reception ensure only the basic level of reception services, within the second level reception system, the SPRAR centers (Service of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees) offer an integrated accommodation, providing a wider

⁶⁹ For more details, see WP2 report, available at : <https://www.sirius-project.eu/publications/wp-reports-results>

range of services: teaching of the Italian language, cultural mediation, legal counseling, health assistance, psychological support.

The Italian Roadmap 2015 defined the SPRAR system as a “best practice”. However, after the election of 2018, the new Government has radically changed its approach about the immigration and integration policies. In particular, according to the decree-law no. 113/2018, the SPRAR are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection.

The decree-law no. 113/2018

After the election of 2018, the new Government adopted the decree-law no. 113/2018 on immigration and public security, which amended the provisions of the Consolidated Act on Immigration (Legislative Decree no. 286/1998).

First of all, the decree severely reduced the cases for granting the humanitarian protection (previously granted to those who could neither obtain the refugee status nor subsidiary protection but could not be repatriated).

Moreover, according to the new provisions, the irregular migrants could be detained at Repatriation Centres (Centri di permanenza per il rimpatrio, CPRS) for a maximum of 180 days (against the 90 days established by the Legislative Decree no. 286/1998). The decree also widens the range of criminal offenses which justify the revocation of international protection and refugee status.

Eventually, the decree on immigration and public security introduced some changes to citizenship law (increase of application fee, possibility to revoke citizenship acquired by marriage and naturalization for people convicted of terrorism-related offenses and offenses related to public security).

7.4.3 Education Related Policies

The Italian legislation gives foreign children present on Italian territory equal rights to **access to education system**. Indeed, Italian and foreign children until the age of 16 have the right, but also the duty, to take part in the national education system.

The importance of the **free compulsory language courses** for the integration in the labour market is stressed by National Plan for Integration adopted in 2017 by the National Coordination Board. In the same perspective, within the so called “Integration agreement”, the DPR 179/2011 has introduced free compulsory language courses for foreigners. In case of permit to stay of minimum one year, the foreigner has to sign an “integration agreement” with the State that commits the foreigner to reach, inter alia, an adequate knowledge of Italian language. However, the lack of financial resources for the implementation of this policy has been noted. Indeed, each year, the Italian authorities invest only 21 millions of Euro for the language and integration courses, against the 240 millions of Euro invested in Germany (Cerrina Feroni 2017: 38).

The National Plan for Integration has also stressed the importance of **recognition of professional qualifications**. Unfortunately, training and qualifications acquired in the country of origin are difficult to recognise in Italy, since complicated and long procedures are usually required. Furthermore, beneficiaries and applicants of international protection frequently do

not have certificates issued by their country of origin, hindering their integration in the labour market (Favilli 2015: 726 ff.).

Beneficiaries of international protection living in the SPRAR centres can take part into specific professional **training and internship programmes**, also realized by the local institutions involved in the SPRAR network. Further initiatives of professional orientation and training can be offered by the financial support of the National public funds (8xmille) and Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund. The Ministry of Interior can use these funds also to aid project run by NGO's. However, the project financed under this fund are very limited both in number of beneficiaries and period of activity. Eventually, special employment grants ("**borse lavoro**") can be financed by local institutions.

7.4.4 Employment Related Policies

Asylum seekers and refugees can freely register with **Public Employment Service** ("Centri per l'impiego"). The registration (which is not compulsory) allows the possibility to access all job-related Public Employment Service under the conditions established for Italian citizens. However, the registration does not ensure systematic mentorship scheme specifically aimed at integrating the migrant into the labour market.

Some municipalities and other sub-national authorities have a migrant desk, where migrants may receive support, inter alia, for their needs related to employment. Moreover, the Government manage a website which informs migrants about their employment opportunities in Italy.

In the last decade, the Italian policies have aimed to **contrast employment in the irregular market** through a strategy of strengthening of the administrative and criminal sanctions. In particular, a set of new several sanctions against the employer who employs irregularly foreign workers was established by the Legislative Decree no. 109/2012, which, inter alia, imposed to pay the irregular foreign worker the social contributions and the full wages and provided for lawful employment, for a minimum period of three months unless the employer or the employee proves otherwise. Above all, the Legislative Act no. 199/2016 introduced in the Criminal Code the new crime of illicit intermediation and exploitation of labour (art. 603 bis of the Criminal Code). This measure aims to contrast the so called phenomenon of "caporalato", that is a form of labour exploitation through illegal intermediation and illegal recruitment practices particularly rooted in the agri-food production chain.

Eventually, the Budget Law 2017 has established **tax incentives** for social cooperatives which will recruit beneficiaries of international protection with a permanent contract in 2018.

7.4.5 Welfare Related Policies

At National level, welfare benefits are ensured exclusively for long-term residents⁷⁰. More in details, the access to healthcare are guaranteed only with regard to urgent and essential health-care services, while the access to social housing are reserved to regularly resident

⁷⁰ In particular, the welfare rights of the foreigners are regulated by the Title V of the Consolidated Law on Immigration (D.Lgs. 286/1998), which contains, inter alia, provisions about the healthcare, education and social housing.

migrants who are temporarily unable to provide on their own for their living and subsistence needs.

Against this framework of measures at national level, some regional policies have tried to extend the housing and welfare rights. For example, the art. 16 of Legislative Act No. 6/2010 of the Region of Campania provided the access to social housing to all foreigners, regardless of their status. The art. 6 of Legislative Act No. 29/2009 of the Region of Tuscany extended to all foreigners the “urgent and non-delayable social welfare measures, which are necessary to ensure the respect of fundamental rights” (although without a specific definition of these measures).

The registration to Public Employment Service ensures to the asylum seekers and refugees the exemption from the co-sharing of health services cost (“the so called “ticket”). However, the exemption is limited to the period in which the migrants can not work.

Within the SPRAR system, the National Fund for Services and Asylum Policies (“Fondo nazionale per le politiche e i servizi dell’asilo”), coordinated by the Ministry of the Interior, finances specific projects destined to people with mental or physical disabilities. Moreover, the Ministry of Labour – through the Agency Italia Lavoro Spa – supports projects for the socio-occupational integration of vulnerable migrant groups (in particular pregnant women, children and elderly), fostering the creation of individualized pathways aimed at encouraging employment.

7.4.6 The Consistency between Actual Policy Responses and Policy Rhetoric

In the discourse analysis section, we have seen that policy rhetoric followed different frames, depending on the actor analysed. In order to discuss the consistency between actual policy responses and policy rhetoric, the focus necessarily is on governmental actors. From 2013 to 2018, three centre-left coalition Governments (headed by the Prime Ministers Enrico Letta, Matteo Renzi, Paolo Gentiloni from the PD) succeeded in power. Under the governments led by the PD, the political rhetoric of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies defined the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers as an opportunity for Italy, due to the possibility of addressing depopulation and ageing population, of filling vacancies and improving businesses and economic growth. A different voice, closer to the one of the present Government, was the one of the Ministry of the Interior, stressing the need for controlling numbers and entrances. Indeed, the restrictive approach of the immigration law n. 189 of 2002 (the so called Bossi-Fini law, approved by the centre-right government led by Silvio Berlusconi) was not modified and after the economic crisis of 2008-2009 the Italian authorities decided to radically reduce the entry quota for foreign workers, with the exception of high-qualified workers, rich entrepreneurs and seasonal workers in the field of agriculture and tourism, as already mentioned. As previously mentioned, an attempt to strengthen the governance of migration and integration policies, undermined by the presence of multiple actors at different levels of government and by the lack of financial resources, was represented the creation in 2015 of the National Coordination Board, but its plans are still far to be implemented.

Other measures were more in line with the pro-integration policy rhetoric of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies: as previously mentioned, some policies measures were introduced to contrast employment in the irregular market; the Budget Law 2017 established tax incentives for social cooperatives employing on a permanent basis beneficiaries of international protection, and programmes of training internships for MRAs were developed.

Moreover, the system of the SPRAR reception centres (Service of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees) was strengthened, providing a wide range of integration services: teaching of the Italian language, cultural mediation, legal counselling, health assistance, psychological support, vocational training. Finally, the socio-occupational integration of vulnerable migrant groups was supported by the Ministry of Labour, through the Agency Italia Lavoro Spa.

The 2018 general elections radically changed the political landscape of the country: a new government between the populists Five Star Movement and Northern League came into power (with Matteo Salvini, leader of the League, becoming Ministry of the Interior). This has changed the approach toward immigration, given the traditional anti-immigration stances of the Northern League. The most recent policies point at guaranteeing public security, reducing new arrivals and combating irregular immigration, rather than at guaranteeing integration in the labour market. The most evident example of this approach is the decree-law no. 113/2018, which – providing inter alia the abolition of humanitarian protection – deprived many immigrants of important services and reception measures. This political approach is based upon the idea that migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) should be distinguished between those (few) deserving to be welcomed in Italy and those (the large majority) that should be pushed back because they do not positively contribute to the Italian society. In particular, undocumented migrants and “bogus refugees” are portrayed as the undeserving and undesirable people that try to take advantage of the welfare system and increase criminality. According to this frame, in Italy there are too many migrants and their number has to be reduced. Consequently, the consistency between actual policy responses and dominant policy rhetoric of governmental actors has definitely increased, but this is not good news for the integration of MRAs into Italian society and labour market.

7.5 Overview of Existing Analyses and assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAs

The topic of the labour market integration of migrants in Italy has been explored in the literature from different thematic and methodological perspectives, which cover, in particular, the aspects concerning the education (Azzolini, 2011 and 2015; Borrione, P., Donato, Landini, and Valetti, 2006) and employment related policies (Dell’Aringa, Pagani 2010; Accorinti, 2017), the contrast to irregular/informal employment and labour exploitation (Sagnet, Palmisano 2015; D’Onghia, de Martino 2018; Chiaromonte 2018), the reception services (De Petris, 2017; Penasa 2017), the welfare rights of migrants (Gili, Dragone, Bonetti, 2013; De Maria, Lagravinese, 2015).

One of the main trends of this literature is to point out the discrepancy between the policy rhetoric and the reality of immigration, although the most recent Italian policies are conceived as to respond to the former instead than to face the latter (*ex multis*, Ambrosini, 2017). Moreover, the critical literature stresses the fragmentation of the Italian policies and the difficulty of coordination among the several actors involved in the governance of the migration and integration process (about this gap of governance, see, for example, Oxfam 2016).

The existing analyses and assessments of policies concerning the tools, paths and strategies of integration – including in and through the labour market – are developed especially in an academic context (for a recent collective and interdisciplinary research, see Cerrina Feroni,

Federico, 2018), in some cases also through handbook concerning the immigration law (see Di Muro, Di Muro 2018).

However, precious data and information are also contained in other kinds of research.

For example, a recent occasional report published by the Italian central bank – developed through an empirical analysis – highlighted the wider difficulties to integrate the asylum seekers and refugees in comparison with the economic migrants (see Banca d'Italia, 2017). More in general, the paper looks at the employment performance of immigrants in light of the policies and institutional context which foster or hinder the integration in the labour market.

A questionnaire prepared for the European Commission – Directorate General for Employment analyzed the concrete obstacles and challenges faced by refugees and asylum seekers in successfully integrating into the Italian labour market (Ciccarone, 2016). It identifies the problematic of the Italian system in the lack of coordination among private and public organizations dealing with the labour market integration.

Each year, the Directorate Generale of Immigration and Integration Policies publishes the Annual Report “Foreigners in the Italian labour market”, which is a collection of dissemination of data and analyses concerning the foreign presences in Italy. In particular, the Report examines the labour and employment dynamics, including the demand for employees and semi-subordinate workers, pension positions and the passive and welfare policies addressed to foreign workers. For the first time, the last edition of the Report (June 2018) dedicated a part of the analysis to the issues of educational mismatches, the relationships between families and the labour market and companies that have taken on foreign workers, the geo-localization on a municipal and sub-municipal scale of recruitment.

Further analyses of data about the economy of immigration are contained in the Leone Moressa Foundation’s Annual Report. The Reports offers a wide corpus of statistics concerning the quantitative and qualitative evolution of the demand for immigrant labour and the capacity of the Italian economic system to attract workers from abroad.

An overview of the migration and integration services and statistics within the reception system is provided by the website of ASGI (Associazione per gli studi giuridici sull’immigrazione):

<https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/italy/statistics>.

7.6 Overview of Assessment of Strengths and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews

7.6.1 Introduction: National Sample and Experiences in the Field

The aim of this section is to discuss the actual implementation of policies and services intended to facilitate the labour market integration of MRAs. To do this, we elaborate on the data gathered through 28 in-depth interviews with stakeholders and past beneficiaries of services in Italy, carried out between October 2018 and March 2019. More precisely, we have interviewed 14 stakeholders and 14 migrants/refugees. As regards the former, about half of the interviewees are from the policy makers (8 persons) and about half (6 persons) from the implementation side. The interviews with implementers targeted at implementers from the local/regional area in which the SIRIUS Italian team is located (i.e. Florence/Tuscany) in order to grasp how implementation at the local/regional level is brought forth. Implementers have been selected among people working with migration at the municipality (1), local integration offices (1), local employment offices (1), social cooperatives managing refugee centres (1),

cultural and social promotion associations (1), private no-profit foundations dealing with the inclusion into the labour market (1). The policy makers have been chosen as to provide a wide range of variation. This means that at least one person from each of the central policy fields defined in the discourse analysis have been interviewed: politicians (1), representatives of municipalities (1), public officials at ministries (1), representatives of NGOs working on migration (1), faith based organisations' representatives (1), labour unions (1) and employers unions (2) representatives. The results of both discourse analysis and meta-analysis provided the basis for the selection of our target groups/organizations. Therefore, our interviewees were recruited extracting their contacts from organizations' websites and through snowballing. To maximize the response rate, first we sent an e-mail to all the selected target according to our selection criteria. Secondly, to complete the sample we directly contacted by telephone those who did not respond. As regards past beneficiaries, we have selected non-EU migrants arrived in Italy (approximately) between 2008 and 2014. In this way we can look at migrants' assessment of 2008-14 policies. The cut-off of 2008 refers to the start of the economic crises which in many countries, and it definitely did in Italy, affected migrant labour market integration. Moreover, this time period it is not too far in history and as such it remains relevant also to be triangulated with the stakeholder interviews. Half of the past beneficiary non- EU migrants are refugees (=have arrived as asylum seekers and have already been granted refugee status) (7) and half are other migrants (7). Altogether individuals from four different non-EU nationalities have been interviewed, choosing those national groups who arrived in the largest numbers on average in 2008-2014: thus, Moroccans and Moldovans⁷¹ within the migrant group and Somalis⁷² and Ivorians⁷³ within the refugee group. All our interviewees were recruited through snowballing, in particular following suggestions of interviewed stakeholders from civil society.

In general, the most difficult to contact were migrants/refugees. Most of them have refused to be interviewed or did not meet our selecting criteria. Finding useful contacts within some national groups was even more difficult. They were very diffident, suspicious and reluctant.⁷⁴ This was especially true for some national groups and this is the reasons why we decided to change the beginning target, selecting other national groups (see footnotes 6 and 8). Interviews lasted on average one hour. The questions and the structure of the interview were well accepted, and recording interviews was easily agreed upon. Establishing a certain degree of sympathy between the interviewers and the interviewees was an overall success. Interviews were carried out face-to-face and via Skype/WhatsApp. The respondents were free to choose where the interview should take place. Most of them were carried out at the headquarters of

⁷¹ The Chinese group was larger, but due to the difficulties to find people available to be interviewed, we decided to interview migrants from Moldova, being anyway among the biggest migrant groups between 2008 and 2014.

⁷² Among Somalis, an interviewee arrived in Italy much earlier with respect to our selected time range. Nevertheless, we decided to interview him because he is not only a refugee, but also an entrepreneur who is involved in many networks and has a specific knowledge of the Italian labour market.

⁷³ The Eritrean group was larger, but due to the difficulties to find people available to be interviewed, we decided to interview migrants from Ivory Coast, being anyway among the biggest refugee groups between 2008 and 2014.

⁷⁴ In this regard, we hypothesise that the mistrust and reluctance of MRAs to be interviewed is due to the new political climate following the 2018 general election, which led to the government a party with xenophobic positions such as the League.

the organization, but some of them (in particular, all migrants/refugees) preferred to be interviewed in a café, or at home.

7.6.2 Main Themes and Policies Perceived as Barriers or Enablers by Stakeholders and Past Beneficiaries

Among policy-makers and implementers, all interviewees were well-placed to provide an informed view, having extensive experience with their organisations/institutions and holding offices of responsibility. The target groups are, obviously, migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and persons in need of international protection.

An important issue that emerges from our interviews is that there is a clear difference between policies and services targeting asylum seekers and those directed towards refugees, holders of international protection, long-term migrants: *“There is a huge difference between asylum seekers on one hand and migrants or refugees on the other: asylum seekers can work, but they can stay in reception centres only if they have a wage up to 5889 euro per year [...] their permanence in Italy depends on the decision to give them asylum: this entails that services are more oriented towards those that have already the permit to stay in Italy”* (Municipality office, Interview 1). This means that the effort in terms of policies for integration into the labour market is greater towards those who will be part of Italian society for a reasonably long period of time compared to those (such as asylum seekers) who could be rejected. In addition, here it emerges a further obstacle for asylum seekers, underlined by many respondents: if it is true that after 60 days from their arrival they can work, actually the condition of not overcoming the € 5889 limit to remain in reception centres is a critical obstacle in finding a regular job: *“this is a barrier without any doubt. It is likely that asylum seekers who find a fixed-term or permanent job are excluded from reception centres. But with their wages, they often cannot afford to rent a house nor to buy it [...] this means they have to choose between working or having a place to sleep [...] this is an incentive to work irregularly”* (Assessor of the Municipality, Interviewee 3).

As regards policies directed towards refugees and migrants, all interviewees stress that in general there are not relevant differences between natives and foreigners, as labour policies are universal policies which affect all residents, regardless of their nationality: *“some policies related to the integration into the labour market affect both Italians and foreigners”* (Municipality office, Interview 1). Consequently, basic strengths and weaknesses of labour market integration policies for foreigners and for Italians are the same.

7.6.2.1 Language Learning

Some important specificities emerge, nonetheless. *“As regards foreigners, it is important to focus on Italian language classes, the transformation and recognition of previous competences, vocational training [...] matching labour market demand and supply”* (Municipality office, Interview 1). All interviewees, including past beneficiaries, recognize that language skills are fundamental: *“I believe that language skills are fundamental to be included into the labour market”* (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). In this regard, the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation is stressed: *“linguistic-cultural mediation is fundamental, especially for foreigners with a very different religious and cultural background and for those*

who are illiterate" (Social service at Municipality, Interviewee 2); *"we cannot disregard cultural mediators"* (Social cooperative, Interviewee 5). However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the supply of language courses for migrants: *"the profession of linguistic-cultural mediators is not adequately recognized"* (Cultural and social promotion association, Interviewee 7); *"there is no strict obligation to know Italian. For instance, it is mandatory to have the A2 level to obtain citizenship and residence card. But for many foreign workers there is not a formal obligation to know Italian. This is a huge problem in the workplace. CPIA (public institutes aimed at teaching Italian language to adults) are undersized...Knowledge of the language is fundamental to socialize, to understand a job contract, to grasp the functioning of Italian institutions and be aware of Italian history"* (Municipality office, Interview 1); *"when I came in Italy, for work and study reasons, no one offered me courses of Italian language"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). Language courses are conversely offered to asylum seekers and refugees in reception centres, but with a significant distinction: refugees are hosted in centres of second reception within the SPRAR system, which *"guarantees ad hoc funding for a whole series of services that must be offered, such as language courses"* (No-profit foundation, Interviewee 13). Asylum seekers, however, are not all hosted in the centres of the SPRAR system, but quite often they stay in the centres of first reception *"where Italian courses are planned, but they have not a dedicated budget quota"* (No-profit foundation, Interviewee 13).

Moreover, refugees have to face a specific problem: they depend totally on the assistance of the operators when they live in reception centres, whereas they are left to themselves when they leave the centres: *"operators tend to assist you in everything without leaving you autonomy. But when you leave the centre, you are not fully capable to get away with it alone. In fact, you moves from 100 to zero in terms of support"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 7). The situation is also problematic for those refugees who arrive in Italy from other countries and who do not live in the centres of the SPRAR network. For these people, in fact, there is not a support network and their condition can be dramatic: *"I am unemployed, I lived in the street, now I live with some friends [...] no one offered me courses of Italian or job placement [...] not knowing Italian, it is hard to find a job, even if I would like it [...] the only support is the canteen of Caritas"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 2). In general, work issues are only one of the critical aspects of a wider spectrum of social problems: *"these people do not have only work problems, they have also social problems, housing problems, they do not have a residence document [which is the conditio-sine-qua-non of a number of other services]. So, obviously the work problem is important for them, however, before finding a job, they must meet basic needs"* (Social service at Municipality, Interviewee 2).

7.6.2.2 Reception Centres and SPRAR

In terms of integration services, there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres, as already mentioned. In fact, within the latter *"there is no expenditure chapter intended for work-related actions for asylum-seekers, contrary to what is granted by SPRAR centres"* (Social cooperative, Interviewee 5). In this regard, *"an important aspect of the SPRAR system is that it provides services not only for social inclusion, but also for economic inclusion, such as accompaniment to the job search [...] it offers various services that are connected to the work area, such as orientation, vocational training, integration into the company through training internships or job grants"*

(NGO, Interviewee 6) and indeed *“the SPRAR system is considered as a best practice at the European level”* (No-profit foundation, Interviewee 13). Conversely, *“in the CAS type centres the quality of services offered depends on who manages them: in many cases they are managed by the same third sector actors which manage the SPRAR centres and therefore the differences are minimal”* (No-profit foundation, Interviewee 13); but *“in other cases they are managed by associations or cooperatives that do not have an appropriate expertise, e. g. cleaning cooperatives”* (Assessor of the Municipality, Interviewee 3); *“The basic problem is that large first reception centres often respond to an emergency logic, there is no obligation of economic reporting and therefore there is also less transparency”* (Trade unionist, Interviewee 10). In this regard, many interviewees say that an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge.

7.6.2.3 **“Salvini Decree” and Legal Framework**

In the opinion of most of the interviewees, the decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree) goes exactly in the direction opposite to the one implemented in the SPRAR system. There are many critical issues reported, which concern *“the fact that humanitarian protection is cancelled and replaced by temporary limited special permits that allow working, but cannot be converted into work permits [...] the result is that many people will be put on the street with a order of expulsion in the pocket”* (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Interviewee 9) and since *“it will be very difficult to actually expel them because of the lack of bilateral agreements between states and because the cost would be twenty times higher than the integration costs and it would be a very long process [...] in reality this decree will not stop the “invasion” that does not exist, because our production system needs immigration, but will prevent integration. From one day to the next, thousands of people will find themselves in the street [...] in reality this creates a huge reservoir of labour force without rights, blackmailed [...] these migrants will become illegal immigrants, without rights [...] they will have to work in black or to become criminals in order to survive”* (Trade unionist, Interviewee 10).

Not all interviewees criticize the “Salvini decree”: obviously, the Senator of the League we interviewed defends it. It is not surprising as well that the decree is instead very criticised by a centre-left representative of a municipality: *“the new decree lowers the daily management cost of CAS [first reception centres] and this is an incentive to build big reception centres, with a greater impact on local communities, which provide only basic activities, such as room and board. Even language courses are not any more mandatory. Furthermore, SPRAR second reception centres are downsized: they are only for unaccompanied minors and refugees”* (Assessor of the Municipality, Interviewee 3). Different nuances also emerge among representatives of employers organizations: if it is true that one criticizes it strongly, stating that *“it does not respect human dignity and increases insecurity”* (Entrepreneur, Interviewed 12), the other says *“I do not feel like criticizing the decree. Italy has been left alone from the rest of Europe and I understand that in some way a signal of firmness had to be given”* (Entrepreneur, Interviewed 11). In any case, both entrepreneurs criticize the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law)⁷⁵ considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market: *“it is a disaster, it was not realistic when it was written and it is not even up-to-date with respect to the present needs of the labour market [...] we need policy solutions tailored to the needs of both the labour market and foreign workers [...] the productive Northeast district without migrants would close the factories”* (Entrepreneur,

⁷⁵ For an insight on Immigration law, see Sirius WP2 report.

Interviewee 12); *“the immigration law does not work, it would be better to go back to the 1999 Turco-Napolitano law providing cultural integration activities and housing. Today, especially in some parts of the South, migrants are forced to live in terrible slums not abreast of our civilization [...] it would also be necessary to attract more skilled workers as did other countries such as Germany. Today we talk about immigration only in terms of security issues, while true integration takes place within companies [...] In addition, entry quotas are blocked at present, whereas the Turco-Napolitano law had introduced a sponsorship program [the previous immigration law, which attempted to coordinate needed economic sectors with migrant workers through migrant associations, ed.]”* (Entrepreneur, Interviewed 11). A similar opinion is also shared by the rest of the respondents: *“the very complex regulation concerning residence permits, citizenship, family reunification, is an element that complicates the life of these people as regards the possibility of finding a regular job”* (Cultural and social promotion association, Interviewee 7); *“according to the law, the economic migrant can enter if s/he has a contract of work already signed and the employer must guarantee an adequate accommodation [...] these are inapplicable rules because they are not realistic and very burdensome for the employers [...] it is impossible for a small company to hire unknown people”* (Faith based organization, Interviewee 4); *“there are no real immigration policies: in fact there is no legal access channel [...] the Bossi-Fini law is not adequate”* (NGO, Interviewee 6).

Most interviewees emphasized that the Italian legal framework in this field is deficient: there is no clarity on quotas and regulations, and laws are often not enforced. The bureaucratic procedures to renew residence permits are complicated and expensive even for long-term resident immigrants: *“every 5 years, I have to renew the residence permit, it is expensive and too long, it takes me one year”* (Past beneficiary, Interview 4). Legally entering the country is difficult: thus, many migrants turn to criminal organizations and asylum applications are often abused as they are perceived as the sole measure to enter Italy legally. In this regard, many interviewees denounce the lack of a strategic and coherent plan to receive migrants, and the slowness of the asylum proceedings. Furthermore, most interviewees strongly criticize the lack of a real common migration policy at an EU level, and the lack of solidarity among Member States as regards the relocation of refugees.

7.6.2.4 Lack of Institutional Coordination

Regarding the policies of inclusion in the labour market, another weakness that emerges is the lack of coordination between various institutions and offices, as well as the poor functioning of public employment centres: *“it should be necessary a greater coordination between different offices (e.g. social services and employment offices)”* (Municipality office, Interview 1); *“We have an immigration desk, but not all employment centres in Tuscany have it, neither within the province of Florence. Furthermore, linguistic-cultural mediation services are not provided by all centres, legal counselling services have been downsized, only two hours per week [...] in our centre there are no services of linguistic mediation for the largest immigrant communities with less knowledge of the Italian language, such as Bengalis, Sinhalese and Filipinos [...] job orientation talks last only half an hour and this limits what can be done”* (Public employment centre, Interviewee 8). In particular, employment centres *“are poorly developed, the law n. 150 [on the labour market, ed.] is not fully implemented yet [...] there is strong differentiation*

among the regions, and only in three of them (Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Piedmont) the reform of public employment centres have just completed [...] in the South, informal networks are almost the exclusive channel of access to the labour market” (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Interviewee 9). However, these are critical aspects that do not only concern foreigners, but also Italian citizens. The issue of regional fragmentation should be emphasized, since *“on the basis of article 117 of the Constitution the competence on integration policies is mostly regional, we as Ministry of Labour can only make program agreements with regions, guidelines, coordination and planning, pilot projects such as “Inside” and “Percorsi” focused on training internships [...] There are huge differences between regions. For instance, in Tuscany many employment centres have cultural mediators and specific integration services are provided for migrants. However, if we exclude 4-5 regions that have done a lot in this field, the rest of regions lag behind”* (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Interviewee 9).

7.6.2.5 Vocational Training and Skills Recognition

In addition to the system of integrated services offered by the SPRAR system, training internships according to our interviewees work well and are an important element that facilitates entry into the labour market of foreigners: *“legislation on training internships has included asylum seekers and refugees among vulnerable target groups and this has been very important”* (Faith based organization, Interviewee 4); *“I have to say that training internships work very well: most people find a job”* (No-profit foundation, Interviewee 13); *“some of the people who attended training internships in our community centres were hired as pizza chef in our restaurants”* (Cultural and social promotion association, Interviewee 7). Another strength of the policies examined is the collaboration between public and private sectors, with an important role played by the third sector: *“among the positive aspects, I have to tell the truth, there are so many associations which also collaborate with us, that is, the Social Services of the municipality, for instance associations that deal with migrants [...] there is a network that can be improved, but it works well”* (Social service at Municipality, Interviewee 2). All interviewees, including past beneficiaries, underline the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewees point out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications: *“the procedure for the recognition of qualifications is very complicated, to date there are no effective policies and tools”* (NGO, Interviewee 6); *“we adapt and “follow our destiny”; even though I have studied computer engineering, I have adapted to work in an area for which I have not studied”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 3); *“I started to work as a domestic worker because my qualification as nurse was not recognized here in Italy. To get it, I would have to go back to university. With the salary of my husband, we could not pay the rent and the expenses, and so I gave up and I started doing this job, it's a shame because I liked my job as a nurse”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 4). This means that many foreigners' jobs are not in line with their qualifications, partly wasting the potential they can bring to the Italian economy. However, the adaptability of foreign workers is underlined by the interviewees and in this regard it is important to stress how the immigrants we interviewed generally say they are happy to live and work in Italy: *“I'm happy to stay in Italy. It is a safe country”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 3).

7.6.2.6 Black Economy and Labour Exploitation

The black economy and labour exploitation, especially in certain regions of the South (but not only) and in certain sectors (agriculture and construction above all) are other barriers for the integration of immigrants. However, some legislative improvements are mentioned, in particular the law against *caporalato* (law n. 199 of 2016): *“the law is very positive. However, the phenomenon of caporalato is still related to economic rules of agricultural sectors based on necessity of low costs and job intermediation”* (Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Interviewee 9). More than the content of laws, the problem is often their lack of implementation and the weakness of the State in certain areas with a strong mafia presence. The representatives of the entrepreneurs we interviewed are aware that this is an important issue and that the illegal economy has a negative impact not only on employees, but also on authentic companies, triggering unfair competition. In their opinion, much progress has been made in the business world with entrepreneurial organizations very active and involved in countering these phenomena. According to the trade unionist we interviewed, however, a certain mental attitudes prone to save on labour costs, even at the expense of workers' rights, still exists in certain sectors of Italian industry. Finally, the economic and financial crisis that hit Italy in 2008-2009 is unanimously recognized as a factor that has hindered the integration of migrants in the labour market due to its direct and indirect effects. Concerning the former, the economic crisis led to severe cuts in welfare services, in particular at the local level. In addition, many immigrants lost their residence permits after losing their jobs due to the crisis. With regard to the latter, it is emphasized that the opinions of Italians after the crisis have become much more negative towards immigration. According to some interviewees, this can be explained by the weakening of welfare state due to the fiscal problems of the State and the consequent austerity policies, with the lower classes who have begun to perceive immigrants as dangerous competitors in a context of scarce resources: *“the weakness of the Italian welfare state could trigger a struggle among the poor”* (Assessor of the Municipality, Interviewee 3). Even the past beneficiaries we interviewed perceived a deterioration in the attitudes of Italians, with some episodes of intolerance: *“recently, a guy in front of my home shouted to me: ‘go home!’. It was the first time since I came in Italy”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 1); *“in the last years, I have perceived more hostility towards immigrants. And after the terrorist attacks, even fear”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 3). However, the respondents perceive more mistrust and fear, rather than true racism (beyond some incidents) and believe this is due to the economic crisis, the fear of terrorism and the politicization of the immigration issue carried out by some parties to gain votes using immigrants as a scapegoat: *“social media give a distorted image of immigrants, people think they are too many and believe politicians who promise to stop immigration”* (Past beneficiary, Interviewee 8). In any case, once the wall of distrust has been overcome, immigrants are comfortable with their Italian colleagues: mutual knowledge in the workplace is certainly a factor that favours integration.

7.6.3 The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Past Policies and the Existing Policies and Services

So far, we have discussed views and opinions of stakeholders and past beneficiaries about pros and cons of existing and past policies concerning integration of MRAs into the Italian labour market. Now, we analyse which are the strengths and weaknesses of the past policies

(based on migrant/refugee interviews and meta-analysis) and the existing policies and services (based on stakeholder interviews, discourse analysis and meta-analysis) in Italy, in order to summarise the main barriers and enablers at play.

Concerning the main policy-based enablers, according to our analyses the second level reception system, namely the SPRAR system (Service of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees), can be considered as a “best practice”. Indeed, it offers an integrated accommodation, providing a wider range of services: teaching of the Italian language, cultural mediation, legal counseling, health assistance, psychological support. Within the SPRAR system, specific projects are financed for people with mental or physical disabilities, and through the Agency Italia Lavoro Spa, the Ministry of Labor supports initiatives for the socio-occupational integration of vulnerable migrant groups, fostering the creation of individualized pathways aimed at encouraging employment. In addition to the system of integrated services offered by the SPRAR system, training internships are another important service that facilitates entry of foreigners into the labour market. Another strength of the policies examined is the collaboration between public and private sectors, with an important role played by the third sector.

Furthermore, in the last decade, the Italian policies have aimed to contrast employment in the irregular market through a strategy of strengthening of the administrative and criminal sanctions (e.g. the Legislative Decree no. 109/2012, which, *inter alia*, imposed to pay the irregular foreign worker the social contributions and the full wages and provided for lawful employment, for a minimum period of three months unless the employer or the employee prove otherwise). Above all, the Legislative Act no. 199/2016 (the anti-*caporalato* law) introduced in the Criminal Code the new crime of illicit intermediation and exploitation of labour (art. 603 bis of the Criminal Code). Eventually, the Budget Law 2017 has established tax incentives for social cooperatives which will recruit beneficiaries of international protection with a permanent contract in 2018.

Despite these strengths, discourse and meta-analysis and interviews with stakeholders and past beneficiaries have revealed several flaws of past and current policies. First, the Italian migration and labour market integration policies are still characterized by the difficulty of coordination among several (private and public) actors and levels of government. Therefore, the fragmentation of the Italian policies and the difficulty of coordination among the several actors involved in the governance of the migration and integration process represents a problematic aspect, as well as the poor functioning of public employment centres (this latter point affects also Italian citizens). After the economic crisis, the Italian authorities decided to radically reduce the entry quota. The opportunities to regularly enter the Italian territory have mainly limited to high-qualified workers, rich entrepreneurs and seasonal workers in the field of agriculture and tourism. As a consequence, many migrants have turned to criminal organizations and asylum applications are often abused as they are perceived as the sole measures to enter Italy legally. The absence of a coherent vision and a clear policy planning is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the non-implementation in the last 12 years of the art. 3 of the Italian Consolidated Law on Immigration (D.Lgs. 286/1998). Indeed, according to this provision, every 3 years, the Government should release a programmatic document concerning the national policy on immigration.

Moreover, in terms of the quality provided by integration services, there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres. In the latter, for instance, the lack of financial resources for the implementation of free compulsory language courses has been noted. The National Plan for Integration has also

stressed the importance of recognition of professional qualifications. Unfortunately, training and qualifications acquired in the country of origin are difficult to recognize in Italy, since complicated and long procedures are usually required. This means that many foreigners' jobs are not in line with their qualifications, partly wasting the potential they can bring to the Italian economy. Furthermore, beneficiaries and applicants of international protection frequently do not have certificates issued by their country of origin, hindering their integration in the labour market. Beneficiaries of international protection living in the SPRAR centres can take part into specific professional training and internship programmes, also realized by the local institutions involved in the SPRAR network. However, the limit of 5889 euros of annual salary in order to stay in reception centres is a huge obstacle to find a regular job, given the difficulty for asylum seekers and refugees to rent a house and thus leave the reception centres.

Especially after the general election of 2018, the most recent policies implemented are dedicated to guaranteeing public security, reducing new arrivals and combating irregular immigration, rather than to integration in the labour market. An example of this new approach pursued by current Italian government is the recent decree-law no. 113/2018, which – providing inter alia the abolition of humanitarian protection – deprived many immigrants of important services and reception measures. According to this decree-law, indeed, the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus radically changing the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. The risk, as stressed by many interviews, is to severely damage a system considered as a best practice for integration.

7.7 Conclusion

The MRAs integration policies adopted cannot be isolated from the specific context of national labour market conditions and all suggested measures must carefully consider the need to integrate both native and migrant workers. Understanding the challenges and opportunities experienced by MRAs is connected with their skills and qualifications, on the one hand, and with the host country's labour market features, on the other. Considering the structure of Italian economy and labour market needs, Italian economy is driven by labour supply. If we trust the standard economic theory, a labour supply driven economy is characterized by high level of unemployment and relatively low wages. In the period 2000-2017, the Italian population increase was in line with the EU average increase, while the Italian labour force increased more than the EU average. The active population (that is the percentage of the population aged 15 or above) is lower in Italy than the EU average by approximately 5%. Italy has a similar employment structure as the EU average in 2016, with a slight difference for manufacturing sector, which attracts more workers in Italy. This increased participation in this specific sector leads to the increased participation of occupations such as craft and related trades workers and elementary occupations in the country's employment structure. On the basis of the above-mentioned structural conditions, migrant workers meet specific needs of Italian labour market, filling job vacancies especially in labour-intensive sectors (agriculture, construction and family care)⁷⁶. Furthermore, migrants have positive effects on public finance and on alleviating labour shortages and the dependency ratio. Indeed, MRAs already

⁷⁶ For more details on Italian labour market, see Sirius WP1 report available at <https://www.sirius-project.eu/sites/default/files/attachments/SIRIUS%20WP1-D1.2.pdf>

represent an important share of the Italian labour market and economic production: around one in every ten of its workforce is a MRA.⁷⁷ An interesting point to note is that the share of foreign national employees in the country's labour markets exceeds the countries' overall share of foreign national. This means that MRAs are very active components of Italian economy rather than being passive recipients of benefits or support. The labour market of migrants is characterized by the complementarity with the labour market of Italians, which consider unattractive the so-called ddd – dirty, dangerous and demeaning – jobs. This positive evaluation of immigration according to a utilitarian frame is shared by several policy actors we analysed, especially employers' organizations and Ministry of Labour and Social Policies (in particular until the 2018 general elections). Nevertheless, the increasingly harsh political discourse and the negative media representation of migration have contributed to hinder or slow down the implementation of integration policies.

Indeed, more than migration and labour market integration policies in the strict sense of the concept, the Italian experience has been characterized by an inconsistent set of multiple measures and actions in the broader policy domain of immigration, neither supported by a unitary strategy and governance nor by sufficient financial resources.

Inter alia, the Italian authorities have never fully implemented the legislative provisions concerning the integration in the labour market. This is the case, for example, of the art. 3 D.Lgs. No. 286/1998, which requires to the Government to develop "long-term programme on immigration policy and foreigners on State territory". This programmatic document should have a strategic relevance to align the quota working permits to Italian effective labour needs. On the basis of all this, we can identify 4 main areas of intervention which could facilitate the integration in the labour market:

- The **immigration policies**: in order to foster a swift integration in the labour market, the Italian system of international protection promoted the role the SPRAR centres in the second level reception system. The services ensured by these centres go beyond the simple distribution of food and housing, providing social and legal guidance, promoting the labour inclusion through individual strategies as well as special training and internship programmes. Therefore, the SPRAR system has been considered as a "best practice" (see in particular Italian Roadmap 2015).
- **Education related policies**: in case of permit to stay of minimum one year, the foreigners have to sign an "integration agreement" with the State that includes the attendance of free compulsory language courses.
- **Employment related policies**: with the aim to contrast irregular labour market and exploitation, the most recent legislation has strengthened the criminal and administrative sanctions against the phenomenon of "caporalato" (that is: illicit intermediation and exploitation of labour). Also some tax incentives for social cooperatives, which recruit beneficiaries of international protection, have been established. The registration to Public Employment Service allows migrants the access to all job-related Public Employment.
- **Welfare related policies**: with regard to healthcare, the access to urgent and essential health-care services is guaranteed. Instead, the access to social housing is reserved to documented resident migrants who are temporarily unable to provide on their own for their living and subsistence needs.

⁷⁷ In this regard, see Sirius WP1 report available at <https://www.sirius-project.eu/sites/default/files/attachments/SIRIUS%20WP1-D1.2.pdf>

The positive or negative trend of the economic cycle has been identified as one of the most relevant facilitator or barrier in the integration in the labour market. After the economic crisis, the strong anti-immigrant narrative has hindered the integration in the labour market. Especially during the pre-electoral periods, “Italians first” attitude has slow down the implementation of the measures of integration, as for example the strategies contained in the Italian Roadmap 2015 and the National Plan for Integration. Eventually, after the election of 2018, the formation of a populist Government coalition with securitarian and anti-immigration stances has further slowdown the implementation of the integration policies planned by the previous Government. This is best exemplified by the recent decree-law no. 113/2018 abolishing the humanitarian protection and depriving many immigrants of important services and reception measures, by downsizing and radically changing the SPRAR system.

The empirical analysis of the Italian experience highlights the relevant asymmetry among the several categories of migrants, with a more pervasive difficulty to integrate in the labour market the asylum seekers in comparison with the economic migrants. In particular, the Italian legislation recognizes to the asylum seekers the possibility to work, but at the same time it ensures the right to stay in reception centres only if they have a wage that does not exceed 4.800 euro per year.

Eventually, further barriers have to be identified with the poor functioning of public employment centres as well as with the lack of coordination between the several actors, public and private institutions, territorial levels and offices. Moreover, skills and qualifications acquired in the country of origin are difficult to be recognized in Italy, since complicated and long procedures are usually required.

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Appendices

ANNEX I, Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text (Policymaker/Actor) (e.g. Ministry of the Interior)	Title	Type of text (E.g. statement, press release, programme...)	Year of publication	Link/pdf
Ministry of the Interior	Le iniziative di buona accoglienza e integrazione dei migranti in Italia Modelli, strumenti e azioni	Report	2017	1. Link
Ministry of the Interior	PROGRAMMA NAZIONALE FAMI IDENTIFICAZIONE DELLE AUTORITÀ DESIGNATE	Programme	2017	2. Link
Ministry of the Interior	PIANO NAZIONALE D'INTEGRAZIONE PER I TITOLARI DI PROTEZIONE NAZIONALE	Programme	2017	3. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Lotta al lavoro nero: bloccata organizzazione che sfruttava i migranti	Press release	2017	4. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Sottoscritto al Viminale il rinnovo del protocollo per il progetto dei corridoi umanitari	Press release	2017	5. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Ridefinire i modelli di accoglienza migranti e razionalizzare la spesa, direttiva del ministro Salvini	Press release	2017	6. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Fondo FAMI: 31 milioni di euro per i 76 progetti per l'integrazione dei cittadini di paesi terzi	Press release	2016	7. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Migrazione e integrazione: un approccio globale alla mobilità umana. Gestire bene la migrazione per una migliore integrazione. 5 e 6 novembre Milano	Press release	2014	8. Link
Ministry of the Interior	Comunicato congiunto Interno, Lavoro e Unioncamere sulla formazione dei titolari di protezione internazionale	Press release	2018	9. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	Percorsi di integrazione socio-lavorativa per minori	Evaluation report	2018	10. Link

	stranieri non accompagnati e giovani migranti			
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	INSIDE - INSerimento Integrazione nordsuD inclusionE: l'inserimento sociolavorativo di fasce vulnerabili di migranti	Report	2017	11. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	Nota semestrale sul mercato del lavoro degli stranieri in Italia	Report	2018	12. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	Biondinelli delga immigrazione	Press release	2014	13. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	«Le politiche per l'integrazione dei migranti nel mercato del lavoro»	Presentation	2016	14. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	SESTO RAPPORTO ANNUALE: I migranti nel mercato del lavoro in Italia	Report	2016	15. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	QUINTO RAPPORTO ANNUALE: I migranti nel mercato del lavoro in Italia	Report	2015	16. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	SETTIMO RAPPORTO ANNUALE Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro in Italia	Report	2017	17. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT Foreigners in the Italian Labour market: SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS	Summary Report	2018	18. Link
Ministry of Labour and Social Policies	OTTAVO RAPPORTO ANNUALE: Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro in Italia	Report	2018	19. Link
Tuscany Region	Libro bianco sulle politiche di accoglienza di richiedenti asilo politico e protezione internazionale	White paper	2017	20. Link
Tuscany Region	IL PROFILO SOCIALE REGIONALE Anno 2015 Analisi della situazione sociale in Toscana	Report	2106	21. Link
Tuscany Region	Le voci dell'immigrazione	Report	2009	22. Link
Tuscany Region	Profilo sociale regionale : anno 2016 : analisi della situazione sociale in Toscana : strumenti per la programmazione sociale e sociosanitaria	Report	2017	23. Link
Party (PD)	Più forte, più giusta. L'Italia.	Electoral manifesto	2018	24. Link
Party (PD)	L'Europa cambia verso	Electoral manifesto	2014	25. Link
Party (PD)	Pacciotti: "L'Immigrazione è una opportunità per l'Italia"	Press release	2014	26. Link
Party (PD)	Faraone: "L'immigrazione va vista come	Press release	2014	27. Link

	un'opportunità e non come un problema"			
Party (PD)	Immigrazione, Campana: ha garantito per anni il welfare delle famiglie italiane	Press release	2015	28. Link
Party (M5S)	Immigrazione	Electoral manifesto on immigration	2018	29. Link
Party (League)	ELEZIONI 2018 · PROGRAMMA DI GOVERNO- Salvini premier: La rivoluzione del buonsenso	Electoral manifesto	2018	30. Link
Party (League)	LINEE GUIDA in materia di IMMIGRAZIONE	Party guidelines on immigration policies	2018	31. Link
Party (League)	LegaNordflash78: Clandestino è reato!	Party brochure on immigration	2013	32. Link
Party (centre-right coalition)	Un programma per l'Italia: per la crescita, la sicurezza, le famiglie e la piena occupazione	Electoral manifesto	2018	33. Link
Party (all main parties)	Elezioni politiche 2018. L'immigrazione nei programmi elettorali	Paper	2018	34. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	POSITION PAPER VITTIME DI TRATTA E RICHIEDENTI/TITOLARI DI PROTEZIONE INTERNAZIONALE	Position paper	2015	35. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	LE ATTIVITÀ DI UTILITÀ SOCIALE PROMOSSE NELLA RETE SPRAR	Dossier	2017	36. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	I percorsi di inserimento socio-economico nello SPRAR. Metodologie, strategie, strumenti	Report	2016	37. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	RAPPORTO ANNUALE SPRAR SISTEMA DI PROTEZIONE PER RICHIEDENTI ASILO E RIFUGIATI Atlante Sprar 2015	Report	2016	38. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	Rapporto Annuale Sprar Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati Atlante Sprar 2016	Report	2017	39. Link
Implementer (SPRAR)	RAPPORTO ANNUALE DEL SISTEMA DI PROTEZIONE PER RICHIEDENTI ASILO E RIFUGIATI Atlante Sprar Anno 2012/2013	Report	2014	40. Link
Implementer (ANPAL)	Al via il progetto europeo FORWORK coordinato da Anpal	Press release	2018	41. Link

NGO (MEDU)	TERRAINGIUSTA Rapporto sulle condizioni di vita e di lavoro dei braccianti stranieri in agricoltura	Report	2015	42. Link
NGO (MEDU)	La raccolta del pomodoro in Basilicata: tra lavoro grigio, caporalato e tentativi di accoglienza.	Report	2014	43. Link
NGO (MEDU)	Rosarno, otto anni dopo la rivolta: dove vivere e lavorare rimane vergognosamente disumano	Press release	2018	44. Link
NGO (MEDU)	PIANA DI GIOIA TAURO/STAGIONE AGRUMICOLA: MISURE DEL GOVERNO INSUFFICIENTI, MANCANO AZIONI CONCRETE NEL TERRITORIO	Press release	2015	45. Link
NGO (MEDU)	PIANA DI GIOIA TAURO/RACCOLTA AGRUMICOLA: UN’ALTRA STAGIONE ALL’INFERNO	Press release	2016	46. Link
NGO (MEDU)	PIANA DI GIOIA TAURO – DIGNITA’ E DIRITTI VIOLATI NEL GHETTO PIÙ GRANDE DI ITALIA	Press release	2017	47. Link
NGO (MEDU)	Piana del Sele – Eboli: lo sfruttamento dei braccianti immigrati (e non solo) nella “California d’Italia”	Press release	2014	48. Link
NGO (MEDU)	Nulla cambia a Rosarno. Disastrose le condizioni di vita e di lavoro dei braccianti immigrati	Press release	2014	49. Link
NGO (MEDU)	CAMPAGNA DEL POMODORO IN BASILICATA: AUMENTA IL NUMERO DEI CONTRATTI MA IL 92% DEI BRACCIANTI RICORRE ANCORA AL CAPOREALE	Press release	2015	50. Link
NGO (MEDU)	Accoglienza dei lavoratori stagionali. Rosarno e la Piana di Gioia Tauro sono rimasti soli	Press release	2014	51. Link
NGO (ASGI)	10 PROPOSTE SU MIGRANTI E LAVORO	Policy brief	2018	52. Link
NGO (ASGI)	Linee guida per l’accesso degli stranieri al pubblico impiego in Italia	Information guidelines	2014	53. Link
NGO (ASGI)	LA TRATTA E IL GRAVE SFRUTTAMENTO	Report	2015	54. Link

	LAVORATIVO DEI MIGRANTI Guida agli strumenti giuridici per la tutela delle vittime			
NGO (ASGI)	Il Governo compia atti concreti per fare cessare subito la perdurante violazione della direttiva 2009/52/UE sullo sfruttamento lavorativo dei lavoratori stranieri	Position paper	2014	55. Link
NGO (ASGI)	Il progetto Terragiusta – presentazione	Project presentation	2014	56. Link
NGO (ASGI)	Accesso ai servizi per l'impiego per i richiedenti protezione internazionale: è sufficiente la prova della dimora abituale	Information guidelines	2018	57. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	MEDIA BRIEF Un tempo nuovo Quinto Rapporto sull'immigrazione e i processi di inclusione in provincia di Arezzo	Report	2015	58. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	OXFAM: "LA LOTTERIA ITALIA DELL'ACCOGLIENZA"	Press release	2017	59. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	Lavoro: accordo per l'accesso regolare dei migranti	Press release	2016	60. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	LA LOTTERIA ITALIA DELL'ACCOGLIENZA Il Sistema dell'emergenza permanente	Briefing Paper	2017	61. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	Migranti, nel Chianti un esempio positivo contro lo sfruttamento	Press release	2016	62. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	Migranti e lavoro: accordo Oxfam-Cisl Firenze	Press release	2016	63. Link
NGO (OXFAM)	Lavoro: accordo per l'accesso regolare dei migranti	Press release	2016	64. Link
NGO (ISMU)	VENTIDUESIMO RAPPORTO SULLE MIGRAZIONI 2016	Press release	2016	65. Link
NGO (ISMU)	XXIII RAPPORTO ISMU SULLE MIGRAZIONI 2017	Press release	2017	66. Link
NGO (ISMU)	Country Report Italy At a (Possible) Turning Point Between Constraining Tradition and Promising Developments in the Field of Diversity	Report	2015	67. Link
NGO (ISMU)	Inclusione lavorativa dei migranti per ragioni di protezione	Press release	2018	68. Link

NGO (ISMU)	Gli immigrati nei sistemi locali del lavoro italiani: caratteristiche e prospettive di un modello di insediamento	Paper	2016	69. Link
IOM Italy	FROM SKILLS TO WORK: LINEE GUIDA PER LA VALUTAZIONE DELLE COMPETENZE DEI BENEFICIARI DI PROTEZIONE INTERNAZIONALE NELL'UNIONE EUROPEA	Guidelines	2018	70. Link
IOM Italy	Progetto ADMIN4ALL	Report	2017	71. Link
IOM Italy	STUDY ON MIGRANTS' PROFILES DRIVERS OF MIGRATION AND MIGRATORY TRENDS	Report	2016	72. Link
IOM Italy	Migrants' contributions to Italy's welfare	Briefing paper	2017	73. Link
IOM Italy	Migration and transnationalism in Italy	Briefing paper	2018	74. Link
IOM Italy	Terra Munda	Project presentation	2018	75. Link
IOM Italy	ADMIn 4 ALL	Project presentation	2018	76. Link
IOM Italy	Cordoglio dell'OIM per la morte di 14 braccianti rimasti uccisi in soli due giorni nel foggiano	Press release	2018	77. Link
IOM Italy	OIM : necessario rafforzare le attività di contrasto allo sfruttamento lavorativo	Press release	2018	78. Link
UNHCR Italy	FOCUS GROUP SUL TEMA DELL'INTEGRAZIONE REPORT FINALE	Report	2017	79. Link
UNHCR Italy	Raccomandazioni dell'UNHCR per rafforzare la protezione e l'integrazione dei rifugiati in Italia nel 2017	Policy brief	2017	80. Link
UNHCR Italy	Progetto "Welcome" Working for refugee integration	Project presentation	2018	81. Link
UNICEF Italy	Vademecum per l'inserimento lavorativo Tutor e operatore Version 2.0	Guidelines	2018	82. Link
CARITAS	Rapporto sulla protezione internazionale in Italia 2014	Summary Report	2014	83. Link
CARITAS	VaSi COmuNiCaNti RAPPORTO 2016 su povertà ed esclusione sociale in Italia e alle porte dell'Europa	Summary Report	2016	84. Link

CARITAS	Rapporto sulla protezione internazionale in Italia 2015 SINTESI	Summary Report	2015	85. Link
CARITAS	XXVI Rapporto Immigrazione 2016 NUOVE GENERAZIONI A CONFRONTO Sintesi	Summary Report	2017	86. Link
CARITAS	XXV Rapporto Immigrazione 2015 LA CULTURA DELL'INCONTRO Sintesi	Summary Report	2016	87. Link
CARITAS	Sintesi Rapporto Immigrazione 2014 Il quadro regionale	Summary Report	2015	88. Link
CARITAS	RISPONDERE ALLE SFIDE DEI MIGRANTI E RIFUGIATI: VENTI PUNTI DI AZIONE	Policy brief	2017	89. Link
CARITAS	10 cose da sapere su migranti e immigrazione	Report	2018	90. Link
Trade Union (CGIL)	Immigrazione: Cgil e Inca, Governo torna a mettere mano alle tasche degli stranieri regolari	Press release	2017	91. Link
Trade Union (CGIL)	Giornata internazionale diritti migranti: Cgil, sia monito per assunzione responsabilità	Press release	2017	92. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Memoria incontro del 9 marzo 2018 tra le OO.SS. CGIL, CISL, UIL e la Direzione Generale per l'Immigrazione del Ministero del Lavoro.	Summary of briefing	2018	93. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Report del IV incontro tematico in materia di immigrazione	Summary Report	2017	94. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Conquiste delle donne Un lavoro dignitoso anche per i migranti	Summary Report	2016	95. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Toscana. Firmata intesa innovativa che coinvolgerà i migranti accolti da Oxfam in un nuovo percorso di orientamento al lavoro	Press release	2016	96. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Marche. Lavoro dignitoso, giovedì 21 delegazione dei principali sindacati del Marocco in visita alla Cisl di Ancona	Press release	2018	97. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Lavoro. Furlan: "Ha ragione Saviano: nel sud schiavismo ed illegalità nei distretti agricoli. Il 15 sciopero nazionale"	Press release	2018	98. Link

Trade Union (CISL)	Integrazione. Luigi Sbarra (Cisl): Al via protocollo Fai-Anolf per valorizzare lavoro migranti	Press release	2016	99. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Immigrazione. Furlan: "Il lavoro migrante regolare, ben tutelato e retribuito, fondamentale per l'eccellenza del nostro agroalimentare"	Press release	2017	100. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	III incontro tematico in materia di immigrazione: la Cisl lancia l'ipotesi di riforma del Testo Unico	Press release	2017	101. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Calabria. Giornata internazionale migranti. Cisl regionale: "Il tema dell'immigrazione centrale nel nostro impegno sociale e sindacale"	Press release	2017	102. Link
Trade Union (CISL)	Migranti. Furlan: "Migliaia di nuovi schiavi anche in Italia nelle campagne e nelle città. Una vergogna nazionale. Serve legge per punire i clienti delle prostitute"	Press release	2018	103. Link
Trade Union (UIL FENEAL)	Meeting UIL a Lampedusa	Press release	2017	104. Link
Trade Union (UIL FENEAL)	Seminario Europeo organizzato dalla EFBWW e FIEC	Press release	2014	105. Link
Trade Union (UIL FENEAL)	SEMINARIO TECNICO DIRITTI E TUTELE DEI LAVORATORI ROMENI OPERANTI IN PAESI STRANIERI	Press release	2015	106. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Domani a Cingoli convegno Uila "Fileni: il lavoro ha mille colori"	Press release	2015	107. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Braccianti: il 35,2% è immigrato e lavora al Nord. In testa i rumeni	Press release	2015	108. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Migranti, progetto Uila-Oxfam Italia per servizi dedicati in Sicilia	Press release	2015	109. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Stranieri, successo per primo corso di italiano organizzato a Latina dalla Uila	Press release	2015	110. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Presentato il progetto Uila-Oxfam Italia per i residenti stranieri in Sicilia	Press release	2015	111. Link
Trade Union (UILA)	Caporalato: bene azioni per accoglienza, ma	Press release	2016	112. Link

	obiettivo sia rispetto dei contratti			
Trade Union (UILA)	Integrazione, la Uila sostiene l'iniziativa "Modi di dire, modi di fare" a Cisterna	Press release	2016	113. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	Scheda di sintesi del secondo rapporto Agromafie e caporalato	Summary report	2014	114. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	TERZO RAPPORTO AGROMAFIE E CAPORALATO A cura dell'Osservatorio Placido Rizzotto SCHEDA DI SINTESI	Summary report	2016	115. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	QUARTO RAPPORTO AGROMAFIE E CAPORALATO - Osservatorio Placido Rizzotto Flai Cgil	Summary report	2018	116. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	"Da Invisibili alla Legge 199/2016". Giornata Internazionale del Migrante	Press release	2016	117. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	Giornata Internazionale del Migrante 2016: l'iniziativa della FLAI in "5 Piazze"	Press release	2017	118. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FLAI)	12-14 Novembre 2016: tre giorni in trincea con le comunità di lavoratori agricoli rumeni della Sicilia insieme al sindacato rumeno AgroStar	Press release	2017	119. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILLEA)	STRAGE DI BRACCIANTI, LA FILLEA A FOGGIA	Press release	2018	120. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILLEA)	ACCORDO FILLEA - SINDACATO ROMENO	Press release	2018	121. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILCAMS)	Ipotesi Piattaforma rinnovo CCNL Imprese di Pulizia Artigiane 11/09/2017	Programme	2017	122. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILCAMS)	#SePassaLoStraniero, la risposta del lavoro oltre le paure	Press release	2017	123. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILCAMS)	Migranti, il 18 dicembre la giornata internazionale	Press release	2016	124. Link
Trade Union (CGIL FILCAMS)	28 giugno, Giornata di mobilitazione nazionale contro gli atteggiamenti restrittivi del Governo nei confronti dei lavoratori migranti	Press release	2016	125. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	FAI Proposte Numero 1/3 È l'ora di costruire gli Stati Uniti d'Europa ati Uniti d'Europa	Report	2017	126. Link

Trade Union (CISL FAI)	FAI Proposte Numero 11/12 La Fai per il cambiamento #PassoDopoPasso	Report	2017	127. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	FAI Proposte Numero 11/12 Rinnovarsi per ripartire	Report	2015	128. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	Lavoratori immigrati in agricoltura	Report	2018	129. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	MIGRANTI, FAI CISL: FARE SUBITO LUCE SU ROGO A RIGNANO, GARANTIRE SGOMBERO RAPIDO E IN PIENA SICUREZZA	Press release	2017	130. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	ENSIS, SBARRA: RANCORE SI PLACA RIPARTENDO DA ULTIMI	Press release	2017	131. Link
Trade Union (CISL FAI)	IL NUOVO VOLTO DELL'INTEGRAZIONE: A ROMA INCONTRO CON BASSETTI, FURLAN, MINNITI, SBARRA	Press release	2017	132. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	LAVORATORI EDILI RUMENI, PROTOCOLLO TRA INAS E FILCA	Press release	2014	133. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	FIRENZE, PROPOSTA DI FILCA E CISL: IMMIGRATI "A LEZIONE" NEGLI ENTI BILATERALI	Press release	2015	134. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	LEGALITA', TRISTE PRIMATO ALLA SICILIA PER CAPORALATO E LAVORO NERO	Press release	2015	135. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	GIORNATA DEL MIGRANTE, ADESIONE DELLA FILCA	Press release	2015	136. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	IMMIGRAZIONE, DALLA CISL DI LECCE PROPOSTE SU INTEGRAZIONE E LEGALITA'	Press release	2015	137. Link
Trade Union (CISL FILCA)	RIFUGIATI, L'APPELLO DEI SINDACATI ALL'EUROPA	Press release	2016	138. Link
Trade Union (CISL FISASCAT)	CONTRATTO TERZIARIO DISTRIBUZIONE E SERVIZI, AVVIATO IL NEGOZIATO CON CONFESERCENTI	Press release	2013 (December)	139. Link
Employers Organization (Confindustria)	Immigrati: da emergenza a opportunità. Dimensione, effetti economici e politiche.	Presentation	2016	140. Link
Employers Organization (Confindustria)	IMMIGRATI: DA EMERGENZA A OPPORTUNITÀ. DIMENSIONE, EFFETTI ECONOMICI, POLITICHE	Position paper	2016	141. Link

Employers Organization (Confindustria)	Al via l'intesa tra Viminale e Confindustria: tirocinio in azienda per i rifugiati	Press release	2017	142. Link
Employers Organization (Confagricoltura)	CAPORALATO, GIANSAANTI (CONFAGRICOLTURA): LEGGE GIUSTA, MA VANNO MIGLIORATI ALCUNI ASPETTI	Press release	2017	143. Link
Employers Organization (Confagricoltura)	MIGRANTI, GIANSAANTI (CONFAGRICOLTURA): "CONTRASTARE IL CAPORALATO E DARE CERTEZZE E SICUREZZE AI LAVORATORI"	Press release	2018	144. Link
Employers Organization (Coldiretti)	Migranti: nei campi 345mila stranieri, 1/4 del totale	Press release	2017	145. Link
Employers Organization (Coldiretti)	Migranti: Coldiretti, bene lotta caporalato estendere leggi a import	Press release	2017	146. Link
Employers Organization (Coldiretti)	Migranti: Coldiretti, via libera a ingresso 17mila lavoratori	Press release	2017	147. Link
Employers Organization (Coldiretti)	Migranti, via libera all'ingresso di 18mila lavoratori	Press release	2018	148. Link
Employers Organization (ACI)	Gli occupati stranieri nelle cooperative italiane	Research note	2016	149. Link
Employers Organization (ACI)	Caporalato «Protocollo è impegno concreto per includere gli stranieri e contrastare le aree di illegalità»	Press release	2016	150. Link
Employers Organization (ACI)	Viminale, Anci e Alleanza Cooperative Sociali firmano Carta per la Buona Accoglienza	Press release	2016	151. Link

ANNEX II, Policy & service taxonomy

Policy/service	Composition /substance	Year of implementation	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler	Link to information /pdf
Policies and programmatic documents							
Long-term programme on immigration policy and foreigners on State territory	The art. 3 of D.Lgs. 286/1998 required to the Government to develop a 'long-term programme on immigration policy and foreigners on State territory' once every three years, setting out the policies on immigration.	Not implemented in the last 12 years	Migrants	Government		In absence of long-term programmes, the annual measures establishing the quota of working permits don't respond to any meaningful analysis of Italian needs	Link (It)
Italian Roadmap 2015	A policy document which contains measures in the area of asylum, first reception and return.	Starting from 2015	Asylum seekers	Interior ministry		It valorizes and strengthens the role of the second level reception system, also in order to facilitate a first step of integration in the labour market.	Link (It)
National Plan for Immigration for persons entitled to international protection	A framework of interventions and measures aimed at favouring the integration of persons benefiting from international protection	Adopted in 2017 but still far to be implemented	Refugee	National Coordination Mechanism on Immigration (Tavolo di Coordinamento Nazionale), chaired by the Ministry of Interior		It identifies the lines of intervention for the effective integration of persons entitled to international protection, with particular regard to socio-economic and employment inclusion, by promoting specific programmes reinforcing access to employment, access to healthcare and social assistance, housing, language training and education as well as combating discrimination	Link (It) Link (En)
Measures for the contrast employment in the irregular market	Strengthening of administrative and criminal sanctions with the Legislative Decree no. 109/2012 Legislative Act no. 199/2016 introduced new provisions aimed at contrasting the widespread and serious phenomenon of the recruitment of illegal labour through the exploitation of the worker's condition of need	Starting 2012	Migrants			These measures try to contrast the so called phenomenon of caporalato, that is the recruitment of workers for third parties in conditions of exploitation, and taking advantage of their state of need.	Link (It)

Tax incentives for social cooperatives	Art. 1, par. 50-bis of Budget Law 2017 provides tax incentives for social cooperatives which will recruit beneficiaries of international protection with a permanent contract in 2018	Financial year 2018	Refugee		500.000 financed by the State		
Services							
Public Employment Service	The registration allows the access all job-related Public Employment Service under the conditions established for Italian citizens. Moreover, it ensures to the asylum seekers and refugees the exemption from the co-sharing of health services cost.		Asylum seekers	Government and Regions		The registration does not ensure systematic mentorship scheme specifically aimed at integrating the migrant into the labour market.	Link (It)
Reception services and integrated accommodation in the SPRAR centers	Teaching of Italian language, cultural mediation, legal counseling, health assistance, psychological support	Starting from 2002 but reformed in 2018	Asylum seekers and refugee	The SPRAR system (Service of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Political Refugees), which is a network of national and local authorities as well as non-profit organisations involved in the manage of reception services.		It provides a wide range of services and first steps of integration in the labour market. It is considered as a best practice	Link (En)
Access to education system	Foreign children until the age of 16 have access to the same public schools as Italian citizens.		Migrants	National Educational System			
Free language courses	DPR 179/2011 introduced free compulsory language courses for foreigner which sign the "Integration agreement"		Migrants	Government Provincial centers for the adult education (Centri provinciali per l'istruzione degli adulti)	21 millions of Euro per year	It is considered as a good practice in order to facilitate the integration. However, they are characterized for the lack of sufficient financial resources	Link (It)
Welfare benefits	The access to healthcare are guaranteed only with regard to urgent and essential health-care services, while the access to social housing are reserved to regularly resident migrants who are temporarily unable to provide on their own for their living and subsistence needs.		Migrants				

ANNEX III A, Interviews

	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution *
Stakeholder representative 1	22/10/2018	Coordinator of a labour market integration project	Municipality
Stakeholder representative 2	26/10/2018	Social assistant	Immigration office / social secretariat at Municipality
Stakeholder representative 3	06/11/2018	Assessor for welfare, health, reception and integration	Municipality
Stakeholder representative 4	07/11/2018	Coordinator of the training, orientation and work sector	Faith based organization
Stakeholder representative 5	15/11/2018	Coordinator of job orientation desks for asylum seekers and refugees of CAS (extraordinary assistance centres) and for immigrants	Social cooperative
Stakeholder representative 6	20/11/2018	Coordinator of a local SPRAR (asylum seeker and refugee protection system) centre	NGO
Stakeholder representative 7	22/11/2018	Member of the secretariat delegated to the promotion and development of policies and initiatives on immigration, integration, anti-racism, anti-fascism	Cultural and social promotion association
Stakeholder representative 8	22/11/2018	Career counsellor within immigrants' help desk	Public employment centre
Stakeholder representative 9	27/11/2018	Public executive	Ministry of Labour
Stakeholder representative 10	13/12/2018	Trade unionist, member of the regional union secretariat with responsibility for the policies of social inclusion, immigration and reception	Trade union
Stakeholder representative 11	27/12/2018	Entrepreneur and CEO of IT companies, vice-president of local employers' organization with responsibility for IT and technology services, responsible for the digital agenda of both local and regional employers' organization, member of the national employers' organization working group on the new manufacturing	Employers' organization
Stakeholder representative 12	03/01/2019	Entrepreneur and CEO of three companies in the hospitality-hotel industry, president of a employers' organization territorial section	Employers' organization
Stakeholder representative 13	18/01/2019	Former project manager and current scientific coordinator of no-profit foundation	Private no-profit foundation dealing with inclusion into the labour market
Stakeholder representative 14	26/03/2019	Politician, Senator of the League	Parliament (Senate of the Republic)

ANNEX III B, Interviews

Interviews (Past Beneficiaries)										
Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Interview 1, M.	04/12/2018	N.A.	Male	Married with children	Somalia	1971 (first time), 1987	Secondary (attended university without finishing)	Entrepreneur in the hospitality industry	No occupation	Somali, English, Arabic, Italian
Interview 2, A.	06/12/2018	62	Male	Married with children	Somalia	2011	Not available	Unemployed	Postal office and driver	Somali, English
Interview 3, T.	21/01/2019	41	Male	Married with children	Morocco	2007/08	Secondary (attended university one year without finishing)	Self-employed (antenna fitter)	Language teacher	Arabic, Italian, and other 2
Interview 4, S.	07/02/2019	46	Female	Married with children	Moldavia	Late 2006 (26 of December) in maternity/ since 2009 began to work	Secondary and nursing specialization	Domestic worker	Nurse	Moldovan - Romanian, Russian, Italian and basic French
Interview 5, S.	10/02/2019	42	Male	Married with children	Moldavia	2004	middle school diploma (one year of high school without finishing)	Worker in the agriculture sector (e.g. woodcutter, gardener)	Employee in a cooperative as a courier who brought food home	Moldovan - Romanian, Russian, Italian, basic French
Interview 6, O.	11/02/2019	34	Female	Married with children	Moldavia	First time in 2006 until 2011, returned in 2016	Tertiary education	Unemployed (previously, maid, caregiver and babysitter)	accounting officer in the public administration	Moldovan - Romanian, Russian, Italian

Interview 7, H.	20/02/2019	34	Female	Divorced with children	Somalia	2008	Tertiary education	Linguistic-cultural mediator, social educator and she is also involved in European projects	None	Somali, English, Arabic, Italian
Interview 8, M.	20/02/2019	28	Male	Single	Morocco	Arrived in 2006 and started working in 2008	Secondary education	Industrial mechanic	None	Arabic, Italian and French
Interview 9, B.	25/02/2019	23	Male	Single	Ivory Coast	Early 2016	Primary education	He worked 5 months in black as a car mechanic and storekeeper; currently, he is looking for a regular job	Car mechanic	French, Baoulé, Italian
Interview 11, A.	05/03/2019	23	Male	Single	Ivory Coast	Early 2017	Primary education	Student (in search of job)	Welder	French, Bambara, basic Italian
Interview 10, M.	13/03/2019	45	Female	Married with children	Morocco	2007	Secondary education	Accountant in the husband's cleaning company	Housewife	Arabic, Italian and French
Interview 12, S.	26/03/2019	41	Female	Widow with children	Ivory Coast	Early 2016	Illiterate	On-call contracts in cleaning companies	Employee in cleaning companies, greengrocer and baby-sitter	French, Baoulé, basic Italian
Interview 13, M.	28/03/2019	41	Female	Married with children	Morocco	2007	Secondary education (now she is attending Education Sciences at University)	She has been working in an immigration desk managed by a cooperative since just one month and previously worked for a long time as a linguistic-cultural mediator	None	Arabic, French, English, Italian
Interview 14, H.	28/03/2019	30	Male	Married (waiting for a child)	Somalia	2011	Middle school diploma	Currently unemployed, previously he worked regularly as turner and in black as pizza maker, dishwasher and cook assistant, and in the gardening sector.	Farmer	Somali, Arabic, Italian, basic English

ANNEX IV, Summaries of conducted interviews

Stakeholders		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
1	The interviewee is the coordinator at the Municipality of the European projects organized by the Region for the insertion of non-EU foreigners in the labour market (both economic migrants and asylum seekers/refugees). He stresses the differences between policies directed toward asylum seekers on the one hand and policies directed toward migrants/refugees on the other: <i>"There is a huge difference between asylum seekers on one hand and migrants or refugees on the other: asylum seekers can live in reception centres and work only if they have a wage up to 5889 euro per year", "their permanence in Italy depends on the decision to give them asylum: this entails that services are more oriented towards those that have already the permit to stay in Italy"</i>. As regards labour market integration policies, the interviewee states that in general there are not so many differences between natives and foreigners, as they are universal policies which affect all residents, regardless of nationality: <i>"some policies related to the integration into the labour market affect both Italians and foreigners"</i>. Consequently, strengths and weaknesses of labour market integration policies for foreigners are the same of those for Italians. Nevertheless, some important specificities emerge: <i>"as regards foreigners, it is important to focus on Italian language classes, the transformation and recognition of previous competences, vocational training [...] matching labour market demand and supply"</i>. In this regard, the interviewee recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the supply of language courses for migrants: <i>"there is no strict obligation to know Italian. For instance, it is mandatory to have the A2 level to obtain citizenship and residence card. But for many foreign workers there is not a formal obligation to know Italian. This is a huge problem in the workplace. CPIA (public institutes aimed at teaching Italian language to adults) are undersized...Knowledge of the language is fundamental to socialize, to understand a job contract, to comprehend functioning of Italian institutions and be aware of Italian history"</i>. Another weakness that emerges is the lack of coordination between various institutions and offices, as well as the poor functioning of public employment centres: <i>"it should be necessary a greater coordination between different offices (e.g. social services and employment offices)"</i>. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications.	22/10/2018
2	The interviewee is a social assistant working for the immigration office and social secretariat at the Municipality. The interviewee recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, it is stressed the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation: <i>"linguistic-cultural mediation is fundamental, especially for foreigners with a very different religious and cultural background and for those who are illiterate"</i>. Among the strengths of the policies examined, there is the collaboration between public and private sectors, with an important role played by the third sector: <i>"among the positive aspects, I have to tell the truth, there are so many associations which also collaborate with us, that is, the Social Services of the municipality, for instance associations that deal with migrants [...] there is a network that can be improved, but it works well"</i>. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. In general, according to the interviewee, work issues are only one of the critical aspects of a wider spectrum	26/10/2018

	of social problems affecting refugees/asylum seekers: <i>"these people do not have only work problems, they have also social problems, housing problems, do not have a registered residence within the municipality. So, obviously the work problem is important for them, however, before finding a job, they must meet basic needs"</i> .	
3	The interviewee is a Municipality Assessor for welfare, health, reception and integration. An important issue that emerges from the interview is that there is a clear difference between policies and services targeting asylum seekers and those directed towards refugees, holders of international protection, long-term migrants. In particular, it emerges a specific obstacle for asylum seekers: if it is true that after 60 days from their arrival they can work, actually the limit of 5889 euros of annual salary in order to stay in reception centres is a huge obstacle to finding a regular job: <i>"this is a barrier without a doubt. It is likely that asylum seekers who find a fixed-term or permanent job, are excluded from reception centres. But with their wages, they often cannot afford to rent a house nor to buy it [...] this means they have to choose between working or having a place to sleep [...] this is an incentive to work in black"</i>. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. In terms of integration services, there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres. The former, indeed, work well, providing ad hoc budget quota for an integrated system of services for social and economic inclusion. Conversely, in first reception centres the quality of services offered depends on who manages them: in some cases, they are properly managed, but <i>"in other cases they are managed by associations or cooperatives that do not have an appropriate expertise, e. g. cleaning cooperatives"</i>. In this regard, the interviewee says that an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge. Exactly the opposite, in the opinion of the interviewee, of the road recently taken by the current government with the decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree). There are many critical issues reported: <i>"the new decree lowers the daily management cost of CAS [first reception centres] and this is an incentive to build big reception centres, with a greater impact on local communities, which provide only basic activities, such as room and board. Even language courses are not any more mandatory. Furthermore, SPRAR second reception centres are downsized: they are only for unaccompanied minors and refugees"</i>. The interviewee also criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market. Finally, it is emphasized that the opinions of Italians after the crisis have become much more negative towards immigration. According to the interviewee, this can be explained by the weakening of welfare state due to the fiscal problems of the State and the consequent austerity policies, with the lower classes who have begun to perceive immigrants as dangerous competitors in a context of scarce resources: <i>"the weakness of the Italian welfare state could trigger a struggle among the poor"</i>.	06/11/2018
4	The interviewee is the coordinator of the training, orientation and work sector of a faith based organization. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. In terms of integration services, it is stressed the key role played by the SPRAR system, which provides ad hoc budget quota for an integrated system of services for social and economic inclusion delivered within its network of first reception centres. In this regard, the interviewee says that an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge. Exactly the opposite, in the opinion of the interviewee, of the road recently taken by the current government with the decree n. 113/2018 (the	07/11/2018

	so-called Salvini decree). According to this decree-law, indeed, the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus radically changing the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. The risk, as stressed by the interviewee, is to severely damage a system considered as a best practice for integration. In addition to the system of integrated services offered by the SPRAR network, training internships according to our interviewee work well and are an important element that facilitates entry into the labour market of foreigners: <i>"legislation on training internships has included asylum seekers and refugees among vulnerable target groups and this has been very important"</i>. Finally, the interviewee criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market. <i>"according to the law, the economic migrant can enter if s/he has a contract of work already signed and the employer must guarantee an adequate accommodation [...] these are inapplicable rules because they are not realistic and very burdensome for the employers [...] it is impossible for a small company to hire unknown people"</i>.	
5	The interviewee, member of a social cooperative, is the coordinator of job orientation desks for asylum seekers and refugees of CAS (extraordinary assistance centres) and for immigrants. The interviewee recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, it is stressed the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation: <i>"we cannot disregard cultural mediators"</i>. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. Another important issue emerges: in terms of integration services there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres. In fact, within the latter <i>"there is no expenditure chapter intended for work-related actions for asylum-seekers, contrary to what is granted by SPRAR centres"</i>. In this regard, the interviewee says that an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge. Exactly the opposite, in the opinion of the interviewee, of the road recently taken by the current government with the decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree). According to this decree-law, indeed, the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus radically changing the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. The risk, as stressed by the interviewee, is to severely damage a system considered as a best practice for integration. Finally, the interviewee criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market.	15/11/2018
6	The interviewee is a member of an NGO and coordinator of a local SPRAR (asylum seeker and refugee protection system) centre. The interviewee recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, it is stressed the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications: <i>"the procedure for the recognition of qualifications is very complicated, to date there are no effective policies and tools"</i>. Another important issue emerges: the SPRAR system is considered as a best practice of integration services for asylum seekers and refugees. In this regard, <i>"an important feature of the SPRAR system is that it provides services not only for social inclusion, but also for economic inclusion, such as accompaniment to the job search [...] it offers various services that are connected to the work area, such as orientation, vocational training, inclusion into companies through training internships or job grants"</i>. Hence, the interviewee says that an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge. Exactly the opposite, in the opinion of the interviewee, of the road recently taken by the current government with the decree n. 113/2018	20/11/2018

	(the so-called Salvini decree). According to this decree-law, indeed, the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus radically changing the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. Furthermore, the interviewee criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law): <i>"there are no real immigration policies: in fact there is no legal access channel [...] the Bossi-Fini law is not adequate"</i> . In other words, it is stressed that legally entering the country is difficult: thus, many migrants turn to criminal organizations and asylum applications are often abused as they are perceived as the sole measure to enter Italy legally.	
7	The interviewee is member of the secretariat of a cultural and social promotion association delegated to the promotion and development of policies and initiatives on immigration, integration, anti-racism, anti-fascism. The main issue raised during the interview is the importance of language skills to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, it is stressed the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the supply of language courses for migrants: <i>"the profession of linguistic-cultural mediators is not adequately recognized"</i> . A critical opinion is expressed as regards the legal framework on immigration: <i>"the very complex regulation concerning residence permits, citizenship, family reunification, is an element that complicates the life of these people as regards the possibility of finding a regular job"</i> . Similarly, the interviewee criticizes the recent decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree). According to this decree-law, indeed, the SPRAR centres are now reserved only for unaccompanied minors and beneficiaries of international protection, thus radically changing the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. The latter, conversely, is considered as a system which works well in terms of integration services, as well as training internships: <i>"some of the people who attended training internships in our community centres were hired as pizza chef in our restaurants"</i> .	22/11/2018
8	The interviewee is career counsellor within immigrants' help desk of a local public employment centre. Regarding the policies of inclusion in the labour market, the interviewee stresses the lack of coordination between various institutions and offices, as well as the poor functioning of public employment centres in terms of integration services for migrants: <i>"We have an immigration desk, but not all employment centres in Tuscany have it, neither within the province of Florence. Furthermore, linguistic-cultural mediation services are not provided by all centres, legal counselling services have been downsized, only two hours per week [...] in our centre there are no services of linguistic mediation for the largest immigrant communities with less knowledge of the Italian language, such as Bengalis, Sinhalese and Filipinos [...] job orientation talks last only half an hour and this limits what can be done"</i> . The interviewee recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, it is stressed the importance of linguistic and cultural mediation. The interviewee underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. Finally, the interview criticizes the recent decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree) and the immigration law (the so called Bossi-Fini law).	22/11/2018
9	The interviewee is a public official of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies. During the interview, it is emphasized the issue of regional fragmentation concerning labour market integration policies: <i>"on the basis of article 117 of the Constitution the competence on integration policies is mostly regional, we as Ministry of Labour can only make program agreements with regions, guidelines, coordination and planning, pilot projects such as Inside and "Percorsi" focused on training internships [...]</i> There are huge differences between regions. For instance, in Tuscany many employment centres have cultural mediators and specific integration services are provided for migrants. However, if we exclude 4-5 regions that have done a lot in this field, the rest of regions lag behind". Regarding the policies of inclusion in the labour market, another weakness that	27/11/2018

	emerges is the poor functioning of public employment centres: <i>“employment centres are poorly developed, the law n. 150 [on the labour market, ed.] has not yet fully implemented [...] there is strong differentiation between the different regions, and only in three regions (Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Piedmont) the reform of public employment centres have just completed [...] in the South, informal networks are almost the only channel of access to the labour market”</i>. In this regard, the black economy and labour exploitation, especially in certain regions of the South (but not only) and in certain sectors (agriculture and construction) are other barriers for the integration of immigrants. However, some legislative improvements are mentioned, in particular the law against <i>caporalato</i> (law n. 199 of 2016): <i>“the law is very positive. However, the phenomenon of caporalato is still related to economic rules of agricultural sectors based on necessity of low costs and job intermediation”</i>. As an example of best practice it is mentioned the network of integrated services offered by the SPRAR system. The latter, however, is undermined according to the interviewee by decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree). There are many critical issues reported, which concern <i>“the fact that humanitarian protection is removed and replaced by temporary limited special permits that allow working, but cannot be converted into work permits [...] the result is that many people will be put on the street with a sheet of expulsion in the pocket”</i>.	
10	The interviewee is a trade unionist, member of the regional union secretariat with responsibility for the policies of social inclusion, immigration and reception. According to the interviewee, in terms of integration services there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres. While the former can be considered as a best practice, <i>“the basic problem is that big first reception centres often respond to an emergency logic, there is no obligation of economic reporting and therefore there is also less transparency”</i>. In this regard, an appropriate policy would be to upgrade the SPRAR system, as a model to which the whole reception system should converge. Exactly the opposite, in the opinion of the interviewee, of the road recently taken by the current government with the decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree). The latter, indeed, removes humanitarian protection and replaces it with temporary limited special permits that allow working, but cannot be converted into work permits: the result, according to the interviewee, is that many people will be put on the street with a sheet of expulsion in the pocket and given that <i>“it will be very difficult to actually expel them because of the lack of bilateral agreements between states and because the cost would be twenty times higher than the integration costs and it would be a very long process [...] in reality this decree will not stop the “invasion” that does not exist, because our production system needs immigration, but will prevent integration. From one day to the next, thousands of people will find themselves on the street [...] in reality this creates a huge reservoir of labour force without rights, blackmailed [...] these migrants will become illegal immigrants, without rights [...] they will have to work in black or to become criminals in order to survive”</i>. Similarly, the interview criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market. The black economy and labour exploitation, especially in certain regions of the South (but not only) and in certain sectors (agriculture and construction) are other highlighted barriers for the integration of immigrants. More than the content of laws, the problem is often their lack of implementation and the weakness of the state in certain areas with a strong mafia presence. According to the trade unionist we interviewed, a certain mentality prone to save on labour costs, even at the expense of workers' rights, still exists in certain sectors of Italian industry. Finally, the economic and financial crisis that overwhelmed Italy in 2008-2009 is recognized as a factor that has hindered the integration of migrants in the labour market due to its direct and indirect effects. Concerning the former, the economic crisis has led to severe cuts in welfare services, in particular at the local level. In addition, many immigrants have lost their residence permits after losing their jobs due to the crisis. With regard to the latter, it is emphasized that the opinions of Italians after the crisis	13/12/2018

	have become much more negative towards immigration, even among workers who are members of trade unions.	
11	The interviewee is an entrepreneur and CEO of IT companies, vice-president of local employers' organization with responsibility for IT and technology services, responsible for the digital agenda of both local and regional employers' organization, member of the national employers' organization working group on the new manufacturing. The interviewee stresses the importance of immigration for Italian economy and demography. In this regard, the recent decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree), which has abolished humanitarian protection, is strongly criticized by the interviewee, stating that <i>"it does not respect human dignity and increases insecurity"</i>. Similarly, the interview criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) considered as unrealistic and not in line with the real needs of the labour market: <i>"it is a disaster, it was not realistic when it was written and it is not even up to date with respect to the needs of today's labour market [...] we need policy solutions tailored to the needs of both the labour market and foreign workers [...] the productive Northeast without migrants would close the factories"</i>. The black economy and labour exploitation, especially in certain regions of the South (but not only) and in certain sectors (agriculture and construction) are other barriers for the integration of immigrants. The interviewee is aware that this is an important issue and that the illegal economy has a negative impact not only on employees, but also on authentic companies, triggering unfair competition. According to the interviewee, much progress has been made in the business world with entrepreneurial organizations very active and involved in countering these phenomena. Finally, according to the interviewee, language skills, vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers are key factors which can favour the integration of foreigners into the labour market. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications.	27/12/2018
12	The interviewee is an entrepreneur and CEO of three companies in the hospitality-hotel industry, president of an employers' organization territorial section. The interviewee stresses the importance to have a legal framework on immigration more in line with the real needs of labour market and for this reason he criticizes the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law): <i>"the immigration law does not work, it would be better to go back to the 1999 Turco-Napolitano law providing cultural integration activities and housing. Today, especially in some parts of the South, migrants are forced to live in terrible slums not worthy of our civilization [...] it would also be necessary to attract more skilled workers as did other countries such as Germany. Today we talk about immigration only in terms of security issues, while true integration takes place within companies [...]</i> In addition, now entry quota are blocked, whereas the Turco-Napolitano law had introduced a sponsorship program [which attempted to coordinate needed economic sectors with migrant workers through migrant associations, ed.]". Furthermore, the interviewee criticizes the lack of a real common migration policy at an EU level, and the lack of solidarity among member states as regards the relocation of refugees. In this regard, the interviewee does not criticize the recent decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree): <i>"I do not feel like criticizing the decree. Italy has been left alone from the rest of Europe and I understand that in some way a signal of firmness had to be given"</i>. Finally, according to the interviewee, language skills, vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers are key factors which can favour the integration of foreigners into the labour market. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications.	03/01/2019
13	The interviewee is former project manager and current scientific coordinator of a no-profit foundation dealing with inclusion into the labour market. According to the interviewee, language skills, vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers are key factors which can favour the integration of	18/01/2019

	foreigners into the labour market. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. Language courses are conversely offered to asylum seekers and refugees within reception centres, but with a significant distinction: refugees are hosted in centres of second reception within the SPRAR system, which <i>“guarantees ad hoc funding for a whole series of services that must be offered, such as language courses”</i>. Asylum seekers, however, are not only in the centres of the SPRAR system, but also in the centres of first reception <i>“where Italian courses are planned, but they have not a dedicated budget quota”</i>. On the basis of the above, another important issue emerges: in terms of integration services there is a substantial difference between second reception centres of the SPRAR system and first reception centres. As regards the former, an important feature of the SPRAR system is that it provides services not only for social inclusion, but also for economic inclusion and indeed <i>“the SPRAR system is considered as a best practice at the European level”</i>. Conversely, <i>“in the CAS type centres the quality of services offered depends on who manages them: in many cases they are managed by the same third sector actors which manage the SPRAR centres and therefore the differences are minimal”</i>. In addition to the system of integrated services offered by the SPRAR system, training internships according to our interviewee work well and are an important element that facilitates entry into the labour market of foreigners: <i>“I have to say that training internships work very well: most people find a job”</i>. Finally, the interviewee criticize the current immigration law (the so-called Bossi-Fini law) because it is not realistic and is not in line with the needs of the labour market, and the recent decree n. 113/2018 (the so-called Salvini decree), which radically changes the original approach on which the SPRAR system was built on. The risk, as stressed by interviewee, is to severely damage a system considered as a best practice for integration.	
14	The interviewee is a member of the Senate, the Upper House of the Italian Parliament from the Northern League party. He highlighted the importance that foreigners work for both their integration and Italian society, as otherwise they may become a too heavy burden for a country struggling to overcome the crisis. In order for migrants to seize the opportunity to integrate through their employment, they have to master the language, and to be aware of rights and duties. The respect of Italian culture and of the law should in any case be a <i>conditio-sine-qua-non</i> for the integration. This could be particularly important for the integration of women. The most important aspect of the current government attitude towards migration governance is to reaffirm the State's right and capacity to select economic migrants as to accommodate the needs of the market, and not the other way round. <i>“This will reduce the level of foreigners' unemployment, with a positive impact on national security and on the cost of welfare services [...] This is not simply for the well-being of Italians, but also of regular migrants, who are those that most seriously claim a stricter control on migration and selection of migrants.”</i> While recognising the duty of solidarity towards “true” refugees, he highlighted the necessity of tightening the criteria of international protection regimes, especially the Italian humanitarian protection, that prior to the new Salvini law was too generously recognised to people who did not qualified in terms of the Geneva convention.	26/03/2019
Past beneficiaries		
Interview number	Short description of interview (inc. Some quotations)	date of interview
1	The interviewee is a man from Somalia, married with children, working as entrepreneur in the hospitality industry. He arrived in Italy for study reasons. He worked as deputy director of a private school of marketing, management, gardening architecture and professional training courses. Then, he decided to undertake the entrepreneurial activity. He entered the labour market through personal contacts, without receiving support by public institutions. He has no experience with integration services: he received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services	04/12/2018

	nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. He recognizes that language and professional skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. In this regard, he believes that in that last years, many immigrants who arrived in Italy have no professional skills and do not know Italian: these can be serious obstacles for hiring foreigners. The interviewee stresses an importance difference between services offered by CAS centres [extraordinary assistance centres] and reception centres of the SPRAR system: asylum seekers who stay in the former, do not learn Italian, contrary to those who stay in the SPRAR centres. The presence of cultural linguistic mediators should be fundamental to foster integration, according to the interviewee. Moreover, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications: <i>"I know a Somali doctor, who knew Chinese and that's why he worked with them ... but he could not be recognized as a doctor in medicine ... the, they did not renew his residence permit and he had to leave ... The equivalence of qualifications is very difficult"</i> Finally, in the last years he has perceived a deterioration in the attitudes of Italians, with some episodes of intolerance: <i>"lately there is a bit of mistrust, which has increased over the years [...] recently, a guy in front of my home shouted to me: 'go home!'. It was the first time since I came in Italy"</i>. The interviewee believes this is due to the politicization of the immigration issue carried out by some parties to gain votes using immigrants as a scapegoat.	
2	The interviewee is a man from Somalia with the refugee status, currently unemployed. His personal story is dramatic and touching: during the war, he left Mogadishu to escape from Al-Shabaab and reached Libya via Ethiopia and Sudan. In Libya he stayed for three years without knowing the destiny of his family. Then he discovered that his wife and four of his children were in Ethiopia, whereas three of them, his father and sister were killed in Mogadishu by Al-Shabaab. After the civil war in Libya he ran away and tried to reach Italy by boat paying around 400 dollars to the smugglers, but during the journey they were about to drown and came back to Libya. Finally, he paid again the smugglers and reached Lampedusa in Italy. The smugglers killed the people who did not want to pay. Then, he left Italy, went to Denmark and reached Germany, where he got the refugee status. Finally, he came back to Italy. As a refugee, his condition is very disadvantaged because he does not live in a reception centre. He has not a support network, has not a job and he is left to himself, except the support he receives from Caritas: <i>"I am unemployed, I lived in the street, now I live with some friends [...] no one offered me courses of Italian or job placement [...] not knowing Italian, it is hard to find a job, even if I would like it [...] the only support is the canteen of Caritas"</i>.	06/12/2018
3	The interviewee is a man from Morocco, married with children, self-employed as antenna fitter. He arrived in Italy for work and study reasons. He entered the labour market through personal contacts, without receiving support by public institutions. He has no experience with integration services: he received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. He recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market: <i>"I believe that language skills are fundamental to be included into the labour market"</i>. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the lack of supply of language courses for migrants: <i>"when I came in Italy, for work and study reasons, no one offered me courses of Italian language"</i>. Furthermore, he underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications: <i>"we adapt and follow the destiny; even though I have studied computer engineering, I have adapted to work in an area for which I have not studied"</i>. This means that his job is not in line with his qualification, partly wasting the potential he can bring to the Italian economy. However, the adaptability of foreign workers is underlined by the	21/01/2019

	interviewee and in this regard he says he is happy to live and work in Italy: <i>"I'm happy to stay in Italy. It is a safe country"</i>. Finally, in the last years he has perceived a deterioration in the attitudes of Italians, with some episodes of intolerance: <i>"in the last years, I have perceived more hostility towards immigrants. And after the terrorist attacks, even fear"</i>. However, the interviewee perceives more mistrust and fear, rather than true racism (beyond some incidents) and believes this is due to the economic crisis, the fear of terrorism and the politicization of the immigration issue carried out by some parties to gain votes using immigrants as a scapegoat. In any case, once the wall of distrust has been overcome, he believes that Italians feel comfortable with their immigrant colleagues: mutual knowledge in the workplace is considered as a factor that favours integration.	
4	The interviewee is a woman from Moldavia, married with children, working as domestic worker. She entered the labour market through personal contacts, without receiving support by public institutions. She has no experience with integration services: she received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. She recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the lack of supply of language courses for migrants. Furthermore, she underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications: <i>"I started to work as a domestic worker because my qualification as nurse was not recognized here in Italy. To get it, I would have to go back to university. With the salary of my husband, we could not pay the rent and the expenses, and so I gave up and I started doing this job, it's a shame because I liked my job as a nurse"</i>. This means that her job is not in line with her qualification, partly wasting the potential she can bring to the Italian economy. However, the adaptability of foreign workers is underlined by the interviewee and in this regard she says she is happy to live and work in Italy. The bureaucratic procedures to renew residence permits are considered as too complicated and expensive, even for long-term resident immigrants: <i>"every 5 years, I have to renew the residence permit, and the procedures are expensive and too long, it takes me one year"</i>. Finally, in the last years she has perceived a deterioration in the attitudes of Italians, with some episodes of intolerance. However, the interviewee perceives more mistrust and fear, rather than true racism (beyond some incidents).	07/02/2019
5	The interviewee is a man from Moldavia, married with children, working in the agriculture sector (e.g. woodcutter, gardener). He arrived in Italy for work and family reasons. He entered the labour market through personal contacts based on the family network, without receiving support by public institutions. He has no experience with integration services: he received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. He has not received social benefits, except for family allowances. He recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the lack of supply of language courses for migrants. Furthermore, he underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. However, the adaptability of foreign workers is underlined by the interviewee and in this regard he says he is happy to live and work in Italy. Finally, he believes that the bureaucratic procedures to renew residence permits are too complicated and expensive, even for long-term resident immigrants:	10/02/2019

6	The interviewee is a woman from Moldavia, married with children, currently unemployed (previously, she worked as maid, caregiver and babysitter). She entered the labour market through personal contacts, without receiving support by public institutions. She has no experience with integration services: she received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. She has not received social benefits, except for family allowances. She recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. However, some deficiencies are highlighted, concerning especially the lack of supply of language courses for migrants. Furthermore, she underlines the importance of vocational training and the enhancement of the skills of foreign workers. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. However, the adaptability of foreign workers is underlined by the interviewee and in this regard she says she is happy to live and work in Italy. The bureaucratic procedures to renew residence permits are considered as too complicated and expensive, even for long-term resident immigrants.	11/02/2019
7	The interviewee is a woman from Somalia with the refugee status, divorced with children, working as linguistic-cultural mediator, social educator and in European projects. She is also president of a social theatre association and was involved in a volunteer association fighting against female genital mutilation. Her migration experience has been tough: during the war, for family and political reasons she escaped from Somalia (where her kid still lives) and reached Libya passing through the desert. After being imprisoned twice, she reached Italy by boat paying the smugglers. After 26 days in an identification centre, she was recognized the refugee status and moved in a reception centre of the SPRAR system. Here, she had experience with integration services managed by a social and cultural promotion association, attending language courses. Anyway, she really learned Italian by attending a language course in a private foundation and started working as linguistic-cultural mediator within a social and cultural promotion association. In this regard, she believes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market, as well as cultural mediation. According to the interviewee, CPIA (Provincial Centres for Adult Education) are very good. Conversely, a huge problem that refugees have to face is that they depend totally on the assistance of the operators when they live in reception centres, whereas they are left to themselves when they leave the centres: <i>"operators tend to assist you in everything without leaving you autonomy. But when you leave the centre, you are not very able to get away with it alone. In fact, you moves from 100 to zero in terms of support"</i>. In this regard, finding accommodation is difficult. The interviewee is happy to live and work in Italy and feels integrated, but she is not optimistic about the possibilities for career advancement. Moreover, the interviewee underlines that qualifications acquired in the country of origin are very difficult to recognize in Italy: <i>"my previous qualifications are as if they never existed"</i>. Finally, in recent times she has perceived a greater fear on the part of migrants, also due to the recent legislation measures that have downsized the SPRAR system: <i>"since they have abolished humanitarian protection, a number of people you can not even imagine are outside without accommodation and assistance"</i>.	20/02/2019
8	The interviewee is a man from Morocco, single, working in a factory as industrial mechanic. He arrived in Italy for family reunification. He entered the labour market through a training internship provided by the technical Institute he was attending. In this regard, he underlines the importance of attending professional schools or technical institutes to enter the labour market quickly, whereas he criticizes employment agencies: <i>"they are a ruin, they exploit people"</i>. He has no	20/02/2019

	experience with integration services: he received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. He recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. He criticizes the bureaucratic procedures to renew work permits and the lack of clarity. He is happy to live and work in Italy and feels integrated, but he is not optimistic about the possibilities for career advancement. Furthermore, in the last years he has perceived a deterioration in the attitudes of Italians toward immigrants and he believes this is the fault of TV, social media and some politicians: <i>"social media give a distorted image of immigrants, people think they are too many and believe politicians who promise to stop immigration"</i> .	
9	The interviewee is a man from Ivory Coast, single and with the refugee status. He has worked 5 months in black as a car mechanic and storekeeper; currently, he is looking for a regular job. For political reasons he escaped from Ivory Coast (his parents were killed for political reasons) and reached Libya passing through Nigeria. In Libya, he was exploited as he was obliged to work without being paid. From Libya, he reached Italy by boat paying the smugglers. The whole journey lasted 4 years. In Italy, he moved in several reception centres, where he received neither an individualized integration plan from the integration services nor basic information about Italian society, culture and labour markets and the rights and obligations of migrants. However, he attended Italian classes offered by the reception centres and he recognizes that language skills are important to be integrated into the labour market. He is happy to live in Italy, but he underlines the difficulties of finding a regular job. He worked in black and abandoned his last job because <i>"the employer did not want to offer me a regular work contract"</i> . The problem was due to the fact that his residence permit was expired. After regularising his condition, he is still facing difficulties in finding a regular job. Finding an accommodation is another huge problem; indeed, he still lives in a reception centre. However, the interviewee underlines his great adaptability: <i>"I want to work, I can do any kind of work"</i> .	25/02/2019
10	The interviewee is a man from Ivory Coast, single and with the subsidiary protection. He has worked as welder in his country; currently, he is studying and looking for a job. He escaped from Ivory Coast because he had a problem with the employer who threatened him to put him in jail. Therefore, he reached Libya passing through Burkina Faso and Niger. He lived in Libya for a year and five months. From Libya, he reached Italy by boat paying the smugglers. In Italy he would like to do the same job he did in his country (i.e. the welder), but he has difficulty finding a job because he does not have enough relationships and personal contacts. He has not received an individualized integration plan from the integration services and in general he has no experience with integration services. However, the employment centre has informed him on how to look for a job and he has received information on the rights of migrants. He states that <i>"the information has been clear"</i> .	05/03/2019
11	The interviewee is a woman from Morocco, married with two children. She arrived in Italy for family reunification and currently she is working as accountant in a cleaning company of her husband. Therefore, she entered the labour market through her family relationship: i.e. the husband. In this company, there is a multi-ethnic environment: <i>"in my husband's company there are other foreigners not only from Morocco, but also from other countries"</i> . This work condition helps her to feel integrated and overall she is happy to live and work in Italy. She has not received an individualized integration plan from the integration services and in general she has no experience with integration services. She recognizes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market. Finally, she criticizes the bureaucratic procedures to renew work permits and the lack of clarity.	13/03/2019

12	The interviewee is a woman from Ivory Coast, widow with four children (one of them is in Italy) and with the humanitarian protection. Currently, she earns her living through on-call contracts in cleaning companies. In her country, she worked in cleaning companies and also as greengrocer and as baby-sitter. She escaped from Ivory Coast to Libya and arrived in Italy by boat (in Lampedusa island). In Italy she has lived in CAS (Centres of extraordinary reception) and SPRAR reception centres. In these centres, she has attended an Italian language course and she has also attended an Italian language course in a CPIA (Provincial Centre for Adult Education). Although she has some difficulties in speaking Italian, she recognizes the importance of language knowledge to find a job and integrate in the Italian society. Learning a foreign language is particularly difficult for illiterate people, as the interviewee is. In the reception centre she also attended a course on occupational safety and food hygiene. She had difficulty in finding a job because she does not have enough relationships and personal contacts.	26/03/2019
13	The interviewee is a woman from Morocco, married with two children. Currently, she is attending Education Sciences at University and she has been working in an immigration desk managed by a cooperative since just one month. Previously, she worked for a long time as a linguistic-cultural mediator. In this regard, not surprisingly, she believes that language skills are fundamental to be integrated into the labour market, as well as cultural mediation. The interviewee is perfectly integrated in the Italian society, also through active participation in a huge variety of civil society organizations, ranging from voluntary associations, cooperatives, religious organizations of Muslims, associations active in international cooperation. Through these associations she acquired very helpful networks for her job as cultural mediator. Furthermore, she founded an association that is very linked to the labour market integration of migrant women. Indeed, this organization developed interesting projects to encourage entrepreneurship among immigrant women in the wake of a fair trade project already developed in Morocco with the collaboration of the University of Parma. However, the interviewee points out that in Italy it is very difficult to recognize and enhance the skills of immigrants, as well as their qualifications. Indeed, her high school diploma (in classical studies) acquired in Morocco was not recognized in Italy: therefore, she had to attend high school again, choosing a fashion technical institute that allowed her to work as a worker in tailoring companies. During her years of study, she also worked in cleaning companies to renew her residence permit for work reasons. In this regard, she believes that the bureaucratic procedures to renew residence permits are too complicated. Furthermore, the fear of losing the work permit almost obliges migrants to accept any kind of job. Finally, as regards attitudes of Italians toward immigrants, the interviewee says that <i>“Moroccan community is very united at local level and this facilitates reciprocal exchanges with Italians [...] In the last few years I have perceived a specular phenomenon: part of the Italian society seems to me to have become more curious about other cultures, while another part of society has developed attitudes of greater mistrust and closure”</i>.	28/03/2019
14	The interviewee is a man from Somalia with the refugee status, married (waiting for a child). He escaped from Somalia because of the war and because he was working in Saudi Arabia without documents, being in a very difficult situation. He flew from Somalia to Uganda. Then he reached Sudan by bus, where he took a boat on the Nile river going to the North of Sudan. Then, he took a car passing through the desert and reached Libya. He says he was lucky because at that time (i.e. 2011) the situation in Libya was not as tough as now and could reach by boat Lampedusa island in Italy paying “only” 200 euro, after two months of travel. In Italy he arranged himself, without living in reception centres and without receiving any kind of support or individualized integration plan. Relying only on himself, he successfully applied for asylum and then moved to Denmark where he lost the documents, but after six months he was sent back to Italy where his fingerprints had been previously taken. Once back in Italy, he managed to redo the documents and lived in different cities doing various jobs thanks to the contacts	28/03/2019

	provided by some of his friends. He did not attend Italian language courses, but he recognizes that knowledge of language is fundamental to find a job, integrate into society and defend one's rights. He worked without a contract as pizza maker, dishwasher and cook assistant, and in the gardening sector. In this regard, he believes that black economy is a problem <i>"not only for migrants – who are exploited because they have a low salary without the right to paid holidays, to the thirteenth-month salary, to sickness – but also for the Italian government that lacks tax revenues to pay the healthcare system"</i>. At the end, he found a regular contract as a turner, but he was fired. Thus, he is currently unemployed and he has just received unemployment benefit, under the condition of finding a job. He would like to work as self-employed in the retail sector. The interviewee found jobs through personal contacts and he believes this is a characteristic of the Italian labour market. This feature, however, for foreigners is a problem because they do not have enough relationships and personal contacts. Finally, he feels good in Italy and has not experienced racist attitudes, although he perceives that recently foreigners are portrayed in a negative way by the media. Instead, he experienced a very serious episode of violence suffered by the police: <i>"a real beating at the police station, terrible, I didn't think that such a thing could happen in Europe"</i>.	

8 Switzerland

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8.1 Introduction

This report is developed in the context of the project *SIRIUS: Skills and Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Applicants in European Labour Markets*, which builds on a multi-dimensional conceptual framework. Within this framework, the host country or political-institutional, societal and individual-related conditions function as either ‘enablers’ or ‘barriers’ to the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into the labour market.

The present report is the outcome of a study conducted in the third Work Package of the SIRIUS project. SIRIUS aims to contribute to revealing how and to what extent the policy discourses and public policy setting of those countries in our research have a (beneficial or negative) impact on the effective capacity of those countries to integrate migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (MRAAs) into the labour market. Focusing on the case of Switzerland, the aim of our current report is to identify and critically analyse the policy factors facilitating or hindering the access and integration of post-2014 MRAAs into the domestic labour market, as well as to provide a more update analysis of the institutional and constitutional framework regulating their integration.

It should be stressed that, historically, migration has played an important role in the Swiss economy; foreign population recruitment has contributed to the economic growth of the past century. Today, Switzerland is widely recognised as a country of immigration. At the end of 2017, the foreign resident population of Switzerland was 2,053,589. Around 70% of the permanent foreign resident population came from EU-28/EFTA states. The main reason of 47% of those entering the country in 2017 was to take up employment (SEM, 2018). Examining the history of migration policy in Switzerland reveals that the country has driven active economic recruitment policies, opening doors to foreign labour forces when needed while being quite restrictive in its integration and naturalization policies. An understanding of Switzerland's selective regime of migration and mobility is crucial to grasp how enablers and barriers to MRAA labour market integration are shaped and conditioned.

Today, the policy framework of immigration and asylum in Switzerland faces important changes. As our examination of existing policies shows, the Cantonal Integration Programmes (CIP) brought forward by each canton in Switzerland, following common objectives, have demonstrated the advantages of developing integration policies that take a similar direction. The cantons enjoy a high degree of autonomy in developing and implementing their integration policies, which allows them, in cooperation with their towns and communes, to tailor their integration support efforts more closely to the needs on the ground. However, differences

among the cantons persist. Efforts to adapt framework conditions from the ordinary structures to allow diverse groups of migrants to benefit from their services differ according to the cantons or structures.

Our review of key policies and services for migrant labour market integration, further, reveals that the integration of migrants into the labour market, and more particularly the integration of refugees, provisionally admitted persons and recently arrived young persons, is an increasingly important element in policies. The number of pilot projects demonstrates a willingness to find the best ways to support this integration, while taking into account the diversity of these populations. The increasing diversification of the type of actors involved in programmes and projects, as well as in policy development, illustrates that their commitment to the theme is increasingly important. Such commitment is a key element in promoting the labour market integration of migrants, as we have seen in the analysis of public discourses.

There also seems to be a gradual improvement in policy support. From our interviewed population, the refugees who arrived in 2008 were the least satisfied with the support to which they had access. Despite overall progress, integration support will continue to face major developments and challenges, as our analyses in work package 3 demonstrate. Our findings provide evidence for four recommendations where action is needed to tackle major barriers to MRAA labour market integration in Switzerland.

Against this background, Part 1 of the report presents an overview of how MRAAs and integration issues are framed in public policy discourses in Switzerland. Part 2 presents information on existing policies and services concerning the integration of MRAAs into the Swiss labour market, shedding light on the consistency between policy responses and rhetoric. Part 3 complements the presentation of existing policy and services by offering an overview of existing analyses and assessments of Swiss policies for labour market integration of MRAAs by delving into the topics covered in previous research, aspects (not) covered and key findings. Finally, Part 4 focuses on an assessment of strengths and weaknesses of policies and services from the viewpoint of policy stakeholders and policies' past beneficiaries, illuminating what policies – past and present – work best, and what they consider as overall policy barriers and enablers for MRAA labour market integration. The concluding part of this report summarizes the main findings of the analysis while outlining key policy aspects that play a primarily obstructing role in helping MRAAs gain a foothold in the Swiss labour market, as well as providing an inventory of Swiss best practice.

Data for this research were collected through a mixed-method approach that included: a review of policy discourses on the inflow of MRAAs and their labour market integration; a qualitative meta-analysis of secondary sources (existing analyses and studies of policy effectiveness); desk research and the study of various sources (e.g. policy documents, statistics); as well as semi-structured interviews with policy-makers, implementers and past policy beneficiaries assessing the strengths and weaknesses of Swiss policies. The findings of the present national report will be used in the development of a comparative report on the same topic. We will contribute to highlighting the differences and similarities across European countries in terms of context-specific policy enablers and effectiveness and integrating MRAAs into the Swiss labour market.

8.2 Overview of How MRAAs and Integration Issues are Framed in the Policy Discourse

8.2.1 Methodology

This part of the report presents the process and main results of the analysis of public discourses on topics related to MRAAs' labour market integration and policy actor frames in Switzerland. We collected 131 texts from 34 actors including at the Federal level: the Federal Council, States Secretariats (equivalent to ministries in other countries), main political parties, main unions and employers organizations and the most important NGOs active in the LMI of MRAs domain. Actors also include multi-level stakeholders such as the "Tripartite Conference" which comprises representatives from the federal, cantonal and communal Governments as well as representatives from all the Cantons active in different domains such as the Swiss Conference of Public Education Directors, or the Swiss Conference of Social Action Institutions. At the Cantonal level, we focused on the Canton of Geneva, and selected discourses from the Government of the Canton, Cantonal Departments and implementing institutions such as the offices in charge of integration, employment or social assistance.⁷⁸ Our analysis shows that labour market participation is increasingly considered by Swiss policy actors as essential for immigrants to be considered 'integrated'. Moreover, paid work generally increases social participation and reduces welfare dependency. Hence, it is considered in the interest of both immigrants and the host country to ensure a high level of labour-market integration.

More specifically, the public discourses examined place particular emphasis on refugees and provisionally admitted persons. Many of the important discourses we found are also *multi-stakeholder* discourses. Over recent years, different multi-stakeholder dialogues or initiatives have emerged that focus on integration issues. The *Integration Dialogue* is one example: it involves the participation of the different levels of the state through the *Tripartite Conference* (the actor representing the Confederation, the Cantons, the Cities and the Communes) along with non-state actors such as unions, employers' organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). The *Integration Agenda* is another policy that results from collaboration between different actors from the state, in this case the federal level with the participation from the Confederation and the State Secretariats for migration and education, the Conference of Cantonal Governments, the Swiss Conference of the Cantonal Directors of the Public Education and the Conference of Cantonal Directors of Social Affairs. Although the instruction was to focus on texts dating from 2014 and later, we had to take into account some official texts dating from a few years earlier, since they represent important positions that are still in force today according to the actors concerned.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The texts were tracked on the internet after different rounds of research with different techniques, such as: Google search, key words search on the actors' websites, a scan of the releases section and others. We first focused on finding the texts that explicitly concerned the labour market integration of MRAAs and looked in the websites of each different actor. As we were not able to find enough material to analyse, we undertook additional rounds focusing on texts related to integration in general, trying to find in their content references to professional integration, and texts on professional integration in general, searching for the parts concerning MRAAs.

⁷⁹ It is important to mention that a significant part of the texts taken into account were those available in French. As Switzerland has three different official languages, other texts were available only in German. Although we were

8.2.2 Key Subjects in Public Discourses, Barriers and Enablers of Integration

8.2.2.1 Who Speaks and What 'Integration' Means

Governmental actors see the integration of migrants into the Swiss labour market as generally *effective*, especially when comparing internationally. Actors from the executive power (different levels) and especially the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) have made references to documents such as the OECD study "*Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015*", in order to substantiate the argument that the integration of MRAAs into the labour market is better in Switzerland than other European countries. They see, however, many challenges to tackle. Examining the groups of migrants mentioned, we see that *refugees* and *temporarily admitted persons* are the *main groups* that are specially brought up in all the actors' discourses as facing problems with labour market integration and in need of action. Many of the obstacles, enablers, recommendations and policies raised in the discourses are in reference to these groups. Migrants outside of the asylum framework are present to a lesser extent as a specific group in the public discourses on migrants, refugees and temporarily admitted persons. *Young migrants* and especially recently arrived young migrants (whether or not they are refugees or temporarily admitted persons) are also seen as a part of the migrant population whose situation demands action according to almost all types of actors. Many policies mentioned also refer to this group.

Women as a specific group are mentioned only occasionally, mostly by the civil society and political parties (Green) although projects targeting women have been funded at the cantonal level in Geneva. Finally, *asylum applicants* are less present than refugees and temporarily admitted persons, but the discourses and policies brought up show a change in vision. Although asylum seekers are in principle allowed to work three months after the submission of their asylum application, their labour market integration as such is *not* seen as a necessary condition by governmental actors. On the other hand, the desire to strengthen measures focusing on learning of the local language and speeding up asylum processes are elements they focus most when they talk about *integration* of refugees and persons admitted on a temporary basis. NGOs, unions and left-wing parties support those measures but call for stronger policies to improve the integration of asylum seekers into the labour market. One of the main employers organization calls for the possibility for asylum seekers to engage in vocational training and to allow rejected asylum seekers to finish their apprenticeships.

8.2.2.2 Why Integration?

To understand how the different actors frame issues concerning the labour market, we first focused on actors' references to better labour market integration for migrants. All actors agree that better labour market integration benefits the economy (according to most of the actors to reduce social assistance costs and for many in terms of new skills brought into economic sectors, enabling growth and higher revenues that in turn finance the welfare system) and

not able to conduct the complete research in German and take into account all the texts available in that language, we managed to take some of them into account.

society. Many of the governmental discourses advanced from the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO), the State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation (SERI) and the Confederation come from documents developed in the framework of the implementation of an initiative to address the shortage of qualified personnel (FKI) launched in 2011 and still under implementation as of 2019.⁸⁰ Generally, when looking at all the actors' discourses, we find a certain kind of homogeneity regarding the position on integration of migrants into the labour market. They all see it as a key element to be enhanced and they all see it as a matter that needs to be treated by the public institutions (with the exception of the SVP (right wing party) that sees the migrant itself as the unique responsible of its integration). Overall, most of the actors agree that integration is a responsibility to be shared between individuals and institutions and that the different sectors, particularly the private sector, must be included in processes and policies. The visible differences between the discourses mainly concern the responsibility for financing since the cantons and other actors such as the Socialist Party consider federal financial investment to be insufficient. Socialist Party also considers that Cantons should invest earlier⁸¹ in LMI of Refugees and Temporarily admitted persons.

8.2.3 Key Barriers

8.2.3.1 *Lack of Collaboration and Partnerships*

Lack of cooperation among all actors at the different levels of the state (federal, cantonal, communal), from different areas of work (social assistance, unemployment services, education department, integration offices amongst others) and actors from civil society including employers' associations and labour unions, is often cited as a barrier for migrants' labour market integration. Thus, many policies are developed in the framework of inter-institutional partnerships and collaboration; most are implemented by different actors in a collaborative way. The discourses also reveal a need to further develop and strengthen close cooperation and partnerships.

8.2.3.2 *Lack of Knowledge of the local Language*

Whether they refer to migrants or refugees and temporarily admitted persons, the first barrier mentioned by all stakeholders for access to the world of work is lack of knowledge of the local language. Although programmes in this area are multiplying, the lack of capacity of these programmes is often mentioned as a problem by most actors and, indeed, the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) itself. The need for more language courses adapted to the

⁸⁰ This initiative was launched in response to challenges posed by the demographic evolution of the working population in Switzerland and the labour shortage of qualified workers in different sectors. This initiative is supported by the main employers' associations and unions and is also cited in their discourses as an argument for better integration of migrants into the labour market. Following this initiative, the implementation of the constitutional article 121a Cst. coming from another initiative brought forward in order to oppose mass immigration, was one of the reasons that led to the design of different accompanying public measures aiming to enhance refugees' and provisionally admitted persons' participation in the labour market.

⁸¹ Integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons is primarily funded by the unique integration fee paid by the Confederation to the cantons (6'000 CHF until 2019, 18'000 CHF from spring 2019 per each refugee and temporarily admitted person). The fee is supposed to fund integration of refugees during the 5 first years and temporarily admitted persons during the 7 firsts years. After these period, cantons and communes are responsible for integration funding. Currently, some cantons and communes already fund integration during the firsts years.

specific needs of migrants (evening courses, intensive courses, courses with childcare) and specific to the professional context is mentioned. At the Geneva cantonal level, the integration policy mentions the need for standardised and common assessment tools.

At the federal level, the *fide*⁸² programme was developed to establish a conceptual framework for teaching local languages. It provides both a framework and tools for course organisers. It has also developed a 'language passport' to certify beneficiaries' skills. Most of actors including state actors at the cantonal level, NGOs and parties, welcome these tools. However, since the demand for courses is greater than the supply, the many courses provided by associations and other actors outside the reference framework is also mentioned by the government of the Geneva Canton. The provision of information on language course offerings is a task mentioned in policies such as the directory of local French courses developed in Geneva. According to labour unions, employers also have a role to play in enabling migrants to strengthen their language skills. Unions are calling for more opportunities in this direction even if some initiatives have already been developed.⁸³

8.2.3.3 Lack of Qualifications

The second major obstacle to the direction of policy targeting the labour market integration of MRAAs, and mentioned by all actors (state authorities, implementers and employers' associations), is *migrants' lack of qualifications*. This holds especially when actors discuss the integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons, focusing especially on young populations of both groups. Special attention is paid to young people between 16- and 25-years-old, since the statistics show a lot of this cohort do not have post-compulsory education. Hence, many programmes have been extended to include this group, while specific projects are already underway.

At the same time, lack of knowledge on the part of young people and their parents about the opportunities provided by the training system as well as financial difficulties are cited by governmental actors at different levels such as the Tripartite Conference and members of the Integration Dialogue⁸⁴, the State Secretariat for Migration or by the Swiss Conference of Public Education Directors as obstacles to accessing policies and programmes. A lack of basic skills that are required before considering any vocational training or internship is also cited by different actors as a barrier not just for young migrants but older ones, too. Governmental actors and more specifically, actors involved in education, mention this as one of the major barriers to accessing qualification programs.⁸⁵

⁸² 'Fide' stands for German, French and Italian in Switzerland.

⁸³ The Confederation and some employers' organisations have set up language courses for employees, as it is the case in the construction sector in German-speaking Switzerland with the "German on the construction site" programme. Finally, as mentioned earlier, the executive power is increasingly investing in what it calls 'the early language learning' for asylum seekers in order to facilitate the integration of the refugees or temporarily admitted persons once they are recognized as such.

⁸⁴ Département fédéral de justice et police DFJP (Secrétariat d'État aux migrations SEM) Secrétariat d'État à la formation, à la recherche et à l'innovation SEFRI Secrétariat d'État à l'économie SECO, Conférence des gouvernements cantonaux (CdC) Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique (CDIP) Conférence des chefs des départements de l'économie publique (CDEP) Conférence des directrices et directeurs cantonaux des affaires sociales (CDAS), Union des villes suisses (UVS) Initiative des villes: politique sociale Association des communes.

⁸⁵ In order to prepare refugees and temporarily admitted persons for vocational education training, the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) and 18 Cantons started implementing in 2018 an integration pre-vocational training

8.2.3.4 Lack of Skills and Diploma Recognition

For people with qualifications or experience, one obstacle almost unanimously recognised is the problem of recognizing vocational training, occupation or qualifications from the country of origin. The lack of knowledge of the Swiss training system and equivalence mechanisms is one factor that acts as a barrier for diploma recognition. Employers and governmental actors also explain the difficulty of recognising skills and diplomas by the fact that it is difficult to assess the equivalence of the qualifications achieved in the countries of origin. Labour unions note that the non-recognition of diplomas not only creates a barrier to accessing the labour market but also leads to a wage underbid, calling for more recognition of foreign qualifications. Governmental actors, some political parties, NGOs, labour unions and some employers' associations consider migrants working in an occupation for which they are overqualified as a problem. The phenomenon is often seen as a loss of potential, especially in the context of the qualified labour shortage.

8.2.3.5 Lack of Information

A transversal and scrubbing aspect seen as a barrier by many actors is lack of information. E.g. Information on the administrative aspects, on how to look for a job, how the labour market works in Switzerland, or information about the diploma recognition process or the Swiss education system. Some actors such as the members of the Integration Dialogue, also mention lack of information about the policies and services that benefit migrants by helping them to integrate into the labour market. If many actors such as labour unions, left wing political parties or NGOs consider that there is an effort to be done in giving every new migrant first information, the Geneva cantonal Government (Conseil d'Etat) considers that the information already provided is enough for some of the migrants.

8.2.3.6 Administrative Barriers

One of the most mentioned issues by almost all the actors is the administrative barriers that refugees and temporarily admitted persons have to face to access to a job. Until 1st January 2019, employers wanting to hire a refugee or temporarily admitted person had to request authorisation from the authorities. This request has just been replaced by an announcement. Another obstacle that has recently been removed was the special fee of 10% of the salary that working temporarily admitted persons had to pay, which has been abolished since 1st January 2018⁸⁶. Many actors welcome those changes, even if for certain actors the announcement process should be easier. Additionally, an obstacle that remains for temporarily admitted persons stands in the name of their 'status' itself. As many actors say, it has been demonstrated that temporarily admitted persons and refugees remain in Switzerland for a long time.⁸⁷

(*Programme de pré-apprentissage*) pilot project. The aim of the training is to acquire in a professional sector the practical, academic and linguistic skills necessary to successfully complete the vocational training to which they aspire. Guidance and assessment of the target groups' potential are mentioned by the actors in the public discourses as key factors for facilitating the integration of migrants into qualification measures.

⁸⁶ The consultations undertaken in the framework of the legislation changes explain important presence of this topic in the discourses.

⁸⁷ The temporary character of the name of their status scares potential employers, who think the person can be removed at any time. The reform of the temporarily admitted person status proposed by many actors has been

8.2.3.7 Employers' Prejudices

Employers' prejudices towards migrants are highlighted by governmental actors, unions, NGOs, different parties and members of the Integration Dialogue as a major obstacle to the professional integration of migrants. Information campaigns and partnerships are the solutions proposed to fight prejudice and raise awareness. The Integration Dialogue recognises the involvement of the employers' organizations on the raising awareness campaigns

8.2.4 Key Enablers

8.2.4.1 Education

Education is generally seen in the various discourses as a priority. The dual Swiss educational system, which allows young people to be trained while working in companies through the vocational education training (VET) system, is seen by governmental actors and civil society as an important enabler for improving the professional qualification of MRAAs.

8.2.4.2 Assessment of MRAAs' Integration Potential

Discourses highlight the importance of the assessment of MRAAs' integration potential. Governmental actors at the federal and cantonal levels, implementers, NGOs, labour unions, and multi-stakeholders discourses such as members from the Inter-institutional Collaboration see the integration plan resulting from the assessment, alongside the support and coaching to achieve it, as a valuable tool that should be expanded. Federal actors are implementing measures to strengthen the tool and to provide useful guidelines to the cantons. According to the NGO Caritas, these assessments should be mandatory for the cantons.

8.2.4.3 Mentoring Programmes

Cultural differences or lack of understanding of the Swiss work system or the Swiss culture of work are mentioned in the public discourses as key barriers that migrants need to face according to employers' organisations, certain political parties and governmental actors. The recommendations from the *Tripartite Conference* conducted within the framework of the *Integration Dialogue* refer for example to the fact that migrants often need time to adjust to Swiss labour market values (punctuality, quality, work rhythm). Apart from pre-qualification measures that would allow them to learn in the field, mentoring programs are mentioned by the *Cantonal Governments Conference*, members from the *Integration Dialogue*, and NGOs (*Red Cross* and *EPER*) in the discourses as a tool to help migrants become familiar with the Swiss culture of work, how it functions in the specific area of qualification and to develop their professional network. Among the Confederation policies highlighted, the mentoring projects funded by the Confederation between 2014 and 2016 are mentioned as a good tool to expand. However, for labour market integration, and in order to achieve the best results possible, private sector needs to be involved in the implementation of those programmes and the developing institutions and actors need to be carefully chosen.

8.2.4.4 Fast and Sustainable Integration

Most policymakers agree that the earlier the migrant has access to integration support services, the more chances he or she has to integrate successfully without losing motivation

discussed at the legislative level at the same time that the previous changes mentioned, but the reform has been refused for the moment by legislators.

and skills. For migrants within the asylum framework, the fact that in many cantons asylum seekers don't have access to measures to encourage integration while waiting for their asylum decisions is a clear problem that hinders integration into the labour market of refugees or temporarily admitted persons later on.⁸⁸ Together with a faster integration into the labour market, attention must be paid to sustainable integration according to actors such as the *Federal Council*, State Secretariats, the *Cantonal Governments Conference*, NGOs, and labour unions and employers associations. The most mentioned tool cited by the same actors for a more sustainable integration are the education programmes and vocational training offers. NGOs also mention a better recognition of the skills and previous experience and a better use of the potential.

The table below summarizes key barriers and enablers identified in policy discourses.

Table 8.1. Barriers & Enablers for MRAA Labour Market Integration in Swiss Policy Discourses

Barriers	Enablers
2.3.a. Lack of collaboration and partnerships	2.4.a. Education
2.3.b. Lack of knowledge of local language	2.4.b. Assessment of MRAAs integration potential and case management
2.3.c. Lack of qualifications	2.4.c. Mentoring programmes
2.3.d. Lack of skills and diploma recognition	2.4.d. Fast and sustainable integration
2.3.e. Lack of information	
2.3.f. Administrative barriers	
2.3.g. Employers' prejudices	

8.3 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Concerning the Integration of MRAAs⁸⁹

This part of the report presents an overview of existing policies and services targeting MRAAs and their labour market integration at the federal and cantonal level. According to the Swiss Law, integration in general and labour market integration of migrants is and should be the duty of the ordinary structures, also called 'established frameworks', such as the unemployment, welfare or education services. However, some of the ordinary structures foreseen for the local population cannot accommodate specific categories of migrants because they do not meet the criteria for entry into the system. (e.g. level of knowledge of the local language, lack of basic knowledge, years in the canton as a taxpayer, etc.) Or because the services they offer are not adapted to the needs of certain groups of migrants. The Swiss policy of integration of

⁸⁸ It is foreseen that asylum processes will be accelerated from March 2019, allowing refugees and temporary admissions to receive the decision earlier and to benefit from offers to encourage integration earlier as well. 'Sustainability' as key aspect of integration is also mentioned by many actors and the state authorities in the public discourses. Access to qualification measures, even for employed migrants, is brought up as an enabler for sustainable integration.

⁸⁹ Refer also to Appendix I.

migrants into the labour market focuses, amongst others, on enhancing the employability of the migrants who need it, prepare those who can't be taken over by ordinary structures by preparing them to engage in education measures or to engage them in other ordinary measures, or support them to enter into the labour market. Those specific integration policies and services called, 'specific encouragement of the integration', are a duty from the Cantons and the Communes, supported by the Confederation and involve the ordinary structures at every level. Part of the specific encouragement of the integration objective, is to support the ordinary structures to implement their integration mandate (SEM, 2019) ⁹⁰ Our analysis focuses on the main federal policies programs developed over recent years and the main policies and measures developed and implemented in the Canton of Geneva.

8.3.1 Policies at the Federal Level

In 2011, the Confederation and the cantons agreed upon a common strategy for promoting the integration of the foreign population. It should be stressed that specific support for the integration of MRAAs is funded by the Confederation and the Cantons. Cantonal systems are very different from each other. They allocate the global packages they receive from the Confederation differently according to their ordinary structures system. As an example, in some cantons, integration measures for migrants in the framework of asylum that are those often considered as in need of special support and are coordinated within the social welfare structures (asylum). In other cantons, special services in charge of integration are structurally and operationally different from those in charge of care, accommodation and social assistance. Regulation and cantonal laws regulating some ordinary structures can also differ from one canton to another. Thus, until today, cantonal and communal measures for integration of migrants into the labour market have been concretely different as they are anchored in different systems and the financial take over from the cantons and communes differed as well. If most of the cantons offer labour market integration as a standard option, its providers can be state-run and non-state-run institutions. Additionally, the numbers and types of measures are constantly expanded, following the rise in the number of migrants in the asylum framework.

Each canton established its own Cantonal Integration Program (CIP) for the 2014-2017 period. There is now the CIP II 2018-2021, whose purpose is to strengthen the existing measures, reduce disparities between cantons, to fill gaps while allowing leeway to take local factors into account, and letting them set their own implementation priorities. It should be stressed that the rationale of the PIC reflects most of the main views of key policy actors on what constitutes policy barriers and enablers as identified in our discourse analysis. Hence, the CIPs were designed to address three themes where most barriers and enablers are involved: information and counselling (addressing *enablers* 2.4(b), 2.4(c), and 2.4(d) above), education and employment (addressing *barriers* 2.3(b), 2.3(c), 2.3(d), 2.3(e) and *enabler* 2.4(d) above), mutual understanding among actors (addressing *barrier* 2.3(a) above) and social cohesion.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Refer to: <https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/foerderung.html>

⁹¹ Strategic objectives in the domain of information and counselling include post arrival information on Swiss way of living and integration measures, support and counselling for migrants, as well as protection against discrimination. The education and language pillar include objectives on local language learning, pre-school support and measures on the employability domain. The third pillar include objectives on the intercultural interpreting and communication domain as well as in the social integration domain (SEM, 2016).

In the *employability* domain, the objective (addressing mostly *barriers 3 and 4*) is that migrants who do not have direct access to ordinary structures have an incentive offer that prepares them for post-compulsory training opportunities (including vocational training and transitional training opportunities) and/or improves their employability. We will see further some of the measures that have been developed in the Canton of Geneva in the framework of the PIC.

In 2018, the Confederation and the cantons agreed on a *Swiss Integration Agenda*, to be implemented from 2019 onwards. As a complement of the PIC, the purpose of the Integration Agenda is to develop the range of action of the integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons, with faster implementation of measures and by strengthening the individual support and case management (thus mostly addressing *enabler 2.4(b)* identified in our discourse analysis mentioned above).⁹² The Integration Agenda provides for binding measures and an increase of the lump sum paid by the Confederation to the cantons, which will be tripled. In addition to the Cantonal Integration Programmes (CIP) and the future Integration Agenda, the Confederation carries out 'programmes and projects of national significance'. These aim to build on and guarantee the quality of integration promotion efforts (SEM Migration Report, 2015).

The pilot project *Taping Potential* was implemented between 2013 and 2018 with the aim of facilitating the professional integration of qualified refugees and temporarily admitted persons. The pilot project aims to improve the conditions of access to the labour market for these specific groups of migrants through the individual support of a sample of 56 refugees and temporarily admitted persons. The objective is to learn from these experiences and to be able to identify the appropriate measures necessary for the recognition of qualifications (*addressing barriers 3 and 4 above*), for example.

The Pilot Programme of Pre-apprenticeship (PAI) and pilot programme for early language promotion (addressing *barrier 2.3(b)* above): in the framework of the accompanying measures to Article 121 a Cst. that implements the initiative against mass immigration, the Federal Council decided to launch two pilot programmes to strengthening integration measures for refugees and temporarily admitted persons.⁹³

The first is the Pilot Programme of Pre-apprenticeship (PAI) (addressing barriers 3 and 4 above) that aims to allow refugees and temporarily admitted persons to obtain the basic skills necessary to enter into an ordinary measure of vocational training. This is achieved through a ten-month apprenticeship that combines theory and practice at employer and local language courses. The pilot programme has been implemented since 2018 and will end in 2021. Geneva participates in this programme with a project.

The second programme is the pilot programme for early language promotion (2018-2021), which aims to improve the linguistic integration of refugees and provisionally admitted persons by strengthening the provision of local language courses for asylum seekers, using measures from the language area of the CIP for this target group (addressing *barrier 2.3(b)* above). The purpose of the introduction of this integration measure is to accelerate the integration process

⁹² Also, in 2015, the confederation commissioned a study on the potential assessments of refugees and temporarily admitted persons. Certain cantons use those as a tool to provide targeted coaching and measures to support the refugees and temporarily admitted persons in their path to the integration into the labour market. The aim of this project is to provide information on good practices and guidance in the implementation of those assessments and case-management for the Cantons.

of refugees and provisionally admitted persons once they have been recognised as such. The goal of the projects is to allow the asylum seekers involved in the intensive courses to achieve the A2 level.⁹⁴ In Geneva, the project in the framework of this programme is being implemented by the office in charge of the migrants from the asylum framework that is also the office in charge of the welfare. Additionally, federal instances are developing pilot programs and projects to support the integration of migrants in specific professional areas. The pilot programme for the integration of refugees into the labour market in agriculture that has been developed and implemented with the Swiss Farmers Union provided 30 places in 17 farms between 2015 and 2018 in order to explore the option and feasibility of integration programs in the field of agriculture and see which should be the framework conditions of such programs. In the health care field, the State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) and the Swiss Red Cross have been working since 2015 in SESAME a project to help migrants (including also refugees and temporarily admitted persons) to obtain a health care auxiliary certificate.

8.3.2 Labour Market Integration at the Cantonal Level: Canton of Geneva

The CIP in Geneva and other measures coordinated by the cantonal office in charge of the integration of migrants attempt to complete support and fill the gaps, developing and implementing measures together with the ordinary structures and with the participation, in many cases, of other actors such as employers organizations, labour unions, associations, NGOs and others. It is worth mentioning that the channels through which integration, and for extension, integration into the labour market is supported, varies according to the Cantons. In Geneva, the main ordinary structures are: the office in charge of the welfare in the Canton that is also the office that is in charge of migrants coming from the asylum procedure; the education department and its office for orientation, vocational and continuing professional education; the cantonal office in charge of employment, which is amongst other, in charge of the unemployment services; the communal structures to support the integration into the labour market of their population.

The *established framework of education* (addressing *enabler 2.4(a)* above) provides for everybody education until the age of 15 and is mandatory for everyone. It also provides vocational training and different offers for secondary education, tertiary education, continuing education and skills validation measures amongst others. The canton has an office to provide orientation to the population in the education domain; its offer of secondary and tertiary education for young persons who have interrupted their education path has been strengthened and developed in recent years. The framework conditions for some of the offers that were not accessible for certain groups of migrants such as the lately arrived young persons have been adapted, while measures to fill gaps in the basic skills of certain groups of migrants have also been put in place; at the same time, a special desk for migrants has been launched, operating within the structures of the orientation office.

The *established framework for placement* (addressing *enablers 2.4(a) and 2.4(b) and barrier 2.3(c)* above), the regional employment centre in charge of unemployment services is in principle opened to persons that are ready for placement.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ It is important to note one of the criteria to be allowed to benefit from many of the ordinary structures measures is to have an A2 level in the local language knowledge.

⁹⁵ To subscribe, apart from being ready for placement, the persons need to be resident of the canton and prove they have been looking for employment. Beneficiaries must fulfil certain obligations if they want to remain registered and benefit from the measures that can be granted. These measures are called 'labour market measures' and may

Certain Municipalities (Communes) also have an office that provides guidance, counselling and support for the development of a professional project. Those offices are in principle opened to every person living in the municipality, and in some communes to persons who are not subscribed to the unemployment service.

One of the most important structures in the domain of migration, and more specifically when talking about migrants coming from the asylum procedure, is the *General Hospice*. The institution in charge of the implementation of the social policy in the Canton of Geneva is also in charge of the migrants from the asylum procedure including asylum seekers, refugees and temporarily admitted persons. The *General Hospice* is therefore in charge of developing and implementing integration measures for refugees (during the five first years in the canton) and temporarily admitted persons (during the seven first years in the canton). This duty is realised with the support of the Cantonal Integration Office in the framework of the PIC under the Migrant Support Scheme (AMIG). The AMIG scheme provides amongst other things basic training for migrants coming from the asylum framework (module information and social awareness), language courses, French and foreign language, pre-training services (assessment and implementation workshops), professional training (assessment and implementation workshops), and socio-professional integration activities (internal and external internships), professional training in various training centres as well as orientation to other support programs external to the scheme.

Migrants with a residence permit and nationals living in the canton who cannot afford to support themselves also fall under the General Hospice support and its ordinary structure through the social support and the Social Support Centres in the communes. Apart from financial or in-kind support, the Social Support Centres provide information, support and advice for social and professional integration to help beneficiaries to become or be autonomous again.

Regarding specific integration measures, the Cantonal Integration office collaborates with the ordinary structures and the other actors to strengthen the support and develop adapted measures to support migrants to integrate into the labour market. This is mainly in the framework of the PIC.⁹⁶

be training and education measures, placement measures and special measures. The measures offered to the beneficiary depend on their situation and experience. Measures are not supposed to provide with basic training or improving the employment situation. For migrants or Swiss nationals that came back, measures are not supposed to catching up with the level of training in the host country. During their subscription, a counsellor follows beneficiaries. Beneficiaries that are taken over by the unemployment insurance have right to all the types of measures. Subscribed persons that are not taken over by the unemployment insurance have right to many measures (Art 59d LACI), however access to some measures such as internships can be limited for insurance reasons. Service provided by the regional employment centre is limited in time.

⁹⁶ Among the projects, a part from the efforts mentioned with the education department and the office of orientation and vocational and continuing education as well as its collaboration with the General Hospice in the efforts to support integration of migrants coming from the asylum procedure, the Integration office also engages in information projects to the migrants and the employers, it funds language courses, promotes the use of fide tools, develops and participate to the implementation together with the other actors the projects in the framework of the federal pilot programmes and collaborates with the communes in the development and implementation of measures to enhance the migrants employability and support integration of migrants into the labour market.

8.4 Overview of Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRAAs

This part presents key findings of our meta-study of existing analyses, alongside an assessment of policies for the labour market integration of MRAAs in Switzerland. Most Swiss analyses and assessments reviewed and incorporated in this meta-study are academic journal articles, books and policy reports commissioned by Swiss public authorities or international organizations. It should be stressed that very few studies examine recent migration to Switzerland due to generally low numbers of migrants (it is characteristic that at the end of 2017, net migration was down by nearly 12% over 2016, SEM, 2018) and how the reasons behind migration affect integration (this is probably because of lack of relevant data, given that population registers and surveys do not usually contain information on both – reasons for migration and status in the labour market). As a result, there has generally been low research interest and commissioned research for evidence-based policies. In addition, while some studies and assessments include differences in migrants' legal status in their analyses and accordingly the consequences for varying integration potentials, others lack such clear distinction points. Yet this may have serious policy implications, as the diversity in terms of legal status may result in substantially different opportunities of MRAAs for achieving successful labour market integration, these limitations are seldom included in the research design of the surveyed studies.

In particular, a significant body of literature (mostly academic articles) focuses on the *economic importance, effects and potential* of migration for the domestic labour market and the economy (from a macroeconomic as well as a microeconomic, firm-level perspective). The considerable focus in the literature on the economic perspective may be explained by the fact that migration policy in the last decades has been subordinate to the needs of the economy in Switzerland, driven by the so-called 'guest-worker approach' initially set in the 1960s (Piguet, 2005; Ruedin et al., 2015). This approach encouraged Swiss employers to recruit temporary workers from countries considered culturally similar (Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal), therefore, managing to sustain high labour supply while preventing permanent settlement and cultural heterogeneity of the Swiss population (Becker et al., 2008; Pineiro and Haller, 2012). The guest-worker approach was gradually replaced with a tiered labour-market model in the 1990s (Mahnig and Piguet, 2003). As with the older approach, the new system regulated labour market access based on a notion of cultural proximity considering three 'circles' of culturally *desirable* migrants: culturally and geographically close EU/EFTA countries, followed by the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, versus all other countries, which occupied the least preferred third circle (Becker et al., 2008). The three-circle model was replaced by a simplified two-circle model in the late 1990s, distinguishing between migrants from EU/EFTA countries (the preferred group) and those from non-EU/EFTA, so-called 3rd-countries (Becker et al., 2008). In general, this system too reflects the country's desire to steer migration based on adaptability to cultural elements of the host society, such as values, religion, and beliefs (see State Secretary for Migration, 2015). The evolution in Switzerland's selective regime of migration and mobility is crucial in grasping how enablers and barriers to MRAA labour market integration are shaped and conditioned. From an *economic-integration perspective*, the Swiss case is presented in the literature as particularly interesting. On the one hand, some studies link the critical economic importance of migration to the differences in native-migrant labour-market outcomes (including wages see e.g. Gerfin and Kaiser, 2010), which are comparable

in their extent to other European countries (OECD, 2015; 2017). On the other hand, given that Switzerland's economic performance is exceptionally strong,⁹⁷ other studies (the majority, we would notice) emphasize that this triggers a constantly high demand for labour and even labour shortage in specific branches (BSS, 2014). Hence, migrants – it is stressed in the studies – can be expected to face fewer obstacles from human or social-capital shortcomings compared to countries with an abundant supply of qualified labour.

From the above body of literature there are several key studies that focus on specific migrant groups (e.g. cross-border workers, EU migrants, refugees, etc.) and their particular effects on the receiving country. Generally, the reviewed studies find positive economic effects for the respective host countries. For instance, Ruffner and Siegenthaler (2016) use firm-level data and focus on firm outcomes: labour productivity, sales, R&D investments, innovation, and firm entry and exit with regard to cross-border workers (concentrated in north-western Switzerland near Basel, around Lake Geneva and in Ticino). They show that the expansion of supply of cross border workers may have facilitated growth, investment, and productivity gains. Focusing on cross-border workers from a macroeconomic perspective, Beerli and Peri (2018) find that cross-border workers do not cause crowding out effects for natives. The authors estimate that the vast majority (more than three quarters) of the difference is attributable to the more favourable observable characteristics of the EU migrants including a higher education level, longer working time and an overrepresentation in regions with high wages. In contrast, the year-to-year risk of exiting from employment into unemployment is almost 70% higher for EU migrants than for natives, and only a little more than one third of this disadvantage can be explained by differences in observable characteristics, including seniority. Also, a comprehensive analysis of the links between migration from the EU in the early 2010s and the Swiss labour market is provided in Cueni and Sheldon (2011). They find that these migrants enjoy on average higher employment and higher wages than native Swiss. At the same time, they find no evidence of a negative impact on the wages of natives. Further on the case of EU migrants, using a spatial approach, Lalive et al. (2013) do not find any negative effect of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (signed by Switzerland and the EU) on local workers' employment. However, they find a small but significant impact on the unemployment probability of highly skilled workers born in Switzerland. Such a result is also in line with the findings of Müller et al. (2013), who analyse the impact of the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons on wages and find a slightly negative but significant impact on the wages of highly skilled local workers.

In relation to this, Switzerland also provides an adequate case to study employers' hiring behaviour, as the topic of (further) restricting labour migration has received much attention, with a quota system regularly discussed.⁹⁸ In line with those economic studies that highlight positive effects, Zeuglin (2011) finds that Switzerland would profit from migration since

⁹⁷ Owing to immigration, which was not only a consequence of the 'job miracle' Switzerland witnessed over the recent years, but also an important cause, as it created additional jobs in Switzerland by raising local demand for goods and, most importantly, services (Siegenthaler, et al., 2014).

⁹⁸ With regard now to the labour market and employers' attitudes towards migrants, Flückiger et al. (2012) investigated in Geneva employers' hiring practices by responding to real openings of vacancies using fictitious resumes. They find that employers generally contact local and currently unemployed job applicants before job applicants living abroad.

migrants are on average younger than the Swiss, highly qualified and work on average more hours than the native-born population.⁹⁹

Beginning from the early 2000s, a significant body of literature has investigated individual determinants for a successful labour market integration¹⁰⁰. Other (mostly quantitative) studies examining individual determinants facilitating labour market integration include, e.g.: Bauer and Riphahn (2005) looked at the performance of migrants at school through the study of intergenerational patterns of educational attainment. Fibbi et al. (2005) examined statistical differences across gender and between naturalized and non-naturalized second-generation migrants. They also proposed an analysis of the probability to have a weak education level, to be in the labour force, to be unemployed, and to acquire Swiss citizenship, by regressing independent variables on a set of origin dummies (Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and six former Yugoslavian provinces) and other controls. Wanner et al. (2003, 2005) conducted an in-depth study on female labour force participation. Other reports proposed statistics only on socio-professional and household characteristics of migrants at large (Wanner, 2004), on migrants, the use of language and religion (OFS, 2005), or on migrant families, highlighting their specificity and understanding their role in the migration and integration process (Fibbi et al., 2005). Looking the topic of migrants' individual determinants and labour market integration from another angle, Tissot (2016) investigates household strategies in the context of highly-skilled labour migration. It focuses on the ways highly-skilled migrants are taking up residence in Switzerland. The analysis shows different household strategies based on the perception of a further professional move. The perceived likeliness of a further move implies household strategies characterized by a high motility: the household remains ready to move and mobilises dedicated organisations (like outplacement agencies or international schools). When a further move is neither perceived nor wanted, the household develops more anchored strategies which are often cheaper. In order to cope with frequent mobility, the analysis shows that household strategies are deeply *gendered*.

Liebig, Kohls and Krause (2012), for instance, find that highly-skilled foreign-born individuals from low-income countries, who asked for recognition of their highest degree in 2008, were successful in 64% of the cases. It can be assumed that in the case of refugees who often lack documentation of education, this recognition rate is lower and often it is difficult to obtain verifications from the countries of origin. However, if foreign education is recognised, it plays an important role in the labour market. Further, Sparadotto et al (2014) give a comprehensive overview of the participation of refugees and temporarily admitted persons in the labour market

⁹⁹ More recently, Weber et al. (2017) have indicated in their analysis that causality runs mainly from unemployment to cross-border workers, the latter being repelled when unemployment increases. The opposite effect, from cross-border workers to unemployment appears to be weaker or even non-existent. Along this line, in a broad study on refugee immigration across Europe, Aiyar et al. (2016) find little evidence of negative consequences for native-born workers. Effects on wages and unemployment have been modest in previous periods of refugee immigration. Furthermore, Ramirez and Asensio (2013) studied potential minimum (collective agreement's) wage violation in Geneva, but they did not find any significant result in favour of this hypothesis, except for the accommodation and food service activities. Kempeneers and Flückiger (2012) compared the characteristics of the unemployed and the border workers in Geneva, finding that the two groups are significantly dissimilar and that, possibly and approximately, only one out of ten border workers could have been substituted for an unemployed worker. Péclat and Weber (2016) provide a comparable analysis and reach similar conclusions for the canton of Neuchâtel.

¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, Wanner (2019) points to the importance of labour market access and integration of "secondary migrants" (i.e. an individual in a family that decided to move due the employment status of his/her partner but who, if single, would have stayed). Wanner shows that their level of satisfaction with migration is closer related to labour market access and this in turn to a number of individual circumstances. That is, the lower the satisfaction with migration because of difficulties in accessing the labour market the higher the propensity to develop health-related issues.

and the principal factors that have an influence in this participation. Among the factors highlighted, the country of origin, the age and the status have a great impact on their employment prospects. Gender, cantonal setting, and cohort are also important. Temporarily admitted status act as a barrier to labour market integration, as it prevents migrants from acquiring a certain stability. The formal obstacles associated with moving and working in another Canton within Switzerland is another factor hindering labour market integration as it can demotivate potential employers. The lack of stability of the status is also a barrier that can demotivate the employer. According to the study, there is a need of actions such as: a). Inter-institutional collaboration, including between ordinary structures and specific encouragement of integration domain; b). Adapting the offers of complementary qualification to the needs of the refugees and temporarily admitted persons that are 35 years old maximum; c). Taking into account the needs of the migrants and not the offer. Cantons should take into account aspects linked to integration such as the level of education, or skills that could have an impact on the integration process (e.g. language).

Overall, a considerable number of existing studies link the demands of the host country's labour market to the qualifications of migrants. As also found in our analysis of Swiss public discourses, *providing migrants with educational opportunities* is discussed as crucial for countering a gap in the supply of skilled labour. In general, Swiss studies are more concerned about cultural topics like natives' attitudes towards migration (Spies and Schmid-Catran, 2016) or the effects of asylum application duration.¹⁰¹ With regard to the former, based on historic data and previous studies, Spies and Schmidt-Catran (2016) examine attitudes towards immigrants in order to assess whether migrants who are economically and culturally integrated into their host society raise the same economic and cultural concerns among native-born citizens as economically poorly integrated and culturally distant migrants. The authors apply mixed methods, including structural equation modelling. Findings indicate that the number of migrants, as well as their economic and cultural integration, has little or no impact on attitudes of native-born Swiss. With regard to the latter, Hainmüller et al. (2016) find that marginally reducing asylum decision waiting times by 10% leads to savings of over \$5 million per year in Switzerland. The authors also show that longer wait times for asylum status determination delay refugees' subsequent economic integration. They suggest psychological distress as the primary explanation for their results.

In sum, the studies under review can be grouped into three categories of policy recommendations, namely: a) *enhance educational and vocational training*, b) *implement reforms of the labour market and access for asylum seekers*, and c) *reform and restructure the asylum application system*. Against this background, there is a strand of literature assessing *policies* and *policy approaches* to facilitating integration. For instance, while Abberger et al. (2015) show that freer immigration for EU workers increased their net inflows by 10,000 to 15,000 individuals annually, Beerli et al. (2017) show that the increase in the positive selection of newly-arriving immigrants is mostly driven by long-run shifts in the demand for skills triggered by skill-biased technology, *rather than by migration policies*.

Along this line of criticism, some academic papers have questioned whether the *cantonal variety of integration policies* is beneficial or detrimental. Swiss cantons are equipped with a

¹⁰¹ Couttenier et al. (2016) indicate that the average duration of asylum procedure, during which asylum seekers are generally not allowed to change canton, amounts up to 300-400 days. During the first three month upon application, asylum seekers are not entitled to take on employment, after this period they are allowed to work.

relatively high level of political independence, including varying approaches towards migrant integration and economic performance (e.g. Grin and Sfreddo, 1998; Demont-Heinrich, 2005; Eugster et al., 2017). On the one hand, some authors argue that cantonal autonomy and context specific solutions for the local issue of migrant integration are better than a "one size fits all" national framework (Bundesrat, 2010), or that Switzerland's federalist laboratory facilitates the evolution of cantonal best practices. On the other hand, other authors contend that subnational policy variations constitute a potential source of structural discrimination (Kübler and Piñeiro, 2010), and that the heterogeneous puzzle of cantonal integration policies challenges the formulation of a coherent national strategy in the field.

In terms of more specific policies, a study from the Hochschule Luzern, mandated by the UNHCR (2014), deserves attention. Most of the study's findings on *major barriers and enablers* for labour market integration of refugee populations coincide with, and confirm, our findings of the discourse analysis and the interviews with policy actors and past beneficiaries of policies. More particularly, among the barriers highlighted in the study, we can notice: *the role of language* (lack of knowledge of the local language is seen as one of the principal barriers for integration into the labour market as it hinders the participation to trainings or vocational trainings), *the importance of skills and qualifications* (the difficulty to get their skills and qualifications recognised is another major obstacle), *the risk of deskilling* (some highly qualified migrants accept professional de-skilling in order to find work as quickly as possible and acquire financial independence), *lack of social network* (and of opportunities to develop one with the local population is perceived as a barrier), *lack of information* on the tools and the system of support or on the labour market, status and origin (when looking for a job or for an apprenticeship place, the interviewees often feel reduced above all to their status as asylum seekers, provisionally admitted persons or recognised refugees, which gives them a sense of powerlessness in the labour market), and the problems posed by the *lack of cantonal mobility* of the status is also perceived as a barrier. According to the authors of the study, when the point of view of the migrants is taken into account, the professional integration path has more chances to succeed thanks to the motivation resulting from it.

Besides the UNHCR study, an assessment of the potential of refugees and temporarily admitted persons mandated by SEM (BFH & Social Design, 2016), highlights the *positive role of assessment tools and case management schemes* applied by many cantons in enabling labour market integration – a finding which is also confirmed by our interviews with policy actors and past beneficiaries of policies (see Table 2 below). The study mandated by SEM recommends that these instruments should draw on the cantonal experiences and take into account the context-specific labour market requirements. Elements that should be taken into account when reviewing the labour market potential of a beneficiary includes: skills, language knowledge, education, vocational education and professional experience, health (including psychic health), social networks and motivation. Integration offers and potential assessments should be offered the soonest possible.

Additionally, a study from the Swiss Red Cross, based on a qualitative analysis, shows that structural, economic, social and personal factors combine to complicate the professional integration of highly skilled migrants in Switzerland and lead them to accept jobs for which they are overqualified and sometimes in more precarious working conditions. Among the factors identified by the study, the insufficient language skills, the difficulty to have diplomas and skills recognised, the lack of resources for the recognition procedures, the precariousness of certain residence status such as the temporarily admitted status and the lack of specialised

services for highly skilled migrants amongst others. The study also refers to the strategy of social assistance and unemployment, which for statistical and economic reasons seek to integrate jobseekers as quickly as possible into the world of work, without taking into account the field and sometimes the salary. Deskilling also represents an additional burden for the persons concerned, which may have consequences on their moral and physical well-being and loss of self-confidence (Berthoud, 2012).

Furthermore, at the level of cantonal policies, an informative study in terms of *policy strengths and weaknesses* is the one conducted by Guggisberg and Egger (2014), who assess the integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons in the Canton of Bern. On the efficacy of the integration programmes, the assessment reveals that the importance given in the Canton to the language courses during the first phase of the integration processes is positive. However, the offers should be adapted to certain groups and the language learning during professional measures should be offered. The number of places in the qualifications offers are not sufficient (problem of capacity) and there are persons that cannot participate for children care reasons. Further, the assessment observes that delays for obtaining working permits are longer in Bern than in other Cantons. Other Cantons have shortened and simplified procedures for internships and probationary and short-term jobs. The study argues that there is a need of more collaboration and contacts with the employers sector. Regarding, cantonal structures and general conditions, the coordination between the different competences should be enhanced as well as the coordination and collaboration between the canton and communes. Regarding also the role of the ordinary structures, the comparative study with other Cantons shows that if some Cantons have a close collaboration with the cantonal office in charge of the unemployment (Argovie, Zurich, St-Gall), in Bern, the collaboration doesn't work well, despite the fact that it is foreseen. Solutions proposed are to work on enhancing the coordination between the actors, the consideration of integration as a cross-cutting task in order to facilitate the granting of permits or participation of the beneficiaries in programmes from ordinary structures (social assistance or unemployment).

Overall, three findings can be highlighted from our meta-analysis. First, nearly all studies present human capital as a crucial factor in successful labour market integration. Appropriately, next to reforms of labour market access for asylum seekers, studies mention investment in educational levels and vocational training. In this regard, initially high public investment into refugees' professional qualifications is more sustainable over the long run from a macro-economic perspective, compared to fast integration into low-skilled sectors. Second, altogether, none of the studies under investigation examine the effects of recent migration on the labour market in detail by sector or branch, so as to be able to discern specific types of barriers and enablers of MRAA integration per sector and branch. Third, the different effects of different migrant groups on the labour market deserve closer attention. Whether one investigates skilled or unskilled immigrants will yield considerably different results with regard to appropriate *enablers*, as will a research focus on asylum seekers and/or recognized refugees on EU or non-EU immigrants.

8.5 Overview of Assessment of Strengths and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews¹⁰²

This part of the report comprises an assessment of the relative strengths and weaknesses of policies and services, shedding light on the specific policy barriers and enablers for MRRA labour market integration identified by the interviewed policy stakeholders and the past beneficiaries of policies.

8.5.1 Methodology

Data was collected through qualitative, semi-structured interviews with two public officials at federal level, one representative of a labour union working at federal level (who is also a politician active in the migration field), one representative of the Cantonal government, four public officers working in the implementation of integration at the cantonal level, and one representative of one of the most important NGO who works in the sector of integration on the labour market. We also conducted nineteen interviews with past beneficiaries of programmes and services coming from Brazil, the USA, Sri Lanka and Eritrea. The interviewees were identified through the policy discourse analysis and particularly through our review of the texts collected, where we have sought to identify "prominent actors". Also, the snowballing method was used to identify prominent actors in the policy field of migration and integration – both federal and cantonal (Geneva). Therefore, our interviewees come both from the federal and the cantonal government (Geneva). Considering the 'small world' of implanting organisations and policy implementers at the Geneva Canton, it proved quite evident and easy to identify our interviewees – these are the persons in charge for the implementation of the Cantonal Program of Integration, e.g. the persons working at the office of professional orientation, the unemployment office, the office in charge of integration, and other similar organizations. Based on the guidelines for identifying potential interviewees, we selected four countries: Brazil and USA – these are the countries with the largest non-EU migrant nationality groups in Switzerland (arrived between 2008 and 2014), and Eritrea and Sri-Lanka – countries from where the largest groups of refugees received the refugee status between 2008 and 2014. To identify interviewees from Brazil and USA we relied on our 'personal networks' and on the snowball sampling method (e.g. friends of friends, connections of colleagues etc.). We also used Facebook to identify and recruit more persons and we printed flyers that we distributed in some Brazilians restaurants.

8.5.2 Eight Barriers and Two Enablers for MRRA Labour Market Integration

8.5.2.1 Barriers

Anti-Migration discourse and the capitalist system

Many of the interviewed policy stakeholders distinguished obstacles on a micro-level from those on a macro-level. On a macro-level, several stakeholders identify as a substantial barrier for the professional integration of MRAAs the predominance of the Swiss right-wing and the general anti-migration discourse sustained by politicians. Until around 2013, there was a lack of political will to invest in the integration services. However, awareness of the cost of non-

¹⁰² Refer also to Appendices III to IV.

integration for social assistance gradually led to a shift in paradigm. This shift has been strengthened by the acceptance of the initiative against mass immigration in 2014. As stated by one of the stakeholders:

“Contrary to what the SVP [right-wing party that launched the initiative] wanted to do, the initiative had a positive side for migration. It forced the confederation, cantons and communes to rethink a policy of population integration.” (Stakeholder representative 9, implementer at the cantonal level)

Another relevant problem that the majority of the stakeholders (policy-makers and implementers) identify on a macro-level, is the capitalist system, where a social logic collides with an economic logic:

“The ground problem of the integration policy is Capital. There is a collapse between the professional integration, the rights of workers and the liberal market where the most important goal is to get more profit, no matter how.” (Stakeholder representative 3, labour union)

Overall, our interviewees notice a discrepancy between the cantonal integration institutions, the NGOs and the social service – that follow and support a social-oriented logic – and the market logic, which is strictly economic.¹⁰³

Implementation of integration policies at federal and cantonal level: Diffused responsibilities and lack of coordination

Several stakeholders, particularly those who work on a federal level, discussed the complexity of the Swiss policy system and the difficulties in developing an integration policy that can be applicable on a federal level. There are many institutions and actors who should support the labour market integration of migrants; however, since each canton has its own system and policy, it is difficult for federal entities to provide solutions and improvements that can be adopted by every canton. To illustrate it, a public official at the federal level stated: “There isn’t a single solution, there are 26 different solutions. This represents a challenge but also a chance because each canton tests its solutions and cantons can learn from best practices.” (Stakeholder representative 2, State Secretariat). Others, like the union representative, underline the important gap between the law and its implementation on the cantonal level. The integration policy seems to be rather open on paper, but in practice, considering its implementation on the cantonal level, this policy is extremely questionable:

“There are the laws but there is no political will to put them in practice and to invest in structures that could support their implementation and application.” (Stakeholder representative 3, labour union)

¹⁰³ The goals of an employer are different from theses of a social assistant, who put the global integration process of the MRAs forward. The majority of the employers require that employees are completely operational, 100%, from the very beginning. On the other hand, many migrants are usually not in the condition to work full time. Many need times to attend language schools to achieve a certain language level or/and to attend professional trainings, other, especially refugees, are not in a psychological status to work full time. One of the main challenges of the implementers is for this reason to “create a bridge” between the needs of the migrants and the employers.

The discourse of the complexity and the cross-cutting character of labour market integration were often discussed in connection with the discourse of the “responsibility of the integration”. On the question of knowing which institution should be responsible for which migrant, officials reminded that in theory, according to the law, ordinary structures should be responsible for integration of migrants. However, in practice, these structures have not the structure, the resources and the instruments to take in charge and be responsible for certain groups of migrants. Because of this discrepancy, according to some stakeholders, it is important to invest in the preparation and an internal development of the ordinary structures. The financial aspect has also to be considered. As underlined by one policymaker at the cantonal level: *“It is necessary to raise the awareness of the ordinary structures, the problem is that they do not have the money adapt their structures as they should”* (Stakeholder representative 9). Only one stakeholder mentioned that the policy (the law) should be stricter and impose to the ordinary structures to take more responsibilities and applied the integration services.

In relation to the 'question of responsibility', one of the implementers identifies as a barrier and relevant problem the progressive process of discharge of responsibility from the side of the state:

“In these last ten years there has been a progressive increase of non-profit associations in Geneva who offers support and assistance to migrants in the different sectors. These associations are more and more financed by private foundations or private enterprises. The state pays only a little contribution. Even if the increase of associations who offers services for migrants could appear a positive sign, it is in fact rather alarming. It is the sign of an increasing decentralisation and discharge of responsibility by side of the state. The state should be the one that takes in charge all the process of integration.” (Stakeholder representative 12, NGO)

Further, as many stakeholders explained, on an implementation level, there is a lack of coordination between the different actors active on the field. This generates confusion among migrants, who often don't know who is responsible for which service. Even the institutions do not always agree on who is in charge of which case. According to different stakeholders, there is a relevant lack of coordination, which has been a problem until today.

Migrants of the first group (migrants from non-EU countries, namely Brazil and the USA), who didn't live in a foyer like the other interviewed refugees from Sri Lanka and Eritrea, were the ones who suffered more under the lack of coordination and a general confusion in the support system. Many of the past-beneficiaries, recalled the difficulty to understand which institutes and organisations could support them in the understanding of the administrative procedures and in their research of a job. Some of them claimed even that they thought for a long that there was not any institute, association or office that supported migrants. People who were living in a foyer, namely the asylum seekers and the refugees, were assisted by a personal assistant, who took in charge the dossier, tried to give all the information and addressed them to the services that could help them properly. Other interviewed stakeholders mentioned however that there are attempts to tackle this problematic: initiatives such as the *Institutional*

*Collaboration*¹⁰⁴ and the *Integration Dialogue*¹⁰⁵ have the purpose of creating a dialogue between the institutions, unions, employers' organisations and associations.¹⁰⁶

Lack of sufficient information

Another relevant underlying problem in the integration policy, also discussed in correlation with the difficulties of implementation, is weak information flow. It is evident that among migrants there is a lack of information regarding rights, procedures, administration, etc. The language is too technical and the information too difficult to find (e.g. the websites are overly complex). The majority of the consulted past beneficiaries agreed with the view of the stakeholders, claiming that it has been extremely complicated to understand information related to the laws, the rules and the administrative procedures in Switzerland, especially because of the technicality of the language and the complexity of the system. Several stakeholders underline for this reason the importance to develop a stronger information machine.

Further, at the cantonal level, implementers mentioned projects that have been developed in the last years that still need to be disseminated in a larger measure, but are very promising such as the website "Bienvenu à Genève" and the development of information booklets in different languages published by the integration office. The unemployment service launched an interactive information module on-line available in seven languages to give persons the most important information on rights, duties and functioning on unemployment insurance. The representative of the union explained for example that one of the main services of the union was and still is to organise and provide information sessions and to print and distribute informative brochures, where the content is easily understandable and written in different languages in order to reach a larger public. Also according to the municipal representative, it is important to take into account persons that are not familiar with internet web pages or who can encounter difficulties in accessing to information.

Several stakeholders also claim that a general lack of information also concerns employers.¹⁰⁷ According to an implementer there has been implemented in the last years in Geneva some initiatives that want increase a dialogue between employer associations and the integration institutes. Nevertheless, information needs to be more disseminated and reach employers without creating a "buzz" that would raise controversial positions among the local population

¹⁰⁴ "Inter-institutional collaboration" (CII) refers to collaboration between several institutions in the field of social security and education. The CII defines models for formal and informal cooperation in terms of strategies, operational processes, coordination of offers, and even collaboration in concrete cases. Thus, ICN characterizes collaboration at both the structural and individual levels." Swiss Confederation Website <https://www.bsv.admin.ch/bsv/fr/home/assurances-sociales/iv/grundlagen-gesetze/themen-projekte/collaboration-interinstitutionnelle.html>

¹⁰⁵ Integration Dialogue refers to the dialogue established between the Tripartite Conference (the Confederation, the canton, communes and cities) and members of the Civil society on the integration topic.

¹⁰⁶ Considering the situation in Geneva, at a cantonal level, there are new collaborations and agreements between the integration office, the office of orientation and professional and continuing training and the social assistance office. This collaboration should strengthen the coordination, the sharing of responsibilities and services. The collaboration with the unemployment office still needs to be enhanced.

¹⁰⁷ Employers often offer jobs to MRAs, without filling all needed forms and hiring MRAs on an illegal basis, by exposing them to the informal market. Hiring of MRAs on this basis is in many cases intended in order to avoid extra costs or administrative procedures, other times, however, it is related to a general ignorance of the employers, who don't get any support from state entities. There is a general ignorance among many employers. Crucially, according to some stakeholders, and also some migrants, many employers don't know if they can hire temporarily admitted asylum seekers and recognised refugees; this lack of knowledge represents an important barrier.

(Swiss people) as the target population (refugees and temporarily admitted persons) represent a small percentage of the global population.

Lack of psychological support

A further loophole of the integration policy, which represents an obstacle in the professional integration of MRAAs, is the absence of a psychological support system for people who have suffered psychological trauma; this especially concerns refugees who have followed a difficult migration path. Many asylum seekers and refugees suffered traumas and their psychological state does not allow them to work or even to look for a job and to face the integration process at every level. Moreover, as several implementers explained, asylum seekers and temporarily admitted persons, live for long time in a limbo, their permit doesn't allow to work in almost any sectors and the employers are not interested in hire MRAs with a provisory permit. Moreover, many MRAs arrive from countries where they had a dysfunctional relationship with the authority (this is the case for refugees from Eritrea and Sri Lanka who escaped from a dictatorship); therefore, they encounter more difficulties in approaching institutes, orientation offices, employers and would need a strong psychological support. . All the refugees from Eritrea discussed this point, claiming that those who had to deal with traumatic experiences in their origin country or in their journey to Switzerland do not get a proper psychological support from the institutions. Psychological distress affected many of them, slowing down the process of professional integration. As one of the Eritreans said:

“There are too few services that help the refugees who had horrible experiences to overcome and to handle their trauma, which often represent the main obstacle for an integration on every single dimension, social, cultural and professional” (Past beneficiary, Interview 6)

Psychological stress was not only caused by prior traumas but also by difficulties encountered by many migrants (refugees and migrants from Brazil and the USA) in searching and finding a job. As a past beneficiary from Brazil explained:

“For so long I didn't feel well in my skin. I didn't know who I was anymore, I even asked for divorce because I felt to not fit in the society, I felt guilty to love a Swiss and I couldn't stand the social pressure anymore (...) Without a work I am foreigner here, the problem is that once you spent so much time abroad you are a foreigner also in the own origin country. Luckily, I was emotionally strong and stubborn, only for this reason I could overcome all the barriers and the obstacles.” (Past beneficiary, Interview 11)

The same feeling of alienation, social pressure and 'depression' was recalled by many of the migrants interviewed. Such feelings also represent a significant obstacle to labour market integration. As with the policy beneficiaries, several implementers identified the lack of psychological support as a barrier for integration into the labour market. A huge number of migrants suffer severe psychological stress, which slow down or even blocks completely the process of an integration of labour market:

“People are so stressed out, that they are not able to do anything! They are not able to learn a language, they are not able to search and specially to find a job. Their worries eat all their energy. You can often immediately see this stress in their way of presenting themselves, of talking etc. they don't transmit any trust to the people surround them, and of course to the potential employers, who of course will not be ready to hire someone

who gives the impression to be so vulnerable. But, without a job the person will feel even worse. It's a vicious circle." (Stakeholder representative 12)

According to two implementers, a weakness of the prior politics and services is in fact an approach that doesn't consider the sexual, psychological and physical health as well as the social inclusion of the person, all dimensions that play an important role in the integration on the labour market.

Lack of (or insufficient) knowledge of language

The challenge to learn the local language was much discussed by all the past beneficiaries, and was defined as the biggest challenge and barrier. Participants realised very quickly that without a good language level, it was extremely difficult to access to the local labour market. Little knowledge of the language was identified by many as one reason for having under-qualified jobs. In this regard, some even said that one reason that pushed them to accept an underqualified job was because it would allow them to learn the local language. Another barrier identified by some of the interviewed past beneficiaries was and still is the impossibility of continuing classes after the B1 level. In fact, the different language schools for migrants only offer courses up to the B1 level; the canton do not support financially migrants who would like to achieve a higher language level. This represent a problem for people who would like to find an employment in 'higher qualified' sectors, where the employers often require a B2 or a C1.¹⁰⁸ The stakeholders as well identify language and the request of a B2 as an important barrier.

According to the respondents there is a general "misconception about the necessity to have a certain level of the language". The employers often follow the general idea that a migrant is able to work, only if they have a B2 or a C1 level. However, the employers as well as many institutes don't consider that the migrants usually don't have the financial resources to cover the costs of the courses (after the B1 level courses are not covered by the state) and of the exams. They don't consider neither that for many the best way to learn the language is by practicing it every day on the workplace. Especially people from Eritrea and Sri Lanka are convinced that when you do not have any particular language predisposition you will never be able to exceed a certain level of language by simply attending language courses and continue to attend classes without progress can be extremely frustrating:

"When Eritrean come to European countries they are not thinking about taking for ages French courses. You think that you arrive, you get the basic language knowledge and after you start to work. And if you don't find a job in your sector you start another one. On the contrary, when you arrive here you just not have professional opportunities. In other countries (for example in Ethiopia and in Sudan) there is always the opportunity to start to work in manual labour, without having excellent knowledges of the language and also without particular competences nor a professional formation, you learn by doing and little by little you can pursue a professional path as blacksmith, as manner etc. These opportunities are not offered in Switzerland." (Past beneficiary, Interview 6)

A few of the past beneficiaries considered that language courses were not enough intensive, and one of them mentioned that he had to subscribe to a waiting list to receive it. The majority

¹⁰⁸ In this regard, many interviewed criticized the system as well as the swiss employers, claiming that the level that they achieved in class could be considered as sufficient to be able, at least, to start to work.

of the past beneficiaries considered the language courses as useful and as a positive experience, however, they all agreed that the best way to learn a language is by practicing and speaking the language with people. Frontal language lessons are not enough.

Difficulties in validating previous professional experiences and complicated accreditation and diploma recognition processes

Language is not the only obstacle that hampers labour market integration. Problems with the accreditation of prior learning and the recognition of diploma were defined as a relevant barrier from many past beneficiaries. The majority of the interviewed migrants from Brazil, Eritrea and Sri Lanka experienced problems with recognizing their previous degree, professional training or/and experience, achieved in their origin country. Many of the interviewed stakeholders agreed that the procedure of the accreditation of prior learning is extremely problematic, too long, too expensive and it doesn't give any guarantee.

Consequently, the prior experience of many migrants is not recognised by the Swiss system, their capacities and knowledge are not well used by employers and they often lack the opportunity to work or pursue a career in the professional sector in which they gained a degree or in which they were trained in their origin country. Knowing how complicated, expensive and long the procedure of accreditation of prior learning is, only one of the past beneficiaries decided to do it, without success. The majority of them preferred to completely change their working domain and start from the bottom. Others decided to stay in their 'domain' and managed to do so by redoing professional training, studying again in a university in another country and by completing an internship. A few past beneficiaries (from the USA) whose prior learning was recognised decided to do a Masters degree in Switzerland in order to have a 'Swiss diploma'. According to a public official at the federal level, the complicated nature of the diploma recognition is due to the differences between educational systems of the countries. However, the respondent recognises that educational recognition should be easier in certain fields.

Some past beneficiaries mentioned that the lack of recognition from the side of the integration services of their own prior professional experience abroad was as well a relevant obstacle. In two cases, the unemployment services took into account only their experience made in Switzerland, where they actually had under qualified position in an employment sector different from the one in which they were trained. A respondent from the United States, who had qualifications and professional experience in communications and design, was a beneficiary of the unemployment service. Since in Switzerland she was working as a salesperson, she was asked to apply for job vacancies in the service and sales sector or she was proposed to start a training as human resource assistant. Further, according to some of the stakeholders, the difficult accreditation of prior learning represents even more a barrier considering that Switzerland is a rather strict country in which almost every sector requires a recognized degree or a recognised apprenticeship. Migrants also identified it as barrier.

"It is difficult to find a job of cleaning if you don't have a paper for that. And if you have the possibility to do a training, you may not want to train for that." (Past beneficiary, Interview 18)

Moreover, according to a public official at the federal level, the Swiss system is formalised, but that is not something that can be changed. However, it is possible to develop small

initiatives that allow people to prove their skills while paying attention not to fall in unfair competition.

As mentioned, there some small project that already do that but more should be done in that sense. However, initiatives where a chance is given to persons that don't have the same trainings and qualifications can face problems such as the feeling of the other persons working in the field or social partners that might see the initiatives as unfair competition. That is why it is a sensitive subject and there are risks of wage dumping. According to different stakeholders, on a structural level, Switzerland has a limited training policy. There is no possibility to do any vocational training that last less than three years. The state does not do any exception and does not offer any new educational measure that would train the MRAs to work in the labour sector where there is a growing demand of workforce. As some of the implementers underlined, many MRAs are not motivated to start a three years long training anyway; this would imply that for three years they have extremely low remunerated positions, without any guarantee to have a job afterwards.

Some past beneficiaries refer to the difficulties of accessing the apprenticeship program (in which they could work and study for three years) and the educational academic program. Some training programs were too expensive, other required a professional experience in Switzerland, and all of them requested at least a B2 language level. Refugees from Eritrea, who wanted pursue an academic path also mentioned constraints related to their own situation. Since many of them had to escape from their countries, they could not present the documents required for the inscription, documents that were hold by the Eritrean army. Some of the migrants also criticised their social assistant and the orientation services in general for provide a “biased” professional orientation and for not being they competent to orient migrants who would like to pursue a professional career in a higher qualified sector or who want to pursue an academic path.

Concerning education and training access, some stakeholders underline the need to strengthen the policy, especially considering recently arrived young migrants or young people between 18- and 25-years-old.¹⁰⁹ The apprenticeships provided by the Swiss education system, represents according to an implementer, a useful tool for the integration of migrants into the labour market, it allows them to learn the profession by practicing it.

Lack of prior local professional experience

All of the past beneficiaries discussed how the lack of prior professional experience in Switzerland was a relevant barrier. According to the majority of the interviewed past beneficiaries, Swiss employers don't want to hire someone who doesn't have professional experience in Switzerland; this concerned everyone, independent of their origin or professional or academic background. It was extremely difficult for the past beneficiaries who first came to Geneva to work in international organisations to afterwards work in local associations. It was also hard for people in this situation to find relevant professional opportunities, since working in an international organisation (e.g. ONU) does not count as 'local professional experience'. Almost all of the past beneficiaries engaged in internships or

¹⁰⁹ Some of them don't have the criteria (they don't speak the local language, haven't finished mandatory school etc.) to engage in a professional training and need to be supported and prepared first. According to some stakeholders, many offers have been developed to work on this issue but there is still much to do. The future Integration Agenda will tackle this obstacle.

jobs for which they were overqualified in order to overcome this barrier of the lack of local experience.

Many of the interviewees also accepted to engage in less qualified positions to have a local experience. Even if for many it responded to a need, it has also been mentioned as a choice and strategy to face different barriers. In addition to the local experience, the possibility to learn French in practice or to face the distress caused by the lack of activity were mentioned as explanation of this “choice”. Even if for many of the interviewees, financial reasons pushed them to accept positions for which they were overqualified, some of the non-EU past beneficiaries didn't have financial reasons to accept it as they had a partner that earned enough, but had more reasons linked to their mental health. Two stakeholders also mentioned a further reason that can push migrants and accept any position: *“If a migrant asks for the social assistance, the residence permit can be refused to her in the future. That makes some persons take a job at any cost”* (Stakeholder representative 6). For some of the implementers and past beneficiaries who consulted an orientation service or who relies on an association, they claim that the internship is a must. Internships seemed to be the only way to gain professional experience in Switzerland, to introduce themselves to employers, to learn the Swiss working culture in practice as well as the language.

The professional network that can be developed through the internship is also seen as valuable tool for professional integration. The majority of the past beneficiaries did one or more internships in Switzerland. Nobody could find through an internship a job nor they learnt a new profession, though, the internship was considered practical and useful for other reasons. Some of the past beneficiaries mentioned the difficulty to adapt to a new culture of work, and how through the internship they could learn the working rhythms and conditions, that were described by the majority as more intensive and stricter as in their origin country. All of them confirmed that the internships helped them to improve their language knowledge and to win self-confidence. If internships are considered by many stakeholders as a useful and available tool, some raise concerns about the system of internships itself. Many of the interviewees also accepted to engage in less qualified positions to have a local experience. Even if for many it responded to a need, it has also been mentioned as a choice and strategy to face different barriers. In addition to the local experience, the possibility to learn French in practice or to face the distress caused by the lack of activity were mentioned as explanation of this “choice”. Even if for many of the interviewees, financial reasons pushed them to accept positions for which they were overqualified, some of the non-EU past beneficiaries didn't have financial reasons to accept it as they had a partner that earned enough, but had more reasons linked to their mental health. Two stakeholders also mentioned a further reason that can push migrants and accept any position: *“If a migrant asks for the social assistance, the residence permit can be refused to her in the future. That makes some persons take a job at any cost”* (Stakeholder representative 6).

Barriers in services for the unemployed

The two past beneficiaries who had experience with the unemployment service felt that institution's support was not very helpful. One past beneficiary stated:

“I subscribed to the unemployment once without right to indemnity with the hope that I would receive guidance and advice. What I felt was that maybe the system was overwhelmed. My feeling is that at unemployment offices, counsellors are under an

enormous amount of pressure to take us out of the system, but they don't have the tools and the supplies to take us properly out of the system. Second time, I subscribed again after my position on sales, this time with right to indemnities as I had paid my unemployment insurance. I was told by my counsellor at the unemployment that the only experience that counts on your resume is the experience you have in Switzerland. That means that my diplomas in the USA didn't count, my twelve years working in fashion with American based companies, didn't count, much of my work was done with international people in many countries. I had an international experience in New-York city but it didn't count here in Geneva. Then, the measures I have been proposed were in the field of my underqualified experience in Switzerland and far from my true experience and qualifications.” (Past beneficiary, Interview 18)

Two stakeholders also described that the trend of the unemployment services in rushing beneficiaries out of the system as quickly as possible was a problem for sustainable integration into the labour market. Another stakeholder mentioned the difference in practice between the unemployment counsellors in the canton of Geneva when taking in charge persons who do not have right to financial compensation. Those persons do not receive money as they are not taken in charge by the unemployment insurance, but they have the right to certain measures such as trainings and coaching services. Some counsellors propose those measures to the beneficiaries and others do not. Moreover, some counsellors say to the beneficiaries that persons that do not have right to financial compensation, do not have right to measures either. Thus, the experience and support that a person that is taken over by the unemployment office but does not have right to financial compensation will vary according to his counsellor. . In general, different stakeholders who work at the federal and local level say that unemployment counsellors should be trained and made aware of the challenges involved in migrant support.

8.5.2.2 Enablers

Individual and personal assistance services (case management)

Both stakeholders and past beneficiaries agreed that one of the best services for the integration into the labour market is individual and personal assistance and support. As many of the stakeholders claimed, it is particularly effective and helpful when a professional follows the integration process from the beginning to the end.¹¹⁰ According to several implementers, personal and individual assistance that places the person in the centre, independently of gender, origin and age, can prevent inequalities being reproduced by integration services and politics in the professional orientation.¹¹¹

Individual support whether it comes from public, private or associative actors has been identified as the most promising service by the great majority of past beneficiaries, especially the refugees from Eritrea. Almost all refugees who were followed by a social assistant and

¹¹⁰ In this way, the professional (e.g. a social assistant) can more easily identify the competences and the professional objectives of the person, as well as detect the different options how he or her could realistically pursue the own professional objectives considering the current requests of the labour market.

¹¹¹ To the migrant is given again space and the opportunity to take decisions and to say what are the own interests. An individual support can help especially people who have lived traumatic experiences, who arrived from a completely different culture or who don't have at all a personal network in the new city.

who got an individual support, could benefit from punctual advice related to LMI and identify more easily how to pursue and accomplish their own goals. According to one interviewed person, having a personal social assistant gave “a human dimension to the integration services”. One of the biggest challenges at the beginning for many of them was in fact to trust the authority and the state institutions. Many of the refugees came in Switzerland with a trauma and a dysfunctional relation with institutions, and many claimed that they are culturally not used to ask for help and to get any support. To have a reference person, who assist them step by step, can support a process of trust building.

Refugees who benefited from personal assistance from the social services (e.g. some of the refugees from Sri Lanka) but who had a negative experience with their own social assistant in charge of their dossier, recognised that it would have been very useful to have a reference person who would really have cared and supported them in their research of work. The interviewed past beneficiaries from the USA and Brazil, who didn't have a personal social assistant but still benefited from the support of a personal coach when they affiliated to local associations, claimed that this kind of support is extremely helpful and effective. One interviewee from the USA claimed:

“The support from the coach is based on a personal and supportive relationship, it is completely different from the one offered by the unemployment service, which is informal and disinterested, there is no human bonding at all.” (Past beneficiary, Interview 2)

Case management was cited by many stakeholders as a key tool that has been developed both at the federal and cantonal level; it needs to be improved and expanded in order to better support migrants in their integration into the labour market. Some stakeholders mentioned the “integration agenda” that will be implemented in 2019 for migrants coming from the asylum framework as a promising policy that can help the development of case management as a more systematic tool. The purpose of the Agenda is not only to improve the personal accompaniment of the person, but also the coordination between the different actors that support them. Finally, federal stakeholders mentioned the mentoring programs as a useful tool to support MRAA's in network development.

Personal network

Considering the experience of the past beneficiaries, what most helped their integration into the labour market was a personal network that they built gradually through meeting and exchange with people.¹¹² Network was also mentioned by stakeholders as an important enabler. On the policies and services mentioned to develop the personal network, stakeholders at the federal level mentioned the mentoring programmes as a valuable tool to allow migrants to develop their network – and by extension, their professional network.

The table below summarizes key barriers and enablers as identified in policy discourses.

¹¹² The interviewed past beneficiaries from the USA and from Brazil who met or reached their Swiss partner (wife or husband or fiancée) had in their personal network an important resource. They were supported by them, their family and friends in the management of administrative procedures, in the research of internships and jobs, in the redaction of CV and motivation letters and in the general understanding of the labour market. All of them claimed, that thanks to their network they find alternative solutions to problems that often weren't proposed by the association or by the cantonal integration services.

Table 8.2 Barriers & Enablers for MRAA Labour Market Integration (according to the views of policy stakeholders and past beneficiaries of policies)

Barriers	Enablers
1. Anti-migration discourse and the capitalist system	1. Individual and personal assistance services (case management and mentoring programmes)
2. Implementation of integration policies at federal and cantonal level: diffused responsibilities and lack of coordination	
3. Lack of sufficient information	2. Personal network
4. Lack of psychological support	
5. Lack of (or insufficient) knowledge of language	
6. Difficulties in validating previous professional experiences and complicated accreditation and diploma recognition processes	
7. Lack of prior local professional experience	
8. Ineffective services for the unemployed	

8.6 Conclusion

For many decades, Switzerland has been a country of immigration. One third of the Swiss population comes from an immigration background. So far, integration and peaceful co-existence has been largely successful. In order for this to continue, the state needs to support integration in a manner that offers the migrant population opportunities and prospects, which in turn helps them to fulfil their rights and responsibilities and to become active members of society. As our examination of existing policies shows, Cantonal Integration Programmes (CIP) brought forward by each canton in Switzerland, following common federal objectives, have demonstrated the advantages of a common federal and cantonal integration policy. The cantons enjoy a high degree of autonomy in developing and implementing their policies, which allows them, in cooperation with their towns and communes, to tailor their integration support efforts more closely to the needs on the ground. However, differences among the cantons persist, and efforts to adapt framework conditions from the ordinary structures to allow the different groups of migrants with their diversity to benefit from their services differ according to the cantons or structures.

Our review of key policies and services for the migrant labour market integration shows that the CIPs have achieved much. Also, the integration of migrants into the labour market, and more particularly that of refugees and provisionally admitted persons and recently arrived

young persons, is an increasingly important element in policies. The number of pilot projects demonstrates the willingness to find the best ways to support this integration, while taking into account the diversity of these populations. The increasing diversification of the type of actors involved in programmes and projects, as well as in policy development, shows that their commitment to the theme is also increasingly important. This commitment is a key element in promoting the labour market integration of migrants, as we have seen in the analysis of the public discourses. Collaborative initiatives in the integration domain involving different types of actors show the willingness of enhancing collaboration and coordination in the integration area.

Moreover, there seems to be a gradual improvement in policy support. From our interviewed population, the refugees who arrived in 2008 were the least satisfied with the support they had access to. One of them stated, for example: *"Most people want to work, but the system doesn't allow them. What the system does is training them for cleaning"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 17). As agreed by most interviewees though there is still much to do, things are changing; nevertheless, changes take time.

Despite overall progress, integration support will continue to face major developments and challenges, as our analyses in Work Package 3 demonstrate. Below we present key areas where action is needed to tackle major barriers to MRAA labour market integration in Switzerland.

1. 'Opening up' existing structures to diverse beneficiaries and actors. Integration happens at all levels and in all aspects of society. As we have seen, anti-migrant discourse – owing not least to the recent refugee crisis in Europe – has hindered government agencies and civil society stakeholders from taking a more inclusive stance with regard to the migrant community. This can lead to all kinds of unequal treatment.¹¹³

Given this, most of our interviewed actors policies and projects have emphatically stressed the need to take into account the *diversity of the problem* and the *diversity of the population*. One of the stakeholders stressed that it is important to consider prejudices, especially when talking about migrants coming from the asylum procedure:

"The are three types of prejudices that cumulated represent one of the biggest barriers to integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons into the labour market: The first, the prejudices of the authorities that think that this population does not have the level to be integrated. The second, the one from defence circles, that say that since they can't work, the cannot integrate. A part of the migrants starts to think that is not able to work as well,

¹¹³ In particular, the majority of the interviewed policy stakeholders, recognized that the barriers that a migrant encounter in Switzerland, vary from the origin, the educational level, the age and from the gender. As a respondent (an implementer) specifically claimed, someone who arrive from European countries or from the USA will have less difficulties than someone who arrives from the "southern countries". Considering the interviews with the past beneficiaries there were some differences between refugees and non-EU migrants. Several non-Eu migrants claimed to being discriminated because they couldn't find any support and help just because they weren't refugees. *"As migrant from Brazil you are more discriminated as a refugee who had the rights and the legitimation to benefit from all the integration services and policies"* (Past beneficiary, Interview 10). Non-EU migrants from the USA and Brazil had to pay on their own the language courses and had more difficulties to benefit from the social assistance. Moreover, Brazilian citizens were the ones who suffered more under a discrimination due to their origin. One Brazilian claimed, for example, that she couldn't find a job for a long time because of reputation of Brazilian for being lazy, loud and not efficient. However, they claimed that anti-migration discourses had more effects on their personal psychological and emotional state, by feeding a feeling of persistent non-belonging to local host communities.

as a result from the other prejudices, and it lose self-confidence. Finally, there is the prejudice of the public opinion and the employers, that with all these prejudices, think that refugees and temporarily admitted persons don't have the capacities. Integration projects need to break down those prejudices by showing through examples, that migrants have the capacity to work and to integrate.” (Stakeholder representative 9)

In this respect, considering the evolution of the integration policies and services, almost all stakeholders agree that what is required for improving support to MRAAs is the opening up of public authorities and fostering better collaboration between the institutions and with external actors. As stated by one of the interviewed policy stakeholders: *“Many offers exist now but there is no real coordination”* (Stakeholder representative 6). Also, structures are perceived by most of the interviewees as too strict and not adaptable to needs.

“What is missing”, according to one of our interviewees, “is an asylum system of labour market integration and a system for all migrants enshrined in policies. The second one should oblige the ordinary structures to take over the migrants and include personalised accompaniment. Both systems should be flexible for improvement but not for step backwards.” (Stakeholder representative 9)

The need for opening up to the private sector, namely to enterprises that embrace a social corporate responsibility policy, was also emphatically stressed. This is now seen as a priority given the lack of will of the state to invest in the integration services. In this respect, some public organisations and integration services in collaboration with enterprises are already developing new training projects that aim to provide migrants with competences that will then be used by the same enterprises. Making a bridge between the institutional and private is essential for the future of the integration services. Support for this process should continue.

2. Combating gender inequalities. Considering 'gender variability', almost all of the stakeholders agreed that women require more attention and support from the cantonal integration services. Women have fewer opportunities on the labour market; a different culture can represent more of an obstacle for women than for men.¹¹⁴

Despite many of the stakeholders underlining that women are disadvantaged and encounter more obstacles to professional integration than men, the majority of the interviewed past beneficiaries who were women had more facilities for finding a job almost immediately. Discrimination showed more in the lack of professional opportunities in higher qualified jobs.¹¹⁵ The experience of a woman from Eritrea who was trained as an electrician represents an

¹¹⁴ For example, women who wear the veil and who don't want to remove it because of their religion and culture, it will be more difficult to find a job on the Swiss labour market, where employers often don't accept to hire a woman who wear the any kind of veil. According to some interviewed policy stakeholders who work on a cantonal level, it is possible to find in Geneva good services that support the labour market integration of low skilled as well as high skilled migrants' women. Those offers are provided by associations that are subsidy by the canton, the communes and other actors. However, adapted framework conditions that allow women to access to the labour market are still missing, such as the access to child care services.

¹¹⁵ Two of the Brazilian women claimed that they found jobs as salesgirls or as event receptionist because they were women, good looking and with a natural open attitude towards people. However, it took them years to find ways to work in the sector in which they had academic degrees in their origin countries, e.g. as pedagogical assistant and as veterinary. Moreover, they suffered a double discrimination; since they could actually find a job as waitress, salesgirl, receptionist etc. they didn't have the rights of social assistance and to benefit from the unemployment found.

illustrating case of gender discrimination. Despite receiving positive feedback from her temporary employers after her internships, she never got a job because of her gender:

“No one is interested to hire a woman as electrician. In Switzerland is not usual that a girl does this kind of job. Also, as I took the exam or as I did the internships, I was surrounded by boys [...] I started to be tired to look for a job, even if I loved it, for almost two years. I was living depending from the social assistance. I realised that as a girl I would have never found a job in this domain.” (Past beneficiary, Interview 10)

Addressing gender inequalities and mainstreaming gender considerations into support services for MRAAs should become a policy priority if a more inclusive labour market is the issue at stake.

3. Investing on integration of individuals starting from asylum. The accelerated asylum procedure, approved by Swiss voters in the referendum on 5th June 2016, will have consequences for integration support efforts. The sooner a decision is made on whether a person will or may remain in Switzerland in the long-term, the quicker their integration can begin. In the coming years, those asylum-seekers who move from the federal asylum centres to their assigned canton are likely to have been victims of persecution in their home country or those whose case is legally complex. This raises the question of how the time spent waiting for the asylum decision can be best used to ensure that the integration opportunities open to successful applicants are not compromised. Asylum-seekers should be given the opportunity to take part in employment programmes and learn one of the national languages as soon as possible. In doing so, they can make a contribution to the local community and, at the same time, benefit from a clear and well-structured daily routine.. The State should demand commitment to integration. However, state-led integration support is only one factor among others. These efforts cannot, and should not, be seen as a cure-all. Successful integration will only be possible if it is seen as a responsibility for us all: newcomers, the local community, social partners and government authorities alike.

4. Enhancing the role of the communes. Integration should be an obligation. It must be linked with expectations but also offer prospects. Such an obligation can only be realised through direct contact at the local level. The vital role that towns, cities and communes play became clear during the first half of the four-year CIP implementation phase. After all, key spheres for integration, such as education and social welfare, are largely a communal responsibility. Yet, it takes time for integration services like information, counselling or tuition to become embedded at the local level. The CIPs enable the cantons and communes to work over a longer period of time on establishing a strong collaborative relationship. This is a real and considerable advantage.

5. Invest in more sustainable integration. If we assume that successful professional integration is integration that allows equal opportunities, integration policies and services should not only allow migrants to benefit from ordinary structures services, but the difficulties they face linked to their experience, status or other should be taken into account. Their skills and experiences acquired in their country of origin should also be considered, as well as their desires, to allow them to build a professional project that taps their potential and will have more chances of success on a long term basis.

Overall, the future implementation of the Integration Agenda in 2019 seems to be a major push, capable of developing certain offers and of offering a case management service to a

growing number of refugees and temporarily admitted persons. The number of policies and services put in place or reviewed in recent years shows us that we are undergoing a *transformation and paradigm shift* in the area of labour market integration of migrants. If things start to settle down slowly, proper functioning with measures accessible to all can take time. Yet, it should be stressed that the Integration Agenda represents a significant step in terms of improving integration outcomes for different groups of migrants, as it not only foresees the full implementation of *integrated – and individually tailored - case management systems*, but also the harmonious coordination of a multitude of different policy structures and actors located at different levels of policy-making.

It is interesting to mention that at the cantonal level, the specific measures put in place with actors from ordinary structures, such as measures with the department in charge of education or the office in charge of welfare, demonstrate the *willingness of the various institutions* involved to improve coordination and migrants' access to ordinary structures. The cantonal office in charge of unemployment, for its part, does not yet seem to be very involved in these initiatives. Although at the federal level, there does not seem to be specific policies regarding migrant women explicitly, the Canton of Geneva has been providing funding for projects specifically targeting them for several years. Whether they are qualified, with the association *Découvrir*, or not qualified with the association *Camarada*, for example. Similarly, although at the federal level, the integration of asylum seekers is only starting to be mentioned, the canton strives to provide professional integration offers to asylum seekers as well.

Though a full-fledged inventory of 'good practices' cannot be provided given the diversity of types of policies and services, the *individual and personal assistance services* (case management) operated by the cantons, as well as the VET system and the services assessing MRAAs' potential for integration, have been picked up by our interviewees and our analyses as *successful* policy factors and *key enablers* for facilitating MRAA labour market integration. At the federal level, the pre-apprenticeship of integration programmes that is implemented in the cantons has been cited by stakeholders as a promising tool to tackle different barriers at the same time (language, basic knowledge, experience in Switzerland, orientation for education). Mentoring programmes that allow the transmission of informal knowledge and contacts through time-limited exchanges between an experienced person (mentor) and a migrant (mentee) seem to be a good complement to existing public offerings. Further, among the good practices specific to the Canton of Geneva, we find the programme of the University of Geneva *Horizons Académiques*. The programme was originally developed to allow asylum seekers, refugees and temporarily admitted persons to prepare for university courses, and will be open from this year to other groups such as migrants coming for family reunification reasons and Swiss nationals coming back from foreign countries. This experience shows us that although specific projects cater for specific groups, once they are converted to allow other groups, it is not impossible that they will open up to other migrants. The paradigm shift also leads to integration policies for migrants in general.

Other good practices implemented in Geneva highlighted by the interviewees is the positioning service¹¹⁶ developed and implemented by the office in charge of integration and the assessment Centre of Geneva. The objective of the positioning service for refugees and temporarily admitted persons is to support the beneficiary in describing his professional and

¹¹⁶ More information on this service: <https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/fr/refugies/exemples/387/bilan-de-positionnement-cebig/>

extra-professional career path, in recording the activities he has carried out throughout his career and in reflecting on his interests and motivations (career path and project). At the end of the service, the beneficiary obtains a document giving an overview of the professional career path, indications of his or her interests, one or two avenues of training and/or professional integration, the identification of obstacles to training and the identification of qualifications (training, professional experience, etc.) obtained previously in order to enable him or her to recognise diplomas and validate prior learning. For the interviewees, this kind of services allow to tackle one of the barriers that represents the lack of self-confidence and the prejudice from the migrants themselves and help a more sustainable integration into the labour market taking into account formal and informal skills as well as experience in the country of origin.

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**This report also draws on the references and sources listed in Appendix I*

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Appendices

ANNEX I: Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Producer of text (Policymaker/Actor) (e.g. Ministry of the Interior)	Title	Type of text	Year of publicat ion	Link/pdf
Federal Council	Mesures d'accompagnement de l'art. 121a Cst.: renforcement des mesures d'intégration en faveur des réfugiés et des personnes admises à titre provisoire.	Report	2015	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/aktuell/gesetzgebung/aug-integration/ber-br-flue-lehre-f.pdf
Federal Council	Le Conseil fédéral lance un programme pilote d'apprentissage destiné aux réfugiés	Release	2015	https://www.ejpd.admin.ch/ejpd/fr/home/aktuell/news/2015/2015-12-182.html
Federal Council	Rapport final sur l'initiative visant à combattre la pénurie de personnel qualifié	Report	2018	https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/perch/resources/dokumente/schlussberichtzurfachkraefteinitiativeberichtdesbundesratesfr.pdf
Member of the Federal Council and Head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police (in charge of migration and integration issues)	"Integration ist die zentrale Aufgabe der Zukunft". 6. Schweizer Asylsymposium in Bern, Eröffnungsreferat von Bunderätin Sommaruga.	Speech	2016	https://www.ejpd.admin.ch/ejpd/de/home/aktuell/reden---interviews/reden/archiv/reden-simonetta-sommaruga/2016/2016-01-21.html
Member of the Federal Council and Head of the Federal Department of Justice and Police (in charge of migration and integration issues)	"Integration ist eine Investition, die sich auszahlt" Rede von Bundesrätin Simonetta Sommaruga an der dritten nationalen Integrationskonferenz	Speech	2017	https://www.ejpd.admin.ch/ejpd/de/home/aktuell/reden---interviews/reden/archiv/reden-simonetta-sommaruga/2017/2017-06-19.html

Federal Council, Federal Department of Justice and Police, State Secretariat for Migration, Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research	La Confédération et les cantons lancent un agenda commun en matière d'intégration	Release	2018	https://www.admin.ch/gov/fr/accueil/documentation/communiques.msg-id-70617.html
Federal Department of Justice and Police, Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research , Conference of Cantonal Governments, Swiss Conference of Cantonal Public Education Directors, Conference of Cantonal Social Affairs Directors	Agenda Intégration Suisse Rapport du groupe de coordination du 1er mars 2018	Report	2018	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/agenda/ber-koordinationsgruppe-integrationsagenda-f.pdf
Conference of Cantonal Governments	Indemnisation de la Confédération pour l'intégration des AP/R, l'hébergement et l'encadrement des MNA et la préparation à la formation professionnelle initiale des adolescents et des jeunes adultes arrivés tardivement en Suisse	Report	2017	https://kdk.ch/fileadmin/files/Themen/Zuwanderung_und_Integration/KdK_Fachbericht-inkl-Anhang-FR.pdf
Conference of Cantonal Governments	Consultation relative à la modification de l'ordonnance sur l'intégration des étrangers (mise en œuvre de l'Agenda Intégration Suisse)	Statement	2018	https://kdk.ch/uploads/media/Stellungnahme_VIntA-Revision-IAS-20181214-f.pdf
Federal Department of Home Affairs, Federal Department of Justice and Police, Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research - In the framework of the Inter Institutional Collaboration	Collaboration interinstitutionnelle (CII). Rapport du Comité national de pilotage CII 2015-2016	Report	2017	http://www.iiz.ch/mm/IIZ_Bericht_2015-2016_version_finale_externe_et_interne.pdf

State Secretariat for Migration	Comité national de pilotage CII: programme de travail 2017/2018	Programme	2016 and 2018	http://www.iiz.ch/mm/_IIZ-Arbeitsprogramm_HOMEPAGE_2017_2018_Stand_15112017_FR.pdf http://www.iiz.ch/mm/20180907_CII-Programmedetravail_FR.pdf
ODM formerly State Secretariat for Migration and Conference of Cantonal Governments	Document cadre Confédération Cantons - Encouragement spécifique de l'intégration: une tâche commune Confédération - cantons	Framework document	2011	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/foerderung/kip/grundlagen-kip-f.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration and Conference of Cantonal Governments	Encouragement spécifique de l'intégration comme tâche de la Confédération et des cantons années 2018 à 2021 Document-cadre du 25 janvier 2017 en vue de la conclusion de conventions de programmes selon l'art. 20a LSu	Framework document	2017	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/foerderung/kip/2018-2021/grundlagenpapier-f.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration	Migration Report 2015	Report	2016	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/publiservice/berichte/migration/migrationsbericht-2015-e.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration	Intégration>Thème>Travail	Website page	2016	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/themen/arbeit.html
State Secretariat for Migration	Intégration>Thème>Formation Professionnelle	Website page	2016	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/themen/bildung.html
State Secretariat for Migration	Intégration>Agenda Intégration	Website page	2018	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/integrationsagenda.html
State Secretariat for Migration	Intégration>Programmes et projets d'importance nationale	Website page	2013-2018	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/ppnb.html
State Secretariat for Migration	Recommandation Insertion professionnelle des personnes et réfugiés admis à titre provisoire (permis F) et des réfugiés	Recommendations	2017	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/rechtsgrundlagen/weisungen/auslaender/mit-erwerb/empfehlungen-voa-flue-f.pdf

	reconnus (permis B) - procédure d'autorisations de travail			
State Secretariat for Migration	Programmes cantonaux d'intégration 2014–2017. Rapport intermédiaire	Report	2016	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/berichte/kip/2016/zwber-kip-2016-f.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration	Migration Report 2017	Report	2018	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/publiservice/berichte/migration/migrationsbericht-2017-e.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration	Domaine de l'encouragement « Employabilité » Evaluation du rapport 2014	Assessment of the report	2016	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/berichte/kip/2014/ber-kip-2014-arbeitsmarktaefhigk-f.pdf
State Secretariat for Migration	Appel à projets Programme de mentorat 2016 Nouveau délai de soumission Invitation à soumettre un projet	Call for projects	2015	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/ausreibungen/2016-mentoring/auschreibung-f.pdf
State Secretariat for Economic Affairs	Personnel Qualifié Suisse > Réfugiés	Website	Consulted 2018	https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/fr/refugies/
State Secretariat for Economic Affairs	Personnel Qualifié Suisse > Réfugiés>Succes	Website	Consulted 2018	https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/fr/refugies/succes/
State Secretariat for Economic Affairs	Personnel Qualifié Suisse > Réfugiés>Potentiels	Website	Consulted 2018	https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/fr/refugies/potentiels/
Swiss Conference of Cantonal Public Education Directors	Déclaration sur les principes d'une intégration durable dans le marché du travail et dans la société des adolescents et jeunes adultes arrivés tardivement en Suisse	Decision - Statement	2016	https://edudoc.ch/record/122609/files/erkl_spaet_zugewanderte_f.pdf
Swiss Conference of Social Action Institutions	Un emploi au lieu de l'aide sociale. Propositions de la CSIAS destinées à insérer les réfugiés reconnus et les personnes admises à titre provisoire durablement dans le marché du travail.	Proposals and demands	2017	https://csias.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/public/pdf/medien/medienkonferenzen/2015_Pr%C3%A4sentation_Arbeitsstatt_Sozialhilfe-f.pdf

Swiss Conference of Social Action Institutions	Insertion professionnelle des réfugiés et des personnes admises à titre provisoire	Information Sheet	2016	https://skos.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/skos_main/public/pdf/grundlagen_und_positionen/grundlagen_und_studien/2016_Factsheet_FL-VA-f.pdf
Swiss Conference of Social Action Institutions	Soutien des personnes dans le domaine de l'asile et des réfugiés	Recommendations	2019	https://skos.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/skos_main/public/pdf/Recht_und_Beratung/Merkblaetter/2019_No_asile.pdf
Association of Cantonal Services of Migration, Association of Labour Swiss Offices	Appréciation par les comités AOST et ASM du rapport et des recommandations du groupe de travail AOST/ASM « Insertion des personnes admises à titre provisoire et des réfugiés reconnus – analyse et recommandations d'action »	Appreciation of the report and recommendations from the working group.	2015	http://www.aost.ch/dokumente/startseite/news/news-fr/insertion-des-personnes-admises-a-titre-provisoire-et-des-refugies-reconnus.pdf
Geneva Cantonal Government – Conseil d'Etat	Intégration des étrangers: fortes réserves quant au projet de modification des ordonnances fédérales	Release	2018	https://www.ge.ch/document/7574/telecharger
Geneva Cantonal Government – Conseil d'Etat	Consultation fédérale concernant la modification de l'OASA et la révision totale de l'OIE	Answer to consultation	2018	https://www.ge.ch/document/modification-ordonnance-relative-admission-au-sejour-exercice-activite-lucrative-revision-totale-ordonnance-integration-etrangers-consultation-federale/telecharger
Geneva Cantonal Government – Conseil d'Etat	Consultation fédérale concernant les modifications de l'ordonnance 2 sur l'asile relative au financement et de l'ordonnance sur l'intégration des étrangers	Answer to consultation	2017	https://www.ge.ch/document/modifications-ordonnance-2-asile-relative-au-financement-ordonnance-integration-etrangers-juil-17/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	Programme d'Intégration Cantonal (PIC) du Canton de Genève Années 2014-2017	Programme	2013	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-pic-programme-integration-cantonal-2014-2017-texte-complet/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	Programme d'intégration cantonal II (2018-2021) – Canton de Genève	Programme	2017	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-pic-programme-integration-cantonal-2018-2021/telecharger

Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	BIE - Subventions pour la thématique langue et formation - PIC I	Report	2017	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subventions-thematique-langue-formation-pic-i/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	BIE - Subventions pour la thématique employabilité - PIC I	Report	2017	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subventions-thematique-employabilite-pic-i/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	BIE - Subventions pour la thématique langue et formation - PIC II	Report	2018	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subventions-thematique-langue-formation-pic-ii/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	BIE - Subventions pour la thématique employabilité- PIC II	Report	2018	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subventions-thematique-employabilite-pic-ii/telecharger
Office for Integration of Foreigners – Canton of Geneva	L'emploi à Genève - Guide pratique pour les personnes migrantes	Information booklet for migrants	2016	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-emploi-geneve-guide-pratique-personnes-migrantes/telecharger
Department of solidarity and employment	Directives cantonales en matière de prestations d'aide sociale et financière aux requérants d'asile et statuts assimilés	Directives	2011	https://hospicegeneral.ch/sites/default/files/Directives_version_validee_DSE.pdf
Department of employment, social affairs and health	Panorama 2013-2018	Overview document	2018	https://www.ge.ch/document/panorama-2013-2018/telecharger
General Hospice – Cantonal institution in charge of social assistance and migrants coming from the asylum procedure	Formation des migrants	Website	2018	https://hospicegeneral.ch/fr/formation-des-migrants-0
General Hospice – Cantonal institution in charge of social assistance and migrants	Le PAI, la nouvelle clé de l'intégration professionnelle	Release	2018	https://www.hospicegeneral.ch/fr/le-pai-nouvelle-cle-de-integration-professionnelle-0

coming from the asylum procedure				
General Hospice – Cantonal institution in charge of social assistance and migrants coming from the asylum procedure	Rapport Annuel 2017	Annual report	2018	https://www.hospicegeneral.ch/sites/default/files/content/files/rapport_annuel_2017.pdf
General Hospice – Cantonal institution in charge of social assistance and migrants coming from the asylum procedure	Rapport Annuel 2016	Annual report	2017	https://hospicegeneral.ch/sites/default/files/Rapport%20annuel%202016.pdf
Cantonal Office for educational and professional orientation (OFPC) - Cité des métiers	Préapprentissage d'intégration (PAI)	Website	2018	http://citedesmetiers.ch/cdmt/Cite-des-metiers-du-Grand-Geneve/Apprentissage/Preapprentissage-d-integration-PAI
Cantonal Office for educational and professional orientation (OFPC) - Cité des métiers	Actions en faveur de l'intégration professionnelle des étrangers	Release	2018	http://citedesmetiers.ch/cdmt/Cybermag/A-la-une/Actions-en-faveur-de-l-integration-professionnelle-des-etrangeurs
Christian Democratic People's Party	Lignes directrices de la politique de migration du PDC Suisse: Eviter les abus, miser sur les potentiels, développer la politique de migration	Guidelines	2010	https://www.cvp.ch/sites/default/files/Grundlagenpapierfrz..pdf
Christian Democratic People's Party	Manifeste pour l'avenir de la Suisse	Manifesto	2015	https://www.cvp.ch/sites/default/files/150829%20Manifest%20pour%20l%27avenir%20de%20la%20Suisse.pdf
Christian Democratic People's Party	Les défis actuels dans le domaine de l'asile et nos principes	Statement	2017	https://www.cvp.ch/sites/default/files/170728_Herausforderungen_Asybereich_f-2.pdf

Social Democratic Party (PS)	Accueil organisé et intégration rapide via le marché du travail	Release	2016	https://www.sp-ps.ch/fr/publications/communiqués-de-presse/accueil-organise-et-integration-rapide-le-marche-du-travail
Social Democratic Party (PS)	Faciliter l'intégration et permettre une vie normale	Release	2017	https://www.sp-ps.ch/fr/publications/communiqués-de-presse/faciliter-lintegration-et-permettre-une-vie-normale
Social Democratic Party (PS)	Une politique d'asile humaine et réaliste . Garder nos frontières ouvertes et forcer l'intégration dans le marché du travail	Speech from the president	2016	https://www.sp-ps.ch/sites/default/files/documents/texte_mkasyl_dossier.pdf
FDP. The Liberals	Änderung der Verordnung über Zulassung, Aufenthalt und Erwerbstätigkeit und Totalrevision der Verordnung über die Integration von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern Vernehmlassungsantwort der FDP.Die Liberalen	Answer to consultation	2018	https://www.plr.ch/fileadmin/documents/fdp.ch/pdf/DE/Positionen/Vernehmlassungen/2018/Maerz/20180316_VL_VZAE_VIntA_d.pdf
FDP. The Liberals	Änderung der Asylverordnung 2 und der Verordnung über die Integration von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern; Umsetzung der Integrationsagenda Schweiz und Abgeltung der Kantone für die Kosten von unbegleiteten Minderjährigen im Asyl- und Flüchtlingsbereich Vernehmlassungsantwort der FDP.Die Liberalen	Answer to consultation	2018	https://www.fdp.ch/fileadmin/documents/fdp.ch/pdf/DE/Positionen/Vernehmlassungen/2018/Dezember/20181127_VL_VIntA_Integrationspauschalen_d.pdf
Swiss People's Party (UDC)	Änderung der Asylverordnung 2 und der Verordnung über die Integration von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern; Umsetzung der Integrationsagenda Schweiz und Abgeltung der Kantone für die	Answer to consultation	2018	https://www.svp.ch/partei/positionen/vernehmlassungen/aenderung-der-asylverordnung-2-und-der-verordnung-ueber-die-integration-von-auslaenderinnen-und-auslaendern-umsetzung-der-integrationsagenda-schweiz-und-abgeltung-der-kantone-fuer-die-kosten-von-unbe/

	Kosten von unbegleiteten Minderjährigen im Asyl- und Flüchtlingsbereich			
Swiss People's Party (UDC)	L'intégration n'est pas un libre-service	Release	2013	https://www.udc.ch/actualites/articles/communiqués-de-presse/integration-nest-pas-un-libre-service/
Swiss People's Party (UDC)	Exemples de programmes d'intégration	Article on website	2018	https://www.udc.ch/parti/publikationen/journal-du-parti/2018-2/franc-parler-mai-2018/exemples-de-programmes-dintegration/
Green Party	Permettre la migration, favoriser l'intégration, protéger les réfugiés	Statement	2015	https://gruene2.mironet.ch/dam/jcr:4a29ed2a-1bef-428c-9441-b5f4efb07d65/150917_Migrationspapier_actualise_f.pdf
Green Party	Robert Cramer à propos du statut de l'admission provisoire	Website article	2018	https://gruene.ch/gruene/fr/positions/sociale/integration/communiqués/180314_statut_provisoire.html
Green Party	Modification de l'ordonnance 2 sur l'asile et de l'ordonnance sur l'intégration des étrangers; mise en œuvre de l'Agenda Intégration Suisse et indemnisation des cantons pour les frais se rapportant aux mineurs non accompagnés dans le domaine de l'asile et des réfugiés (consultation)	Answer to consultation	2018	https://gruene.ch/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/ver_181205_asyl_Indemnisations_cantons_MNA.pdf
Insertion Suisse (umbrella organisation of socioprofessional integration)	Recommandations relatives à l'insertion professionnelle des réfugiés et des personnes admises à titre provisoire		2018	http://www.arbeitsintegrationschweiz.ch/modules/documentation/files/insertion-suisse_recommandations-relatives-a-l-insertion-professionnelle-des-refugies-et-des-personnes-admises-a-titre-provisoire.pdf
Swiss Red Cross	Déqualifiés! Le potentiel inexploité des migrantes et des migrants en Suisse	Analysis and recommendations	2012	https://assets.ctfassets.net/fclxf7o732gj/2q2xloRFfekgAYwsoU0cl/b280804b94721badfee68d1e2df190e7/Dequalifiziert_f.pdf

Swiss Red Cross	La déqualification professionnelle des migrantes et des migrants en Suisse	Information document	2013	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20130211-084735-369.pdf
Swiss Red Cross	SESAME ouvre la porte du marché du travail aux migrants et aux réfugiés	Release	2018	https://www.redcross.ch/fr/sesame-ouvre-la-porte-du-marche-du-travail-aux-migrants-et-aux-refugies
EPER/HEKS	Intégration	Website page	2018	https://www.eper.ch/project-explorer/priorites-thematiques/integration#egalite-des-chances-sur-le-marche-du-travail
EPER/HEKS	Projet thématique pour personnes migrantes qualifiées originaires d'Etat tiers	Website page	2018	https://www.eper.ch/project-explorer/pme-mosaiq
EPER/HEKS	Passerelle Migrant·e·s vers l'Emploi: PME-MosaiQ	Factsheet	2018	https://www.eper.ch/sites/default/files/documents/2018-04/Factsheet18_ProjetSuisse_560025_0.pdf
EPER/HEKS	Des diplômes bons pour la poubelle ?	Release	2017	https://www.eper.ch/node/400/des-diplomes-bons-pour-la-poubelle
Caritas	Meilleures chances d'intégration pour les jeunes réfugiés	Statement	2018	https://www.caritas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Caritas_Schweiz/data/site/was-wir-sagen/unsere-position/positionspapiere/2018/1-18_prise-de-position_integration-jeunes-refugies.pdf
Caritas	Intégration	Website	Viewed in 2018	https://agirtoutsimplement.caritas.ch/yohannes/
UNHCR Switzerland	Intégration sur le marché du travail: Le point de vue des réfugiés et des personnes admises à titre provisoire en Suisse	French summary of Study and recommendations	2015	https://www.unhcr.org/dach/wp-content/uploads/sites/27/2017/04/FR_Resume_Integration-sur-le-marche-du-travail.pdf
UNHCR Switzerland	Fiche d'information du HCR Remplacer l'admission provisoire	Information sheet	2017	https://www.unhcr.org/dach/wp-content/uploads/sites/27/2017/09/CH_Fiche-dinformation-HCR-admission-provisoire.pdf

Union Syndicale Suisse	Les réfugié(e)s doivent pouvoir mener le plus rapidement possible une vie autonome	Statement	2016	https://www.uss.ch/themes/politique-syndicale/suisse/article/details/les-refugiees-doivent-pouvoir-mener-le-plus-rapidement-possible-une-vie-autonome/
Union Syndicale Suisse	Vernehmlassungsantwort zur Änderung der Verordnung über Zulassung, Aufenthalt und Erwerbstätigkeit und Totalrevision der Verordnung über die Integration von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern		2018	https://www.uss.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/180308_DF_RB_Aend_VO_Totalrevision_VO_Integr_AuslaenderInnen.pdf
Union Syndicale Suisse	Vernehmlassungsantwort zur Änderung der Asylverordnung 2 (AsylV 2) und der Verordnung über die Integration von Ausländerinnen und Ausländern (VIntA)	Answer to consultation	2018	https://www.uss.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Dokumente/Vernehmlassungen/181122_VL_RB_Aend_AsyIVO_2_VO_Integration_AuslaenderInnen.pdf
Travail Suisse	L'intégration des réfugiés a besoin d'une volonté politique plus forte	Release	2016	https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfiles/3721/original/16_04_11_Integration-des-refugies_f.docx?1460376046
Travail Suisse	À l'aune d'un marché du travail mouvant, comment optimiser la formation des jeunes migrants ?	Release	2017	https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfiles/4062/original/2017_03_13_Comment-optimiser-la-formation-des-jeunes-migrants_f.docx?1489410920
Travail Suisse	Les modifications légales en faveur de l'intégration professionnelle des migrants sont bienvenues	Release		https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfiles/4289/original/2017_08_15_Verordnungen_Auslaendergesetz_f.docx?1502806544

Travail Suisse	Pour l'intégration professionnelle des personnes issues de l'asile, le partenariat social est aussi un élément clé	Release	2018	https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfiles/4530/original/2018_01_22_Partenariat-social-comme-element-cle-pour-l-integration-des-personnes-issues-de-l-asile_f.docx?1516608630
Travail Suisse	Révision de l'OIE et l'OASA : l'intégration doit impliquer tous les acteurs	Release	2018	https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfiles/4605/original/2018_03_15_CP_OASA-OIE_f.docx?1521100303
Travail Suisse	L'Agenda Intégration : oui à des mesures pour renforcer la vie professionnelle des personnes issues de l'asile	Release	2018	https://ts-paperclip.s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/system/uploadedfile1s/4684/original/2018_04_30_Agenda-integration_f.docx?1525095989
UNIA	Prise de position Débat sur l'immigration Selon le Congrès 2012	Statement	2013	https://www.unia.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Arbeitswelt-A-Z/Migration/Migration-Pos-Zuwanderungsdebatte-2013-f.pdf
UNIA	Améliorer l'intégration sur le marché du travail des réfugié-e-s et des personnes admises à titre provisoire	Statement	2016	https://www.unia.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Positionspapier_Integration_in_Arbeitsmarkt_f.pdf
UNIA	Migration et intégration	Website page	2018	https://www.unia.ch/fr/monde-du-travail/de-a-a-z/migrant-e-s/migration-et-integration/
Union Patronale Suisse	Intégration: à moyens simples, grands effets!	Speech from the UPS Director : Roalnd A. Müller	2015	https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/files/2015/01/20150126_Dialogue-CTA-Expos%C3%A9-M%C3%BCller.pdf
Union Patronale Suisse	Le financement pour la formation des jeunes migrants est à clarifier	Website article	2017	https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/formation/le-financement-de-la-formation-pour-jeunes-migrants-est-a-clarifier/
Union Patronale Suisse	Programme de promotion des compétences de base	Website article	2018	https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/formation/programme-de-promotion-des-competences-de-base/

Union Patronale Suisse	Malgré la pénurie de personnel l'intégration professionnelle exige des efforts	Website article	2018	https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/politique-sociale/malgre-la-penurie-de-personnel-lintegration-professionnelle-exige-des-efforts/
Union Patronale Suisse	L'économie a besoin de plus de spécialistes en provenance d'Etats TIERS	Website article	2018	https://www.arbeitgeber.ch/fr/marche-du-travail/leconomie-a-besoin-de-plus-de-specialistes-en-provenance-detats-tiers/
Union Suisse des Arts et Métiers	Union suisse des arts et métiers: Informer les employeurs	Website article on organisation project	Viewed in 2018	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/fr/au-travail/les-projets-de-dialogue/union-suisse-des-arts-et-metiers
Union Suisse des Arts et Métiers (with Tripartite Conference in the framework of Integration Dialogue)	Le travail, un lieu d'identification où se développer !	Information sheet for employers	2012	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20121016-165056-94.pdf
Fédération des églises protestantes de Suisse	Aux côtés des personnes réfugiées les églises s'engagent	Booklet	2018	https://www.kirchenbund.ch/sites/default/files/flyer_aux_cotes_des_refugies.pdf
Réseau Evangélique Suisse	Website "Aider les réfugiés" Page: Travail	Website	2018	https://www.xn--aider-les-rfugis-lqbe.ch/travail
Tripartite Conference	Dialogue CTA sur l'intégration et le monde du travail Objectifs Etat – économie 2013 – 2016		2012	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20121030-160443-639.pdf
Tripartite Conference and partners from the Integration Dialogue¹¹⁷	Dialogue CTA sur l'intégration « Travailler – Donner sa chance, saisir sa chance » Bilan global 2012-2016	Balance report	2016	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20161101-133944-383.pdf

¹¹⁷ Département fédéral de justice et police DFJP (Secrétariat d'État aux migrations SEM) Secrétariat d'État à la formation, à la recherche et à l'innovation SEFRI Secrétariat d'État à l'économie SECO, Conférence des gouvernements cantonaux (CdC) Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique (CDIP) Conférence des chefs des départements de l'économie publique (CDEP) Conférence des directrices et directeurs cantonaux des affaires sociales (CDAS), Union des villes suisses (UVS) Initiative des villes: politique sociale Association des communes suisses (ACS) , Union patronale suisse (UPS), Union suisse des arts et métiers (usam), Allpura, Curaviva, GastroSuisse hotelleriesuisse, Société suisse des entrepreneurs (SSE), swissstaffing, Travail.Suisse, Unia, Forum pour l'intégration des migrantes et des migrants (FIMM), Organisation suisse d'aide aux réfugiés (OSAR)

Tripartite Conference	Dialogue CT sur l'intégration 2012 – 2017	Observations, conclusions and recommendations	2017	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20171106-084810-632.pdf
Other actors from the Dialogue CTA sur l'intégration « Travailler – Donner sa chance, saisir sa chance » Union Suisse des Arts et Métiers Société Suisse des Entrepreneurs (SSE) Allpura Unia Tripartite Conference	Conférence de presse du 3 novembre 2016 - Interventions	Speeches	2016	http://www.dialog-integration.ch/_upload/file/i_20161102-132809-218.pdf

ANNEX II: Policy & service taxonomy

Policy/service	Composition /substance (short description)	Year of implementation	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler (	Link to information /pdf
Immigration policies							
Cantonal Integration Programs (Federal policy)	Common strategy from the Confederation and the Cantons to promote integration of the foreign population. It provides objectives on information and counselling, education and employment and social integration. With employability as one of the areas of action the PIC provides the following objective: "Migrants who do not have direct access to ordinary structures have an incentive offer that prepares them for post-compulsory training opportunities, including vocational training (including transitional training opportunities) and/or improves their employability."	CIP (2014-2017) and CIPII (2018-2021)	Migrants , refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation and Cantons	Confederation Budget, Cantons budget (Cantons investment differs according to the cantons)	A large part of the programme budget is earmarked to professional integration of migrant into the labour market. The programmes also represent a key policy that encourage all cantons to invest in the different areas of integration.	http://www.kip-pic.ch/fr/
Integration Agenda	As a complement of the CIPs, the purpose of the Integration Agenda is to develop the range of action of the integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons with faster implementation of measures and by strengthening the individual support. Integration Agenda provides for binding measures and an increase of the	Starting 2019	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation and Cantons	Confederation (with the raise of the sum lump contribution to the Cantons. Cantons budget	The Integration Agenda is expected to fill in many gaps in policies and services of integration of refugees and temporarily admitted persons into the labour market. With access to an early potential assessment and integration plan for all the young refugees and temporarily admitted persons, it represents a	http://www.kip-pic.ch/fr/pic/agenda-integration/

	lump sum paid by the Confederation to the Cantons.					potential solution to many barriers identified.	
Pilot programme of pre-apprenticeship (PAI)	The pilot programme aims to allow refugees and temporarily admitted persons to obtain the basic skills necessary to enter into an ordinary measure of vocational training. This is done through a 10 months apprenticeship that combines theory, practice and local language courses.	2018-2021	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons between 16 and 35 years old and a minimum level of the local language of A2/A1	Confederation, Cantons, Cantonal offices in charge of education and employers organisations	Contribution from the Confederation for each place of pre-apprenticeship	Pre-apprenticeship programmes are seen as a good measure to allow migrants to learn the local language while they learn basic skills, acquire cultural knowledge, and have a first professional experience.	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/themen/integration/ppnb/integrvorlehre-sprachfoerd.html https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/ausschreibungen/2018-integrvorlehre/20170327-rs-fsf-f.pdf
Tapping the potential of migrants – remedial trainings	To help refugees and temporarily admitted persons to be able to exercise in Switzerland a profession or function corresponding to their level of education. In this context, the pilot project "Tapping the potential of migrants" had two phases: first, to collect information on 36 refugee's education. Then use existing procedures for the recognition of foreign diplomas and professional experience.	2011-2014	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation	Confederation	The information collected has been useful to plan future policies	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/ausschreibungen/2013-potenziale/projektausschreibung1-f.pdf
Integration of refugees into the labour	Under this pilot project, a total of 30 places on 17 farms were provided between 2015 and 2017	2015-2018	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation through the State Secretariat of Migration and the	Funded by the Confederation budget and	The project has been globally positive and raised learnings to be taken into account. As almost none of the participants	https://www.adm.admin.ch/gov/fr/accueil/documentation/commu

market in agriculture	for refugees or provisionally admitted persons. Objective: to see if refugees can increase their chances of finding and keeping a job in agriculture and to establish which are the framework conditions for integration programs in this field.			Swiss Farmers Union	the Swiss Farmers Union	had either a driver's licence or a private vehicle, the geographical location of the farms was often an obstacle. The familiarization phase of the participants also provided to be difficult. Moreover, not all refugees and provisionally admitted persons have easily become accustomed to physical work, the pace of work and life on the farm. In addition, cultural and language barriers had to be addressed.	niques.msg-id-71766.html
Pilot project for qualifications in the health care domain - SESAME	Facilitate the professional integration of migrants, recognised refugees and temporarily admitted persons in the care sector, by helping them to obtain a health auxiliary certificate	Since 2015	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) and the Swiss Red Cross	State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) and the Swiss Red Cross	Positive assessment: 616 people have participated in the SESAM project since its launch. Three-quarters of them are women. 444 participants obtained this certificate and nearly 90% of them found employment as a result. Most of the other participants are still in training.	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/aktuell/news/2018/2018-10-25.html
Mentoring programme	Federal programme that provided support for 27 public and private projects promoting the personal and professional development of migrants through mentoring programmes. These projects allow the transmission of informal knowledge and contacts through time-limited exchanges between an experienced person (mentor) and a migrant (mentee), as well as the development of individualised integration solutions. The mentors, who are volunteers, receive support from the project leader.	2014-2016	Migrants	State Secretariat for Migration (SEM) and Project leaders in the cantons (cantonal offices or associations)	Confederation budget	The evaluation reports successful implementation of the mentoring program at both the program and project levels. But one of the main concerns is the long-term nature of the projects. As the funds provided by the SEM were intended to start projects, the long-term impact of the programme depends on continued funding. One of the mentoring projects in Geneva and Vaud (lead by EPER association) is therefore, closed. Interviewed stakeholders assessed the mentoring programs as a very	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/ausschreibungen/2014-mentoring/evaluationsbericht.pdf

						useful tool to complete integration measures thanks to its action on the network. Mentoring project are however qualified by one stakeholder as to expensive for the results it provides. According t the stakeholder, mentoring programs are usefull but the private sector should be involved in the implementation and the mentors should be carefully chosen.	
Asylum seekers	No integration policy was foreseen at the federal level until 2018. Their inclusion in integration policies and services differs according to the Canton. Local language courses and occupational programs are offered but places are limited and there is often waiting lists. Changes are foreseen in the future thanks to the faster procedures and Integration Agenda.					Le lack of policies and services for asylum seekers is seen by many actors as an important barrier to labour market integration for the loss of motivation and the loss of value of the migrant in the labour market.	https://nccr-onthefmove.ch/all-publications/highlights-2/highlights-2-2/
Asylum seekers – Encouragement of early language learning	In the framework of the accompanying measures to Article 121 a Cst., the Federal Council launched a pilot programme to allow asylum seekers who have a high chance of remaining in Switzerland, to learn the local language with intensive language courses. The goal to achieve for the projects in the framework of the programme is to allow the beneficiaries achieve the A2 level in the local language.	2018-2021	Asylum seekers with high chances to obtain the refugee status	Confederation through the State Secretariat for Migration, the implementing institutions in the Cantons. I Geneva, the office in charge of Integration, the Hospice Général (office in charge of welfare and migrants coming from asylum procedure)	Confederation and Cantons	No information for the moment	At the federal level: https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/integration/ausschreibungen/2018-integrvorlehre/20170327-rs-fsf-f.pdf In Geneva: http://aideauxmigrantsbenivolat.ch/mentorat-parrainage-dun-

							beneficiaire- ou-dune- famille-de- beneficiaires/
Random placement of asylum seekers in the cantons	Asylum seekers are placed in the cantons randomly.	Currently	Asylum seekers, refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation	Confederation	According to different studies, certain criteria such as the language of the migrant or its skills should be taken into account in order to enhance its potential integration. One of the arguments against the language consideration is the fear of creating Ghettos.	https://www.sem.admin.ch/dam/data/sem/asyl/verfahren/hb/f/hb-f6-f.pdf https://tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1304208?src=r ecsys&journalCode=cjms20
Faster asylum procedures	From March 2019, asylum procedures will be accelerated in order to give a decision earlier than it was given before.	From March 2019	Asylum seekers	Confederation	Confederation	Faster asylum procedures are expected to help integration into the labour market of refugees and asylum seekers as it will give them access earlier to integration measures and the migrant will be able to focus in its integration earlier.	https://www.osar.ch/revision-de-la-loi-sur-lasile.html
Removal of the administrative barriers for refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Temporarily admitted persons had to pay a special tax of 10% of their salary Employers that wanted to hire refugees or temporarily admitted persons had to request for an authorisation. The authorization has been replaced for a simple announcement since January 2019	Barriers removed from 2018 (for the tax) and 2019 (for the authorization)	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Confederation legislators		The special tax and the authorization request was seen by almost all the stakeholders as important barriers to labour market integration of the persons concerned.	https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/the-men/arbeitsbereich.html
Cantonal policies and services							

Cantonal Integration Programme of Geneva	Following the Cantonal Integration programme objectives agreed with the Confederation, the Canton developed and implemented the CIP (2014-2017) and is implementing the CIP II (2018-2021) Many of the projects, and services below are implemented in the framework of the CIPs	CIP (2014-2017) and CIP II (2018-2021)	Migrants refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Cantonal Integration Office that cooperate with other institutions linked to integration of migrants (Welfare office, education, employment offices, association, union etc.)	Confederation and Canton	Cantonal Integration Programmes in Geneva are seen as a positive programme for labour market integration of migrants.	https://www.ge.ch/dossier/geneve-soutient-integration-etrangers/programme-integration-cantonal-2014-2017 https://www.ge.ch/dossier/geneve-soutient-integration-etrangers/programme-integration-cantonal-2018-2021
Network of actors providing reception and basic information to migrants	Geneva Reception Network, launched in 2016, is an interface between associations, municipalities and institutions which "makes it possible to ensure close monitoring and establish an effective partnership with all the municipal and associative actors involved in the reception and information of foreigners in Geneva".	Launched in 2016	Canton of Geneva - All migrants	Cantonal Integration Office and municipal and associative actors	Confederation and Canton through the CIP		https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-pic-programme-integration-cantonal-2018-2021/telecharger
Basic information	The cantonal integration office developed different booklets including information on Employment in Geneva, health, legal consultation and advice, and family services. They also developed a website for newly arrived migrants: "Welcome to Geneva". www.bonjourgeneve.ch		All migrants	Integration office and Office in charge of social assistance for the website	Confederation and Canton	Booklets provide very useful information but are not distributed to every new comer yet. Its foreseen distribution to every migrant will allow the migrant to find useful information earlier and gain time in its integration process. Especially for migrants that are not in the asylum framework.	https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-pic-programme-integration-cantonal-2018-2021/telecharger

	In the framework of the PIC 2018-2021, the provision of the booklets and other information documents is foreseen for every person that applies for a resident permit in the Canton. An opening of a reception and information office in the administrative office of the inhabitants is also foreseen in the framework of the PIC 2018-2021						
Support scheme for migrants coming from asylum	The Migrant Support Scheme (AMIG), is the social welfare institution that provides support to provisionally admitted persons and recognised refugees. On labour market integration it provides basic training (Module information and social awareness), language courses French and foreign language, pre-training services (assessment and implementation workshops), professional training (assessment and implementation workshops), and socio-professional integration activities (internal and external internships), professional training in various training centres as well as orientation to other support programs external to the scheme.	Since 2007 but has been reviewed and renamed in 2014	Asylum seekers, temporarily admitted persons and refugees during their first 5 years in the canton.	General Hospice, Cantonal Institution in charge of the welfare.	The integration measures are funded by the sum lump from the Confederation and by the Canton		http://xn--aideauxmigrantsbvolat-q8bb.ch/laide-aux-migrants-amig/
Professional positioning and skills assessment	In 2018, the Canton developed a pilot project to assess the skills and the professional positioning of refugees and temporarily admitted persons	2018	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons	Cantonal Integration Office and the Centre of skills assessment in Geneva, a non-profit association created by the	Funded through the PIC budget (Confederation and canton)	The project was a success according to some persons interviewed. It allows the person to gain self-confidence and, their desires are taken into account and they are able to receive the guidance	https://www.personnelqualifie-suisse.ch/fr/refugies/exemples/387/bilan-de-positionnement-cebig/

				Canton of Geneva, labour unions and employers' associations		adapted to their skills, potential and desire.	
Education related policies							
Language training fide	At the federal level, the fide programme was developed with the aim of establishing a conceptual framework for the teaching of local languages. It provides a framework and tools for course organisers. It has also developed a language passport to certify the beneficiary's skills.	Since 2014	For all the migrants	Confederation budget	Confederation though the State Secretariat of Migration	As soon as the fide certification is not binding, it is seen as an enabler, for the quality of the courses but also because tools like the language passport are useful in order to show and attest the level of knowledge to potential employers.	https://www.ethz.ch/en/news-and-events/eth-news/news/2018/01/algorith-m-increases-employment-opportunities-for-refugees.html https://www.fide-info.ch/fr/
Different local languages courses in Geneva	The Canton offers or funds through the CIP different types of language courses including French integration language courses. State actors and non-state actors such as associations, education institutions or unions organise those courses. Fide system has been introduced in some of them.	For many years, strengthened with the CIPs since 2014	For all the migrants	Cantonal integration office, office in charge of welfare services in the cases of the courses for persons under the asylum framework and other actors such as municipalities, associations, unions, employers associations, educational institutions etc.	CIPs (Confederation and Canton), the integration sum lump from the Confederation and the other actors organising the courses.	If language courses were seen by past beneficiaries as insufficient, it seems that it has been raised today. Different type of courses are offered by different actors and it can be difficult to know where to look and which is the right one.	http://languageintegration.ch/en/
Online directory of language	In the framework of the CIP, the Canton has developed an online directory to collect and make		For all the migrants and allophone persons	Cantonal Integration Office	Canton and confederation	The director answers to real need given the number of actors involved in local	http://languageintegration.ch/en/

courses available for the migrants in the canton of Geneva	accessible information about the French language courses for migrants available in the Canton.				through the CIP.	language courses organisation. As the courses organisers update their information themselves, this tool needs to benefit from a strong communication strategy.	
Ordinary education system in Geneva	The ordinary education system is open to all migrants until the end of mandatory education. Secondary system is also open for all migrants as well as vocational training but it is more difficult for asylum seekers to access to the latter as vocational training need a work contract,. Different specific offers have been developed in the Canton in order to fill in some gaps and to answer to migrants specific needs such as language classes, alphabetisation classes, motivation semesters. Specific attention is being paid to access to transitional education offers at the end of what was the mandatory education , Secondary I (15 years old). Mandatory education has been raised to 18 years old from January 2018.		All the resident population including migrants. Some specific measures for migrants	Cantonal department in charge of education	Cantonal department in charge of education, the Confederation	The specific offers, for migrants in the framework of the ordinary education differ according to the cantons. such as (local language classes or psychosocial support,) Geneva is seen as a Canton that has good offers of education in comparison to other cantons. Budget issues have been mentioned in assessments and by certain actors as one of the barriers to further develop the offers or to be able to take care of all migrants (e.g. of unaccompanied minors that struggle in find spaye in shool in the middle of the year.).	https://www.orientation.ch/dyn/show/2800 https://www.csp.ch/bausteine.net/f/51502/Rastoldo_Evrad_160416.pdf?fd=3 https://edudoc.ch/record/130890/files/dispositifs_transition_esll.pdf
Transitional education offers	After the previous mandatory education (Secondary I, 15 years old).Education offers to get prepared to enter general education, vocational training or other offers from Secondary II have been developed for those in need. Transitional offers include full time education measures, dual education measures with practice, motivation semesters and specific		All the resident population including migrants. Some specific measures for migrants	Cantonal Department of Public Education, Integration Office, OSEO (association) for the semesters of motivation.	Canton		http://www.oseo-ge.ch/programmes/semestre-de-motivation/

	offers for allophones and persons with language and basic knowledge courses.						
Procedures for validating prior learning	Each Canton has set procedures to validate the skills and prior learning in certain domains. The domains differ according to the Canton. The Canton of Geneva has set up procedures for validating prior learning in domains such as administration, mechanics, informatics or health care assistant.		In principle valid for local population and migrants	Cantonal Department of Public Education	Canton		https://www.orientation.ch/dyn/show/61442
Skills and diploma recognition information	In the framework of the CIP, a special office has been set up in the canton's vocational guidance centre in order to provide specific information and guidance to persons with foreign qualifications and skills	Since 2017	For all migrants	Cantonal integration office and Education and professional orientation office, Office in charge of integration of migrants from the cantonal Department of Public Education	Cantonal Education budget and PIC budget through the Office in charge of integration of migrants	The special office answers to a need with first orientation adapted to migrants needs.	http://citedesmetiers.ch/cdmt/Cybermag/A-la-une/Actions-en-faveur-professionnelle-des-etrangers
Short certification courses	Ordinary measure: short term trainings that provide a certificate in domains with strong employability such as cleaning services, health or security.		For migrants and non-migrants. Migrants not under asylum framework. For low skilled welfare beneficiaries	Hospice General (Welfare implementing institution in Geneva)	Confederation lump sum for refugees and temporarily admitted persons Cantonal budget		
Diploma recognition	Professional recognition of foreign qualifications (non-EU/EFTA) is legally required in certain professional activities that are regulated at the federal level. For no regulated professions, there is no official need of recognition. The authority that will be responsible		Opened to national and foreign nationals that have a residence permit of more than 90 days	State Secretariat for Education and different authorities according to the profession (e.g. State Secretariat for Health, Swiss Red Cross etc.)	The state Secretariat and the beneficiary pays for the service.	The recognition procedure is sometimes seen as long and difficult.	https://www.sbfi.admin.ch/sbfi/en/home/education/recognition-of-foreign-qualifications.html

	for the recognition varies according to the activity.						
Pre apprenticeship for integration (PAI)	In the framework of the federal pilot programme that has been launched by the Confederation to enable refugees and temporarily admitted persons to obtain the basic skills necessary to enter into an ordinary measure of vocational training. This is done through a 10 months apprenticeship that combines theory, practice and local language courses. The project in Geneva includes 60 places for 2018 and 2019 and 80 places for 2020 and 2021 in hotel and restaurant, administration, cleaning services, logistics and health areas.	2018-2022	For selected refugees and temporarily admitted persons from 16 to 35 years old that. That have a t least an A1/A2 local language level.	Confederation, Cantonal department in charge of education, Education and professional orientation office, General Hospice (office in charge of migrants coming from the asylum procedure), Integration office, and employers	The project in Geneva is funded by the Confederation and the Canton	Stakeholders at the cantonal level assess the PAI as a promising tool.	https://www.hospicegeneral.ch/fr/le-pai-nouvelle-cle-de-lintegration-professionnelle-0 http://citedesmetiers.ch/cdm/Cite-des-metiers-du-Grand-Geneve/Apprentissage/Preapprentissage-d-integration-PAI
Education and integration passport	In the framework of the CIP 2018-2021, the implementation of an "education and integration passport" is foreseen.	N.A	N.A	Cantonal Office in charge of Integration	N.A	N.A	N.A
Academic integration: "Horizon Academique"	The University of Geneva opened a special programme to allow persons coming from asylum to prepare them for university cursus. The programme include academic support, language courses, social integration activities and administrative support for the admissions process. Beneficiaries can attend to classes and pass exams. Once they are officially subscribed, they can validate their credits.	Since 2016	The programme targeted initially refugees and temporarily admitted persons but will be also open to migrants coming from family reunification and Swiss citizens that coming back from foreign countries	University of Geneva and the Integration Office	Confederation, Canton, University of Geneva and private partners	Assessed by the stakeholders interviewed as a positive programme also good for integration of migrant women as a large part of the beneficiaries are women.	https://www.unige.ch/horizon-academie/
Employment related policies							
Unemployment services -	Ordinary services for local population that is considered as		Local population including	Cantonal Office in charge of	Unemployment insurance,	The system in Geneva takes into account persons speaking	https://www.guidechomage.

Regional Office of Placement	ready for the labour market, that subscribed to unemployment and undertakes certain duties. The unemployment service provide guidance to find a job, placement offers and different measures like trainings, workshops, internships amongst other. The service is limited in time and is not supposed to provide with basic training, catching up with the level of training in the host country and improving the employment situation. For persons arriving to end of their rights to the unemployment services (that are limited in time), different allowance systems can encourage an employer to hire the beneficiary by a contribution of the state of a percentage of the salary during the firsts months of a contract unlimited in time.		migrants, refugees and temporarily admitted persons that fit with the readiness to the labour market criteria. Persons that benefit from the unemployment insurance have right in principle to all the offers. Subscribed persons that don't benefit from the unemployment insurance have in principle right to part of the measures (trainings etc). Access to measures with an employer can be limited for insurance reasons.	employment - the employment	Canton, Confederation.	other languages. Allophones migrants are placed with counsellors speaking their languages when possible. The online platform JobIn from the service is available in seven languages. Very few refugees and asylum seekers are able to enter in the system of unemployment services. For migrants in general that are in the system but don't benefit from the unemployment insurance, real access to measures differs according to the counsellors. According to certain persons interviewed, some were proposed measures, others didn't. The experience	ch/articles/index/mesures-de-marche-du-travail
Municipal offices for professional integration	Many communes of the Canton have an office that provides guidance, counselling and support for the development of a professional project	Since the 2000's	For every person living in the municipality and that is not subscribed to the unemployment service	Each Municipality (Commune)	Funded by the Municipality	Municipal offices are a key actor to support LMI of migrants. The Cantonal Integration Office is developing different project with the municipalities.	
Evaluation internship	Ordinary and mandatory service for locals and migrants that enter into the social assistance system or that have no more access to the unemployment services and that can look for a job. The purpose of the one month internship is to assess in practical	Since 2011	Ordinary and mandatory service for locals and migrants that enter into the social assistance system or that have no more	Hospice Général, cantonal office in charge of the welfare services		Sometimes considered as a stage that prolongs the process.	https://www.epi.ge.ch/personnes-en-difficulte-dinsertion/liasi/

	conditions, the skills of the beneficiary and identify factors that can represent barriers in the labour market entrance. The beneficiary will then be transferred to the adapted service according to the conclusions of the internship. (Professional reinsertion service etc.)		access to the unemployment services and that can look for a job.				
Professional reinsertion service	Ordinary service for locals and migrants that have no more access to the unemployment services and that have been placed there after the evaluation internship. It includes trainings, workshops, internships, reinsertion activities placement and labour market measures.		locals and migrants that have no more access to the unemployment services and that have been placed there after the evaluation internship	General Hospice, Office in charge of welfare services			https://www.hospicegeneral.ch/fr/service-de-reinsertion-professionnelle-srp-hospice-general https://www.donshg.ch/thematiques/reinsertion-sociale-et-professionnelle
Welfare related policies							
Basic Financial, housing services		Since 2011	Migrants coming from asylum procedure (asylum seekers , refugees and temporarily admitted persons)	Hospice General, Institution in charge of welfare services			http://xn--aideauxmigrantsbnvolat-q8bb.ch/hospice-general/prestations/
Some other projects funded) through the CIP, (between 2014 and 2018) developed and implemented by other actors (Municipalities, associations etc.) (Year column corresponds to the year of the funding)							
Application workshops	Applications workshops implemented by the municipality of Meyrin	Since 2017	Migrants (Young adults and adults)	Municipality of Meyrin, partners	The Municipality funds and PIC funds through Cantonal Office in		https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subventions-thematique-employabilite-

					charge if Integration		pic-ii/telecharger
Project of direct recruitment	Project of direct recruitment to facilitate access to places of vocational training with partner employers. Project from the Municipality of Vernier	2017	For young persons, locals and migrants including persons coming from the asylum procedure	Municipality of Vernier, employers and other partners	The Municipality funds and PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration		https://www.ge.ch/document/bie-subsventions-thematique-employabilite-pic-ii/telecharger
Support for qualified migrant women - Découvrir	Support program for highly skilled migrant women including workshops, trainings, individual support and advice and network development	Since 2014 (or prior)	Qualified migrant women	"Découvrir" association	PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration and other funds from actors supporting the association.	The programme exists since 2008.	https://www.associationdecouvrir.ch/2016/03/programme-proacte/
Support for unqualified women - Camarada	Support to education and training for professional integration of unqualified migrant women	2018 (cantonal subvention)	Unqualified migrant women	"Camarada" association	PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration and other funds from actors supporting the association.		http://www.camarada.ch/
Socio-professional integration internships, support and advice for employment	Socio-professional integration internships, individual support and advice for employment integration in an association that promotes bicycle. The internships can be in the service, administrative or technique area.	Since 2014 or prior	Asylum seekers, refugees, temporarily admitted persons, and locals from the General Hospice or unemployment.	Genève Roule association, and other partners	PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration and other funds from		https://www.geneveroule.ch/fr/insertion

search - GenèveRoule					actors supporting the association.		
Support to young migrants – "Espace Jeunes Espoir" - Maison Kultura	To individually support young people from immigrant backgrounds and in a situation of social and academic disruption with a view to socio-professional integration. The 9-month support program offers young people the opportunity to develop a career plan, a space for parent-child dialogue and a refresher program (mathematics, French, office automation and citizenship courses) and help in finding an apprenticeship or internship.		Young migrants or people from immigrant backgrounds aged between 16 and 25 years old	Maison Kultura	PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration and other funds from actors supporting the association.		http://www.kultura.ch/html/accompagnement.html
Support for integration into the labour market - "Intégra" - OSEO	Support and advice for persons coming from the asylum procedure that are not under the General Hospice scheme anymore (after 5 years for refugees and 7 years for temporarily admitted persons)	2018	Refugees and temporarily admitted persons under the General Hospice Scheme A2 french level	OSEO, General Hospice	PIC funds through Cantonal Office in charge of Integration		http://www.oseo-ge.ch/programmes/integra/
Integra - Oseo	Individual support for professional integration, clarification of the professional project, , help the participant to evaluate his skills and needs for the project implementation, to strengthen its skills through courses and to confront the labour market through internships.	Since 2016					http://www.oseo-ge.ch/programmes/integra/

ANNEX III A: Interviews

Stakeholders	Date of interview	Function/Role	Type of Institution * Broad terms to describe informants and their organisational roles/functions are used in order to respect their anonymity
Stakeholder representative 1	12.12.2018	Official	State Secretariat linked to integration of migrants into the labour market (federal level)
Stakeholder representative 2	12.12.2018	3 officials	Other State Secretariat linked to integration of migrants into the labour market (federal level)
Stakeholder representative 3	15.11.2018	Head of migration sector	Labour Union
Stakeholder representative 4	11.12.2018	Board member	Association that monitors social assistance
Stakeholder representative 5	24.11.2019	Project officer	Network of institutions, associations and private offices working in socioprofessional integration
Stakeholder representative 6	10.12.2018	Politician and member of the Grand Council, (cantonal legislative power)	Cantonal legislative power
Stakeholder representative 7	5.11.2018	Official	Cantonal institution linked to integration of migrants (implementation level)
Stakeholder representative 8	8.11.2018	Official	Other cantonal institution linked to integration of migrants (implementation level)
Stakeholder representative 9	15.12.2018	Official	Other cantonal institution linked to integration of migrants (implementation level)
Stakeholder representative 10	14.01.2018	Direction member	Association that works with the cantonal government in integration projects
Stakeholder representative 11	15.02.2019	Field worker	Other cantonal institution linked to integration of migrants (implementation level)
Stakeholder representative 12	22.01.2019	Project officer	NGO

ANNEX III B: Interviews

Interviews (Past Beneficiaries)										
Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Interview 1	24.10.2018	34 years	Female	Married to a french citizen who she met in Geneva	Brazil	2009	Pedagogical degree (not recognized in Switzerland)	salesgirl 50% / Pedagogical assistant in two nursery schools (remplacement) 50%	Student	Portuguese (mother tongue) and French
Interview 2	06.10.2018	36 years	Female	Married to a swiss citizen, who she met in Geneva (her family lives still in the USA)	USA	End 2007 first migration - End 2014 second migration	Bachelor in Gender Study (University of Washington DC), Master in Development Studies (university of Geneva)	She the permanent administrator for a feminist non-profit organisation who work with women victim of rape. Parallely, she is working on a pilot project with migrant women.	Intern in a feminist ngo and employee in a educational centre	English and Italian (mother tongues), spanish, french
Interview 3	29.11.2018	29 years	Female	Married	Brazil	came first in 2011 and again 2013 (year in which she got the	Bachelor in Law (Brazil) and Master in Human rights (London)	Lawyer for the UN	Corporate lawyer	English, portuguese, french

						residency in Switzerland)				
Interview 4	30.11.2018	29 years	Male	Married with a swiss woman. They have two years old child	USA / Colombia	2014	Bachelor in international relations (Colombia) / he is in the second year of the Master in environmental development (Geneva)	Student and part-time employee for a digital newspaper company	worked as english teacher	English, spanish and french
Interview 5	05.12.2018	37 years	Male	Two children, mother is his fiancé with who he escaped from Eritrea	Eritrea	2008	degree as school instructeur (Ethiopia), federal professional attestation in Switzerland	Works as staff of surgery block	School instructor	Tigrinya and French
Interview 6	03.12.2018	29-30 years (not clear)	Male	Married with two children (wife is originary from Eritrea)	Eritrea	2008	Bachelor in human rights	Employee in a cleaning enterprise in the airport	He studied and worked for the army	Tigrinya and French
Interview 7	10.12.2018	22 years	Female	She has 4 siblings - they all live together with their parents in a foyer in Geneva	Sri Lanka	2013	Secondary education, she had to leave Sri Lanka in her third year of college	Unemployed	Student	Tamil and French (low level)
Interview 8	17.12.2018	25 years	Male	His parents and sisters moved also to Geneva	Sri Lanka	2009	Secondary education	he works in an alimentary shop and in a restaurant as a waitress	student	Tamil and French
Interview 9	20.12.2018	30 years	Female	She has partner (also from Eritrea)	Eritrea	2008	Secondary education	Unemployed - she is full time mother	student	Tigrinya and French

				and four children						
Interview 10	02.01.2019	30 years	Female	She is the only one of her family that lives in Switzerland. She lives alone.	Eritrea	2012	Secondary education and degree as electrician	domestic operative	electrician	Tigrinya, French and English
Interview 11	15.01.2019	34 years	Female	Married to a Swiss	Brazil	2011	Degree at the veterinary college	veterinary	In march 2019 she will start to work as veterinary in a veterinary hospital. At the moment she is unemployed	Portuguese (mother tongue) and French
Interview 12	07.02.2019	40 years	Male	Married (Sri Lankan woman), one child	Sri Lanka	2008	Secondary education, he was in his second year of Biology when he left Sri Lanka	cook	Jeweller	tamil, english and french (good level)
Interview 13	23.01.2019	45 years	Female	unmarried, parents still in Brazil, one sister in Italy and one sister in England	Brazil	2010	Diploma as pharmacist	assistant manager	Coordinator of events and entertainer on an international cruise	Portuguese, italian, french, spanish and english
Interview 14	06.02.2019	36 years	Female	Swiss husband and a two years old daughter	Brazil	2008	Bachelor in Tourism and event management (Brazil), Master in Marketing (Brazil) and	Project and administrative assistant	Events manager	Portuguese, french, english and spanish

							a BM degree (Spain)			
Interview 15	01.02.2019	30 years	Male	Single	Sri Lanka	2008	Basic education (until 15)	Worker in a industrial bakery	No occupation	Tamil, english and french
Interview 16	25.10.2018	35 years	Female	Married to a US national living in Switzerland for 20 years	USA	2013	Bachelor in Finance	Account manager in a bank	Middle office in a bank	English, Russian and French
Interview 17	27.11.2018	40 years	Male	Single	Eritrea	2012	Degree in journalism	Works with associations	Journalist	Tigrinya and English. French but not fluent
Interview 18	09.11.2018	42 years	Female	French husband and two kids (4 and 6)	USA	2011	Degree in Communication and degree in Interior Design	Fabric director in Design Studios	She has her own business in interior design	English and French
Interview 19	14.02.2019	34 years	Male	Single	Sri Lanka	2009	diploma in multimedia	waiter in swiss restaurant	employee in an electronics store	tamil, english and french (good level)

ANNEX IV: Summaries of conducted interviews

INTERVIEW WITH STAKEHOLDER REPRESENTATIVES

Stakeholder representative 1

12.12.2018

Official in a state secretariat linked to integration of migrants into the labour market. For stakeholder 1, when talking about policies weaknesses and strengths of policies and services it is difficult to generalise. The Swiss system of integration is complex and we should analyse each institution in each canton one by one. As each institutions works differently. According to the stakeholder, language courses in general work well. There are aspects that can be enhanced but in general, the system is being developed in the good direction. At the federal level ,the CIPs are very positive. In the asylum domain, the Integration Agenda is a good tool that will be implemented even if its implementation will take time. For persons coming from family reunification procedure (migrants not in the asylum domain), the situation is different. Things could be enhanced. For the stakeholder, efforts have been done for lately arrived young persons coming from this population, but there is still something that can be done for older persons, coming because they married a Swiss national or a foreign resident for example. According to the stakeholder, which is difficult for those persons is the link with the ordinary structures. "There is still little support and accompanying of those persons to enter into the system, even if certain cantons do it more than others." For the stakeholder, efforts can also be done in the recognition of the qualifications. It is however important to mention that it is normal that the qualification recognition system is complex. Not all qualifications and diploma must be recognised, as they are not necessarily equivalent. The subject is therefore sensitive according to the stakeholder, but for him, it is true that the system could be a little bit more open or flexible. The reasoning is also valid for the validation of the prior learning and skills recognition. The formalised nature of the Swiss system that tends to request for diploma for almost everything can be an aspect that does not help migrants to integrate into the labour market. This characteristic is not seen as negative or positive, the stakeholder simply remarks that it has an impact. In that sense, some more initiatives could be developed to allow motivated persons to enter into the system as it is done with the project "Power Coders", from one association that gives the opportunity to migrants that are sensitive to computer science to become coders. The project is a success. It is however, a sensitive field as those projects can lead to unfair competition and wage dumping risks. Such initiative could be developed but it has to be well thought and prepared. What could be done for example is to allow the person to be trained and certified once she got her first experience. Among the promising type of projects mentioned by the stakeholder and that could be developed, the Mentoring projects are a valuable tool with a good potential as it allows the person to create a network not only thanks to the mentor but to the network of the mentor. Mentoring projects need however to be well designed, implementers and mentors need to be the right ones.

Stakeholder representative 2

12.12.2018

Official in a state secretariat linked to integration of migrants into the labour market. Overall, 3 stakeholders participated to the interview. As their opinion coincided during the whole interview, we will gather their discussion in one voice namely stakeholder 2. Generally, the stakeholder discussed the role of the unemployment services in integration of migrants into the labour market. What is seen as the unemployment services gathers the services coming

from the unemployment insurance (for unemployed insured persons that will receive indemnities) and the public service of employment (for persons looking for an employment but that are not taken in charge by the unemployment insurance). Originally, the services have been created for persons that lost their job. The system is therefore not very adapted to persons that are far from the employment market which can be the case of non- or low - qualified migrants. This explains the difficulty that some migrants can have to enter into the unemployment system, and the fact that the measures are not necessarily adapted to the cases. On another note, even if there is a federal law, each canton has its own system. Some cantons have managed to better integrate some specific groups of migrants like refugees in their unemployment system but cantonal systems are different. Many want to further develop the policies but they feel that it is not feasible with their rules. "In general, there are 26 different solutions (there are 26 cantons). This is a challenge but it is also a risk. Cantons can learn from good practices other cantons". On other challenges that the Swiss system has to face to facilitate the integration of migrants into the labour market, the stakeholder mentions the coordination between the institutions. The questions of which migrants should be in charge of which institution, who decides, who will pay are questions which answers are still not clear in practice. There are differences on the certain concepts according to the institutions (e.g: social assistance and unemployment). The example of the placement readiness is one of the concepts which definition and criteria can differ. The institution responsible of the persons will also differ as unemployment services are supposed to be in charge of persons that are ready for employment. In certain cantons, the institutions have therefore difficulties to work together. The way that the Swiss system frames person from the asylum framework act as a barriers as it acts as a stigma. Instead of framing their presence as a chance or potential, the fact that they are directly taken in charge by the social assistance, gives a picture of an assisted population, the stakeholder adds: "It would be good to see less the status of the person than the potential that can be tapped and the difficulties that she faces". On other aspects that should be enhanced, municipalities should invest in integration in the first years for a faster integration. There are also legal barriers that still need to be removed such as the ones from the temporarily admitted persons, even if the legal framework has changed, there are some barriers that remain. Finally, on what could be done within the unemployment services, the stakeholder mentions that unemployment counsellors should be made aware of the difficulties experienced by migrants and important points to consider when working with a migrant beneficiaries.

Stakeholder representative 3

Date: 15.11.2018

According to the Stakeholder representative 3 (S3) "the integration policies it's rather open on paper. However, in practice, if we think at its implementation on the cantonal level this same policy is extremely complicate and questionable. There is an important gap between the law and its implementation on the cantonal level" (Stakeholder representative 3). Since the union works on a federal and cantonal level, it has to face constantly problems linked to the local application of laws "There are the laws but there is no political will to put them in practice and to invest in structures that could support their implementation and application" (Stakeholder representative 3). There is also a total lack of individual assistance of the migrant, who is left on his own device in managing difficulties and situation of exploitation, and a lack of performance by inspectors who should prevent situation of exploitation. One of the biggest underlying problem in the integration policies, is the general lack of information regarding rights, procedures, administration etc. The language is too technical and the information are too difficult to access (the web sites are too complex). In order to fight this problem, one of the most important project and action of the union is the communication and the divulging of information. With the divulgation of information, they want to prevent cases of discrimination as well. The union wants, through different forms of intervention, "stimulate a political consciousness, an awareness of their own rights and opportunities" (Stakeholder

representative 3). The work of the union is also to provide information to employers. There are many cases where employers offer naively jobs to MRAs., without fill all needed forms, that means that they hire MRAs on an illegal basis. The procedure of the accreditation of prior learning is extremely problematic as well, it is long and expensive. Consequently, many trained MRAs are not recognised as such for a long time, they don't work in their domain, their capacities are not well used and they often don't have the chance to pursue a career in their professional sector. "The ground problem of the integration policy is the capital. There is a collapse between the professional integration, the rights of workers and the liberal market where the most important goal is to get more profit, no matter how. The main obstacle is the capitalistic market system". One new trend of the employers is to fire migrant workers in order to re-hire younger people who have a lower degree or less years of experiences and can consequently being paid less for the same work. On the other hand, "young migrants suffer under a double discrimination. They have to handle the fact that they are migrants and moreover they current problems, that also Swiss young people have to face. The system of internship allows a new forms of exploitation system, where the work conditions and the salaries are miserable and the level of education and learning are really low. To be competitive on this labour market young people have to reduce their competitiveness". Many MRAs consult them because of these problems of discrimination. MRAs who have problem in their research of work can increasingly benefit from the unemployment structure, that help to have a faster access to a labour network and try to help in the research of more opportunities. There are increasingly enterprises who are willing to hire migrants; enterprises as IKEA embraced a social and solidarity-based policy. The union tries to establish social partnerships with bipartite structures where the term "migrants" is not even used. On the political level the union tries to cooperate with employment offices, with cantonal institutes, political parties, NGOs etc. They try to build a network between the different actors in order to strength the integration policy. All together they have to find new solutions and strategies that don't downgrade MRAs. "The main discussion point should not be the intensification of migration and how to stop it, but how to handle it. Politics has to change the public discourse. An anti-migration discourse has a negative effect, it doesn't help in developing a pro-active atmosphere and have negative effect on people who work in the administration etc. It doesn't support a positive policy of integration" (Stakeholder representative 3).

Stakeholder representative 4 and 6 **10.12.2018**

Stakeholder 4 is Politician and member of the Grand Council (legislative power in the canton of Geneva). As he/she is also member of the board of an association that monitors social aid he/she is labeled also as stakeholder representative 6. The stakeholder discussed the fundamental living conditions of persons in the framework of the asylum as an aspect that has an impact on their integration. There is first a work to be done in the living conditions of asylum seekers. The system in Geneva is changing but there is still work to be done. According to the stakeholder, the legal framework on residence permit renewals act as a barrier in a sustainable integration of migrants into the labour market. Legislation that penalises the migrant who has been a beneficiary of social assistance by threatening to deprive him of a permit renewal acts as a barrier since it induces a need to work at any cost and under any conditions. Conditions of wage under-auction and the precarious context experienced by migrants are thus amplified. According to the stakeholder, we are in a period of austerity, and funding for programmes to help migrant populations is not sufficient. In general, for the stakeholder, migrants certainly have difficulties because of the language or the lack of knowledge of the Swiss system. There is information work being done by the authorities, but the fact that the administration is increasingly using electronic platforms and e-learning, for example, creates a kind of

segregation since some migrant populations are less familiar with these tools. In general, according to the stakeholder, in the field of asylum there is an accompanying support deficit. The stakeholder system is rigid, poorly adapted and there is a mismatch between intentions and means. On the side of the unemployment services there is very little availability of staff who are under great pressure with quotas for closing files and quotas for sanctions. These are conditions that are far from the accompaniment. Additionally, according to the stakeholder, solidarity jobs are a no man's land in which people go in circles, they are not supposed to be jobs, there are many programs with part-time jobs. In general, the stakeholder says that there is a need for a real break with the politics of autocracy in order to further improve integration policies.

Stakeholder representative 5

Date: 24.01.2019

The interviewed is the project coordinator of the Swiss French headquarter of a Swiss umbrella organisation; this includes a great number of non-profit associations and institutes that works in the sector of the integration on the labour market of vulnerable groups as migrants. The interviewed developed and implemented especially a pilot project that wants support the professional integration of young refugees and asylum seekers; the project is financed by the cantonal office of integration and of prevention of racism. They decided to launch the project after the increasing flow of young migrants in 2014 and 2015. The decision to launch a project that focus on young migrants and especially on their integration, both social and professional, is due to an important lack of services that have a multi-dimensional approach. A weakness of the prior politics and services is in fact an approach that doesn't consider the sexual, psychological and physical health as well as the social inclusion of the person, all dimensions that play an important role in the integration on the labour market. The interviewed underlines how indispensable it is to offer an immediate assistance that cover all the mentioned dimensions; another indispensable step is the progressive building of a relationship of confidence with each individual. For this reason, one of the best concrete actions for the integration on the labour market is the personal and individual assistance and case management. Every single migrant that want to benefit from their services represent a case, and the professional in charge of the case, has the task to activate the network, namely all the "cellule" / actors (social assistant, language teacher, employers, professional coach, relatives etc.) who play a role in the life of the beneficiary, and create an open communication among them in order to strength the global integration process of the person. A personal assistance allows to identify the resources and the potentials of the person as well as the wishes, motivation, dynamism etc. starting from these it is possible afterward to identify with the person the path to follow. A personal follow up and a relationship of trust between the beneficiary and the professional in charge of the case, can also prevent people to get involved in the informal labour market, which can bring to exploitation, no coverage of the health insurance etc. Learning the language is of course essential, but it can't be considered as the only criterion for a successful integration. According to the respondent there is a general "misconception about the necessity to have a certain level of the language". The employers often follow the general idea that a migrant is able to work, only if they have a B2 or a C1 level. However, the employers as well as many institutes don't consider that the migrants usually don't have the financial resources to cover the costs of the courses (after the B1 level courses are not covered by the state) and of the exams. They don't consider neither that for many the best way to learn the language is by practicing it every day on the workplace. The request of a B2 represent an important barrier. A further obstacle is represented by the bureaucracy and by a general lack of information among the employers. Employers don't know often if they can hire a migrant, e.g. a refugee, and how they have to proceed at an administrative level. Hire a migrant can seem extremely complicated. For this reason, it is important that organisations and institutes that work in the sector of migration and integration build "bridges" and take the role of mediator; they have to provide information as well as offer a support to the employers in all the

bureaucratic matters. Develop a communication and a network among all the involved actors is essential in order to balance the gap between the politics and their implementation.

Stakeholder representative 7

(See Stakeholder representative 4)

Stakeholder representative 7

Date: 5.11.2018

The Stakeholder representative 7 (S7) identify different factors that hamper an effective integration of MRAs on the labour market. Until 2014 there was a lack of interest of the canton to implement the PIC - the cantonal and federal laws for integration, the predominance of the right-wing parties and the direct democracy system in Switzerland, that have never helped the innovation or the strengthening of the services and of the associations who works in the sector of migration and integration. "On a structural level, one of the major weakness is the absence of short formations" (Stakeholder representative 7). In Switzerland there is no possibility to do any formation that last less than 3 years. Many adults who already did a formation in their origin country or those who need in short time a work, won't start a new formation, considering the duration and the lack of guarantees anyway. To undertake a formation, the person needs a recognized B2 level in French, which many doesn't have. "Language course that are offered by the canton and their organisation are often considered as not effective" (Stakeholder representative 7). They don't respond to the different needs of the beneficiaries, who are addressed as a homogenous group. "On an implementation level there is a lack of coordination between the different actors active on the field and there is a dysfunction at the level of information" (Stakeholder representative 7). Many obstacles are also linked to the legal and psychological status of MRAs. Many asylum seekers and refugees suffered traumas, their psychological state doesn't allow them not only to work but even to look for a job and to face the integration process at every level. "The risks that a person encounter in the "informal" labour market is abuse and exploitation" (Stakeholder representative 7). According to S7, "the best service and concrete action that help the professional integration process is an individual accompanying, from the beginning to the end of the process of the job search" (Stakeholder representative 7).

Stakeholder representative 8

8.11.2018

According Stakeholder representative 8 (S8) the service that works better is the individual accompanying, where a social assistant or another responsible identify the competences, the tools and the professional objectives of the person and who identify how these can be "adapted" to the current situation of the labour market. According to S8 in order to prevent that inequalities are reproduced by integration services and politics it is helpful to "put the person in the centre, to give again space to the person, to give him the chance to take decision and have the freedom to say what are his interests, independently from age, gender or previous formation" (Stakeholder representative 8). The obstacles that hamper an effective integration of MRAs on the labour market are many. According to S8 "the biggest obstacle in the current policy of integration is a cleavage on a macro level: following the intensification of the refugee flow in 2014, 2015 and 2016, we are living in a situation, where the public opinion is questioned and it is asked to reposition itself in regard to what is happening in the world. This situation is used by the politicians for different reasons (e.g. right parties). There is a political blockage, where the policy of integration is "constrained" (Stakeholder representative 8). On a micro level, when people arrive in Switzerland from the country of the "south", will encounter obstacles linked to the different language, culture and religion that hamper an integration on the labour market. In general, there is to less freedom for the social services to make known

to the migrants how the local labour market works, which are the needs and which competences are required. According to S8 “we have to face two logics that are diametrically opposed. We work with a logic that is social oriented, this is however confronted with a logic that is economic. The goals of an employer are different that these of the social sector” (Stakeholder representative 8). The discrepancy of needs and goals represent an obstacle for a professional integration. A good communication between the implementers and their partners is for these reasons essential. The canton could do more but there is a lack of interest to invest more money in the social sector. For this reason, there is the necessity to look for support in other actors, namely in the private sector where there is the money: “Make a bridge between the institutional and private is essential for the future of the integration services. The challenge will be again finding a compromise between the marketing logic with the social logic” (Stakeholder representative 8).

Stakeholder representative 9
15.12.2018

Stakeholder 9 is an official of an implementing cantonal institution linked to integration of migrants. For stakeholder 9, we have been experiencing a paradigm shift in recent years in terms of policy for the integration of migrants into the labour market. “Switzerland has embarked on a sort of “open yard”, and it is a yard that must succeed, but much remains to be done. This yard will most probably move forward within the framework of the Swiss Integration Agenda, which provides more resources and requires more from the cantons, although it only concerns people from the asylum system.” For Stakeholder 9, Projects must be conducive, appropriate, take into account the diversity of the problem and the diversity of the population. It is very important to fight prejudice. For the stakeholder, it is important to demonstrate the capacity of migrants in order to fight against the prejudices of the administration which believes that migrants are not capable, the prejudices of migrant advocacy associations which say that migrants do not have the right, and therefore, that they cannot integrate, and the prejudices of migrants themselves who are beginning to believe that they are indeed not capable. These three prejudices reinforce employers' prejudices and lead them to believe that migrants are not capable. The best way to fight against these cumulative prejudices is to work with examples and demonstrate that capacities and opportunities are there. Other barriers highlighted are the difficulty to enter into the ordinary structures, which rules sometimes does not allow them to enter. For the stakeholder, several good practices have already been implemented in the canton of Geneva. In the field of vocational training and training support, projects will be launched in which the canton and the municipalities will be partners to promote the integration of migrants in general, both asylum and non-asylum combined. Positioning assessments that are being developed are also a good way to help migrants to see they have the potential. Partnership in general have being developed in the field of integration of migrants into the labour market. More partnerships with the unemployment services could be developed. For the lately arrived young persons, even if there are different offers that have been developed and opened such as the Cap Formation and the Pre-apprenticeship programmes for example, but there is still a lack of coordination. According to the stakeholder, Integration Agenda will help to solve this problem, for example, through individual case management: “I have a lot of hope in the Integration Agenda to solve the asylum issue in a sustainable way. Instead of making small measures that ultimately do not bring much benefit.” Among other good practices mentioned, the Horizon Academique programme of the University of Geneva is a good way to fight under qualification.

Stakeholder representative 10
14.01.2019

Association that works with the cantonal government in integration projects. The association works for the professional integration by enhancing the employability of its beneficiaries. According to S10, the main barriers that face migrants to integrate into the labour market are the language, the lack of qualifications or recognised qualifications by the labour market, the difficulty to have the first local experience and organisational barriers such as the childcare. Two other major barriers are the self-confidence from the migrants (as for many locals) and the labour market prejudice on the migrant population. The professional project of the person should be realistic and feasible according to its skills, motivation will and adapted to the labour market." We often see that the person has difficulties to integrate into the labour market because the person does not know herself and her skills and because the labour market has prejudices from the migrant population. We have to work on the difficulties from both sides. The self-confidence and the labour market openness." For the stakeholder, the skills assessment is a valuable tool to enhance the self-confidence of the beneficiary as it allows him to have a better knowledge of itself, to put words on its skills and increase the self-confidence. Our experience is that if you really activate those populations, there are possibilities. There is often a believe that migrants don't want to work and want to take advantage of the social assistance but when we see the participation rate to the programs, we see that they are really motivated". Education on the local culture is also a key factor for a better integration into the labour market of migrants. In general, terms, according to the stakeholder, Geneva has good offers to help support migrants in their labour market integration. The investment done in adult's education, the skills validation procedures, the new programs to help migrants positioning into the labour market are among the good practices in the canton mentioned. The efforts of the canton to collaborate with the social partners such as the unions and employers organizations is also seen as a key factor that helps migrants and will develop the potential of integration of migrants into the labour market. For the S10, the cantonal institutions involved in labour market integration of migrants do a very good job. The problem is that they are huge institutions and that it is very difficult to manage each case as needed. "All our institutions are fabulous but they are very large machines. Sometimes it is difficult to individualize the help. It takes time and time is precious. The key to success is teamwork" For the stakeholder, institutions sometime try to individualize the help by themselves but it takes time, as they do not have the experience and the capacity to assume everything. Sometimes, they collaborate with other organisations, associations or private institutions to do it. For the stakeholder, this is the best way to act in order to save time and achieve best results. For the stakeholder, the example of the skills validation is a good example as one institution partners with others to implement it and that is one of the reasons of its success.

Stakeholder representative 11
15.02.2019

Stakeholder 11 works with migrants in a local implementing institution. The main barriers that she sees are the lack of knowledge of the Swiss system, the language barrier, the lack of social and professional network and the difficulty finding the first local experience. For the stakeholder, situations that we often forget talking about are those of migrants that lose their job after working several years in their first local position, where in many cases local language was not necessary and low skills were demanded. Those persons face huge difficulties to find another job and remain for years working in difficult conditions with low salaries. On the aspects that could be enhanced, the stakeholder says that actors supporting migrants in their labour market integration as assistant, advisors, councillors, mentors etc. should be the closest possible to the labour market. For the stakeholder, many advisors and counsellors in the different institutions don't know well, or don't know anymore the labour market in Geneva today, or they only know certain areas. This makes that support is not always the best possible.

On the unemployment services, “it is known that unemployment counsellors are under a huge pressure and the conditions make difficult to provide real targeted support”. Still on the unemployment services, for persons that subscribe and that are not under the unemployment insurance, it is a matter of chance. The support and the possibility to benefit from measures like training or workshops will depend on the counsellor that the person has, this completely changes the destiny from the person. Awareness raising efforts should be made in the unemployment and other ordinary institutions. However, many efforts are done to allow persons that don’t speak French to benefit from the support as the unemployment takes advantage of the different languages talked by the counsellors and the online platform is available in many languages.

Stakeholder representative 12

Date: 22.01.2019

The interviewed is the head of the Geneva office; they are in charge of several projects that, among others, concern sans-papiers as well as migrants (asylum seekers, refugees and foreigners with a residence permit). One of their main objectives is to provide information to migrants (asylum seekers, refugees and foreigners with a residence permit) about their rights as well as about all the administrative procedures, the Swiss system, the professional reality in Geneva etc. They offer “itinerant” informative session (in schools, associations, churches, important meeting places) as well as individual consultation. The work of cultural mediation, personal and constant assistance and a support in the different procedures (e.g. research of a work) are some of the most essential services, since it allows to build a proximity with the beneficiaries. Establish an open communication with the migrants and provide information are particularly effective and necessary, considering that there is a general lack of awareness and knowledge among the migrants and an apparent inability of the state to provide information in a comprehensible way; and information have to be considered as essential for a proper integration on the labour market. The respondent emphasised as well that there is an important lack of knowledge among employers, who often don’t know if they can hire asylum seekers with a F permit or a refugee or how they have to proceed at administrative level. Again, it should be the work of the state to create a stronger informative machine and to establish a dialog with the employers. According to the respondent, it’s difficult to establish if employers are or not interested to hire migrants; it depends from the occupational sectors: “In the domestic and the hotel business sector, employers are interested to hire migrants, who are often ready to accept precarious work conditions, reduced salary and short terms contracts. On the other hand, there are a lot of obstacles for qualified migrants who look for “higher qualified” jobs and/or want to work in the sector in which they are trained (...) Claiming that migrants are not hired because of a low language level, would be reductive and simplistic. There is something more that block the employers to hire the migrants” (Stakeholder representative 12). The interviewed cannot identify all the reasons why there are barriers for qualified migrants to find a job. Clearly the politics and the dominant public discourse play an important role. The public discourse is dominated by misleading statements and discourses of politicians who are against migrants and the opening of the local labour market. Politics nourish an anti-migration feeling that damage the climate and probably also all the integration process of the migrants on the labour market. Moreover, paradoxically, the international context of Geneva doesn’t support a culture of solidarity, it pushes Swiss people who had/have to benefit from the social aid and migrants of previous generations to be afraid from the new waves of migrants of any origin. Because of the public discourses, people are afraid that their welfare and professional conditions will be endangered by the newcomers. Even border workers are often discriminatory against migrants. All these frictions don’t support an inclusive local economy. “The work of the associations and, theoretically of the canton, would be to fight this climate, from the bottom, awareness-raising among the people, and from the top, at the level of politics and politicians” (Stakeholder representative 12). By evaluating the evolution of politics and services over the past years, the interviewed identify as a barrier and a relevant

problem the progressive process of discharge of responsibility from the side of the state: “In these last ten years there has been a progressive increase of non-profit associations in Geneva who offers support and assistance to migrants in the different sectors. These associations are more and more financed by private foundations or private enterprises. The state pays only a little contribution. Even if the increase of associations who offers services for migrants could appear a positive sign, it is in fact rather alarming. It is the sign of an increasing decentralisation and discharge of responsibility by side of the state. “The state should be the one that takes in charge all the process of integration” (Stakeholder representative 12). The respondent is conscious that the cantonal offices are overcharge with work; for this reason, the state should be willing to redistribute the capital and invest more in the integration sector and less in other sectors (e.g. military services). A further barrier and “mistake” of many integration services and politics is to consider the “integration on the labour market”, “the social and cultural integration” and the “psychological and emotional state” as separate domains of intervention. A huge number of migrants suffer under severe psychological stress, which slow down or even blocks completely the process of an integration of labour market: “people are so stressed out, that they are not able to do anything! They don’t are able to learn a language, they are not able to search and specially to find a job. Their worries eat all their energy. You can often immediately see this stress in their way of presenting themselves, of talking etc. they don’t transmit any trust to the people surround them, and of course to the potential employers, who of course will not be ready to hire someone who gives the impression to be so vulnerable. But, without a job the person will feel even worse. It’s a vicious circle” (Stakeholder representative 12). One of the most important and effective services is for all these reasons a personal and attentive assistance focused in the first place on a psychological assistance and a “process of rebuilt of self-confidence of the person”. Only after, they will be able to work and to integrate. The respondent claims that women are vulnerable but not necessary more vulnerable that the men. She is aware that there are many organisations specialised in the assistance of women. On the other hand, there too little organisations and services that focus on men. However, men from other culture, that are more patriarchal and machista as the one in Switzerland, suffer often a cultural shock when they arrive in Switzerland; they have incredible difficulties to accept that for example their wife start to work. Moreover, it seems that women find more easily jobs in the service and cleaning sector, mare are often more stigmatised and mistrusted. There should be a stronger support system also for young people. There is the need of an individual and systemic support, that has to start from the very beginning. Schools, apprenticeship and training programs should offer the support of professionals who can help the young people to pursue a certain educational and professional path. An individual and professional support can also help to overcome and to handle problems related to learning difficulties, behavioural problems etc.

INTERVIEW WITH PAST BENEFICIARIES

Past beneficiary, Interview 1

Date: 24.10.2018

P. is originally from Sao Paolo, Brazil, where she did a Bachelor in Pedagogy. She moved to Switzerland in 2009, to attend the Master in social work (her aunt lives in Geneva as well). She interrupted her study after a few months (the program was too academic and she missed a praxis-oriented approach). She decided to stay in Geneva anyway: the educational system in Switzerland is better than the one in Brazil and she saw more opportunities to develop professionally. In order to integrate herself she avoided to hang out with Brazilian people and she attended French classes for more than a year. Being surrounded by people from Switzerland and France helped her to learn better the language and to get to know the “Swiss reality”. Her aunt and her future husband, who she met after her arrival in Geneva, were two

essential figures in the integration process: “Their support was the main reason why I’ve never felt the necessity to join any associations nor any integration programs” (Past beneficiary, Interview 1). She decided to search a job as pedagogical assistant in kindergarten on her own. For 9 years she searched a work in the educational sector without success. Even if she had years of experience in the childhood care back in Brazil, her degree and her experiences weren’t recognized. She didn’t want to go through all the process of validation of her experiences, because she didn’t have any guarantee that her degree and her previous experience would be recognised, the procedure takes in general two years and it is extremely expensive. During her research of a job in her domain, she found several jobs in the service sector. She works in a department store company as shop girl at 50%. In her other 50% she started to work for a Brazilian association as Portuguese teacher for children. In 2017 she found two replacement positions in different kindergartens. “I realized that my mistake in all these years of research was that I applied as trained person, which in fact I wasn’t, my Bachelor degree wasn’t recognized in Switzerland. On the contrary, if I had applied for a replacement position or for a not remunerated internship I would have surely more chance to be contacted by employers, which in fact didn’t happen” (Past beneficiary, Interview 1). At the moment she works 50% in the department store and 50% as replacement in the two Kindergarten. In her near future she will try to make recognize her experience that she got in Switzerland and to get eventually the degree of pedagogical assistant.

Past beneficiary, Interview 2

Date: 06.10.2018

J. is from the USA. Her father is Italian (he migrated with his family to the USA when he was younger) and her mother is Italo-American. She spent her childhood in Philadelphia, she grew up with two cultures and two languages (Italian and English), this multicultural context nourished her desire to travel and visit other country. She attended the university in Washington DC where she did Gender studies. At the time, she defined herself as a political activist engaged in feminist and pacifist movements. As she moved back to Philadelphia, she worked as an intern in a small no-profit association for women rights. There wasn’t the possibility to work there permanently and she decided to apply for a one-year long fellowship at the international office of human rights in Geneva. She won the fellowship and she moved to Geneva end of 2007 at the age of 25. She met almost immediately her actual husband, a student from Geneva. After the conclusion of her fellowship she decided to stay in Geneva. She didn’t want to continue in the international world of the NGOs, which she described as too competitive, often based on exploitation and detached from the local reality. However, it was really difficult to find a job in local NGOs: “when I started to look for a job outside the international milieu I didn’t have any ideas where to look, which work opportunities were there and who could help me in my research, I found a general lack of information” (Past beneficiary, Interview 2). Another obstacle was determined by her low level of French and the high costs of the language courses. Without a good language level, is extremely difficult to access to the local labour market. Through her work with the *sans-papier* she started to cooperate with a union. Beside her part-time job and her weekly engagement as a volunteer she started a Master at the university of Geneva in Development Studies. In 2012 she married her boyfriend and together they moved to the USA. Begin of 2014 they came back to Geneva and she registered for unemployment. The unemployment service paid her French courses and the formation for the Certificate of Advanced Studies (CAS). In parallel, she continued to volunteer in the association for the rights of the *sans-papiers*. In this “second phase” she benefited from more services as in the first stay in Geneva. The informative interviews were like a field research”, she could meet people who advised her, she got to know which are the work opportunities and the labour market works. She got to know an NGO (NGO X) that supported trained migrants’ women in Geneva. The NGO offers an individual support, information evenings, as well as mini formations, which consisted in weekly meetings of a group of women, in these meeting they received useful information and instruments for the research of a work.

Everyone was followed by a personal coach). She found this last service incredible useful: “the support from the coach is based on a personal and supportive relationship, it is completely different from the one offered by the unemployment service, which is informal and disinterested, there is no human bonding at all” (Past beneficiary, Interview 2). She was encouraged by the association to take the internship in a local association in order to have on the CV an experience in the sector that she wanted to work. The internship expands her network and her knowledge about the associative world of Geneva, and she eventually found her current job as a permanent administrative for a feminist no-profit organisation who work with women victim of rape. In parallel, she is working on a pilot project with migrant women. Learning and practicing French on her work place was one of her most important steps in the integration process. The language has always been the tool for a professional integration and she invested a lot of time and energy in language courses. This is also the reason why she suffered and she still suffer when people around her make jokes and comments on her accent.

Past beneficiary, Interview 3

Date: 29.11.2018

M. (29 years old) grew up in Sao Paulo, Brazil. After her studies in law, she started to work as corporate lawyer for a few years, she decided however that it wasn't what she wanted. She moved to England and do voluntary work with the UN and in parallel a Master in Human Rights. Her engagement with the UN brought her to work in South Africa, Portugal and Angola. She “came in Switzerland by chance”. In Angola she ended up by meeting her current boss, he is Swiss and asked her to come to Geneva to work as consultant at the UN. She describes her experience in Geneva as positive. She liked the city, who compared to Sao Paulo was safe and proper, and she loved her job and her team. As consultant she didn't have to worry about any administrative procedures and she didn't have any obligation toward the state (she didn't have to pay taxes etc.) but at the same time she had less rights. She didn't have for example the right to rent an apartment or to ask for residency. With a UN contract as consultant, she couldn't really settle in Geneva and she had to leave the city every three months. For one and half year she was moving back and forth from Switzerland to England, where by the way she met her husband, also Swiss. Since she considered Geneva a nice place to live and the perfect city where pursue a career in human rights, she decided end of 2013 to move and ask for residency in Geneva. She applied afterwards again to the UN office where she was working before and eventually got a new local contract that allowed to settle in Geneva. As she said “considering my migration path and considering that I've always been a UN employer I probably had a complete different experience in Switzerland as migrants who came to Geneva in search of a job or as a refugee” (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). She didn't benefice for example from any integration service and she didn't interact with governmental offices, a part as she asked for the residency, which went quite smooth. She has never felt the necessity to join any NGOs or to ask for support because she didn't see the necessity. “It's interesting to question, if you feel more integrated professionally and culturally if you benefice from state integration services and if you go through all the procedures as institutional language courses etc. Geneva is an international city. You constantly hear other languages. So, I don't know how much you can actually integrate in the Geneva system as a migrant anyway” (Past beneficiary, Interview 3). Being with the UN and working there is so out of the ordinary in any case. She has always known that UN employee are different and have a special status. She never felt discriminated for her origin, as a lawyer and UN worker she is quite privileged. The negative aspect of her current work and position is that she will never really have the opportunity to find a job outside the international domain and work on “local level”. “To find a job “locally” you have to have work experience in Swiss NGO or in Swiss enterprises, my experience with the UN won't be recognized. I don't know how can I build a professional career in Switzerland”.

Past beneficiary, Interview 4
Date: 30.11.2018

A., 29 years old, is Colombian from mother side and from the USA from father side. He mainly lived in Colombia where he did a Bachelor in international relations. He took a break from his Bachelor studies to move to the USA to join the army. After one year in which he attended the preparatory trainee of the USA army he decided however to stop. He stayed in the USA for a while, he lived in the different cities doing different jobs. He eventually went back to Colombia to finish his Bachelor study and to start a job as English teacher in a school. He started also to engage in different activities and local project for the environment and for the sustainable development. He met his future wife, a Swiss girl who was studying in Colombia. They moved to New Zealand where A. did a graduate diploma in Sustainable Management. In 2014, after the conclusion of their studies and his wife was expecting a child they moved to Switzerland (near to Geneva). He describes his first period in Geneva as difficult. Because of some administrative problems at the office of migration A. had to wait six months to get the Swiss permit, consequently he couldn't find any job for half a year. He used this period to attend a French school. When he finally got the permit (as husband of a Swiss citizen) he started to apply in environmental organizations (local or international) as well as in enterprises that had an "ecological footprint" namely that had somehow an "ecological agenda" and were interested to reinvent themselves and invest in sustainable development. His research was difficult because he didn't have any professional experience in Switzerland, his experience in Colombia wasn't really considered and his Bachelor didn't correspond completely to the positions and the sectors in which he was applying. He found eventually an internship for six months in an environmental association. He considered his first professional experience in Switzerland as positive but also challenging: "I had to adapt to a different culture of work. Compared to Colombia and to the USA, in Switzerland you have to be more efficient, the working rhythms are more intensive, the deadline are stricter. In Colombia it was more relaxed and less structured as here" (Past beneficiary, Interview 4). Moreover, he considers the social dimension of the work different as the one he knew, "the relationship that you establish with the other co-workers is more detached and a little colder". Since he arrived in Geneva he knew that the "networking is one of the most essential was for a successful integration on the labor market" (Past beneficiary, Interview 4). For this reason, he invested a lot of energy and time to find and to attend events, encounters and workshops where he could meet more people possible and to get the know the reality of milieu of environmental associations and enterprises. He recognized that it would be useful to have a specific formation of the sector of sustainable development, he decided so to start a Master of sustainable development at the University of Geneva. He is now in his last semester. At the same time, he found a part-time job in a media company in the section marketing and communication. He is in charge of the promotion and coordination of marketing of one specific online journal, whose subjects were often linked to science, environment, development etc. He found the job thanks to a post on Facebook of a friend who worked there and who was looking for a person interested in the job.

Past beneficiary, Interview 5
Date: 05.12.2018

T. is a political refugee from Eritrea. He grew up in Ethiopia where he did the studies to become a school instructor. He worked for three years as instructor before he was forced to move to Eritrea, where he was forced to work for the army. As he denounced a superior military who raped her fiancé (who was also recruited by the army) he was imprisoned. He stayed almost four year in the army camp, among them one and half year in prison. Eventually, he was able to escape to Sudan, to Libya and after a journey over the Mediterranean Sea he arrived in Italy, from where he continued his route to Switzerland, where he asked for political asylum.

His migration path took him three years. He chose Switzerland as his destination because of his fiancé, who was able in 2007 to escape to Switzerland where her godmother was living. They both got the recognition as refugee after four months. He attended intense French courses for one year. He knew pretty quickly that his level of French will never be sufficiently high, he decided that he won't search for a work in this sector. The language is difficult to learn and the system of integration is full of holes. He is convinced that after a certain age and when you do not have any particular language predisposition you will never be able with these kind of formal language courses to exceed a certain level, "it is useless to continue forever". As many others, he had to deal with the different expectations that he had about working in Switzerland: "When Eritrean come to European countries they are not thinking about taking for ages French courses. You think that you arrive, you get the basic language knowledge and after you start to work. And if you don't find a job in your sector you start another one. On the contrary, when you arrive here you just not have professional opportunities. In other countries (for example in Ethiopia and in Sudan) there is always the opportunity to start to work in manual labor, without having excellent knowledges of the language and also without particular competences nor a professional formation, you learn by doing and little by little you can pursue a professional path as blacksmith, as manner etc. These opportunities are not offered in Switzerland" (Past beneficiary, Interview 5). After more than one year of stay, he decided eventually to start to do some not paid internships "People are not always brave enough. They say that two years of internship is too much, and yes, it is too much but you don't have a choice" (Past beneficiary, Interview 5). He started to work in bars and restaurants and as chauffeur for almost two years. The internships didn't help him "directly" to find a work or to learn a new profession. However, it describes them as very useful. He learnt in praxis to use the language, to overcome his timidity, linked also to his culture, and to work at a rapid pace and at the "Swiss rhythm". These internships could also proof that he did some working experience in Switzerland. After two years, he started to find remunerated jobs for many different enterprises as cleaner and as a chauffeur. For three years he had temporary contracts that never lasted more than four months. Tired of the precarious situation and of the extremely low salaries he started to check with his assistant for options and possible formations. He finally decided to start the four years long school to get an AFP (federal professional attestation). Thanks to the degree he could start to work in the hospital in surgery block. He likes the work and he can imagine to continue to work there in the future. Beside his work, he works for the Eritrean association who helps Eritrean refugees and who support political activism actions in Ethiopia.

Past beneficiary, Interview 6

Date: 03.12.2018

Ma. is from Eritrea, at the age of 17 years he had to start the preparatory year to enter to the university of banking and finance. He lived and studied for almost two years in a camp of the army: "my study was mixed with my obligations to the army. I was a student during the day and a soldier during the night". During his third year he was imprisoned for 9 months. In 2007 he was able to escape and he fled with other three to Sudan, where he stayed hidden for other 9-10 months. Since he had to earn enough money to continue his journey to Europe, he started to work for several months in a Kebab restaurant. He came in touch with some people who worked for an airline who were able to make him pass as a flight assistant. He left Sudan and went first to Portugal and eventually to Switzerland, avoiding so the migration route through the Sahara and the Mediterranean. He didn't really choose Switzerland, he went where he was able to go and it happened to be Geneva. He was surprised to be recognized as refugee only a few months after his arrival. During his first years in Switzerland he found particularly useful the personal follow-up of his social assistant; he helped him to identify a possible "path" and to find the ways to pursue and accomplish his goals. One of the biggest challenges at the

beginning was linked by his “mistrust of the authority and of the state institutions”. He came in Switzerland with a deep trauma and a dysfunctional relation with institutions. One aspect that helped him was “the human dimension of the integration services” (Past beneficiary, Interview 6). His main goal was to attend the university of Geneva and continue the study in finance. However, it wasn’t possible for him to enter to the University because he didn’t have the diplomas and the documents required the inscription, which were hold by the Eritrean army. He tried to find a solution by consulting other services for the professional integration. It helped him to write a CV and application letters etc. however, “they didn’t really know how to orient someone who wanted to attend a university study or who want to pursue a career outside the tertiary sector. They encourage all migrants to do internships and trainees that allow only to work in the tertiary sectors. I understood that I had to find a solution on my own” (Past beneficiary, Interview 6). After having attended some preparatory courses and having passed an entry test, he was able to start the university of London for correspondence and to attend the bachelor of Human Rights and political science. He got the idea thanks to an acquaintance from London who was living in Geneva and was doing the same thing. Quite soon he got to know a person who worked for a cleaning company, who hired many Eritreans people. The company had a positive experience with Eritrean, who have a serious working attitude and “thanks” to their military education the know the hard-physical work. He started to works as cleaner of airplanes at the airport. He is still working there for the last years and he became also team leader. During the weekend he works from time to time for an informal group who decorate Eritrean wedding and ceremonies in the different cities (Zurich, Bern, Lausanne and Geneva). The jobs allowed him to become economically independent, to pay the bachelor and together with the salary of his wife to maintain their new born children. He launched as well with other activist a little association that help young refugee who arrive in Geneva to find a work but also to deal with general problems and psychological traumas “There are too little services that help the refugees who had horrible experiences to overcome and to handle their trauma, which often represent the main obstacle for an integration on every single dimension, social, cultural and professional” (Past beneficiary, Interview 6).

Past beneficiary, Interview 7

Date: 10.12.2018

D. (22 years old) was born in Sri Lanka, where she lived till the age of 18 years. Because of the conflict her father moved to Geneva in 2008, where he asked for political asylum. In 2010 her older brother and sister moved to Switzerland, in 2013 D., her two little sisters and her mother decided to reach him in Geneva as well. They have been provisory recognized as political refugees in 2014. Back in Sri Lanka D. attended the primary and the secondary school. She had to leave the country while she was attending her last year of college. As she arrived in Geneva, her dossier was assigned by the Hospice to a personal social assistant. Since she was already 18 years old, he didn’t encourage her to attend the college in Switzerland and instead he insisted that she would attend normal French courses. She has never had a good relationship with her assistant, who she describes as useless. He has never helped her and he never considered the possibility to send her to a school or to attend a higher professional formation. D. found herself completely alone: she couldn’t rely on her parents, who still now don’t speak French. Because of the difficulty to adapt to the new life conditions in Switzerland and because of all the difficulties D. faced psychological and physical stress: after having lost more ten kg in one month, she started to visit a psychologist in the hospital. She was supportive and still now she tries to help her in administrative tasks related to the research of jobs and to her permit. She has attended intense language courses for the last four years. However, even if she describes the courses as “good” and “useful”, she didn’t exceed the A2 level; she understands and she can communicate, but her level is still too low, it doesn’t permit her to attend any school nor to find a job. Learning the language was and is the main obstacle that she encountered in Switzerland. Since she especially spends her time with her family in the Foyer, where they are living, and since she doesn’t have any close

French speaking friend, she doesn't have many chances to speak French in her daily life. Beside the language courses and the psychological support, she didn't benefit from any specific services. She learnt alone how to write a CV and she is trying to learn how to write a motivation letter by consulting internet. She considers new translation applications as really useful. Even if she had a low language level, she managed during these last four years to do short part-time jobs that she found thanks to acquaintances. She worked for example as receptionist in the *Hospice* in the "computer department" where she supported other migrants, who came there to use computers. In parallel, since she liked IT and it considered as useful skills, she attended a six months long course on IT at the red cross. Her ambition in Sri Lanka was to become a teacher: "I feel deeply frustrated when I think that back home I would be already a teacher... instead I am here doing absolutely nothing (...)" (Past beneficiary, Interview 7). Her ambition in Switzerland is to work with children in a kindergarten and to attend a school that would allow her eventually to practice a job in this sector. Her plan is now to attend another language school in order to get the B1 level, that would allow her to find at least an internship and eventually a job in a kindergarten. She planed also to find a cultural mediator from Sri Lanka in order to understand and find solutions to problems related to her situation (e.g. she doesn't have any professional formation, she has a too low language level to start a school, she doesn't have the money to pay more language schools etc.). She started also to attend online courses that will allow her to teach Tamil. In fact, in Geneva there are many Sri Lankan who moved to Switzerland many years ago and who have children who don't speak Tamil; every week, there are meetings where Sri Lankan teach to the children Tamil. When D. will have finished the courses, she will be able to teach Tamil to the children and bring a contribution to the Sri Lankan community.

Past beneficiary, Interview 8

Date: 17.12.18

De., 25 years old, is originally from Sri Lanka and he belong to the Tamil ethnic group. He had to leave the country because of security reasons. In Sri Lanka he attended the primary and secondary school. He was attending a "transition year" to enter the college as he decided to stop and to reach his father in Switzerland. His father asked for asylum in Geneva in 2007. De. arrived in Geneva in 2009, he was 17 years old, and he was reached by her mother and two younger sisters two years later. For one year and half he lived in the foyer with his father and he spent his days doing nothing. Since he left Sri Lanka before having finished the college and since he didn't past all exams in his secondary school, his degree wasn't fully recognised. Following the advices of his social assistant, he eventually started to attend a school for one year and half for migrants, where he could get a degree considered as a Swiss secondary school degree. He describes his arrival in Switzerland not as particularly traumatic. The main difficulty that he encountered was related to the understanding of the Swiss law, of his rights and of the administrative procedures to get the refugee status. The language was too complex, the information wasn't easy to find and the Swiss system is completely different to the one in Sri Lanka. He couldn't find any support by the different associations and institutes that he consulted. Thanks to the school and personal contact he started however to understand the language and consequently to understand how the Swiss law works as well. This understanding was dor him essential: "Until you respect the law everything goes well" (Past beneficiary, Interview 8). After the conclusion of the school he started to look for a job to earn enough money to live on his own. Moreover, he wasn't recommended by the orientation office to start a formation, because he was considered too old. In his research of employment, he couldn't rely on the support on his parents, who still don't speak French, nor on this of the integration services: "I encountered a total lack of support by the side of the cantonal integration offices. They told me that I could everything on my own, it was easier for me, because I knew what I wanted to find" (Past beneficiary, Interview 8). He describes the social

assistant in charge of his dossier as “disrespectful” and “useless”. He started to search for jobs on his own, consulting internet and employment platform, following the advices of the state unemployment office. He found several jobs in the cleaning sector and in restaurants. Two years ago, he had to stop to work as he started to suffer under psychological distress, caused by conflicts with family and friends. He has been recovered in the psychiatry for almost one year. He felt stressed by his family, by the political situation in Sri Lanka and by his “status” in Switzerland. He can “feel” the anti-migration discourses. He feels lucky not to be Muslims, as Sri Lankan he is not immediately related to the current main-stream conflicts as Syrian people (Swiss people are quite ignorant about the political situation in his origin country). Though, he feels that Swiss people think that he as a stranger doesn’t deserve to earn money and to have a job. Moreover, on a political level, he sees how European politician portrait migrants from Sri Lanka as potential Tamil terrorists. However, this stress affects more his psychological and emotional status as his working and professional condition: “After my year in the psychiatry, I started to receive all the bills of the hospital. I had debts that I had to pay. When you are in the situation, in which you have to pay the bills, it is quite automatic, you see how much you have to pay and you start to look for jobs in order to survive (...) it is not important which kind of job or which profession you would like to do. You just take whatever comes” (Past beneficiary, Interview 8). After the hospitalization he started again to work in an alimentary shop and in a restaurant as a waitress.

Past beneficiary, Interview 9

Date: 20.12.2018

S. is from Eritrea. She is 30 years old and she arrived in the Italian part of Switzerland, in the canton of Ticino in 2008 as she was 20 years old. In Eritrea she did the secondary school. She decided to leave the country and all her family as she realised that she would have been very soon enlisted by the army. She left Eritrea in 2006 with a friend and with her boyfriend. They stayed five months in Sudan, six months in Libya, since she didn’t talk Arabic she couldn’t work during her stay in these countries. After an illegal journey with the boat, they arrived in Italy, however they didn’t want to stay “There was no work and no hope in Italy, for this reason we chose to ask for asylum in Switzerland, because it was the nearest and easier to reach country” (Past beneficiary, Interview 9). They asked for asylum in Ticino. She stayed for five months in an asylum centre and as her daughter was born (she was pregnant as she arrived in Switzerland) she got from the canton an own apartment in the city of Lugano. As she arrived in Switzerland the main challenge was to learn the language and being a mother with a new born child. She wanted to go to the language school, knowing that in order to find a job and to integrate she had to learn Italian, but since in the school there was any facility where to let her daughter and since she didn’t have any economical support in order to be able to pay a nursery, the school advised her to post-pone her language courses. Considering that she couldn’t attend the school, she decided to attend the weekly meetings, that were organised by a little no-profit association. The association helped and supported migrants’ women and especially migrants’ mothers. The association decided to cover the cost of a nursery where she could leave her daughter and attend the language courses. She went for ten months to language school. The school helped her a lot and she noticed that she was a quick learner. She wanted to continue but the canton pays only language courses up to the B1 level, superior language courses are not paid and they are not offered to migrants by the integration offices. She claims to have been very disappointed to not have the opportunity to continue to attend the school and to reach a higher language level. After the conclusion of the language school she decided to try to become a social and health care professional. In order to be able to practice this profession she had to get an apprenticeship and to enter so to the trainee school (three years practice oriented school). She went to the orientation office that worked with the SOS. They helped her to write a motivation letter and a CV, however had to look for internships on her own. She started to look for internships in nursing homes for elderly people. She had positive feedbacks and was well treated by the colleagues and employers; however, the

employers saw her necessity to improve her language level and take additional courses as mathematic courses. The internships didn't help her to find a job since there was no employer ready to hire her and to give her a position of intern. The main obstacle was represented by the language: "it would be useful to continue with the language school. Without a good level of language, you have more possibility to find an internship and after a job" (Past beneficiary, Interview 9). As she became pregnant again she had to stop to do some internship. Now she has four children and she can't pay for a pre-nursery and it is economically impossible to look for a job until the youngest of her children can attend the primary school: "There are not enough opportunities for mothers. I know migrants' mothers who try to go to language school, but they won't be able to have more than two hours language courses, they can't let their children in the next room alone for too long. If you can work you can learn the language in practice, but if you can only attend the school two hours for week you can't learn enough the language to be able to work. How can you find a job anyway when you have your children to care and no money for a day-care and a nursery?" (Past beneficiary, Interview 9).

Past beneficiary, Interview 10

Date: 2.1.2019

O. (30 years old) is originally from Eritrea. Even if the other members of her family (she as several brothers) went to the university she preferred to become an electrician. As she turned 16 years old she was forced to move to the capital where she started to work as secretary for the army. Since she couldn't live with the little amount of money that she got from the army she started, unbeknownst to the army, to work as electrician for several enterprises during the night. After three years, she was forced by the army to stop to work as electrician: "I was hopeless, I wanted a better life, what I had wasn't life, I decided to leave the country as everyone else" (Past beneficiary, Interview 10). Thanks to her brother who moved years before to the USA she got the money to pay a smuggler who helped her to go to Sudan, from there she took a plane to Italy with a fake passport. Since she considered Italy not as a good country to study and to have a good job, she decided to ask for asylum in Switzerland. She arrived in the Italian part of Switzerland, in the canton of Ticino, in 2012 as she was 24 years old. As soon as she got the refugee status (after four months) she started to benefit from the orientation services of the integration and orientation office of the canton. She took and passed the exam to validate her degree as electrician and was assigned by the school, responsible for the validation of previous degrees and professional experiences, to different internships. The internships lasted one week each and were conducted in different enterprises, she got good feedbacks, however no employers wanted to give her a job as employee either because of lacking of free positions or, usually, because of her sex: "no one is interested to hire a woman as electrician. In Switzerland is not usual that a girl does this kind of job. Also, as I took the exam or as I did the internships, I was surrounded by boys (...) I started to be tired to look for a job, even if I loved it, for almost two years. I was living depending from the social assistance. I realised that as a girl I would have never found a job in this domain" (Past beneficiary, Interview 10). For another one year she did internships, always for a week, as a seamstress and as a technician. The internships should help her to "introduce herself" and to find a position as apprentice: she wanted to make an apprenticeship that would allowed her to have after two/three years a good job and certain an economic stability. In her research of internships, the personal network was essential: especially the volunteer that she met in the very first period in asylum facility oriented and helped her to find enterprises where to accomplish internships. She eventually found a position in the sector of hospitality as domestic operative. She started the two years long trainee, working and studying. She describes this experience as difficult because of her direct superior, who was often racist and hostile towards her. She chose not to react and just to ignore her mistress, she felt powerless and was afraid

to make a scene. Since she has finished the formation (in summer 2018) she has found only short-term contracts (three months) as replacement, usually in the hospitals or in senior centres. Starting from January she will benefit from the unemployment benefit. Reflecting on the working situation of migrants in Switzerland, she claims that: “in Switzerland there are enough professional opportunities, probably more than in other countries. On the other hand, I have the sensation that the employers are not really interested to give a job a migrant. Maybe because of the low level of the language or maybe because it is cheaper to give a job to the border worker. There are so many Italians who work in the hospitality sector and they are in fact cheaper work forces. It is difficult to be more attractive to this, also for Swiss people” (Past beneficiary, Interview 10). Another obstacle in the research of a job is represented by the smallness of the canton and by the language diversity of the country: Look for a work in the other cantons, would imply to learn a further language.

Past beneficiary, Interview 11
Date: 15.01.2019

L. (female) is from Brazil; in Fortaleza she did the veterinary college (4 years of formation). In 2007 she decided to go to Geneva to do a one-year long internship (not paid) in a veterinary medical hospital. Her uncle was living and working in Geneva as a lawyer for the international labour organization. During her stay she attended French classes and worked as a salesgirl in a clothing store. Even if at the time she didn't have a good language level, she didn't have problem to find the job as salesgirl; being a good-looking woman and a friendly and open person helped her to do in general a good impression. She didn't have particular difficulty to learn the language, especially because she could practice every day on her workplace (the veterinary studio and at the shop store). After the conclusion of the internship, which she describes as a positive and as an important learning experience, she moved back to Brazil, where, for the two following years, she worked in a veterinary hospital. In 2011 she married a Swiss citizen who she met during her stay in Geneva. In 2011 she moves to Switzerland. During her first year she attended again the language school where she got a language diploma. Since she was married to a Swiss who could support her economically she didn't get any financial support from the state (her husband paid the costs of the language school and the exams). Afterwards it started what she called “the journey of nightmares and obstacles” (Past beneficiary, Interview 11). After having already started and paid all the procedures for the recognition of her prior learning (her diploma as a veterinary) she became aware that Switzerland doesn't have any agreement with Brazil and consequently her degree as well as all her prior professional experiences couldn't be recognized. Her only option to make practice in Switzerland was to attend again the veterinary collage in Switzerland, which, unfortunately were situated only in Bern and Zurich, both German speaking cities. Since she didn't want to “throw away” her year of French courses and she didn't have any knowledge of German or Swiss German, she decided to find another solution. In 2013 she started to work as an intern (not paid) in a veterinary study across the border in France; she quitted after a few months because of the terrible working conditions and for being repetitively discriminated for being Brazilian and Swiss. Talking with other Brazilian who had to go through the same difficulties she learnt that many attend universities in other French speaking countries as France and Belgium, where usually great part of the previous credits, gained in Brazilian universities, are recognized. With an EU-diploma is afterwards possible to practice the profession in Switzerland. She tried to get into a university in France and one in Belgium. However, since there was a numerus clause in both cases, she wasn't accepted; even if she passed the entry tests, there were too many candidates and EU citizens had the priorities. She started to work occasionally as a salesgirl and as a hostess for some events. In parallel, she started to give private French and Portuguese classes in private enterprises, bancs etc. For two years she worked as well in an art gallery as receptionist. She found all these positions thanks to friends and acquaintances. Eventually, she was admitted to the university of Lisbon, that she attended for two years. In summer 2017 she got the diploma which, at the moment of the interview, she

had still to send to Bern and make it recognize. She got eventually a job offer in a veterinary studio in Lausanne. In March 2019, as she will have officially the recognized diploma as veterinary, she will start the new job. It took her seven years to get a job in her domain: “For so long I didn’t feel well in my skin. I didn’t know who I was anymore, I even asked for divorce because I felt to not fit in the society, I felt guilty to love a Swiss and I couldn’t stand the social pressure anymore (...) Without a work I am foreigner here, the problem is that once you spent so much time abroad you are a foreigner also in the own origin country. Luckily, I was emotionally strong and stubborn, only for this reason I could overcome all the barriers and the obstacles” (Past beneficiary, Interview 11). She describes the non-recognition of her prior learning and experience as a lack of respect and as racism. She condemns also a gender discrimination, she didn’t get any support from the state and the social assistance because she actually could work as salesgirl or a hostess, and they didn’t consider that these weren’t the jobs for which she was trained. The main critics that she addresses to the integration policy is the total lack of support, information and individual assistance from the side of cantonal offices and services. She just needed someone who could address and orient her but for being married to Swiss with a good social status and who could support her economically she didn’t get any help. She consulted also the orientation office, where she had a terrible experience, she describes the employees who considered her case as racist, disinterested and incompetent. As migrant from Brazil you are more discriminated as a refugee who had the rights and the legitimation to benefit from all the integration services and policies.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 12
7.02.2019

Gor. is from Sri Lanka, male, 40 years old. In Sri Lanka he was studying Biology at the university and was working as jeweller; he learnt the profession from his father, it was planned that he would take over the business of the father. In 2006 because of his political position against the government (he was involved in some protest actions) he had to leave the country in order to avoid the prison. He escaped first to India, then to Istanbul, Serbia and eventually after two years of journey he arrived in 2008 in Switzerland. His brother was already living in Bern. He chose to escape to Switzerland because it was a usual “destination” for many other Sri Lankans, there was a rather strong community of Tamil. After his arrival in the German part of Switzerland, he was transferred to Geneva, where he lived for the first two years first in a foyer and then in a shared apartment with other Sri Lankan. He was assigned to a social assistant who was very supportive and he could attend from the very beginning language courses. He claims that understand the bureaucracy and learn to speak French were the two biggest challenges. For four years he tried to get the refugee status; every six months he had to renew his provisory visa, until 2014 when he got the refugee status. Despite the administrative difficulties he had a rather good experience with the integration services. His social assistant was an essential figure, he helped him through all the procedures as well as to write a CV and motivation letter for jobs applications. From the very beginning he became an active member of the different groups and clubs of Sri Lankan (e.g. groups of sport, cultural meetings etc.). This helped him to build a network in Geneva, and to learn from the experience of the oldest migrants (in the administrative matters, in the research of work etc.). As he arrived in Switzerland he wanted to continue his profession as jeweller, however in Switzerland to practice the profession you have to a professional school and get the diploma. Since in the first years he couldn’t afford economically the school and since he didn’t have the necessary language level (B2) he decided to look immediately for other “accessible” jobs. Thanks to the strong Tamil community of Sri Lankans in Geneva he could build quickly a personal network that helped him also to find quickly a job in a restaurant. He started to work already in in a Swiss restaurant, where he still working. He started as dish cleaner, then he became second cook and then a few years ago he became one of the main cooks. As he started to work he stopped to attend the language courses, his purpose was to gain money to send to his family

and to be able to afford an own apartment. He learnt the language by practicing with the work colleges, who were mainly French people. He never experienced any situations of discrimination and, despite initial linguistic difficulties, he “could find his place”. In 2015 he married his girlfriend who was able to escape from Sri Lanka and to reach him in Geneva. They have a son. After the marriage he found again the motivation to start the professional formation to be able to practice the profession of jeweller. He started again to attend language courses. One of his main advice that he give to the younger Sri Lanka migrants: “they have to learn the language. Being able to communicate and to speak the language of the city is essential. As Sri Lankan you can find a job even if you don’t speak French. For this reason, there are so many who have been living here since years without knowing to speak French. The Sri Lankan can be a very strong but also closed community. However, if you want to have another profession, and not be a simple wash dishes, and if you want to be also socially and culturally integrated you need to know French” (Past-beneficiary, Interview 12). What it helped him the most is on one side the opportunity to work with French people and to be forced to learn the language by practicing it on the work place every day. On the other side, the Sri Lankan community.

Past beneficiary, Interview 13

Date: 23.01.2019

D. (female, 45 years old) is from Brazil. She has degree as pharmacist. After the conclusion of her study she realized that she didn’t want to be a pharmacist, she decided to travel in South America and as she came back to Brazil she started to study languages (Spanish and Italian). In parallel, she started to work for an event enterprise as event’s coordinator and animator. After one year of experience in the sector she started to work as animator on an international cruise, a job that allowed her to learn perfectly four languages and to travel to Europe. After 5 years, she started to be tired about the life on the cruise and she first went back to Brazil and afterwards she moved to Europe, first to Italy, the origin country of her father (she lived there for 6 months) and then to England, where her sister was living. She decided to join an international company of high qualified nannies. The company assigned her to a wealthy family in Spain. She spent the following two years with the family, before she left to work again in an American cruise as animator. As she turned 33 years old, she decided to consult again the company of nannies, which found her a family situated in Geneva. She moved to Geneva in 2010. The family helped her through all administrative procedures. During her first year in Geneva she went to French classes. In one year, she was fired twice by two different families; herself, recognized that she wasn’t motivated anymore to work as a nanny and to raise the children of others. She claims that she would have left Geneva if there wasn’t her ex-boyfriend who supported her and guide her through all possible options and work opportunities. Since at the time she had worked already for one year in Switzerland, she could benefit from the unemployment found. In parallel, she continued French courses and started to look on her own for jobs as hostess at the airport or as direction assistant both in hotel business and events companies. One of the main barriers that she encountered was the lack of experiences gained in Switzerland. Even if she had positive feedbacks on her CV from side of the employers, since she was applying for a rather high position (as direction assistant) she needed experiences in the sector in Switzerland. Eventually, after four months of unemployment and research she was offered a position as receptionist in an event company. The knowledge of four languages, her open attitude and her prior experiences as animator were essential in the successful research of the job. After two months, the direction assistant quitted and they offered the position to her. She worked for the company for following six years. In 2017 she decided to change working place and start for a new and bigger company. In parallel, she started to inform herself about schools and existing diploma to become qualified and recognized operational director, a position that accompanied by a swiss degree imply a higher salary: “In Switzerland having a degree, even if you actually don’t need it, seems

to be essential. Without a diploma you can't really pursue a career. She consulted a private orientation company that offered an individual accompaniment by a coach (a psychologist), would identify though several meeting and exercises the beneficiary's competences, strengths and the weakness, evaluating the professional experiences as well. She describes this service as incredible useful. She could definitely see that she had the competences to become project manager and operational director and with the orientation of her coach she identified and found the courses and diplomas that she had to take in order to pursue her professional objectives. Since she now gave up her initial wishes to have a family on her own, she wants to invest all her energy in her career. Globally, despite the challenges and the difficulties, she considers her experience in Switzerland as positive. She feels at home in Geneva, where she wants to spend her future. She is positive that before her 50 she will be able to "occupy a management position". She appreciates the life quality and the security that Switzerland offers. She never suffered any kind of discrimination. She never felt to consult any NGOs, since she was satisfied of the support of the private orientation company that she consulted. The fact that she doesn't have a husband or a partner or relatives that could support her economically she had to be active and consequence in her choices and in her attitude. She has always had to rely on her own which again pushed her forward.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 14
6.02.2019

N. is 36 years old, female, from Brazil. She did her Bachelor study in Rio in "Tourism and Events Management" and a Master Degree in "Marketing". Alongside to her study she started to work in an important events enterprise; as she was 22 years old, even before having finished her studies, she had already a solid career. During her Master she did an exchange year in the USA; since she found work as an event manager, she stayed there for two years. In 2008 she decided to travel to Europe, since she had a friend who was living near to Geneva she went to Switzerland, where she stayed for three months. During her stay she attended French classes, worked as a nanny and met her current husband (a Swiss citizen). She never planned to stay longer in Europe, however since she wanted to give a chance to her relationship she decided to stay in Geneva for others nine months, while she continued French classes. Since the couple wanted to stay together, she started to apply for jobs; she initially was hired as event manager in a hotel, however the government intervened and refused her application: after a modification of the law, the hotel had to give the priority to Swiss or European citizens, especially considering the high position of the job. In the explanatory letter, the government wrote that as a Brazilian citizen, she could apply more easily in the domestic sector, as nanny for example, in the gardening, in the restoration and in the service. She found eventually a job as nanny in a family of Canadian diplomats who helped her also to deal with all the administrative matters (e.g. prolongation of the visa etc.). After two years of stay, in 2010, she and her boyfriend applied for a BM in Barcelona. She considered to do a master study in Geneva, in order to have a Swiss diploma, but at the time there weren't any master options in English and her French level was too low. They moved to Barcelona where they got also married. Alongside her study she started to work in her business school in the section marketing and promotion, a job that allowed her to support economically her husband and her. However, between 2011 and 2012 the economic crisis forced them to change their plans. Her husband couldn't find any job in Barcelona and decided to move back to Geneva, where thanks to his network, he found immediately a good job in his sector. She stayed in Spain until end of 2012; initially she didn't want to live in Geneva, she didn't like the city, she had great difficulty with the language and she was worried that without a Swiss diploma she wouldn't find any job. Nevertheless, since they both recognized that in Switzerland it was possible to live with one salary (on the contrary to Spain) she eventually moved back to Geneva. She remains unemployed for two years. Her applications in the sector of events management,

marketing and administration were refused because, for the position that she was applying for, she needed a local experience. On the other hand, as she started to apply for lower positions as administrative assistant, she wasn't hired because she was overqualified and had the right of a higher salary. Instead, different employers offered her free internships, that would allow her to gain local experiences and to build a network. Even if they always promised her a position at the conclusion of her two months internships, she experienced exploitation without any positive results. She started again to work as a part-time nanny. In 2017 she found a four months replacement position as administrative assistant in a Brazilian international organization. Thanks to this "local experience" she could find a position in an international organization as project assistant. Even if at the beginning she was hired on a short-term basis (three months contracts) she worked there for one year. In 2017 the organization suffered some cuts; she was five months pregnant and she didn't have a particular good relation with her chief, she consequently got replaced to a lower position, even more under her qualification. After her maternity leave she wanted to find a new job but since she got a tumor she had to take one year of leave. In one month, she will start again to work. In conclusion, she considered the main barriers and obstacles the language (the position for which applied for pretended often excellent French and German level), her over qualification and especially her missing network: "in Geneva the only way to find a job is through a network, that you can have if you grew up here or if you study here". She consulted an association that supported qualified migrants' women, they helped her to re write her CV, however she considers the support useless, she was also too qualified for the association who were more used to work with women who are a little less qualified as her.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 15

01.02.2019

T. is 30 years old. He arrived to Geneva in 2008, when he was 20. Member of the Tamil Tigers, he went to school until the age of 15 and then past the 5 years after running and hiding from the Government. T went to prison during 45 days before that his father borrowed the equivalent of 30'000 Swiss francs to pay a passport for T. to run away from Sri Lanka. During his migration path, .he went through Dubai, Ethiopia, Italy and other countries. He arrived to an asylum centre in Basel and asked for asylum in 2008. He then has been placed in Geneva. At the beginning, T. did not speak French; he says that he even had to learn the alphabet that is very different from the one used in Sri Lanka. T. received French classes 6 months after arrival, 2 times 4 hours per week during one year. T, needed to start working the soonest possible as he had to send his father the 30,000 francs so that he could reimburse his debt. 18 months after arrival, T. found a job washing dishes in a restaurant thanks to another Sri Lankan that quitted the job. He worked there during four years and then started working part time helping in the kitchen too. After five years as asylum seeker, T. received a residence permit. Two years later the restaurant where he was working opened a restaurant in the mountain in another Canton and T. was transferred there. As it was difficult for him to go up in the mountain every day, the working conditions were difficult and the work was only on a 70% basis, he decided to quit. He then subscribed to unemployment and wanted to change of domain but he was always proposed cook assistant jobs. He dreamt of following a vocational training to be mechanic but the salary during the training was to low and he was to old to benefit from the support for training. He started an internship in in the food industry sector which helo him to have a job in an industrial bakery. T. regrets the fact that he was not allowed to follow a vocational training (or apprenticeship) when he arrived. "I did not had the possibility in Geneva but I know someone that arrived at the same time in the canton of Wallis and that had the possibility to do an ".T. feels that in the Canton of Wallis there were more possibilities for asylum seekers and refugees". On the support he received from the State while he was asylum seeker looking from a job he remembers a CV workshop. His assistant helped more to give information on where to live or other practical information.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 16
25.10.2018

L. is 36 years old, female from USA, born in Russia. She arrived in Switzerland in 2013, when she married a USA citizen living in Switzerland for twenty years. L. previously lived in New York, where she completed a degree in Finance and worked in the area during three years. When she arrived to Geneva, L. started learning French in a private language school, as for her it was the first thing to do in order to find a job. She started however looking for a position but did not find many offers where she could fit, as she didn't had the French language and the local experience in the area that were often requested in the job offers. She sent some offers but without receiving any answer back. After one year, she decided to work as accountant for a small IT company, in order to start working, even if she was overqualified for that. She wanted to have a professional experience in Switzerland, learning French meanwhile. A member of her network gave her the information of the vacancy. After three years working in the IT Company, L. decided to look for another position and found 3 months later a position as account manager in a bank, through a contact. L. works in this bank since that moment. She currently use her skills and experience from her country of origin. She works in English and use her Russian and French skills. L. did not receive any information on integration in Switzerland from the administrative authorities. Most of the information she received came from her husband and his network. For L., mobility between the types of position and jobs in Switzerland is very limited compared to USA. "They put you in boxes. They say, she has done that, so she only can do that". For L., soft skills are more taken into account in USA than here. This does not help migrants finding a job.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 17
27.11.2018

H., 40 years old, was born in Asmara, Eritrea. H. has a Degree in journalism and mass communication and he worked for the Ministry of Information of Eritrea as journalist for almost nine years after graduation. The impossibility of being an independent journalist in his country, linked to the fact that all the journalists have to work with and for the Ministry of Information of a Dictatorial Government put journalists in a dangerous situation in the Country. Because of his work, H. was accused of contacting other journalists outside the country and contacting the CIA. When he was asked his email accounts and passwords and he saw that the authorities were looking for him, and seeing that, that was the first stage leading to imprisonment of other journalist colleagues, he decided to leave the Country. He went to Sudan, where he stayed for nine months with the UNHCR. He applied for asylum in Switzerland from there and received the visa two months later. H. arrived in to Switzerland in 2012. He received his refugee status one year and 6 months after his arrival; He qualifies this period as "The most critical period of his time". "You are in an in between. Everything goes slow. At that moment, the first thing you think about is safety, then, once you are here and safe, you start thinking about papers, then, about accommodation and how to be able to live outside the shelter. Then how to learn French, to find a job, to integrate..." The assistant as asylum seeker gave advice on some places where he could go to have occupational activities, language courses and other information on health programmes for example. H. worked cleaning in his shelter and received small payment for that work. Then he participated to an occupational programme with an association partner from the General Hospice. "Even if I was working as cleaner there, it was useful because it allowed me to go out from the shelter, know other people, also locals and learn a bit French. It was also a moral thing". When he received his refugee permit, he started looking for jobs in International Organizations. He met someone in a bus that introduced him to an Organization where he worked as a volunteer during two

years, expecting for a job position. This position never arrived and H. was disappointed as he saw that he was not the only persons in that case. Since then, H. has worked in an occupational project from a foundation in a chocolate factory, putting chocolate in boxes (two months) and for associations and the UN as a Tigrinya translator. H. works today from time to time for a Tigrinya radio in France and looks for opportunities in information projects for the Eritrean Diaspora. According to H., the main barriers for finding a job are the knowledge of the local language and the fact that trainings and local experience are almost always requested. Language courses for asylum seekers were not adapted, as because of the waiting list he had to wait one year before attending the official French courses from the General Hospice. The uncertainty from the asylum seekers period and the difficulty to build a project were also an important barrier. As asylum seeker and refugee, he felt that he received more information than real support from the assistant. There were many programs and addresses but most of the time, there were programs or trainings leading to low skilled jobs. Employers lack of knowledge on the permit was also seen as a barrier sometimes. On what could be done: "Finding a job by yourself is very difficult. There should be more programs that will allow persons to learn and be trained while working. But what I have learned until now is that you really get results when I do things by myself".

Past Beneficiary, Interview 18

09.11.2018

G. is 42 years old and comes from New York, USA. G. moved to Switzerland in 2011 to be with her husband that was working in Geneva (French citizen). G. completed a Degree in communication and worked for 12 years in the Fashion area as Fabric Director for international companies. She then decided to complete an interior design Degree, and worked for a few months in that domain before moving to Switzerland. G. applied to many positions as soon as she arrived, without success. As she did not speak French, she went to a private French school and started classes. After a few months she decided to be a mother and had two kids (one in 2013 and the other in 2014) she continued looking for a job meanwhile. "After all that time, learning French was not really satisfying to me. I really wanted to work. ". G. decided to start looking other kinds of positions, "just to do something, to improve my level of French and to integrate in society. ". She found a job as sales advisor in a shop in 2016, stayed there for almost one year, and quitted: "The challenge was not there for me and with the job and the kids, I did not have time to look for other jobs". On the support or services to labour market integration, G. tells that she subscribed once to unemployment services before having her first job in Switzerland without receiving indemnities. "I subscribed with the hope that I would receive advice or courses but it was not really useful". G. subscribed to unemployment a second time, after her sales experience in Geneva. "I did not feel much support. My feeling is that maybe the system is overwhelmed. They have an amount of pressure but they don't have the tool to do it properly", "I have been told by my counsellor in the unemployment, that the only experience that counts is the experience in Switzerland. I have worked during 12 years with international companies in New-York, with international people and my experience didn't count". Unemployment services asked her to apply to jobs linked to her experience in sales and proposed her trainings to work as human resources assistant, what was for her far from her real experience and will. "I can do whatever you want, but am I using my potential?" G. found an internship with a woman that started her business in interior design. For the job she was doing and her experience, G. felt that she was working for free but she continued doing so during a few months as it has been the first opportunity she had had to approach her field of interior design and she was afraid of losing this opportunity. After almost one year, G. started to be paid but with a very low salary, paid per hour and without real contract conditions. Very soon after, G. decided to start her own business. On the support she received and what could be done, G. felt a lack of support from the municipality. "I feel I received more support from the guy from the Kebab round the corner than from the Ville de Genève. I think the municipality

should be more open and embrace. I am not just here to take, I have many to give". She looked for information in internet but she found very few information available in English.

Past Beneficiary, Interview 19
14.02.2019

H. (male, 34 years old) is from Sri Lanka. He has a diploma in multimedia and was working part time in an electronics store. In 2008 he had to leave the country because of the political situation. He was 24 years old. He chose to ask for asylum in Switzerland because it is known as a host country with a humanitarian tradition and a rather strong Tamil community. He arrived in Bern in 2009. Firstly, his request for asylum has been refused (he left without all the necessary documents) however with the support of a good lawyer he could do appeal; for three years he had the provisory permit, he got eventually the refugee status (permit B) in 2013. Even if the long asylum procedure was stressful, since he was assigned to the canton of Geneva, which is known for being rather open for the provisory admitted asylum seekers, he could benefit from the same services as the refugees. He lived for the first two years in a foyer with other Sri Lankan before finding an own apartment. He is rather satisfied with the support that he got when he arrived in Switzerland, he blames only a lack of respect by side of some employees of the migration office who weren't always very available and interested in advising or supporting him (he noticed that there is a less respectful culture in Geneva as in other part of Switzerland, e.g. Bern). On the other hand, he benefited from the support of a personal social assistant who he described as very supportive. In Geneva he went for consultation to the main orientation office; they presented him some options (e.g. language courses). However, no one (neither his social assistant nor the orientation office) proposed or suggested him to start a vocational training. Despite friends of him (other migrants from Sri Lanka) suggested him to start a new training, he was convinced that he was too old to start an apprenticeship; he wanted just to find a professional activity that would allow him to have a salary. He followed from the very beginning the language courses offered by the ordinary structures. He didn't have any particular difficulties to learn French; he attended classes for one year, he stopped when he felt that he had a sufficient level to communicate and to start to work. He didn't have any difficulties to find a job neither: "The community of Sri Lankan in Geneva is very strong, you can quickly build a network; I found a job as cleaner and after as waiter in a Swiss kitchen where another Sri Lankan friend was working. I didn't have to write a CV nor a motivation letter, it was so simple" (Past beneficiary, Interview 17). He was initially hired as a replacement, after three months as he asked to work 100% he could find a position in a "related" kitchen. The working rhythm were too intense and stressful, he described the other co-worker as disrespectful (there was a lack of hierarchy). He could easily change again kitchen, where he is still working. He is satisfied with his situation, he has a work that allows him to pay the rent and to travel. Since he starts to suffer under some physical problems, he is thinking about getting a driving licence and become a taxi driver. He claims that "the language is the most important thing, when younger or newcomers from Sri Lanka ask me for advice, I say learn the language, always. You can see how there are more migrants and French workers who are looking for jobs, consequently the employers are trying to create more barriers, they are becoming stricter in hiring people, now you need often a C permit and have a B1 or B2 level in French. Language is more and more important and a hiring criterion" (Past beneficiary, Interview 17).

9 United Kingdom

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9.1 Introduction

This report provides a detailed overview and assessment of policies in the UK that can be regarded as decisive for explaining the effectiveness of the country in integrating migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into the labour market. We begin by examining how different stakeholders frame the integration of MRAA into the UK labour market through their discourses. Four different frames are elaborated and a comparison of discourses among different stakeholders is provided. We then examine discourses in relation to the barriers and enablers of labour market integration, exploring specific barriers for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore, we investigate the potential remedies that could help overcome the barriers towards integration which were suggested by the different stakeholders in our research. Following this, we outline the key existing policies and services, focusing upon immigration, education, employment and welfare. We then provide an overview of the existing literature which has assessed existing policies thus far. The report then investigates, through the analysis of the data stemming from our qualitative interviews, the strengths and weaknesses of the existing and previous policies and services. We then conclude by highlighting how discursive frames and the implementation of policies facilitate or hinder the integration of MRAA into the UK labour market.

9.2 Methodology

Three different methodologies have supported the identification and assessment of policy factors facilitating or hindering the access and integration of post-2014 migrants, including asylum seekers and refugees, into the labour market. Through the combination of the findings deriving from discourse analysis, a literature review and qualitative interviews have been possible to explore and understand barriers and facilitators of integration in the UK labour market. Each methodological approach is briefly discussed in turn.

Discourse analysis is a methodological approach which focuses upon research in the area of contemporary culture and society, attempting to document the links between textual and oral communication and their relation to society and social change (Lupton, 2010). Discourse analysis challenges researchers to question policy making processes, exploring for example how dialogue takes place, and how power relations produce dominant discourses and marginalises others (Hewitt, 2009). The complexity of discourse as a linguistic, social, political and cultural object or phenomenon also characterises migration discourse, which represents a broad spectrum of different discourse genres. In our discourse analysis our aim was to include and compare discourses articulated by the broadest possible constituency of

stakeholders who have a role in promoting the inclusion and integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Our focus was specifically aimed at labour market integration and the diverse genres of discourses which were included are presented in Annex I.

During the last quarter of the 20th century, the need to develop and apply methods to improve research synthesis became more widely recognised among the academic community. This was the result of the growing need for research evidence to inform policy-makers, practitioners and civil society (Chalmers et al., 2002). The present systematic review aims to collate and assemble all of the up-to-date empirical evidence (published after 2014) to address a specific research question (Shemilt et al., 2010). Our systematic review aimed at exploring the up-to-date empirical evidence concerning policy effectiveness in relation to labour market integration. Articles focusing upon barriers and enablers faced by migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in accessing the UK labour market were also included.

The previous two decades have witnessed a notable increase in the use of qualitative research to explore and understand a diverse range of social and public policy issues (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). Qualitative interviews can thus be used to explore the effectiveness of policies through understanding if they constitute barriers or facilitators according to the experiences of different stakeholders. Different points of views were pursued to ensure the inclusion of a variety of perspectives. A total of 30 interviews and two focus groups involving public sector officials (UK and Scottish Government), local authority civil servants, and managers of third sector organisations, managers of public sector agencies as well as migrants and refugees were all included in our sample of interviewees. Annex III and IV provide an overview of the stakeholders involved and a summary of the interviews we conducted. Each of the interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed ‘intelligent verbatim’. The confidentiality and anonymity of each of our interviewees was protected throughout the interview process. In doing so, interviewee numbers and roles (MRAA or Stakeholders) were used in detailing the quotes presented in this report. Ethical approval was requested and obtained from the SIRIUS Ethics board and the ethical committee of the Glasgow School for Business and Society at Glasgow Caledonian University. The interviews were transcribed by the first author of the report, and to ensure that the transcripts were an accurate record of each interview/focus group, the data was then imported into the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software QSR Nvivo for two cycles of coding. Two rounds of thematic coding were used for identifying the different policies analysed and to group concepts together (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Saldaña, 2016) with a view to establishing the effectiveness (or not) of policies in facilitating integration of MRAA into the UK labour market.

9.3 Framing the Labour Market Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Before exploring how different stakeholders frame the integration of MRAA into the UK labour market in their discourses, three prior considerations should be raised.

Firstly, the majority of discourses promoted by policy makers (executive powers and political parties) and unions (trade unions and employers’ organisation) use a fluid categorisation of “migrants”. Asylum seekers and refugees are rarely single out; refugees are often conceived as being part of the broad categorisation of migrants, not as a stand-alone category, although

in some cases they are named in relation to the specific resettled status programmes (VPRS). Only in the manifestos of certain political parties (e.g. Labour and the Liberal Democrats) are refugees named in relation to the legal and moral obligation to offer them sanctuary. Discourses concerning the integration of refugees has instead been primarily articulated by devolved governments (e.g. the Scottish Government) and policy implementers (mainly NGOs), based on the premise that they should be included in policy discourses and be supported through specific integration programmes. Asylum seekers are also specified by the Scottish Government and they are often discussed alongside refugees, with an approach that considers treat individuals as part of society that should be given support, through integration programmes, regardless of the status of their asylum claim.

Second, a variety of synonyms of migrants are often used by different actors. As described above, policy makers (executive power and political parties) use the general term of “migrants”, and rarely detail the specific characteristics of the people included in this category (e.g. their status as European Union citizens or those who are entitled through international law to seek asylum as well as their skills and education characteristics). In discourses articulated by devolved government, policy implementers and trade unions, migrants are instead often referred to as “BAME” (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) groups.

Finally, almost none of the stakeholder’s specifically named undocumented or irregular migrants in their discourses. The lack of a specific status among this group may explain their omission in much of the policy discourses. Only in trade unions documents, via a brief reference to the effect of the 2016 Immigration Act on undocumented workers, could some mention of this group be located, while in all of the other documents there was an almost complete absence of discourse concerning this category.

The labour market integration frames that are detailed below are mainly focused on the general category of migrants, which often includes refugees but very rarely asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Four different frames have been identified in our analysis: a) deserving and undeserving; b) open and integrated country; c) the cost of migration: welfare and labour market chauvinism; d) filling vacancies. A brief description of each frame alongside the policy makers and actors that mainly promoted the frame is in turn provided.

9.3.1 Deserving and Undeserving

The “Deserving and Undeserving” frame includes the conceptualisation that migrants (including refugees and asylum seekers) should be divided between those who deserve to be welcomed into the UK and those who are rejected because they do not represent a “*genuine contribution*” to British society. As stated by the Prime Minister in the recent “UK’s future skills-based immigration system” White Paper (December 2018), the post-Brexit immigration model “*will be a system where it is workers’ skills that matter, not which country they come from. It will be a single system that welcomes talent, hard work, and the skills we need as a country*”. At the same time the system will also remove “*incentives for migrants to remain in the UK where they have no lawful basis for doing so and sends a very clear message to those who seek to exploit the system*”. Asylum seekers, undocumented migrants and most probably also low-skilled migrants are depicted as those who are undeserving and who are trying to take advantage of the system. Trade Unions in their discourses try to contest this frame, calling upon the Government to legislate for “*the separation between the immigration status and employment rights*” (Unite 2018).

According to this frame, those who arrive in the UK *“for the right reason”* will be welcomed and can live in *“a country in which everyone, whatever their background, can go as far as their hard work will take them”* (Prime Minister, 2018). An individualistic approach to labour market integration is therefore suggested by this frame. A migrant’s success depends on their ability to be hard working, deserving of opportunities and contributing to the economy. This discourse was reinforced both by the statements elicited from the right wing political party UKIP, which in its 2017 manifesto promises that future *“immigration policies will bring to Britain the brightest, the best, and those with the talents our economy most needs”* and by the Labour Party which in 2015 was among the first parties in a UK manifesto to introduce the idea of a *“controlled and fair migration system”* (Labour Party, 2015). The conceptualisation of having a fair system (focused on border control), does little to explain the definition of fairness, a concept that has been shared by all political parties in the last two elections as well as the UK Government and the Confederation of British Industry (CBI).

9.3.2 Open and Integrated Country

In opposition to our first frame, our second frame is based upon the conceptualisation that everybody, independent of their characteristics and contribution should be welcomed and included into British society. This narrative is especially fostered by the Scottish Government, which, in its recent Programme for the Nation 2017-2018, emphasised its willingness to develop communities that are *“genuinely empowered and inclusive, places where individuals and diverse groups can overcome social inequalities and go on to thrive in an open and tolerant society”*. The Scottish Government espouses a narrative that aims to develop a fair, open, integrated and just society for all of the people that have chosen to make Scotland their home. In the Race Equality Action Plan 2017-2021, the Scottish Government established that race should not be a barrier to fulfil the potential of people and removing barriers to equal opportunities should be at the core of the future actions of the devolved government. The Scottish Government reinforced its opposition to the UK Government *“controlled and fair migration”* narrative, highlighting in its submission to the Home Affairs Committee the importance *“to stand up to negative rhetoric surrounding immigration”* (Scottish Government, 2017).

This frame can also be identified in the trade union movement. The Trade Unions Congress (TUC) in 2015, in response to a consultation by the Migration Advisory Committee recognised that *“by suggesting that migration is a problem that should be limited across the board only increases discrimination against migrant workers and stokes social tension”* (TUC, 2015). Moreover, the trade union UNISON during a day of celebration for migrant workers in 2018, called for a society that *“welcome the people who have come to live, work and study in the UK, celebrating the power of migration to change lives and societies for the better”* (UNISON, 2018).

Solidarity and connectedness between the host society and migrants seem to be at the heart of this frame, in particular when refugees are identified according to their specific needs. Frances O’Grady TUC General Secretary at the peak of the refugee *“crisis”* defined solidarity as *“the best word to describe what we need to maintain human decency and avoid serious conflict”* (TUC, 2015). The concept of solidarity as a foundation for an open and integrated society was also emphasised by NGOs which support refugees. For example, the manifesto of the Scottish Refugee Council drafted for the 2016 Scottish Parliament Election, elaborated

the vision of a country *“in which all people seeking refugee protection are welcome and are able to rebuild their lives...and are able to fulfil their potential to the benefit of all”*.

Finally, in this frame, integration (mainly of refugees) is often defined a two-way process, in which both third country nationals and host communities should be involved in multilateral exchanges.

9.3.3 The Cost of Migration – Welfare and Labour Market Chauvinism

The third frame is related to the consequences of migration in terms of the displacement of native workers, the decrease of minimum wages and potential burden upon the welfare system. In a speech in 2016 the Prime Minister Theresa May while negotiating the objectives for exiting the EU, expressed that the record levels of net migration have *“put pressure on public services, like schools, stretched infrastructure, especially housing, and put a downward pressure on wages for working class people”*. In the most recent White paper on Immigration (HM, 2018) although there is recognition of the contribution of migration to the country it's also presented as a cost that can negatively impact the willingness of business to training and develop the skills of local people. Theresa May in the foreword of the report, underlined the need for an immigration system that *“is fair to working people in the UK”* and *“that will give British business an incentive to train UK young people”*. Discourses regarding the negative effect of migration on the labour market are further reinforced by the manifestoes of centre-right and right wing parties in the UK. The Conservative Party, in the run up to the election of 2015, argued the importance of putting British families and people first, through more controlled and enforced migration and welfare conditions. Moreover, in both their 2015 and 2017 manifestos, UKIP claimed that *“evidence from the EU and the UK Parliament’s Treasury Select Committee reveals how immigration has driven down wages and led to job losses for British workers”*.

The impact of migration on the UK labour market was also debated by trade unions organisations. The GMB union in 2015 argued that the use of migrant labour (predominantly in this case European ones) as a cheap labour force (paid below the agreed rates) could displace the involvement of local workers in specific sectors such as construction thus, *“undermining the current national agreement for the engineering and construction industry”*. However, instead of placing the blame onto the increasing number of migrants and a lack of control in immigration system as often political parties and government tend to do in their discourses, trade unions pinpointed the poor practices of employers and austerity measures as the reason behind the increasingly precarious working conditions. In fact, the GMB trade union clearly affirmed that their position was not against *“European labour working in the UK but unscrupulous employers who insist on undercutting existing terms and conditions”*, while the TUC in 2014, in response to the Immigration Bill declared that in the opinion of their congress *“attacks on pay, jobs, working conditions and public services was not as a result of immigrants but of government attacks, in line with their austerity agenda”*.

Within this frame, the pressure on public services and local councils was also identified by the UK Government, political parties and Trade Unions. The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government asserted that migration can *“place short-term pressures on some services and social pressures in areas where communities find it hard to integrate”* (MHLGC, 2018) while right wing political parties such as UKIP emphasised the economic pressure that migration can have on schools, the NHS and housing. Trade Unions have also recognised the budget constraints that schools, hospitals and public services can face by an increasing rate

of migration. However, while the Government in their discourse often shift the responsibility for this on to migrants, referring for example that their low level of English language proficiency “create costs for providers of local services, such as local authorities and health providers, which have to pay for translation of information” (HM,2018), trade unions instead point towards is the policies of the UK Government and emphasise that in fact “it is austerity that is responsible for the strain of public services” (UNISON, 2016).

9.3.4 Filling Vacancies, Addressing the Social and Economic Structure and Being an Opportunity for the UK

The last frame defines the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers as an opportunity for the UK, due to the possibility of addressing depopulation or an ageing population, filling vacancies and improving businesses and economic growth. Migration and labour market integration in this frame is seen as positively affecting and improving British society. The positive contribution of migration can for example be identified at the macro level. This is particularly true in the discourses of the Scottish Government which affirms that “*inward migration brings huge economic benefits to Scotland*” and “*it helps to address demographical challenges of an ageing population and to support rural communities*” (Scottish Government, 2017). In addition, according to the devolved government, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers contribute to the UK culture, communities and society, helping to develop “*Scotland as an inclusive, fair, prosperous, innovative country ready and willing to embrace the future*” (Scottish Government, 2018). Asylum seekers and refugees are also specifically identified by the Scottish Government in their New Scots Integration Strategy (2018). They are considered “*assets to the Scottish communities and, as they rebuild their lives here, they help to make Scotland stronger, more compassionate and more successful as a nation*” (Scottish Government, 2018).

Left wing and centrist political parties such as Labour and Liberal Democrats also recognised in their manifestos of 2017 the importance of migrants for the UK economy, because of their availability to address skills shortages in different public and private sector occupations but also their social and economic contribution. Similar discourses are promoted by some policy implementers, such as for example the North East Brexit Group¹¹⁸ who in 2017, in response to the MAC Consultations declared that “*the North East exhibits above national average skills shortages for managers, professionals, skilled trade occupations and machine operatives. Migrant labour has played a key role in filling such vacancies*” or the East Midlands Councils¹¹⁹, who after conducting their research on the impact of migration in East Midlands, concluded that “*there is strong evidence that international migrants make a positive net contribution to the UK budget*”.

The positive contribution of migration articulated in this frame has been detected also at the meso level, in terms of the positive benefits that migration can bring to companies and businesses. In 2015, research conducted and presented by the Department for Business,

¹¹⁸ North East Brexit Group is composed by North East Local Enterprise Partnership, North East Combined Authority, FSB-Expert in Business, North East England Chamber of Commerce, CBI, EEF – the manufacturers organisation, TUC Northern.

¹¹⁹ East Midlands Councils is a body comprised of local authorities which deal with resettlement programme in East Midlands.

Innovation and Skills (DBI) of the UK Government “*demonstrates that foreign workers not only stimulate growth for British business by introducing new ideas and innovations, but bring their unique overseas networks and cultural knowledge to drive expansion for their company abroad*”. According to the research, employers particularly valued the language skills and the benefits of having a diverse workforce, which can “*assist business’ expansion by sharing insights and connections to new international markets, suppliers and client relationships*” (DBI, 2015). This is reinforced by the discourses of some employers’ organisations and trade unions which identified the diversity of the workforce as an essential asset. According to the 2017 Unite the Union response to the Women and Equality Committee Inquiry Results of Race Disparity Audit, “*employers that recruit the best person for the job, regardless of their race and value diversity and equal opportunity for all, will be an employer of choice. Workplaces that have an environment where all employees feel valued and included is likely to have a much more committed and motivated workforce*”. The Confederation of British Industry also highlighted in their report for an “Open and Controlled Approach” how companies have benefitted from access to workers from overseas, for example in terms of their “*unique knowledge of overseas markets and native language skills*” and how “*they drive up productivity by sharing best practice and facilitate cross-border collaboration*” (CBI, 2018).

9.4 Barriers and Facilitators of Labour Market Integration

Analysing the discourses in relation to the barriers and enablers of labour market integration, we found that it was predominantly policy implementers at the local level, such as NGOs and trade unions, who explore in their discourses the challenges and the successes of labour market integration. While barriers are detailed and widely described in the documents of these actors, facilitators are more often framed as possible solutions, instead of enablers that are already in place. This approach points towards how these actors perceive the contemporary UK context.

On the other hand, political actors rarely discuss the facilitators of labour market integration at all. While political parties offered no analysis of the barriers or enablers in relation to employability in their documents, the UK Government mainly highlighted the lack of knowledge of the English language and of the values of British society as the primary barriers to integration. Conversely, discourses rarely took into account barriers at the policy level or at the service delivery level. In contrast to their UK Government counterparts, the Scottish Government focused more upon the barriers to integration, with a particular emphasis on the barriers facing refugees; nevertheless, their discourses were more directed towards proposing policies rather than analysing what wasn’t working in the existing context.

Discourses concerning the framing of barriers and enablers are reported below based upon the distinctions between migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and the identification of barriers at the systemic level (macro), service delivery or organisation level (meso) or individual level (micro).

9.4.1 Migrants

At the macro level, different actors, including devolved governments, trade unions and employers’ organisations described the immigration system (a policy area that is crucial to consider when analysing the employment of migrants) as bureaucratic, costly and time-consuming for both individuals and employers. Compliance with the Tier 2 visa (work visa) for example was identified as a major issue for businesses, due its costs and bureaucratic hurdles. The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) described it as “*prohibitively complex, time consuming and expensive process to navigate*” (CBI, 2018). In addition, the salary levels

in the Points Based System has been criticised by trade unions due to its high thresholds (£30,000 salary per year) while the CBI has identified the cap of 20,700 work visas per year as a barrier which *“has meant that thousands of highly-skilled and well-paid workers have been refused a visa since December 2017”* (CBI, 2018). Trade unions in the UK have also criticised the most recent Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016, describing them as the *“government’s announced intention to develop a hostile climate for migrants and aiming at illegal workers”* (United, 2018). The Trade Union Congress (2015), reinforced this discourse, highlighting how the new legislation, referring to the 2014 Act, risked increasing discrimination and widening inequalities. Moreover, the TUC has suggested that legislation classifying irregular working as a criminal offence and the focus of the UK Government *“to ensure each person who works in a customer facing role speaks fluent English”* (TUC, 2015) were likely to increase discrimination.

A higher level of barriers to integration, found in specific sectors and caused by specific policies, have also been highlighted by NGOs and the Scottish Government. NGOs have for example placed a spotlight upon the complex situation of domestic workers. In this sector, migrants find that their visa conditions are closely connected to their relationship with employers; they are given a short time frame in which to find alternative work (before becoming undocumented) and in practice they don’t have the right to take any cases of grievance against their employers to Employment Tribunals. In their submission to the UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary forms of Slavery, the Kalayaan organisation and Anti-Slavery movement affirmed that often *“migrant domestic workers, accepted as trafficked but not granted to leave, are pressured or forced into accepting exploiting work offered to them to avoid becoming destitute”* (Kalayaan and Anti-Slavery, 2018). In contrast, the Scottish Government has instead focused upon the underrepresentation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic group (BAME) in the Police Scotland workforce, Scotland’s education workforce, as well as National Health Service (NHS) Scotland. The devolved government has in fact outlined in its Race Equality Framework, the benefits that could be realised by the *‘fair, proportionate representation of minority ethnic people within Scotland’s education workforce’* (Scottish Government, Race Equality Framework, 2016).

A gender dimension was also explored at the macro level across UK government and policy implementers. Migrant and BAME women were recognised as those who most often struggle with access to paid employment. UK Government documents identified the root causes of these problems to be the lack of English language proficiency among the women and the cultural attitudes of their families. In contrast, NGOs focused more upon systemic barriers, for example alongside language skills and a lack of self-confidence, BEMIS (national Ethnic Minorities led umbrella body) singled out the *“lack of role models in leadership positions, underrepresentation, lack of provision of safe and motivating coaching environment, lack of clear progression routes”* and the gap in appropriate childcare provision as being key barriers affecting the employability of women.

At the meso level, discrimination in workplaces is a barrier identified by all of the actors sampled in the discourse analysis. For example, equality in accessing all employment pathways has been pinpointed as particularly challenging by the devolved Scottish Government. In their various documents published on the subject of equality¹²⁰ they describe

¹²⁰ Some examples are: “Equality outcomes”, “Fairer Scotland”, “Scotland equality evidence”, “Race equality”, “Discrimination”, “Equally safe”.

the lower levels of participation of minority groups in specific vocational pathways was a result of discrimination and prejudice and define the labour market as the main place where *“racism and discrimination are evident, restricting the opportunities open to people from minority ethnic communities and preventing their skills and expertise from benefitting the economy”* (Scottish Government, Race Equality Action Plan, 2017-2021). Consequently, this unequal access to good quality employment has impacted upon a range of other inequalities such as the higher rates of poverty experienced by minority ethnic groups. Trade Unions and NGOs reinforced the recognition of disadvantage and discrimination of minority ethnic groups in the workplace, affirming that migrants today are *“still experiencing discrimination in recruitment, pay, career progression, disciplinary and redundancies”* (Unison, Prejudice Advertisement) and that *“Britain is an unequal society where the colour of your skin makes you more vulnerable to unemployment low pay, poor health, harassment and abuse”* (Usdaw, 2017). For example, BME workers according to trade unions often *“fail to be aware of job openings, fail to be short-listed, fail to be interviewed and fail to be appointed into positions due to barriers within the recruitment and selection procedure of an organisation”* (Unite the Union, Race Equality, guide for Unite negotiators).

The lack of skills and recognition of formal qualifications is the second barrier identified at the meso level, mainly by NGOs and devolved government who identify that formal qualifications and existing skills are often not recognised in the UK. In addition, NGOs singled out employers' perceptions about the validity of overseas qualifications as a factor which affects access to employment for migrants. The fragmented and scarce provision of English for Speakers of Other languages courses was also highlighted by the Westminster Government which affirmed that *“the challenge of navigating a language learning landscape [...] will be made more difficult by a general lack of coordination between programme providers”* (HM, Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, 2018). On the same issue, policy implementers instead underlined how the reduced funding derived from UK Government have effectively limited the opportunities for migrants to access language courses. The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government also pointed towards the social segregation of migrants *“as both a cause as well as a consequences of a lack of integration”* (MHLGC, Equality statement for Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, 2018). An increasing level of mistrust and anxiety alongside the raising of negative cultural norms were identified by the UK Government as affecting the health and well-being and the employability of migrants in areas with a very low social mix. This was connected to a lack of social capital, as bridging and bonding among communities were seen as positively impacting on labour market outcomes.

At the micro level, a lack of knowledge of the UK labour market alongside a lack of understanding of UK employment rights were described by executive power actors, policy implementers and trade unions as increasing the barriers for migrants into employment. As the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) suggested in its toolkit for integration, *“new migrants are more likely to be vulnerable, because they are often unfamiliar with the UK labour market and their legal entitlements”*. The Equality and Human Rights Commission in 2014 highlighted some of the challenges that migrant workers frequently face such as lack of awareness of holiday or sick pay entitlements, maternity leave and minimum pay regulations.

The main consensus among the actors in our sample regarding the barriers at the micro level was related to language. English language proficiency was cited by the UK Government as

the variable most likely to determine if a migrant is “*in paid employment and full time employment*” (MHLGC, Equality statement for Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper, 2018). Better English was not only perceived to support the inclusion of migrants into employment but also to help “*benefit the resident community in many ways: reducing interpretation costs; enabling school classes to be taught more effectively; and by getting people into work and contributing taxes. It means services deal more efficiently with people, freeing up time and capacity for all*” (MHLGC and Home Office, 2016). Adopting a different approach, policy implementers and trade unions discussed how the requirements from the UK Government and employers for higher levels of English language proficiency often jeopardised the opportunities for migrants to access employment in specific sectors such as, for example, nursing roles in the NHS.

According to UK Government, another micro level barrier to employability outcomes was the cultural attitudes of the migrants. Gender bias was specifically highlighted as a cause for concern, with an emphasis placed on how the gendered differences in the role played in the household affected the employment of women as well as how religious and cultural values impacted on people decisions regarding their employment. Finally, the Scottish Government highlighted the stress of being in a new country and the fears about being victimized for being newcomers as another barrier at the micro level for integration into employment.

9.4.2 Refugees

Specific barriers and facilitators concerning refugees were identified by several actors. At the macro level, the period of the prolonged enforced joblessness as applicants awaited their asylum claim to be processed and the swiftness of the ‘move on’¹²¹ period were singled out as important barriers by NGOs. The waiting time in the asylum process and the ban on working was perceived as causing “*skills atrophy, loss of confidence and gaps in working experience*” (BEMIS, 2015), “*making harder for refugees to find employment due to a lack of experience and references*” (Ibid, 2015).

The abolition of a nationwide coordinated service for integration and employment and the challenging characteristics of the benefits system both in terms of documents requested during the application process but also in terms of active employment policies were also highlighted by NGOs organisations as potential systemic barriers for labour market integration to be effective. As an example, interviewees in a research project conducted by the Refugee Council (2016) “*repeatedly identified a lack of opportunities to develop links with local communities through volunteering schemes, networking events or guaranteed job placement schemes*”. Moreover, in the same study, the Job Centre staff were described as often providing “*incorrect and inconsistent advice*” (Refugee Council, 2016) or lacking the support services and the capacity to tailor their much needed guidance to find employment.

At the meso level, refugees were perceived as facing greater challenges in terms of equality in the workplace due to a lack of knowledge of employers’ responsibilities and in terms of their rights and entitlements as workers. In addition, NGOs expressed concerns that employers often did not grasp the language needs of these employees and that they struggled to understand the value of overseas qualifications and work experience. These barriers were

¹²¹ Asylum seekers once they have been recognised as refugees they have 28 days to move from the Home Office accommodation to a new accommodation, find a job or enrol to the benefits system.

manifested in the frequent descriptions from different actors of the failure to recognise the existing skills and educational qualifications of refugees. For example, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) in a report published in 2017, highlighted that for migrants but in particular for refugees *“capitalising on previous skills and talents is often challenged by a lack of adequate procedures to recognize and validate existing skills”*.

At the micro level, refugees lack of knowledge and experience of the UK job market alongside the difficulties regarding their English language proficiency were described by NGOs primarily but also by government actors as being among the main barriers this group was having to navigate. Although refugees have the right to work, *“issues like a lack of understanding of the systems and working culture in the UK, as well as a lack of experience and networks can present a huge obstacle in progressing towards employment”* (Refugee Council, 2018¹²²). Finally, also the trauma and the grief of what has been left behind was perceived by NGOs as possibly affecting the labour market integration of refugees in the UK.

9.4.3 Asylum Seekers

People seeking asylum were recognised to have additional barriers in comparison with other migrants and refugees due to their *de facto* exclusion from the labour market. The ban on working applied to asylum seekers and detailed by asylum legislation was, as we expected, to be the primary macro level barrier for this group. As the Scottish Government and NGOs highlighted, a consequence of this ban on working means that *“many experienced and professional asylum seekers are unable to develop and maintain their skills”* (Refugee Council, 2018). In addition, these same actors highlighted that asylum seekers also have limited access to English language courses, no access to financial support and no choice in terms of where they could live. For example, due to the cuts to ESOL classes and the long waiting list that exists to access such courses, NGOs expressed concerns that the most vulnerable people were often excluded from improving their languages skills, which in turn was affecting their potential to access key employment pathways.

9.5 The Suggesting Remedies to Overcome the Barriers and Enabling Facilitators

Analysing the discourses in relation potential remedies that could help overcome the barriers described above, all actors, with the exception of political parties which only rarely offered remedies in their discourses, suggested possible solutions to overcome the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into the labour market.

The discourses concerning these remedies are outlined below and are based upon the distinction between migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and the identification of possible policies and services which could address different barriers.

¹²² Refugee Council is the organisation that we main refer to in terms of discourses about refugee because it is the main organisation that deals specifically with refugee (and asylum seekers) in the UK.

9.5.1 Migrants

Four different categories of remedies have been identified to overcome the barriers of labour market integration in the UK: i) reform of migration policies; ii) the establishment of anti-exploitation policies and services; iii) anti-discrimination actions and the development of bespoke service delivery; iv) advice programmes and language courses. We shall next elaborate upon each of these categories of remedies below.

9.5.1.1 Future Migration Policies

The post Brexit immigration system has been widely discussed in recent months by across UK Government, devolved government and employers organisations which hold different positions on how to address the future immigration policies of the UK. Given that migration policies are a reserved matter¹²³, the suggested remedies that are mainly reported in the documents we analysed are those that can be provided by the UK Government. The position of other stakeholders is also discussed in terms of whether they are in support or opposition to the proposals of central government.

The UK Government in their most recent Immigration System White paper explain that *“UK Immigration Rules will apply to EU and non-EU migrants alike in a single skills-based system [...] where anyone who wants to come to the UK will need permission to do so”* (HM, 2018). Concerning the Tier 2 visa, which was the visa primarily identified in our analysis above as a key barrier, the UK Government declared that a cap on the numbers of skilled workers and the resident labour market test will no longer be imposed while the salary threshold of £30,000 per year, to be considered as high skilled migrant, seems to remain in place with additional flexibility available in case of specific shortages. While the first change is in line with the remedies suggested by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), the threshold instead diverges with the CBI discourses. Although at the moment it is impossible to predict how the Immigration Skills Charge will change, the UK Government declares its willing *“to reduce the administrative burdens on employer sponsors to ensure that they are proportionate to the objective of minimising immigration abuse”* (HM, 2018) and to minimise the time needed to hire skilled migrants. This is in contrast with the suggested remedies proposed by the Scottish Government, which in 2017, declared that the *“UK Government should abolish the Immigration Skills Charge, which is an unhelpful burden on employers seeking access to the best skills and talent across the world”* and similarly differs with the position of employers’ organisations such as for example the Creative Industries Federation and Professional Services organisations which defined in their response to the Migration Advisory Committee that the charge as increasing the financial strain on businesses and small businesses in particular.

A new temporary visa route, limited to 12 months and without access to public funds for the applicant, with the possibility to extend and settling permanently, was suggested by the UK Government, in order to provide businesses with access to low-skilled short term employees. According to the Immigration White paper, the route, constituting the only access for low-skilled workers, will be transitional and it will be offered to people arriving from specific countries (that is, “low risk countries” with which the UK negotiates migrations commitments). To access this visa, *“workers will need to pay a visa fee”*, which will *“increase incrementally*

¹²³ In the UK ‘reserved’ matters are areas of government policy where legislative power resides with the UK Parliament rather than the devolved administrations in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

each year that the route operates to incentivise businesses to reduce their reliance on migrant labour” (HM, 2018). This is contrast with some of the employers organisations which have advocated for an opening of the Tier 3 visa scheme.

Also according to the recent Immigration white paper, a six month's post-study leave (not visa) to all master's students and bachelor's students and one-year post-study leave to PhD students will be granted to allow graduates from UK universities to search for employment after the end of their study, either from inside or outside the country. This solution differs from the Post-Study route called for by the Scottish Government. The new proposal of the UK Government, makes it necessary to find a sponsor to access the job market with a Tier 2 visa. Finally, a new UK Research and Innovation-led scheme will be open to support the temporary movement of scientists and researchers to the UK for two years and a doubling of the number of Tier 1 Exceptional Talent visas will also be made available as well as a new Start up visa route that has been launched.

The Scottish Government, in addition to some of the remedies suggested above, have proposed a migration policy that *“should encourage long-term settlement in Scotland of people with the skills we need who will work, raise families and make a positive contribution to society”* (Scottish Government, 2018). A Scotland-specific visa was also mooted, with the suggestion that it could become *“an option open to migrants and employers that may meet individual needs by offering different eligibility criteria in one aspect, with different restrictions in another”* (Scottish Government, 2018). These discourses were in sharp contrast to the narratives of organisations such as the CBI who highlighted that *“businesses favour a single holistic system operating throughout the UK rather than separate visa regimes for each region”* (CBI, 2018).

9.5.1.2 Anti-Exploitation Policies

Anti-exploitation policies were specifically advocated as remedies by trade unions. The Trades Union Congress for example suggested that the UK Government must work with trade unions to challenge employers who use migrants to undercut local labour. In fact, they suggested that *“giving unions access to more workplaces will help end exploitation. Collective bargaining can win fair wages for all”* (TUC, 2018). They also recommended the stronger enforcement of employment rights and an expansion of the powers of the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority *“to ensure that employers can't get away with exploiting migrants or any other worker”* (TUC, 2018). Recruitment agencies also came in for criticism from both the Labour Party (in its 2015 manifesto) and the GMB trade union who called for *“closing the loopholes in the Agency Workers Regulations that mean workers who are paid between assignments are excluded from the protections of the regulations”* (GMB, 2015).

The UK Government in its Immigration White Paper underlined their determination *“to tackle the exploitation of migrant workers by businesses who seek to undercut legitimate competition and displace UK workers by evading obligations under tax, employment and national minimum wage and living wage legislation”* (HM, 2018). The Government suggested the introduction of a Director of Labour Market Enforcement, providing more power to the Gangmaster and Labour Abuse Authority, including civil penalties and prison sentences for employers who ignore their obligations, as well as investing funds into the HMRC National Minimum Wage team and introducing a new system of compliance for enforcement bodies.

Some remedies were also suggested for addressing the exploitation of domestic workers. In 2015, the charity Kalayaan advised the government to introduce *“a range of relatively inexpensive and simple measures”* such as sharing the details between the Home Office and

HMRC to ensure that tax and NI contributions are being paid, issuing the worker with a Biometric Residence Permit in person, requiring a bank account in the name of the worker, obliging employers to issue payslips, and allowing workers the access to legal aid.

9.5.1.3 Anti-Discrimination Policies

The anti-discrimination remedies suggested were targeting different stakeholders, from businesses to media, school to government and some of them specifically focused upon the gender dimension.

The UK Government advocated that businesses should *“ensure policies and practices promote the recruitment, retention and progression of employees which better reflects the makeup of the workforce and consider their wider role in promoting integration to help build strong, integrated communities”* (HM, 2018). According to the same document, local services should support the collaboration with employers *“i to create work preparation opportunities and mentoring; and educating employers of the benefits of a diverse workforce and on issues like unconscious bias training and nameblind recruitment”* (HM, 2018). Political parties in their manifestos also promoted solutions to tackle discrimination. While the Green Party in their 2015 manifesto advocated the introduction of anonymised CVs, the Labour Party suggested the establishment of a comprehensive race equality strategy. The Liberal Democrats instead called for the introduction of quotas on business boards and the Conservative Party promoted specific schemes to enable the access of minorities to opportunities in the police force. As we might expect, Trade Unions were the main stakeholders to discuss remedies for discrimination in relation to the employment practices of businesses. Unite the Union in 2016, suggested that advertisements for employment should encourage applicants from a diversity of backgrounds and that *“wherever possible additional training, mentoring schemes, open days or other events should be provided for such groups to prepare them to compete on genuinely equal terms for jobs and promotion”* (Unite the Union, 2016).

Initiatives with schools and media were identified as possible remedies by the Scottish Government. Learning resources for teachers and an improvement in the ethnic diversity of the media workforce were among the suggestions of the Race Equality Action Plan (2017). In the same plan, specific actions were also outlined for the employability of women from minority ethnic groups. As such, the plan included an effort to: *“work in partnership with key delivery partners to develop and co-ordinate a Minority Ethnic Women’s network to develop skills and understanding for women to participate in local and national decision making processes”* (Scottish Government, 2017). NGOs such as BEMIS also suggested specific remedies for improving opportunities for women such as including role models in workplaces *“to give direction to come through challenge perceptions and discrimination”* (BEMIS, 2016).

Finally, action from government was also called for by various actors. Trade unions such as Unite the Union suggested that the *“government needs to monitor companies to see how many BAEM staff they employ overall and at what levels have they been employed”* (Unite the Union, 2017), and in addition called for the Equality and Human Rights Commission to be adequately resourced to conduct reviews each year and for the duty on the public sector to promote racial equality to be extended to the private sector. In addition, public procurement could be achieved *“by explicitly including the promotion of racial equality in contract criteria and ensuring that the promotion of race equality forms part of the value for money consideration for all government*

contracts” (Unite the Union, 2017). In addition, Unite the Union demanded that access for all workers (including those from employment agencies) to trade unions should be ensured by the government including the implementation of collective bargaining.

9.5.1.4 Bespoke Services, Advice Services and Language Courses

Bespoke services, alongside advice programmes and language courses were broadly suggested by all stakeholders as potentially affecting labour market integration. For example, the UK Government stated its belief that *“in diagnosing an individual customer’s barriers to employment and providing a tailored approach rather than employment programmes aimed at specific ethnic group”* (HM, 2018). For doing so it proposed greater investment in training and raising the awareness of Jobcentre plus staff to better understand the needs of migrants. Policy implementers also confirmed the importance of ensuring that *“staff in JobCentres are adequately trained and resourced to meet the needs of new and existing migrant communities. This includes effective and appropriate use of interpreters; improving knowledge of different migrant groups; and a commitment to work collaboratively with local community organisations”* (Migration Yorkshire, 2018).

The Scottish Government also clearly affirmed that among its first priorities, after the devolution of employability programmes, was to ensure that *“those in need of support, can access person-centred services which address their barriers to sustaining high quality employment”* (SG, 2017). According to the Scottish Government, a person-centred, holistic approach to employability services can offer through *“meaningful and supported work experience”* and in *“work support”* a route out of unemployment and poverty. A tailored, holistic support programme was also suggested by policy implementers as a remedy to the overcome barriers encountered by vulnerable migrants.

Advice and language courses to migrants were also often cited as a possible mechanism to improve pathways to employability. Advice could include for example *“information about British values and culture, rights and responsibilities”* (MCHLG, 2018) as suggested by the UK Government and by some policy implementers such as Migration Yorkshire. But they could also include advice to pursue specific careers based upon *“vocational and academic learning, training opportunities, and progression prospects associated with different career prospects”* (SG, 2017) as suggested by the Scottish Government and NGOs. Financial advice which can help, through microfinance or accessibility to credit unions, the financial equality of minority ethnic groups was also identified by the Scottish Government as a potential remedy.

Concerning language courses, the development of a new Strategy for English Language in England and the launch of a new community-based English language programme was suggested by the UK Government in its Green paper for integration. It was also reinforced by the recent Immigration white paper which included the establishment of *“a new infrastructure fund open to local authorities”* (HM, 2018), a network of community-based conversation clubs and a coordinated referral service.

Measures to *“to improve access to high quality advanced, vocational and conversational ESOL provision, linked to both employability schemes and with employers across all sectors”* was recommended by the Scottish Government while funding for more informal learning in accessible places to reduce waiting times and engage learners was recommended by the East Midlands Councils. A number of policy implementers called upon the UK government to set

up a panel to monitor the amount and quality of language provision in England and improve the collaboration and coordination between stakeholders. Finally, the Trades Unions Congress called upon the UK Government to *“to reverse the cuts the government has made to English language education”* (TUC, 2018), adding that such measures have affected the number of English language training in workplaces and consequently reduced opportunities for migrant workers to converse with their colleagues on issues such as working conditions and pay.

9.5.2 Refugees

Three different specific categories of remedies have been identified to overcome the barriers of integration of refugees into the UK labour market: refugee migration and integration policies, the development of bespoke services, advice programmes and language courses and the creation of skills recognition, training and volunteer schemes. Each of them are discussed in turn.

9.5.2.1 Future Refugee Migration and Integration Policy

In a Post Brexit migration system the UK Government have confirmed its subscription to *“the principles of the EU Dublin Regulation”* (HM, 2018) and its intention to seek agreement with individual EU members. It also confirmed their support through the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme and the Vulnerable Children’s Resettlement Scheme, while *“future resettlement”* and to *“increase the integration support available to those recognised as refugees after arrival in the UK”* will be considered. The Scottish Government focused more upon the family reunification process and its pressing of the UK Government *“on issues such as 30 day visas and the extension of eligibility criteria”* (Scottish Government, 2017). The Trades Union Congress in 2015 instead called for action from the European Union, asking for the development of *“effective EU-wide policies for asylum and warn that credible policies were also needed for legal migration and inclusion”* (TUC, 2015).

Third sector organisation called upon the UK and Scottish Governments to support greater collaboration to plan the widening of asylum dispersal in Scotland and to ensure properly resourced integration services across all local authorities. This was reinforced by the UNHCR which recommended that *“central and local government better coordinate their programmes for employment preparedness, to learn from best practices across the UK, but also to learn from experiences in other countries where companies are more active in integration activities including language and vocational training”* (UNHCR, 2017). NGOs also emphasised the importance of bringing communities together and to encourage understanding in ways that will facilitate integration processes. While local councils were identified as the main providers of *“affordable temporary accommodation to avoid creating additional barriers to employment and education”* (Scottish Refugee Council, 2016), the development of national standards for refugee integration in Scotland was singled out as a *“model of good practice for the rest of the UK”*.

Finally, an increase in funding was called for Trade Union organisations to better resource services for refugees, while the UK Government announced the availability of *“£1.75 million of funding to help new refugees into work and integrate into their new communities”* (MHLGC,

2018).

9.5.2.2 Bespoke Services, Advice Services and Language Courses

The establishment of bespoke services was suggested as a remedy mainly by NGOs and policy implementers. Refugees were often identified as needing *“intensive, specialist and target services to help them settle in new communities and find employment”* (Migration Yorkshire, 2018). Individual advice and support, refugee community initiatives, business support projects and effective engagement with employers were some of the services pinpointed by policy implementers and NGOs as possible future services that could tackle the specific barriers confronting refugees. While the UK Government recently affirmed its support for *“specialist interventions to help refugees overcome the barriers they can encounter when seeking employment in the UK and share the learning about what works”* (HM, 2018), NGOs requested funding for specialist programs which could link refugees with the community through *“volunteering schemes, networking events, or guaranteed job placement schemes”* (Refugee Council, 2016). NGOs and policy implementers also called for specific training for Jobcentre Plus and local council staff should be provided *“to increase their understanding, possibly through dedicated training, of the particular barriers faced by refugees in job seeking”* (Refugee Council, 2016).

In its New Scots Strategy (2018) the Scottish Government have identified remedies that can support entrepreneurialism and self-employment among refugees. Moreover, English language courses constituted part of the discourses of the Scottish Government and in their New Scots Strategy, the monitoring and identifying of gaps in relation to ESOL provision and sharing good practices on approaches were identified as future actions for the strategy. In relation to language courses, NGOs called for collaboration between the Department for Work and Pensions and Education Scotland *“to ensure that ESOL provision meets the language needs of new refugees”* (Scottish Refugee Council, 2016). Third sector organisations also pointed towards the importance of collaboration among providers, mitigating barriers to accessing courses and including local knowledge and language skills for practical independent living as some of the remedies to improve the effectiveness of language courses. Policy implementers have instead highlighted the additional barriers that women, who often are not the main JSA claimant and have childcare responsibilities, face when attempting to access ESOL Courses. Strategic Partnership Yorkshire in 2017 pointed as a solution that *“Informal, family-friendly learning environments might be more appropriate for women in these situations.”*

9.5.2.3 Skills Recognition, Training and Volunteering

Systems of skills recognition, training opportunities and volunteering schemes were often identified by NGOs as possible enablers of labour market integration. Moreover, in 2016, the Scottish Refugee Council asked the Scottish Government to invest in *“systems for the recognition of skills, prior learning and qualifications of migrants and refugees which will be accessible and trusted by employers and education institutions”*. In 2018, the Scottish Government confirmed its support for *“the development of a model for a recognition and accreditation process to identify prior qualifications, skills and learning, and develop sector specific employment pathways”* (Scottish Government, 2018). Courses for helping with job search, job interview techniques and practice alongside in-shop training on retail management, customer service and inventory control were highlighted by NGOs such as the

Refugee Council and Islamic Relief as potentially effective programmes that should receive investment. Volunteering that *“can build confidence and help people move into a job”* (HM, 2018) was also highlighted as an enabler by the UK Government and policy implementers and according to Migration Yorkshire (2018), *“the Government should recognise and encourage wider work-related integration activities in any future national integration strategy”* (Migration Yorkshire 2018).

9.5.3 Asylum Seekers

Somewhat expectedly, the suggested remedies in relation to asylum seekers were mainly related to lift the ban to work and macro policies changes.

9.5.3.1 Lift the Ban

In 2018, a specific coalition of 80 non-profit organisations, think tanks, businesses and faith groups (under the banner of ‘Lift the Ban’) pursued a lobbying campaign, asking to the UK Government *“to give people seeking asylum and their adult dependants the right to work: unconstrained by the Shortage Occupation List, and after they have waited six months for a decision on their initial asylum claim or further submission”*. This suggested change was also reinforced by discourses articulated by the Scottish Government, the Trades Union Congress and by the Liberal Democrat party, which in its manifesto of 2015, suggested allowing asylum seekers who have waited more than six months to seek work. Interestingly, in the most recent immigration policy document in December 2018, the UK Government *“has committed to listening carefully to the complex arguments around permitting asylum seekers to work”*, and furthermore suggested that they are *“considering all the evidence to ensure that policy of right to work safeguards the integrity of both asylum and immigration systems”* (HM, 2018). Although the ban has not yet been lifted, discussions about this topic have been raised and a decision on this issue is expected to be included in the post Brexit Immigration Bill. Finally, while the UK Government confirmed that it will continue to support destitute asylum seekers with free accommodation and cash allowances until their claim and appeals are determined, the Scottish Government have focused more on its commitment to demand a *“more humane and responsive approach to asylum”* and to *“support the integration from day one”* (Scottish Government, 2018).

9.6 Comparing Remedies for the Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers into Labour Market

From the above analysis, several considerations can be raised.

Firstly, political actors (executive powers, devolved government and political parties), trade unions and employers’ organisations were the main actors who articulated discussed frames of labour market integration of MRAA in the UK. In contrast, third sector organisations and policy implementers very rarely discussed specific frames – except sometimes espousing openness and integration - focusing more, as discussed in the next section of our report, on barriers and enablers or suggested remedies.

Secondly, as shown in Table 9.1 – actors used more than one frame in their discourses. Nevertheless, a clear trend can be identified.

Table 9.1 – Frames and Actors

	Political Actors			Policy Implementers	Third Sector			Unions	
Frames	Executive Power	Devolved Government	Parties		NGOs	Local Offices - International Organisations	Faith-Based Organisation	Labour Unions	Employers Organisations
Deserving and Undeserving	x		x						x
Open and Integrated		x		x	x	x		x	
Cost Of Migration	x		x (some political parties)					x	
Filling Vacancies and Being and Opportunity	x (only one department)	x	x (some political parties)					x	x

While the UK Government and UK political parties often articulated discourses regarding the labour market integration of migrants that emphasised the negative effects of migration and the importance of controlling the numbers (as well as the characteristics) of people arriving in the UK; the Scottish Government, trade unions and third sector organisations promoted a counterweight argument, calling for a more open, tolerant and supportive integration model. The tension between the narratives emanating from the central government level in the UK and those promoted at the devolved level is clearly identifiable on the topic of migration. This can be traced back to the tensions in terms of governance that we have already explored in our WP2 report. While the views supported by the actors at the central level constitute a barrier in promoting integration policies at national level, the more tolerant approach that seems to be encouraged at the local level can instead favour – at least theoretically - the inclusion of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the labour market.

Third, any of the frames include the European Union as a possible actor of discussion in the labour integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. This is in line with the idea that UK stakeholders do not perceive European Union as a stakeholder which has a role in any of the frames above described.

Fourth, in terms of the barriers and enablers of labour market integration, the more generalised reference to “migrants” is the most frequently cited category found in our analysis. Only NGOs, policy implementers and devolved government explore barriers related specifically to refugees and asylum seekers, thus confirming that discourses often envelop newcomers that have very different migration pathways and characteristics, into the same category. The diverse ethnic minorities who are arriving in the UK, as well as the distinctions between economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are thus often lost and instead are discussed within the same terms of reference. Therefore, rarely are the specific barriers that these individuals encounter as a consequence of their particular experiences recognised.

Fifth, comparing the discourses regarding the barriers to the labour market integration of migrants articulated by different actors, as shown in Table , it is possible to identify that the UK Government primarily focuses its discourses on the barriers that individuals face at the micro level such as, for example, their poor English language proficiency or their lack of cultural knowledge. In contrast, third sector organisations often discuss barriers at the meso and macro levels and recognise that the major difficulties encountered by migrants are caused by the immigration system, the lack of funding for ESOL classes and the absence of a system of skills recognition. Somewhat expectedly, trade unions focus primarily upon the theme of discrimination, which is widely recognised by all actors as one of the main meso level obstacles to employability. Thus, a difference among the discourses between policy makers (at the central level) and policy implementers (at local level) can be identified. Policy makers mainly conceptualise barriers through the prism of the responsibilities of migrants to foster their own labour market integration; for example, improving their English language skills and increasing their knowledge of the UK job market. In contrast, policy implementers and third sector organisations identify the main barriers through the prism of how policies and services are implemented and funded, and in doing so point to policy makers as being primarily responsible for obstructing labour market integration.

In addition, comparing discourses concerning the barriers of integration for refugees and asylum seekers in the UK labour market, as shown in Table 4, mainly devolved government and specifically the Scottish Government alongside third sector organisations tried to explore specific barriers affecting the opportunities of these different groups. While the focus of the Scottish Government was on the macro and meso level barriers obstructing the integration of asylum seekers, NGOs specifically dealing with refugees provide a broader overview of the factors impeding the labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers at all level of analysis.

Table 9.2 – Barriers of Integration of Migrants in the UK Labour Market

Barriers/Actors			Political Actors			Policy Implementers	Third Sector			Unions	
			Executive Power	Devolved Government	Parties		NGOs	Local Offices - International Organisations	Faith-Based Organisation	Labour Unions	Employers Organisations
MIGRANTS	Macro	Legal Policy Barriers	x	x			x		x	x	x
		Gender Dimension				x	x		x		
	Meso	Discrimination	x	x			x		x	x	x
		Lack of recognition of skills and formal qualification		x			x				
		Employment Perceptions					x				
		Fragmentation of services including ESOL Classes	x			x	x				
		Segregation and Lack of Social Capital	x								
	Micro	Lack of knowledge and experience of UK labour market	x			x					
		Lack of English proficiency	x	x		x	x				
		Lack of Knowledge of British Culture	x								
		Cultural Attitudes	x								
		Trauma		x							

Table 9.3 – Barriers of Integration of Refugees and Asylum Seekers into UK labour market

Barriers/Actors			Political Actors			Policy Implementers	Third Sector			Unions	
			Executive Power	Devolved Government	Parties		NGOs	Local Offices - International Organisations	Faith-Based Organisation	Labour Unions	Employers Organisations
REFUGEES	Macro	Legal Policy Barriers (Asylum Claim and Move On Period)					x		x		
		Lack of Nationwide Integrated Service					x				
		Welfare Benefit System					x				
	Meso	Lack of employers knowledge					x				
		Lack of recognition of skills and formal qualification		x				x			
	Micro	Lack of knowledge and experience of UK labour market					x				
		Lack of English proficiency	x	x		x	x				
		Trauma	x	x		x					
ASYLUM SEEKERS	Macro	Ban to work Policy		x			x				
		Dispersal Scheme					x				
	Meso	Limited Access to Language courses		x	x		x				
		Lack of recognition of skills and formal qualification		x							
	Micro	Language		x							

In relation to remedies, solutions proposed by the UK Government are generally in line with the frame of the “deserving and undeserving”. The UK Government in fact mainly focuses on propagating an immigration system that simultaneously restricts access to low-skilled migration, increases controls of undocumented migrants and reduces barriers for high skilled workers to access visas. However, it is also worth noting that the UK Government, in a deviation from this frame, has suggested it may consider the possibility of allowing asylum seekers the right to work.

Moreover, concerning policies designed to counter exploitation and discrimination, trade unions provided a range of pragmatic solutions that could be promoted by government or by business. While the UK Government reacted with practical policy proposals concerning the tackling of exploitation, much more vague discourses were instead advocated in relation to anti-discrimination policies. The burden in fact of tackling discrimination was passed on to employers, businesses and local support services which were tasked with ensuring equal policies and practices were being properly implemented.

Each of the stakeholders in our research agreed upon the importance of developing bespoke services which could meet the diverse needs of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The improvement of existing services (such as job centres but also language courses) were most frequently advocated while the potential for new advice services to be established was also highlighted.

Finally, skills recognition, training and employability programmes were only referenced in relation to refugees and only by the Scottish Government and policy implementers (including third sector organisations). This was a somewhat unexpected finding due to the relatively high importance skills recognition has in terms of the integration of MRAA into the UK labour market.

9.7 Overview of Existing Policies and Services Regarding the Integration of MRAA

The migration and labour market policies and services analysed in this report, and outlined in Annex II, have been divided into two main levels: a national (UK) and a regional (Scottish) level. Across both levels, policies in areas such as immigration, education, employment and welfare that can impact upon the labour market integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers have been identified (see our taxonomy in Annex II). A brief overview of each of these policy areas are described below. The differences between migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are also detailed alongside the differences between the national and regional levels.

9.7.1 Immigration Policies

Immigration policies are a reserved matter, therefore only the UK Government has the power to make laws and policies in this area. Concerning economic migrants, the Tier Points-Based Immigration System and the Overseas Domestic Workers (ODW) Visa are the main routes for migrants from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) to come to the UK to work, study, invest or train. As we already discussed in our discourse analysis, the Tier Points-Based immigration system and specifically the Tier 2 visa is considered by employers organisations and trade unions costly and bureaucratic and it represents a barrier to labour market integration. Non EU citizens can however acquire indefinite leave to remain after a period between 3 and 10 years under certain circumstances¹²⁴. As we shall explore below, receiving

¹²⁴ In some circumstances such as for example Tier 1 Exceptional Visa, indefinite leave to remain is accelerated after three years, rather than five years. For Tier 2 Visa, indefinite leave to remain is

indefinite leave to remain provides access to the majority of employment, education and welfare programmes and services.

Concerning refugees and asylum seekers, a two tier system has been established. For example, asylum can be claimed at the UK port of entrance and a process already detailed in WP2 can be followed to access humanitarian protection or refugee status. Asylum seekers can apply for permission to work after they have been waiting for a decision on their asylum claim for over a year. However, even when such approval is given their employment opportunities are restricted to those jobs set out in the Tier2 Shortage Occupation List and asylum seekers are not allowed to be self-employed (Asylum and Immigration Act, 1999). When the claim is processed and refugee status is obtained, the right to work and to claim mainstream social benefits is then established. However, since 2014 the UK Government has operated the Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme (VPRS) and the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme (SVPRP) and, from 2016, the Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS). These programmes aim to resettle those refugees who are selected on the basis that they have pressing humanitarian or security needs, are not able to return to their countries of origin and have specific additional needs, such as health needs. Local authorities and other partners receive funding to support these new arrivals in accessing education, employment, healthcare and other key services, as well as to encourage social integration. Resettled refugees enter the country with a 5 year leave to remain based upon humanitarian protection and they have the right to work and access mainstream benefits from day one. Thus the Resettlement Programmes, particularly when compared to the barriers encountered in the asylum process, act as enablers of integration.

9.7.2 Employment Policies

In the UK employment laws are a reserved matter while some employability programmes are devolved¹²⁵. Thus a brief overview of the policies at national level alongside an overview of the policies at Scottish level are provided.

As we detailed above, according to the UK legal framework, asylum seekers can apply for permission to work after they have been waiting for a decision on their asylum claim for over a year. In light of this, employment policies and services for asylum seekers are limited (if not absent) during that time. Only volunteering activities (not voluntary work) are accessible for asylum seekers. Migrants with indefinite leave to remain as well as refugees can instead have access to employability programmes, such as those provided for example by Job Centre Plus or can receive support for establishing new enterprises such as the self-employment support or the New Enterprise allowance. Migrants without indefinite leave to remain can very rarely access this type of support because either they are in full time employment or education or

acquired after five continuous-years of employment. In other cases, if a person has stayed in the UK with different visas, he/she can apply for indefinite leave to remain after 10 years (10-year long residency route).

¹²⁵ Devolved matters relating to employment: Scotland has the power to create employment schemes for those at risk of long-term unemployment and to help disabled people into work, powers which commenced on 5 September 2016 (Available at:

<https://www.parliament.scot/images/Parliament%20Publications/DevolvedPowers.pdf>)

they present an irregular status¹²⁶. Moreover, only the entrepreneur VISA can be reserved for “overseas entrepreneurs” who should have access to at least £50,000 investment funds. In addition to employment and employability policies, the other main existing policies are focused on anti-discrimination and anti-exploitation issues (i.e. Equality Act 2010, Modern Slavery Act 2015, Immigration Act 2016, Hate Crime Action Plan 2016). Although, the Equality Act 2010 and the Hate Crime Action Plan 2016 can be defined as possible enablers of labour market integration, the Immigration Act 2016 and Modern Slavery Act 2015 have come under criticism by trade unions and NGOs for their limits towards undocumented migrants (the first) and domestic workers (second).

At the Scottish level, a specific skills and employability pipeline has been established since 2013. Employability programmes are thus accessible to all people living in Scotland who are at risk of unemployment, including migrants with indefinite leave to remain and refugees¹²⁷. All support programmes to improve employability for the young workforce (Community Jobs Scotland and Fair Work Scotland), to increase the opportunities for employability through training (Certificate of Work Readiness) and to support the establishment of new businesses (Business Gateway) are accessible through these avenues. Moreover, specific frameworks for improving equality outcomes such as the Race Equality Framework Scotland (2016-2030) have been established with a specific focus placed upon tackling racism.

9.7.3 Education Policies

As education and skills policies are a devolved matter, a brief overview of the policies at national level which mainly refer to England alongside an overview of the policies at Scottish level are provided and we identify any differences that can be discerned between the two levels.

Apprenticeships (or Modern Apprenticeships as it is called in Scotland) are the main programme that combines work and training experience across a wide range of sectors. There are four types of Apprenticeships in England: intermediate (level two qualifications), advanced (level three qualifications), higher (level four qualifications), degree. Refugees with humanitarian protection, limited/discretionary leave to remain or indefinite leave to remain in England can access such apprenticeships. Non-EEA citizens are also eligible for funding if they have permission to stay granted by the UK government to in the UK for reasons other than educational purposes, and have been ordinarily resident in the UK for at least three years prior to the commencement of the learning programme. In Scotland, there are over 80 Modern Apprenticeship frameworks – from healthcare and financial services to construction and IT available and the exclusion criteria for the Scottish Modern Apprenticeship is based upon the restrictions placed on the individual to be employed in the UK. Although the Modern Apprenticeship could be considered as an enabler in term of labour market integration, a low uptake of BAME communities has been reported as it will be discussed in the last part of this report.

¹²⁶ Due to the strict immigration rule, Non EU citizens can access to the UK only if they have specific visa. If they don't have specific visa or indefinite leave to remain are migrants with an irregular status and they are excluded automatically from all the services.

¹²⁷ More information concerning eligibility criteria available at:

<https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/media/44517/ef-rules-2018-19-version-2-published-290318.pdf>

Developing the Young Force and the Education Maintenance Allowance are two additional policies which the Scottish Government promotes to support the younger generation, including migrants and refugees who are ordinarily resident in Scotland. Although these two policies can be seen as enablers of integration, the criteria of ordinary residence can affect accessibility to the policies for those with a more recent migration pathway. University fees and student support are also differently allocated between England and Scotland. In both countries, refugees (including refugees within resettlement programmes) and migrants with indefinite leave to remain and ordinarily living in the UK for three years are eligible to pay home fees such as those paid by Scottish, English or EEA citizens. For home students, universities in England can charge (at the undergraduate level) up to a maximum of £9,250. In contrast, Scotland does not charge home or EU students fees at the undergraduate level, however, undergraduate students from England, Wales or Northern Ireland studying at a university in Scotland are expected to pay up to £9,250 per year. These variations in fee levels are complemented by different forms of student support available to undergraduates which are delivered by different agencies.

The recognition of existing skills and qualifications is another policy which differs between UK and Scotland. In the UK, the National Recognition Information Centre (NARIC) is the agency responsible for the recognition and comparison of international qualifications and skills. It performs this official function on behalf of the UK Government and it is used to support the visa programmes. However, it is rarely used, by refugees or asylum seekers, as reported in the last part of our report, due to their lack of certificates and their need to add courses and vocational training to their existent certificates and experiences. Moreover, NARIC recognises and compares international certificates but it doesn't take into consideration all of the existing skills that a refugee or asylum seeker may bring to the UK. In Scotland, a 15 month pilot project was set up in 2018 by the Scottish Government in partnership with education providers and a wide range of other organisations, aimed at exploring the processes for recognition with a particular focus on migrants who have come to live in Scotland. The project, still ongoing, is specifically targeting the Tourism/Hospitality, Health and Social Care, Construction/Engineering and IT sectors.

Finally, differences in the delivery strategies regarding ESOL Classes can also be identified between the English and Scottish contexts. In England, ESOL classes are open to a very diverse audience, ranging from highly educated and proficient learners tackling a new language, to individuals who have little or no experience of schooling and are not literate in their first language. While all those who don't have English as their first language can access such courses, asylum seekers are excluded. Moreover, community based English language programmes have been established in recent years outside of traditional adult education locations such as community centres, libraries, and family centres. These courses are accessible to migrants, who have been living in the UK for more than 12 months, with no (or very little) spoken English, who are not in employment and not actively seeking employment. In Scotland, ESOL classes instead are open to all Scottish Residents for whom English is not their first language, regardless of their immigration status. These include refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, settled minority communities and their families. Courses are delivered by a range of providers, including community learning and development, colleges, schools and voluntary sector organisations. ESOL programmes in Scotland take place in settings such as schools, colleges and community based settings, as well as in workplaces and the home.

9.7.4 Welfare Policies

Concerning welfare policies, some of the social security benefits and the entire provision of health care are devolved to the Scottish Parliament. Thus a brief overview of the policies at the national level alongside an overview of the policies at the Scottish level are provided. Moreover, we identify wherever differences between these two levels emerge.

At the UK level, mainstream social security benefits are not available for people awaiting a decision on an asylum application, or whose application has been refused. Asylum seekers can apply for support for the period during in which their asylum application and any subsequent appeal is being considered, however, the application can be for subsistence and accommodation or for subsistence only. Once the asylum claim has been fully determined, those who are granted refugee status, humanitarian protection or discretionary leave to remain will have their support terminated 28 days after the decision is made. Moreover, newly granted refugees have the right to claim mainstream benefits and are thus affected by the welfare reform agenda that has come to reshape the delivery of social security benefits in the UK such as the roll out of Universal Credit which is replacing some benefits related to unemployment such as Income-Based Jobseekers allowance and the Income-related Employment and Support Allowance. Alongside refugees, migrants with indefinite leave to remain are eligible to access social security benefits while people subject to immigration control (for who Visas are connected to their stay in the country) usually have no recourse to public funds. A specific welfare policy, the Post Grant Appointment Service, has also been established in 2017 to support new refugees in the 28 days move on period to become integrated into the benefits system while they begin looking for new accommodation and a job. Specific integration programmes have also been developed for resettled refugees such as the Community Sponsorship Scheme and the Local Authority Asylum support scheme while services for victims of human trafficking have also been created in the last decade such as for example the Victim Care contract.

In Scotland, some additional services for refugees are also being provided. Two grants (the Scottish Welfare Fund and the Family Reunion crisis grant fund) are available to refugees to meet emergency needs. Specific integration programmes have also been established, involving both refugees and asylum seekers, while the full range of NHS health care and services are available to all refugees and asylum seekers, including those whose claim for asylum has been refused.

9.8 Overview on Existing Analyses and Assessments of Policies for the Labour Market Integration of MRA

The first characteristic that can be deduced from the literature analysing and assessing policies for the labour market integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers is the polarisation of two strands, which focus respectively on refugees and asylum seekers and, as a separate topic, on migrants. This is expected because while the first two actors are targeted by specific integration policies, the same cannot be said for migrants. For this reason, the overview will differentiate the analysis between migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

9.8.1 Migrants

Assessments on specific labour market integration policies dedicated to migrants are somewhat scarce in the extant literature. The main topic addressed by scholars is related to the entry conditions established by the UK Government in recent years. As Anderson (2010) claims, immigration controls are often rhetorically presented as a way to prioritise national workers by regulating the flow of migration, while at the same time to protect migrants from exploitative conditions by constraining their entry into the grey economy and having them at the mercy of exploiting employers. Anderson (2010) argues that the actual consequence of these measures is the creation of an insecure and restrictive environment for people willing to enter the country to work. In particular, the existence of specific categories of migrants under the visa system is used for determining who can participate legally in the labour market by filtering entrants often according to their age, their country of origin or their marital status, instead of taking into account their skills and experiences (Anderson, 2010). Furthermore, immigration controls seem to determine not only the conditions of entry, but also the conditions of staying in the country. This is because many people face restricted access to the labour market, as is well evidenced by the Tier 2 sponsorship system, which as suggested also by trade unions and NGOs ties workers to their employers, thus making them subject to the employers' discretion, a factor which broadens the space for potential exploitation. As a last element, the author affirms that the increasingly punitive policy measures for those working undocumented in the country increases their predisposition to precarity and vulnerability (Anderson, 2010). Again on the issue of immigration controls, the perspective supported in Anderson (2012) is that these measures are used to allow only specific types of migrants to enter the borders of the country, specifically, those considered as "*right*" and who are necessary to the national economy.

A policy linked to the same topic is that concerning sanctions directed to employers' who hire migrants without the permission to work in the UK. Bloch et al. (2015) identifies the consequences of the Immigration Act 2014, and specifically employers sanctions (fine and criminal offence) and workplaces raids as a way to control immigration from inside national borders, while its explicit aim would be the reduction of the "pull factor" for irregular migrants. The study finds that, in addition to failing to reduce the number of undocumented workers, the sanctions in certain cases has worsened the situation of migrants who fear being reported and deported, a situation which makes them even more subject to exploitation and vulnerability. Moreover, it seems that immigration controls have resulted in skills' shortages in specific sectors such as in the restaurant industry where *'finding staff with the requisite skills and a regular status is becoming more and more difficult for owners'* (Bloch et al., 2015:148). However, Robinson (2015) provides a positive perspective on the Modern Slavery Act enacted in 2015 by the UK Government, considering it to be *'a diversion from hostile migration control measures and labour market deregulation'* (Robinson, 2015) due to its ability to foster a debate on the issue of decreasing job market regulations and the link between the deterioration of labour standards and exploitation. Simultaneously, the Act has offered the opportunity for migrant workers claim their rights contrary to the exploitative practices to which they are often subjected.

More generally, other publications support the evidence that policy assessments of interventions addressing migrants in the UK are mostly devoted to restrictive measures, rather than those of integration. For instance, Shutes (2016) analyses how access to social benefits

has been increasingly restricted for those coming from abroad, sometimes involving the imposition of having “no recourse to public funds” as a condition for entering the country, while at the same time reducing the range of workers entitled to apply for the permanent residence while tightening the eligibility criteria by loosening the link between work and settlement. In this sense, Shutes (2016) mentions the duty for entrepreneurs under Tier 1 to pass a “genuine entrepreneur test” and for skilled workers under Tier 2 to demonstrate that they have a salary above the set threshold to be eligible to apply for permanent residence. To conclude, the Migration Advisory Committee (2015a; 2015b) has extensively evaluated the potential review of the Tier-2 visa system, concluding that both the increase of salary thresholds and of the Immigration Skills Charge would result in the UK Government’s desired reduction of non-EEA migration.

9.8.2 Refugees

Scholars recognise that, even when asylum applicants have their claim accepted, they continue to face difficulties due to UK policies regulating the pathway to refugee status. In particular, the 28-day time period between the granting of leave to remain and the removal of asylum support is widely considered to be insufficient to support refugees into paid employment or to enable the receipt of welfare benefits and housing support to which refugees are entitled (Strang et al., 2016; Strang et al., 2018).

Current asylum policy in the UK is thus recognised to be a barrier to social integration, preventing their progression from benefits into work. Indeed, the denied opportunities for employment impedes those who later become refugees to acquire important work experience while they wait for their claim to be accepted and forces them into a long period of inactivity (Mulvey, 2015). Furthermore, Bloch (2008) states that UK refugee integration strategies prove to be contradictory by focusing on the employability of refugees as a key aspect towards their broader integration, while at the same time being restrictive and negatively impacting on their access to labour market and falling short when it comes to tackling discrimination. Despite this, other studies acknowledge that refugees are the only migrant group targeted by specific integration policies (Mulvey, 2018), while others consider that the “New Scots” and the “Refugee Inclusion Strategy”, implemented respectively in Scotland and Wales, as being the only two strategies of labour market integration for refugees (Martín et al., 2016).

In recent years there have been policies deployed by the UK Government to foster the integration of refugees. Mulvey (2018) helps us retrace and assess them. The first refugee integration strategy, named “Full and Equal Citizens”, was implemented in 2000 with the aim to help those refugees beginning their integration process through accessing a job, benefits, accommodation, education and other services. However, as underlined by the author, the programme lacked a nationally coordinated strategy and provided only limited resources to small local projects. One strategy that was developed over time was that of “Integration Matters” which through its programme SUNRISE provided refugees with advice and mentoring from a caseworker in relation again to housing, employment, benefits and financial issues (Mulvey, 2015). However, as pointed out by Bloch (2008), despite the fact that the programme marked a positive step as the first funded government strategy, it highlighted that the majority of refugees were not ready to access employment and that their most urgent needs still had to be addressed. After SUNRISE, which provided an intensive twenty-eight days programme support, the UK Government created the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES), as part of the new national integration strategy titled “Moving on together” (Martín et

al., 2016). In contrast to the previous programme, the focus of this intervention was narrower but with a one-year time horizon (Mulvey, 2018). Analysis from Martín et al. (2016) underlines the presence inside the RIES of an Employment Advice Service which aimed at assessing skills and qualifications and the support required for creating a curriculum vitae. Nevertheless Mulvey, (2018) reports other studies' estimations that around only 1% of the programme's total budget was spent on integration measures.

With respect to the end of RIES in 2011 and the shift of responsibility for refugee integration to the Department for Communities and Local Government (today named Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government) two considerations can be raised. First, Martín et al. (2016) underline that the Refugee Integration Service (RIS) operated in Scotland and finds that the services provided by Bridges Programme, including the recognition of refugees' skills and experiences as being particularly effective; Mulvey (2018) focuses instead on the acknowledgment of the regressive strategy adopted by the UK Government from 2010 onwards, with no specific action undertaken for the integration of specific groups of migrants, including refugees. Another programme mentioned in the literature, and once again set up in Scotland, is the Holistic Integration Service, a partnership created in 2013 with the aim of supporting the integration of all new refugees. Besides some intervention in the areas of housing, welfare benefits and social connections, the programme seems to have contributed to the employability of refugees firstly by investing in improving their language skills; furthermore, services such as skills recognition and matching and volunteering activities have been assessed and deemed as being effective. Despite this, estimates on the number of refugees who have been able to access employment within a reasonable period of time are still low (Strang et al., 2016). As a conclusive remark on the existing literature on refugees, the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme created in the UK to support refugees fleeing the Syrian conflict is presented as weak from the point of view of the capacity of local authorities to effectively implement measures that can foster the integration of refugees into society (Bolt - Independent Chief Inspector of Border and Immigration, 2018). In particular, some aspects, identified by the Chief inspector as having room for improvement, concerns the availability of suitable accommodation for families, the provision of additional measures to facilitate complex cases and an effective system for integration support that enables people to learn English and to actively participate in society, through for example finding a job, studying or volunteering.

9.8.3 Asylum Seekers

The literature examining the policies concerning asylum seekers identifies a few crucial points shaping their labour market integration. Asylum seekers are provided no integration assistance; rather, the consequence of the UK policy and legal framework is that the efforts concerning their labour market integration are focused on those who have refugee status (Martín et al., 2016). One element analysed by several researchers is the removal of the right to work for asylum seekers (Mulvey, 2015). This is removal occurred because the right to work was thought to be a pull factor, but the existing literature agrees that there is no evidence that the right to work for asylum seekers is a migratory pull factor (Mayblin, 2014; Mayblin, 2016). The restriction has a long lasting effect as it contributes to the unemployment and underemployment of people once they become refugees (Mulvey, 2018), since the delayed access to 'training and employment opportunities, can result in a loss of skills' (Bloch, 2008:22). Furthermore, Waite (2017) considers the effects of the prohibition to work for asylum

seekers jointly with the measures of the Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016. She claims that the system of removals and appeals sanctioned by the first Act and the measures contained in the subsequent Act, regarding irregular migrants; contribute to an increased susceptibility to exploitative labour for vulnerable people in the asylum system, rather than protecting them. Among these measures there is the classifying of illegal working as a criminal offence and the disqualification for irregular migrants to open a bank account in the UK, which can have profound effects on the everyday needs for people who find themselves in this group to sustain themselves (Waite, 2017). Somewhat reinforcing these findings, another study conducted by Lewis and Waite has revealed that the 'current UK asylum policy contributes to rendering asylum seekers susceptible to forced labour' (Lewis and Waite, 2015:10).

Additional issues can be identified in regard to policies concerning other aspects of integration. As Mulvey (2018) argues, since the 1990s the UK Government has pursued a progressive differentiation between refugees and asylum applicants, which has led to the latter facing restrictions on accessing the labour market, healthcare, education and language courses. This is evidenced by the removal of access to mainstream social security and the constrained access to no-choice accommodation under the provisions of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (Mulvey, 2018; Meer et al., 2018). Indeed, this latter system of state-provided housing named NASS (National Asylum Support Service) establishes the relocation of asylum seekers according to a dispersal scheme on a no-choice basis, which often involves deprived areas presenting an over-supply of cheap housing, and which is found to contribute to the deterioration of asylum seekers' health (Bakker et al., 2016). In addition, its impacts reflect also on language proficiency and access to personal networks, both recognised as determinants of integration outcomes, including employment (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017). A further consideration concerns language, considered to be a barrier to the integration of MRAs in the labour market by the vast majority of the existing literature on the theme, as stressed for instance by Meer et al. (2018). In this respect, Mulvey (2018) points out the great divergence between the UK Government and the Scottish Government, where the ending of the free language support to asylum seekers implemented in England since 2011 is contrasted by its free provision in Scotland. Also Cheung and Phillimore (2014) affirms that the recent withdrawal of the fee remission for ESOL classes' for asylum seekers residing in the UK for less than six months, and the restrictions for others, basically allows only those with the lowest incomes to access free classes; this situation is likely to have drawbacks with respect to the speed and the quality of the work that these people will be able to access once their asylum claim is accepted.

To summarise this overview, it is possible to conclude that scholars offer a predominantly negative assessment of policies implemented in the UK in recent years in the field of MRA labour market integration. Moreover, it appears that most of the policies examined refer to refugees, while few papers have assessed how policies such as the employability one impact upon the life of migrants. The factor emerging as the greatest barrier to the integration of asylum seekers is the denial of their right to work or, at the very least, the very restrictive rules in place which makes access to paid employment effectively impossible. In terms of refugees, despite the implementation of several programmes, it seems that the limited resources allocated, as well as the lack of a coordinated integration strategy that will enable people to learn English properly, to have their qualifications recognised and to increase their employment opportunities, have resulted in poor outcomes in terms of the number of people actually able to find paid employment. Regarding migrants instead, scholars have focused on the acknowledgment of a hostile environment which hinders their employment integration by

creating restrictive entry measures, such as the debatable immigration controls examined elsewhere in this report, while no mention is found with respect to targeted integration policies.

9.9 Overview and Assessment of Strength and Weaknesses of Policies and Services through Interviews

Before exploring how different interviewees assess policies which enable or constrain the integration of MRAA into the UK labour market, four prior considerations which provide an important overview of the contemporary UK context should be raised.

Firstly, the uncertainty of Brexit and future migration was perceived by almost all respondents as a source of growing concern. The impact on the workforce, workers' rights and jobs were mainly expressed as possible consequences of the political uncertainty that has been generated since the decision by the UK electorate to vote to leave the European Union. The narrative that *"any solution for the UK worker involves restricting migration services and scapegoating"* (Trade Union, Interview S20,) created a context where *"identity politics affected everything and divided jobseekers from different nationalities"* (NGO, Interview S9,). However, some of the respondents focused upon possible positive effects of Brexit on the accessibility to the job market for refugees. Because employers will look for employees and *"they have experience of working with people for whom English is not the first language and not having UK qualifications, they should be able to integrate Syrian or other nationalities in their company"* (UK Government, S13). Therefore, according to some of the interviewees the decreasing levels of migration from Europe could open new job opportunities for refugees. Brexit and uncertainty were often mentioned in relation to austerity policies which have reduced funding for pre-employment support and investment in public services, the very elements that were often stated by respondents as necessary to improve working conditions and smooth the integration of MRAA into the UK Labour market.

Second, policies that have been designed and implemented for MRAA were described as not being *"sensitive enough"* (NGO, Interview S18). Some of the stakeholders acknowledged that *"none of the policy has been made, designed or co-designed with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers"* (University, Interview S22). Thus, although policies can be positive, their potential effectiveness is hindered, because *"they are not shaped with the involvement of these communities, there are a lot of barriers perceived and they are not communicated enough"* (NGO, Interview S18,). In addition, for policies to be effective, they require sustained financial support. The New Scots Strategy of the Scottish Government was described by one respondent as *"one of the best policies in the world, which is already showing much more [support and effort] than England which doesn't have an integration policy but a green paper"* (University, Interview S22). However, the same respondent also affirmed that the strategy should be funded and not a voluntary policy to be sustained in the long-term.

Third, across all the MRAA experiences collected throughout our interviews, the lack of accessibility to the UK Job market was consistently discussed. As one interviewee explained: *"MRAA do not have the same access to the same jobs, good jobs or jobs that match their skills"* (UK Government, Interview S11). Underemployment and/or unemployment were identified as barriers to integration and almost all of the people we interviewed faced these challenges. Respondents applied to many jobs, many of which were below their skills and qualifications levels and they often never reached the interview stage or were offered

employment. Thus, only jobs in specific sectors were identified as more easily accessible to MRAA, such as warehouses, retailing or hospitality and thus MRAA are often relegated to these sectors, independent of their qualifications and skills. For example, *“a lot of refugees are working in warehouses, it is zero hours contract, it is not ideal working environment but a lot of people will do it because they will find the opportunity to work there. They are not happy but that’s the job they can get”* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5). Connections and social networks are among the main enablers to access the UK job market (at least in Scotland). Our MRAA interviewees realised that a *“lack of references is a barrier to find a job for refugees and asylum seekers. If you don’t have references you can’t find a job”* (Past Beneficiary 3). Thus, they often needed to rebuild their network of contacts, through for example volunteering, being part of community-based organisations, participating in faith based organisations or using the networks of employability services inside the resettlement programmes if they wanted to improve their access to the labour market.

Finally, fragmentation among services seems to characterise the integration eco-system. Stakeholders recognised that a lot of the actors involved in integration into the labour market really want to help refugees, but *“there is also a lack of coordination among these groups”* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5). Third sector organisations and public sectors were sometimes unaware of the full suite of each other’s services, affecting the possibilities for MRAA to take advantage of the full range of support available. Some of the MRAA interviewed, for example, were unaware of services available to support employability, mentioning that a specific organisation *“helps to sort emergency issues and immigration status, while there was no plan about work, study”* (Past Beneficiary 4).

Each of these contextual elements impact upon the policies that are detailed below. Policies which have been assessed in relation to integration in the labour market are immigration policies, employment policies and education and training policies. A brief outline of the strength and weaknesses of policies and services is in turn provided.

9.9.1 Immigration Policies

One of the differences between Scotland and the rest of the UK was identified in the attitude towards migration and migration policies. *“There is a consensus that Scotland needs migrants, refugees, that’s part of the reason why the Scottish Government says that immigration control should be different in Scotland. At UK level [this] is not echoed, it is a negative narrative, that doesn’t really find much attraction in policy terms in Scotland”* (Local Council, Interview S4). However, some of the MRAA interviewed, described England as a context where it would be easier to find a job and identified London in particular as a multicultural context, where people from different backgrounds could find jobs.

Expectedly, two UK Government policies were mentioned by the interviewees in relation to labour market integration. On one side the points-based system and specifically the accessibility of the Tier 2 visa was widely discussed, particularly by economic migrants, and on the other side the ban on employment for asylum seekers was raised as a barrier of integration into the labour market by stakeholders.

The immigration policies for economic migrants were described by one interviewee as *“we don’t let them in at all”* (Parliament, Interview S8) and a lack of strategy about the needs of the future labour market was a source of criticism from our interviewees. For example, the conditions of the Tier 2 visa were identified by respondents as very strict and with very high

bars for applicants to navigate. Some organisations were also perceived as not fully understanding the visa policies or not knowing “*that the Home Office takes time to process [applications]*” (Past Beneficiary 7), developing a further barrier for MRAA.

Only in a few cases among the experiences of the people whom we interviewed did companies, after a period of probation with different visas (e.g. a student visa), decide to hire Non-EU migrants through the Tier 2 scheme. However, in cases such as these, employees are almost always compelled to continue to work for the company that is sponsoring their visa. For example, in the experience of Interviewee B6, he found himself ‘locked in’ to his current position because “*it is very difficult to move from one work visa to another work visa*” (Past Beneficiary 6). Therefore, in order to have the freedom to explore opportunities with other employers, people finding themselves in the same situation as our interviewee would often have to press pause on their career ambitions in order to eventually acquire the status of ‘indefinite leave to remain’ that would enable them to gain full access to the job market as UK citizens and (up until now) European Union citizens. Visa restrictions, uncertainty and fee structures often affected the lives of people and families, who, despite living in the UK for 5, 6 or 7 years found that “*they might not have the visa and they decided not to take a call [and wait to acquire the Indefinite Leave to Remain]*” (Past Beneficiary 1) thus deciding to move back to their home countries.

Respondents agreed that one of the main barriers in terms of labour market policy is the severe restrictions on the right to work for asylum seekers. Respondents agreed that this policy deeply affected the lives of asylum seekers because “*they lose skills, confidence to work, they lose their connections*” (Devolved Government, Interview S3) and this deeply hindered their accessibility to the labour market once they receive refugee status. Moreover, the ban to work was also seen to contribute to the negative narrative promoted by the UK Government among others that “*they are coming here and they don’t do anything*” (Local Council, Interview S4,) whereas in reality asylum seekers are restricted from doing anything by UK Government policy.

9.9.2 Employment Policies

Only a few interviewees mentioned the broader employment policies of the UK Government as possible barriers or enablers of integration for MRAA into the labour market, while the majority focused their discourses upon specific programmes or policies which tackle employability from different angles. Some respondents mentioned that the lack of specific employment policies for refugees was a result of an awareness in government that “*to announce that there will be another x million pounds going to help the integration of refugees, it would not sound great to a lot of their voters*” (NGO, Interview S1). Others instead criticised that “*often the needs of refugees inside the labour markets are seen as completely separate to the needs of the labour market*” (Local Council, Interview S21). According to some of the interviewees “*refugees are never mentioned in top down policies*” (Local Council, Interview S21), because they are seen by government as a group of people who are not really part of the community. Employability programs, volunteering programs, self-employment support and education and training below discussed are related to the Scottish context. Discrimination and exploitation policies refer instead to the UK context.

Employability Programs

In a recent study undertaken by one of our interviewees, *“very few people have actually accessed employability services. Some of them because they don’t need too, others didn’t think it would have been sensitive on their needs”* (NGO, Interview S19). According to several respondents, employability programmes, to address the needs of MRAA, should focus on a person centred approach that can support individuals to understand the UK job market and explore the different application structures and interview processes that are commonplace among employers. According to some of the migrants we interviewed, they never encountered any service *“tailored towards people that don’t know the basic part of the job market structure”* (Past Beneficiary 2) and often they had to figure out how to navigate the UK job market and how to build up a *“perfect and competitive cv”* (Past Beneficiary 7) alone.

Also managers working in existent employability programmes recognised the importance of *“working one to one with the individual and looking at what are the specific things that stop that person from getting work, how to address those things, whether it is getting NVQ or getting a construction certificate or doing specific training, helping the individual to identify and apply for a job”* (UK Government, Interview S13). However, these services were often provided from a wide variety of organisations but due to the lack of funding and the lack of a *“national integration service commission which can for example oversee employability programmes and identify the standard level of the services”* (NGO, Interview S15), they were often perceived as fragmented and thus they fell short in terms of their accessibility to the broader population. Moreover, in several interviews, migrant communities were recognised as being very diverse, with diverse levels of skills and needs and human capital, which in turn required very different levels of support and types of services. In terms of one particular aspect of diversity, disrupting occupational segregation was identified as central to the aims of employability services. Services should avoid *“replicating gender stereotypes and making sure that people who are delivering career advice and guidance have gender competences and they are able to challenge their own stereotypes or perhaps the stereotypes of the people they are trying to help so helping them to find a career that best suits”* (NGO, Interview S19).

Specific focus was placed by our interviewees on the role of Job Centres to enable (or failing to enable) MRAA integration into the labour market. Often it was mentioned how the work coaches *“put people [under] pressure to go away and find any kind of job”* (Past Beneficiary 3), and often people decided to not attend because it was perceived that there was *“no dignity around that”* (Past Beneficiary 3). Some positive outcomes, mainly dependent upon the disposition of specific work coaches in terms of *“understanding that people when being resettled have specific needs”* (Devolved Government, Interview S3) were also highlighted. In some places in Glasgow for example, job centre work coaches *“work with refugees for a very long time and there are coaches and managers that get the barriers, where they are fairly open to ensure that those barriers are addressed”* (Local Council, Interview S4). However, this was not a consistent experience among our interviewees. In fact, according to one of our interviewees, *“if you have somebody who is empathetic and understand and actually what you need to be doing in the first instance is getting some language under your belt and then working and trying to get language that helps to get to jobs, that’s fine. If you get somebody that says you need to go and get a job I am not interested, that would be very challenging”* (Local Council, Interview S4).

The connections between services and employers were acknowledged by our interviewees as an important variable for the success of employability programmes. Employers were

characterised as often being apprehensive to employ MRAA in case they were to accidentally hire someone without the right to work, and *“if they see a foreign name it goes to the other pile”* (NGO, Interview S15). Therefore, part of the role played by employability programmes is to develop a relationship of trust between employee, employers and the service; in a sense almost acting as a guarantor for the individuals they send to the employers. According to Interviewee S13, *“there is a great benefit to get employers to provide properly structured work placement schemes and enable people to begin to demonstrate and understand what it is like to work here and demonstrate they have employability skills that they are not necessarily linked to [their] qualifications”* (UK Government, Interview S13). Some of the respondents also highlighted that a lot of employers were *“desperate for good quality high skilled migrant labour and were prepared to invest in training and development for employees because they would see it as a very good addition to the workforce”* (Parliament, Interview S8). However, in some specific cases, some of the interviewees explained that due to the size of their families, the fact that employers would offer only the minimum wage and part-time contracts as a starting point, this would increase the risk of in-work poverty for the employee.

Finally, volunteering was recognised as an important opportunity particularly for asylum seekers *“to learn new skills and maybe even transfer the skills they have to work in Europe”* (NGO, Interview S7). However, sometimes a lack of awareness of the regulations relating to volunteering (among non-profit organisations and migrants), as well as a requirement for good standards of English and previous work experience, jeopardised the accessibility of volunteering opportunities for MRAA.

Self-Employment

A focus on self-employment was also suggested by a few of our respondents. Some of the migrants and refugees interviewed, frustrated by not finding jobs instead identified establishing their own business as a possible solution.

More focus on self-employment was also highlighted by some of the stakeholders who participated in our study. For example, Interviewee 1 highlighted that refugees and migrants *“have skills and experiences in areas of work that’s not really available in the UK* (NGO, Interview S1), therefore policies *“should also encourage and think about what they could set up as a business if they had the opportunities and ideas”* (NGO, Interview S1). Existent policies and programmes established to incentivise self-employment were frequently characterised by interviewees as being ineffective. According to some of the stakeholders, the fragmented delivery of services and a lack of awareness of the rules and guidelines by people that work with refugees were some of the barriers to self-employment. According to interviewee S5 for example *“the problem is that people want to start working now and in the UK there are a lot of regulations but people they don’t see what the point of this is. People that work with refugees need to know more what are the processes they need to take in order to start their own employment”* (Public Funded Agency, Interviewee S5). Additional barriers that migrants and refugees can face such as access to funding, faith restrictions such as for example accessing specific financing or language barriers were identified as not really being properly recognised by programmes which usually provide advice and support for setting up businesses. According to one of the stakeholders, the providers for example *“would not provide translation services, so if they are running a course or advice session they would not provide an interpreter, if you want to come you need to bring your own translator...people might have a friend that speaks English but given that courses give information around tax, hmrc etc. you would need to be*

very sure about what it is translated" (Local Council, Interview S4). However, in some specific resettlement areas, agreements between business support providers and local councils were well established and new businesses were opened by resettled refugees.

Some interviewees also discussed some of the risks related to self-employment. For example, *"the increasing amount of women in self-employment has coincided with rise of low paid self-employment and part time self-employment and what we see it is that women are often forced to self-employment because they face discrimination in labour market"* (NGO, Interview S19). So the risk of poorly structured self-employment policies could be that an increasing rate of self-employment for MRAA will be in low skilled and insecure jobs such as for example the gig economy.

Discrimination

Discrimination was perceived as being a major barrier towards accessing the job market by several of our interviewees. Our findings corroborate a study recently published by Close The Gap which found that *"49% of respondents said that they have experienced racism, discrimination or prejudices when applying for a job, 41% they had in the interview stage for a job"* (NGO, Interview S19). This was confirmed through the experiences of some of the migrants and refugees involved, who often applied for several jobs but had never been called for an interview or in those cases when they were shortlisted found that, *"at the end it doesn't transfer to employment"* (NGO, Interview S2). Some of the migrants interviewed almost accepted this situation as normal and in some cases even justified the discrimination that they were experiencing. For example, interviewee B4 declared *"because I am from a different country and somebody from Scotland applies for the same job you know, it makes sense she gets the job because she speaks the language in a more confident way"* (Past Beneficiary 4).

Concerning policies in relation to discrimination, interviewees often claimed that the government should call for action from large organisations *"to monitor their employment and workforce, which often will show the need for more representation within the workforce"* (NGO, Interview S2). If the organisations could be forced to publish data about the workforce, it would be easier to identify whether or not they are reflective of the broader population and action could be taken by policymakers. There was the perception that *"there should be more of inspection and monitoring, and government settings challenges around all of this"* (NGO, Interview S2).

Another approach to tackling discrimination was identified in the course of our research such as training for all staff to be organised for different institutions and bodies *"to make sure that they are aware of different cultures"* (NGO, Interview S18) and that a more diverse workforce can help employers in accessing a more diverse variety of markets. A role for native workers was also recognised in terms of trying to *"influence their employer by advocating for a more diverse workplace"* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5). Voluntary placements, work experience/shadowing and apprenticeships were also suggested as possible actions that employers could take to demonstrate their diversity and attract people from different backgrounds. Employers could also be incentivised to hire migrants and refugees and thus guidelines and processes *"on how to recruit a person from a refugee background, how to target and attract and how to make it more appealing to a refugee person"* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5) should be a focus for development.

Exploitation

Exploitation both in regular and irregular labour markets was perceived by almost all our respondents as negatively affecting the lives of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. MRAs were identified as being embedded in the most insecure employment sectors. Zero hours contracts, precarious positions and undocumented work were consistent features of the working conditions that MRAs were encountering. The pathway into the labour market was often through social connections, and although some of these connections could be good, they could also *“raise the risk quite significantly that people are not getting the minimum wage, are being exploited or working illegally”* (Local Council, Interview S4). Some stakeholders suggested that *“people would be anxious to challenge their working conditions because they don’t want to be seen as troublemakers, removed from the country or lose their job”* (Local Council, Interview S4). Thus, *“it became easy for MRAs to become trapped in those roles”* (NGO, Interview S19). Asylum seekers were seen as those most affected by irregular labour markets; after losing their right to work *“they became more likely to be employed as undocumented workers, informally in some part of the economy, mainly hospitality and care”* (Trade Union, Interview S20). Without the right to work, they often accepted exploitative conditions simply to survive financially, while *“some employers would take them because they would take less”* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5).

In the course of our interviews it became clear that policies designed to combat exploitation were seen as inadequate to deal with the problems that MRAs were facing. According to Past Beneficiary 8, *“We have to be sure that labour market protections are there and they are legally enforced and often they are not”* (Parliament, Interview S8), adding that the government *“has not invested in the bodies that are meant to insure workers. The labour abuse authority has not been given the resources in order to enforce minimum standards. The Gangmaster authority was meant [to ensure] that certain sectors have to be licensed and had to demonstrate respect for certain standards, but sectors such as care, construction and cleaning, they don’t require labour licences”* (Trade Union, Interview S20). The Immigration Acts 2014 and 2016 were also highlighted by our interviewees as particularly detrimental (and far from a solution) for people that are exploited. The risk of being deported and even being accused of criminal offences in reality impeded people from reporting exploitative employers while it increased the fear of employers to hire illegal workers and consequently reduced their willingness to integrate MRAs into their organisations.

9.9.3 Education and Training Policies

Education and training policies have been identified as forms of pre-employment support that can help to address the barriers that MRAs face in their integration into the labour market. A lot of MRAs communities *“require pre-employment support whether it is because they have a language barrier or they have confidence issues, or because they are new to the labour market and they are new to the way things work here. Or they might be poor or deprived, they are refugees, so they may have other fears and worries about their engagement, they might not have means to travel to interviews”* (NGO, Interview S2). Thus, pre-employment support, which encompasses all policies which deal with education and training, can be pivotal in addressing barriers for MRAs.

English as a Second or Other Language (ESOL Classes)

Language courses were one of the policies/services widely discussed among our interviewees. The lack of ESOL Classes in formal settings such as colleges was a shared experience among almost all respondents and long waiting lists and difficulties to access college classes were frequently highlighted. While in some areas of the country, *“it is easier get into a ESOL class, in other areas is harder. There are issues around things like not arriving at the beginning of the term and waiting until the next course starts and there are issues around the [travel] distance of colleges”* (UK Government, Interview S13). Some of the respondents explained that *“people are waiting three years to access [courses] and it is far too long* (NGO, Interview S18). In Scotland, asylum seekers are allowed to take part to ESOL classes while in England they are not, so *“they are very much seen as the others and when they receive the leave to remain they are completely unequipped, [but] pressure is put on them immediately to find work”* (NGO, Interview S15).

In Glasgow, while there is a variety of ESOL classes that are mainly delivered by colleges, a lack of awareness and lack of vocational language training was raised as hindering the potential for equipping migrants, refugees and asylum seekers with the language skills necessary to compete in the job market. Remedies were suggested such as a *“minimum of 240 hours a year of ESOL provision for each person”* (NGO, Interview S15) and a level of provision that covers the entire scale of English language skills. Vocational training alongside traditional English language provision was also identified as a possible solution, for example *“an intensive course about the English you need to work in a warehouse, how the machine operates, the Health and Safety and any other specific language that relates to that job”* (UK Government, Interview S13,).

Respondents had different opinions concerning community classes, while some of them explained how they could be an effective solution for supporting people to learn English, others instead discussed how they were places where people could spend some time and although not useful to get a job, they could provide other benefits *“such as social bridges and connections”* (Local Council, Interview S14,) which were particularly important for MRAA women. The availability of childcare or care support were identified as possible solutions for improving women’s participation in ESOL classes, however such care related support should be *“culturally sensitive”* (NGO, Interview S19) in order to be accepted by migrants’ communities. Although family learning modules were created by some of the ESOL classes to address the lack of funding for free childcare, however, *“even there where people are trying to be creative, there are still quite some serious barriers”* (Local Council, Interview S4).

Recognition and Acquisition of skills and qualification

The recognition and acquisition of skills and qualifications were widely discussed among all of the interviewees in our research.

Recognising skills and qualifications were in fact mentioned as one of the main barriers in terms of accessing UK job markets. The MRAA we spoke to acknowledged that because of their qualifications and work experience, *“it would be better for people to come and start again, from a very basic level”* (Past Beneficiary 5). According to Interviewee B3, *“when you apply for a job, you have to build the cv and most likely it has to be related to experiences inside the UK or a similar system and you need the qualification to be from the UK* (Past Beneficiary 3). The National Agency for the Recognition and Comparison of International Qualifications and Skills (NARIC) system was identified as a possible solution for recognising qualifications and

could also work for some people with very specific qualifications, such as those in the medical profession, nursing and pharmacy. However very few people decided to convert their qualifications and *“that was mostly because it’s too complex, long winded and expensive* (NGO, Interview S19) and sometimes not recognised at the same level of a UK qualification. Thus, often it fell to employability organisations *“to renegotiate with employers”* (Local Council, Interview 21) the level of qualifications needed to undertake particular jobs.

Additional difficulties were also identified for people who *“come from countries that don’t have that [piece of] paper, [therefore] trying to recognise skills and top up their skills so they are recognised to do their jobs is challenging”* (Devolved Government, Interview S12) because of the lack of a benchmark. Often it is difficult to understand what employers want *“some employers say they need a piece of paper, others say they need someone that knows how to do the job”* (NGO, Interview S15). Thus, the collation, assessment and recognition of skills that can be used in the UK job market continues to be a barrier for MRAA.

Acquiring qualifications has also proven to be quite challenging for MRAA and, in particular, for refugees (and asylum seekers). Our interviewees identified *“a lack of national certificate courses at colleges, which give you entry routes. There is a lack of choice, suitable ones, for the courses that people wanted to do and there is a lack of thought about how the people that have a lack of education, can achieve the qualifications they need to move to further education”* (Local Council, Focus group). Finding new routes to support people in gaining qualifications, can also help to *“expand the networks of MRAA and capacitate the host population to work with people whose understanding is different”* (University, Interview S22).

Modern Apprenticeship

Modern Apprenticeships were described as particularly expensive both for employers and MRAA employees. Although they were mentioned as a possible solution to support refugees and asylum seekers to gain qualifications and work experiences in the UK job market, *“if the person is over 25 the funding associated with the programmes falls of a cliff”* (NGO, Interview S19,). Therefore, employers would prefer to hire younger modern apprentices rather than older MRAA and *“they are always reluctant to take people that are older”* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S5,). It would also be difficult for MRAA to access the programmes, because it is usually paid at the minimum wage and *“they could not afford to lose their benefits”* (NGO, Interview S15) or *“to have responsibility such as [their] family”* (Public Funded Agency, Interview S17) with that small amount of salary. English language skills were also mentioned as barrier for accessing Modern Apprenticeship programmes, because many MRAA would not have the required level of English to succeed in the programme.

9.10 Conclusion

Our analysis of the UK context presents a very challenging environment for the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into the UK labour market. Following our analysis, four main conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, although labour market integration is a central topic in policy debates in the UK, the discourses surrounding it continue to be controversial. Employability has been described as one of the main characteristics of migrants who ‘deserve’ to be integrated as we discussed in the elaboration of the deserving and undeserving frame. The integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers into the UK labour market has also been identified as being an opportunity

for a country which needs to fill vacancies and address gaps in its social and economic structures. At the same time, the accessibility of the labour market for migrants has also been criticised due to the potential job losses for the native population. During the course of analysing the policies enacted or the suggested remedies (and specifically those related to those matters where powers are reserved to the UK Government) it became clear that the prevailing rhetoric is channelled through the frame of the deserving and the undeserving. For example, existing immigration policies focus upon attracting only high-skilled migrants, thus reducing the accessibility to the UK labour market for those who do not have highly specialised skills or are filling high earning roles. The ban on working for asylum seekers and the difficulties experienced by undocumented migrants also fit within the same frame as exemplified by the resettlement programme which specifically selects people who can have been granted refugee status. Other policies (encompassing employment and education) do not take into consideration the specific needs of different groups within the categories of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and thus fail to meet the specific and diverse needs that these groups need to have met if their integration into the UK labour market is to be successful. Thus, the existing policy rhetoric (and not only this rhetoric) conclusively acts as a barrier for integration by reinforcing an anti-immigrant sentiment, which affects lives of migrant workers, and in turn increases the barriers MRAA face when seeking employment while simultaneously fails to mitigate the risk of exploitation.

Secondly, a clear divergence in terms of the narratives and policies between Westminster and Holyrood (Scottish Parliament) is evident from our analysis. While the Scottish Government espouses the two positive frames regarding migration (Open and Integrated and Filling Vacancies, Addressing the Economic and Social Structure and Being an Opportunity), the UK Government narratives do not; focusing instead upon what they perceive to be the negative dimensions of migration. This divergence is further reflected in policies that could determine the effectiveness of the integration process, such as some parts of employability programmes, welfare and education policies and the ability of asylum seekers to access all of the devolved policies and services. The recent New Scots Refugee integration strategy 2018-2022, clearly defined the pathways to integration by detailing the responsibility both on the displaced and the settled population in different fields such as employability, welfare, housing, education, health and social integration. However, a lack of long-term financial investment in the strategy and its services could jeopardise the effectiveness of the positive rhetoric and narratives that have shaped the direction of travel by the Scottish Government. Moreover, among the migrants and refugees we interviewed - despite the fact that they all highlighted the positive Scottish environment - stated that in their perception it was more challenging to access the labour market in Scotland in comparison to England, which raised questions among the researchers about the reason behind this perception.

Thirdly, existing policies present a number of strengths and weaknesses. Integration strategies in Scotland and some of the employability services outlined earlier in this report certainly adopt a positive disposition towards the integration of MRAA into the labour market (with some caveats, as we have already explored). The refugee resettlement scheme can also be considered to be a positive policy that supports integration of refugees, focusing upon more personalised services for facilitating integration. However, the scheme exhibits some challenges: for example, it fosters the development of two categories of refugees, one that ensures a greater level of support for one group compared to the other. Moreover, it involves the condition that refugees must live in specific dispersal scheme areas that can often be some distance from their community and their families. ESOL classes and modern apprenticeships

can also potentially be two policies which can enable the integration of MRAA into the labour market. However, the scarce opportunities to access both, for different reasons, as discussed in the 1.8 section, affect the ability to realise their full potential. Immigration policies and the ban on working for asylum seekers represent the main barriers of integration into the labour market for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. In the course of our research, immigration policies were widely considered to be very restrictive, bureaucratic and expensive both for migrants and employers. The work ban experienced by asylum seekers also has a long-term negative impact on the lives of asylum seekers and refugees given that they often struggle to find employment once they have refugee status due for example to their diminished self-confidence, the gap that has emerged in their CVs during the asylum application process and the loss or outdated nature of their skills. Employability and self-employment programmes, except in a few cases, thus fail to take into consideration the specificity and needs of migrants and refugees. Moreover, the fragmentation of services across different providers and geographies as well as a lack of awareness constitute a further weakness in the infrastructure of support for MRAA that reduces the opportunity for migrants and refugees to access these vital forms of support. Finally, anti-discrimination policies and to some extent anti-exploitation policies often do not have the necessary teeth to enforce their supposed purpose of protecting migrants, refugees and asylum seekers and although they could be considered as a facilitator, the lack of investment in these policies seriously restricts their potential impact.

Finally, in the course of our research it became clear that the EU is not a relevant actor in the UK public domain in the field of MRAA into the labour market. Moreover, EU initiatives are rarely discussed except in relation to Brexit. This confirms that UK discourses do not seem to be affected by the actions of the European Union or its agencies and the European Union is not perceived as an important stakeholder in managing the integration of MRAA into the labour market (indeed, reflecting on our research, the same can be said of the issue of migration more broadly). However, the investments made by the European Union (both in terms of European Social Fund and in terms of AMIF funds) are often behind the development of employability services both in the third sector and in the public sector, opening up the question of why the EU is so absent.

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Appendices

ANNEX I - Texts analysed in discourse analysis

Table 3 –Searches

Type of stakeholders	Stakeholder sources	Type of Documents Downloaded
Executive Power	UK Government, Home Office, Department of Work and Pension, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, PM press release	Policy papers, Press Releases, Commission Reports, Publications, Consultations
Devolved and Regional Government	Scottish Government	Policy papers, Press Releases, Commission Reports, Publications, Consultations
Political Parties	Manifesto-Project	Political parties manifesto of 2015 and 2017 election
Implementers of Policies	Strategic Migration Partnerships ¹²⁸ , Specific Local Councils, Association of Local Councils	Press Releases, Publications, Projects evaluation
NGOs	Refugee Council (UK and Scotland), BEMIS, OXFAM, Amnesty International, Kalayaan	Press Releases, Publications, Projects evaluation
International Organisations	IOM, UNHCR	Press Releases, Publications

¹²⁸ Strategic Migration Partnerships are regional networks which work with partners (third sectors and local councils) to develop and support local migrant worker and asylum seekers and refugee networks, encompassing grass roots organisations and a network of multi-agency fora and specialist and task groups. All local groups feed into a regional Migrant Worker Steering Group and the Asylum and Refugee Reference Group, each with a mechanism to feed into respective national bodies. Partnerships receive an annual grant from the Home Office for the operation of the enabling function as described above. Although partnerships are composed by third sector organisations and local councils, they are considered as policy implementers at local level for this research.

Faith Based Organisations	Islamic Relief, Caritas, Restore	Press Releases, Publications
Trade Unions	Trade Union Congress, UNITE, UNISON, USDAW, BFWAU, GMB, NFU	Press Releases, Publications, Campaigns
Employers Organisation	Confederation of British Industry, Responses to Migration Advisory Committee	Press Releases, Publications, Consultations

Table 4 - Documents

Actors	Number of Documents Downloaded	Number of Documents Included and Coded
Executive Power	53	26
Devolved and Regional Government	96	36
Political Parties	24	21
Implementers of Policies	107	20
NGOs	68	37
International Organisations	7	3
Faith Based Organisations	11	6
Labour Unions	142	72
Employers Organisation	73	41
Total	581	262

Type of Stakeholders	Producer of text (Policymaker/Actor) (e.g. Ministry of the Interior)	Title	Type of text (E.g. statement, press release, programme...)	Year of publication	Link/pdf

Executive Power	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	£18 million extra funding for council services	Press release	2017	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/18-million-extra-funding-for-council-services
Executive Power	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	£19 million funding for councils to boost integration	Press release	2018	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/19-million-funding-for-councils-to-boost-integration
Executive Power	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	£210,000 funding boost to community projects	Press release	2017	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/210000-funding-boost-to-community-projects
Executive Power	Department for Work and Pensions	Accelerating action to stop rogue EU benefit claims	Press release	2013	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/accelerating-action-to-stop-rogue-eu-benefit-claims
Executive Power	Prime Minister's Office	CBI Annual Conference 2015: Prime Minister's speech	Speech	2015	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/cbi-annual-conference-2015-prime-ministers-speech
Executive Power	Home Office, Department for Communities and Local Government ¹²⁹ , Department for International Development	Community Sponsorship. Guidance for prospective sponsors	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/764990/2018-12-04_Community_Sponsorship_Guidance.pdf
Executive Power	Department for Communities and Local Government ¹ , Home Office	Controlling Migration Fund: mitigating the impacts of immigration on local communities. Prospectus	Report	2016	https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/28056/1/Controlling_Migration_Fund_Prospectus.pdf
Executive Power	Home Office, UK Visas and Immigration	Employers: right to work checks on long-resident non-EEA nationals and Windrush generation	Guidance	2018	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/undocumented-commonwealth-citizens-resident-in-the-uk/guidance-for-employers-conducting-right-to-work-checks-on-undocumented-commonwealth-citizens
Executive Power	Integration and Communities Directorate, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	Equality Statement for Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/689945/Equality_statement_integration_strategy.pdf
Executive Power	Department for Work and Pensions	EU jobseekers barred from claiming Universal Credit	Press release	2015	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/eu-jobseekers-barred-from-claiming-universal-credit
Executive Power	Department for Work and Pensions, Home Office	Help available from the Department for Work and Pensions for people who have	Guidance	2018	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/refugees-guidance-about-benefits-and-pensions/help-available-from-

¹²⁹ Now called Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government.

		been granted leave to remain in the UK			the-department-for-work-and-pensions-for-people-who-have-been-granted-leave-to-remain-in-the-uk
Executive Power	HM Government	Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/696993/Integrated_Communities_Strategy.pdf
Executive Power	Department for Work and Pensions	Jobs and welfare reform: getting Britain working	Speech	2014	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/jobs-and-welfare-reform-getting-britain-working
Executive Power	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills	Migrant workers bring improvements to British business performance and productivity says new study	Press release	2015	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/migrant-workers-bring-improvements-to-british-business-performance-and-productivity-says-new-study
Executive Power	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government	New government action to create stronger, more integrated Britain	Press release	2018	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-government-action-to-create-stronger-more-integrated-britain
Executive Power	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills	New measures to protect UK workers	Press release	2015	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-measures-to-protect-uk-workers
Executive Power	Prime Minister's Office, Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, Home Office	New measures to tighten up the immigration system	Press release	2014	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-measures-to-tighten-up-the-immigration-system
Executive Power	Political actors/Executive Power/Department for Work and Pensions	New rules to stop migrants claiming Housing Benefit	Press release	2014	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-rules-to-stop-migrants-claiming-housing-benefit
Executive Power	Prime Minister's Office	PM Direct in Warrington	Speech	2014	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-direct-in-warrington
Executive Power	Prime Minister's Office, Department for Exiting the European Union	The government's negotiating objectives for exiting the EU: PM speech	Speech	2017	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-governments-negotiating-objectives-for-exiting-the-eu-pm-speech
Executive Power	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills	The next steps for the Employment Law Review	Speech	2014	https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-next-steps-for-the-employment-law-review
Executive Power	Department for Work and Pensions	Tough new migrant benefit rules come into force tomorrow	Press release	2013	https://www.gov.uk/government/news/tough-new-migrant-benefit-rules-come-into-force-tomorrow

Executive Power	Department for Culture, Media and Sport	Migration Advisory Committee Call for evidence: DCMS response	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693961/Department_for_Digital_Culture_Media__Sport.pdf
Executive Power	Department for Education	DfE response to the MAC. Commission on EEA and non-EEA migrant workers in the UK labour market	Report	2017	http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/id/eprint/31409
Executive Power	Department for International Trade	DIT Response to the Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693696/Department_for_International_Trade.pdf
Executive Power	HM Government	The UK's future skills-based immigration system	White Paper	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/766465/The-UKs-future-skills-based-immigration-system-print-ready.pdf
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Education Working For All! Commission for Developing Scotland's Young Workforce Final Report	Report	2014	https://www.scottishwomensconvention.org/content/outcomes-archive/Developing-Scotlands-Young-Workforce---Scotland.pdf
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Outcomes and Mainstreaming Report 2015	Report	2015	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2015/04/equality-outcomes-mainstreaming-report-2015/documents/00476112-pdf/00476112-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Creating a Fairer Scotland. A New Future for Employability Support in Scotland	Report	2016	http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/media/533692/consultation_paper.pdf
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Scotland's Labour Market Strategy	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2016/08/scotlands-labour-market-strategy/documents/00504798-pdf/00504798-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Prejudice and Community Cohesion	Report of The Independent Advisory Group on Hate Crime, Prejudice and Community Cohesion	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2016/09/report-independent-advisory-group-hate-crime-prejudice-community-cohesion/documents/00506074-pdf/00506074-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Consultation on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). Analysis of Responses	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2016/11/consultation-united-nations-convention-rights-persons-disabilities-uncrpd-analysis-responses/documents/00510075-pdf/00510075-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Home Affairs Committee Inquiry into Immigration. Scottish Government written submission	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/consultation-responses/2017/02/scottish-government-response-home-affairs-committee-inquiry-

					immigration/documents/00513747-pdf/00513747-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Impact Assessment - Results	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/03/equality-impact-assessment-results-race-equality-framework-scotland-2016-2030/documents/00515302-pdf/00515302-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	COSLA, Scottish Refugee Council, Scottish Government	New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities 2014-2017 Final Report: Key Messages	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/03/new-scots-integrating-refugees-scotlands-communities-2014-2017-final-report/documents/00515602-pdf/00515602-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Universal Period Review. Human Rights. Position statement	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2017/04/universal-periodic-review-human-rights-united-kingdom-2017-scottish-government/documents/00516802-pdf/00516802-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Outcomes and Mainstreaming Report 2017	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/04/equality-outcomes-mainstreaming-report-2017/documents/00517333-pdf/00517333-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Annual Report – 2017 Welfare Reform (Further Provision) (Scotland) Act 2012	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/06/welfare-reform-further-provision-scotland-act-2012-annual-report-2017/documents/00521895-pdf/00521895-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Scotland's Equality Evidence Strategy 2017-2021	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/statistics-publication/2017/07/scotlands-equality-evidence-strategy-2017-2021/documents/00522512-pdf/00522512-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	A Nation with Ambition. The Government's Programme for Scotland 2017-2018	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2017/09/nation-ambition-governments-programme-scotland-2017-18/documents/00524214-pdf/00524214-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	The contribution of EEA citizens to Scotland: the Scottish Government's response to the Migration	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/11/contribution-eea-citizens-scotland-scottish-governments-response-migration-advisory-committee-

		Advisory Committee Call for Evidence on the role of EEA workers in the UK labour market			9781788514057/documents/00527237-pdf/00527237-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Fairer Scotland Action Plan. Progress Report 2017	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/11/fairer-scotland-action-plan-first-annual-progress-report/documents/00527488-pdf/00527488-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Scotland's International Policy Statement	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2017/12/scotlands-international-policy-statement-9781788514026/documents/00527947-pdf/00527947-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government, COSLA	EQUALLY SAFE. A Delivery Plan for Scotland's strategy to prevent and eradicate violence against women and girls 2017-21	Report	2017	https://dva.scot/site/uploads/equally-safe-delivery-plan-2017-2021.pdf
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	A Fairer Scotland for All: Race Equality Action Plan 2017-21	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/12/fairer-scotland-race-equality-action-plan-2017-2021-highlight-report/documents/00528746-pdf/00528746-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Addressing Race Inequality in Scotland: the Way Forward	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/12/addressing-race-inequality-scotland-way-forward/documents/00528756-pdf/00528756-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Statement Scottish Draft Budget 2018-19	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2017/12/equality-statement-scottish-draft-budget-2018-19/documents/00529180-pdf/00529180-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Impact Assessment Record Developing the Young Workforce (DYW)	Report	2017	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2017/12/developing-young-workforce-equality-impact-assessment/documents/00529322-pdf/00529322-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	COSLA, Scottish Refugee Council, Scottish Government	New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018 – 2022 Summary	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2018/01/new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy-2018-2022-summary/documents/00530086-pdf/00530086-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Scotland's population needs and migration policy:	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2018/02/scotlands-population-

		Discussion paper on evidence, policy and powers for the Scottish Parliament			needs-migration-policy/documents/00531087-pdf/00531087-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Every child, every chance. The Tackling Child Poverty Delivery Plan 2018-22 Annex 3 – Equality Impact Assessment	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2018/03/child-chance-tackling-child-poverty-delivery-plan-2018-22/documents/00533606-pdf/00533606-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Final Business and Regulatory Impact Assessment. Fair Start Scotland (FSS) April 2018-March 2021	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2018/04/fair-start-scotland-business-regulation-impact-assessment/documents/00533994-pdf/00533994-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Equality Impact Assessment – Results	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2018/04/fair-start-scotland-equality-impact-assessment/documents/00533998-pdf/00533998-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Position statement	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2018/05/scottish-government-position-statement-convention-elimination-forms-discrimination-against-women/documents/00535083-pdf/00535083-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Scottish Welfare Fund Statutory Guidance	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/guidance/2018/06/scottish-welfare-fund-statutory-guidance-9781788519687/documents/00536053-pdf/00536053-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Trafficking and Exploitation Strategy – First Annual Progress Report	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/report/2018/06/human-trafficking-exploitation-strategy-first-annual-progress-report/documents/00536753-pdf/00536753-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government, Social Research	New Scots 2 - Engagement analysis of the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018 to 2022. Equality and welfare	Report	2018	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/research-publication/2018/06/news-scots-2-engagement-analysis-new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy/documents/00537019-pdf/00537019-pdf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Scottish Government	Race Equality Framework For Scotland 2016-2030	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/publication/2016/03/race-equality-framework-scotland-2016-2030/documents/00497601-pdf/00497601-pdf/govscot%3Adocument

Devolved Government	Scotland's First Minister	Scotland's place in the world: First Minister's Stanford University speech	Speech	2017	https://www.gov.scot/publications/scotlands-place-in-the-world-first-ministers-stanford-university-speech/
Devolved Government	COSLA, Scottish Government	Joint response to the MAC Call for Evidence on the Partial review of the Shortage Occupation List: Teachers	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/corporate-report/2017/04/teacher-shortages-reponse-to-migration-advisory-committee/documents/59b32d11-e315-4237-921b-a1883d400dbf/59b32d11-e315-4237-921b-a1883d400dbf/govscot%3Adocument
Devolved Government	Voluntary Action Fund, Scottish Government	Workplace Equality Fund 2018 – 19 ROUND 2	Report	2018	https://www.voluntaryactionfund.org.uk/files/6815/3017/3828/WEF_-_Briefing_flyer_Round_2.pdf
Devolved Government	Young Scot, Scottish Government	Creating a Fairer Future Young people's ideas for race equality in Scotland	Report	2017	https://www.youngscot.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/YS_Fairer_Future_Report_Final.pdf
Political Party	Green Party	For the Common Good	Manifesto	2015	https://www.greenparty.org.uk/assets/files/manifesto/Green_Party_2015_General_Election_Manifesto_Searchable.pdf
Political Party	Sinn Féin	Equality not austerity	Manifesto	2015	https://www.sinnfein.ie/files/2015/Westminster_Manifesto_2015_web.pdf
Political Party	Labour Party	Britain can be better	Manifesto	2015	http://www.labouremail.org.uk/files/uploads/bfd62952-9c4f-3394-3d41-cf94592816d2.pdf
Political Party	Social Democratic and Labour Party	Prosperity not austerity	Manifesto	2015	https://www.sdlp.ie/site/assets/files/42192/westminster_manifesto.pdf
Political Party	Liberal Democrats	Stronger Economy. Fairer Society. Opportunity for Everyone.	Manifesto	2015	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/libdems/pages/8907/attachments/original/1429028133/Liberal_Democrat_General_Election_Manifesto_2015.pdf?1429028133
Political Party	Conservatives	Strong leadership. A clear economic plan. A brighter, more secure future	Manifesto	2015	http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/ukmanifestos2015/localpdf/Conservatives.pdf
Political Party	Ulster Unionist Party	One Day. One Vote. One Chance for Change	Manifesto	2015	https://uup.org/assets/images/uup%20ge%20manifesto.pdf
Political Party	Party of Wales	Working for Wales	Manifesto	2015	https://lexically.net/downloads/elections/2015_election/Plaid_Cymru_2015_Westminster_Manifesto.pdf
Political Party	Scottish National Party	Stronger for Scotland	Manifesto	2015	http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/ukmanifestos2015/localpdf/SNP.pdf
Political Party	Democratic Unionist Party	The Northern Ireland Plan	Manifesto	2015	http://www.mydup.com/images/uploads/publications/DUP_NI_Plan_v_7.pdf
Political Party	UK Independence Party	Believe in Britain	Manifesto	2015	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/ukipdev/pages/1103/attachments/original/1429295050/UKIPManifesto2015.pdf?1429295050

Political Party	Democratic Unionist Party	Standing strong for Northern Ireland	Manifesto	2017	https://www.una.org.uk/file/11833/download?token=jrwJrWT6
Political Party	Conservative and Unionist Party	Forward, together. Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future	Manifesto	2017	https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/conservative-party-manifestos/Forward+Together+-+Our+Plan+for+a+Stronger+Britain+and+a+More+Prosperous....pdf
Political Party	Green Party	The Green Party for a Confident and Caring Britain	Manifesto	2017	https://www.greenparty.org.uk/assets/files/gp2017/greenguarantee.pdf
Political Party	Labour Party	For the many not the few	Manifesto	2017	https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/labour-manifesto-2017.pdf
Political Party	Scottish National Party	Stronger for Scotland	Manifesto	2017	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/thesnp/pages/9544/attachments/original/1496139998/Manifesto_2017.pdf?1496139998
Political Party	Liberal Democrats	Change Britain's Future	Manifesto	2017	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/themes/5909d4366ad575794c000000/attachments/original/1495020157/Manifesto-Final.pdf?1495020157
Political Party	Party of Wales	Stronger Communities for a Stronger Wales	Manifesto	2017	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/plaid2016/pages/1295/attachments/original/1491478288/Manifesto_Plaid_Cymru_Local_Government_2017_-_Website.pdf?1491478288
Political Party	Social Democratic and Labour Party	Build a Better Future	Manifesto	2017	https://www.sdlp.ie/site/assets/files/43032/sdlp_manifesto_web-1.pdf
Political Party	UK Independence Party	Britain Together	Manifesto	2017	https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/ukipdev/pages/3944/attachments/original/1495695469/UKIP_Manifesto_June_2017opt.pdf?1495695469
Political Party	Ulster Unionist Party	For a Stronger, Better Union	Manifesto	2017	https://uup.org/assets/policies/uup%20GE%20manifesto.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	East of England LGA – Strategic Migration Partnership	“Au Revoir” from the ‘ACCESS’ Cultural Awareness Project	Press release	2015	http://smp.eelga.gov.uk/news/east-of-england-lga-strategic-migration-partnershi
Implementers of Migration Policy	Local Government Association, Migration Yorkshire	Resettling refugees: support after the first year	Report	2017	https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/1.67%20Resettlement%20Guide_05_6.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	COSLA	7.9 Employment services	Website	/	http://www.migrationscotland.org.uk/migration-toolkit/creating-accessible-services/7-9-employment-services
Implementers of Migration Policy	East of England LGA – Strategic Migration Partnership	East of England Strategic Migration Partnership's response to the Migration Advisory Committee call for evidence on the economic and	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693697/East_of_England_Strategic_Migration_Partnership.pdf

		social impact of the UK's exit from the EU			
Implementers of Migration Policy	East Midlands Councils, emfec	ESOL in the East Midlands. Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme	Report	2018	http://www.emcouncils.gov.uk/write/emfec-Refugee-Report-ELECTRONIC.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Northern Ireland Civil Service	Call for Evidence Relating to EEA and non-EEA Migrant Workers	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693700/Executive_Office_Head_of_the_Northern_Ireland_Civil_Service.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	East Midlands Councils	The Impact of International Migration on the East Midlands	Report	2014	http://www.emcouncils.gov.uk/write/ImpactOfMigration-6-A4-AW.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Migration Yorkshire, MigrationWork	Migrants and community cohesion	Briefing	2015	https://www.migrationyorkshire.org.uk/userfiles/file/projects/IUN/iun-briefing1-migrantscommunitycohesion-Jun2015.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	University of Salford Manchester	Integration up North Research: Interim Briefing Note	Briefing	2015	https://www.migrationyorkshire.org.uk/userfiles/file/publications/iunresearchbriefingnote-final-v2-jan2015.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Migration Yorkshire	Migration Yorkshire's response to the Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper	Report	2018	http://www.migrationyorkshire.org.uk/UserFiles/File/PolicyandResearch/Consultations/my-consresponse-integratedcommunitiesstrategy-june2018.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	North East Brexit Group	Response to Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence	Report	2017	https://www.nelep.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/mac-response.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Northern Ireland Strategic Migration Partnership	Consultation Response: Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence on the economic and social impact of the UK's exit from the EU	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693728/Northern_Ireland_Strategic_Migration_Partnership.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Other Stakeholders	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693695/other_stakeholders_TL_-_responses.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	South East Strategic Migration Partnership	South East Strategic Partnership for Migration Business Plan 2017-18	Report	2017	http://www.secouncils.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/SESPM-2017-18-Business-Plan.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	South East England Councils, South East Strategic Partnership for Migration	South East England Councils and South East Strategic Partnership for Migration response to Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) call for evidence on economic	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693752/South_East_England_Councils_and_South_East_Strategic_Partnership_for_Migration.pdf

		and social impacts of the UK exit from the EU			
Implementers of Migration Policy	Local Government Association, Migration Yorkshire	Syrian refugee resettlement. A guide for local authorities	Report	2016	https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/syrian-refugee-resettleme-229.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	West Yorkshire Combined Authority	West Yorkshire Combined Authority's response to Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence: EEA workers in the UK labour market	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693854/West_Yorkshire_Combined_Authority.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	London Councils	Social Integration in London	Report	2018	https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/members-area/member-briefings/social-integration-london
Implementers of Migration Policy	Skills Development Scotland	Equalities action plan For Modern Apprenticeships in Scotland	Report	2015	https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/media/40691/2869_sds_equalities_action_plan_digital_v7.pdf
Implementers of Migration Policy	Sheffield City Council, International Catholic Migration Commission	Welcome to Sheffield. Reflections on 8 years experience of receiving resettled refugees at the local level	Report	2012	https://www.resettlement.eu/sites/icmc.ttp.eu/files/ICMC_WelcomeToSheffield.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	28 days later: experiences of new refugees in the UK	Report	2014	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/1769/28_days_later.pdf
NGOs	Scottish Refugee Council	Rights, Resilience and Refugee Integration in Scotland. New Scots & the Holistic Integration Service	Report	2016	http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0001/1142/Full_Integration_Report_June_2016.pdf
NGOs	BEMIS	Multicultural Homecoming Review	Report	2014	http://bemis.org.uk/docs/MCH%2014%20REVIEW.DOCX
NGOs	Scottish Refugee Council, COSLA, Scottish Government	Scotland Welcomes Refugees Conference Summary	Report	2016	https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/factsheet/2017/02/scotland-welcomes-refugees-conference-summary/documents/028e1e4b-fd9c-4e6c-8d3d-8c0fafd1446c/028e1e4b-fd9c-4e6c-8d3d-8c0fafd1446c/govscot%3Adocument
NGOs	BEMIS, STUC, GRAMNet, Scottish Refugee Council, Scottish Women's Convention	Women in Employment. Advancing equal opportunities	Report	2015	http://bemis.org.uk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/WiE-Conference-Report.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Asylum Support. Information March 2015	Report	2015	n.a.

NGOs	Equality and Human Rights Commission, Refugee Council	Employing Refugees. The documents required as evidence of entitlement to work in the UK	Report	2014	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/4097/Employing_Refugees_-_Guide_to_documents_required_Dec_2014.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	England's forgotten refugees: Out of the fire and into the frying pan	Report	2016	https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/England_s_Forgotten_Refugees_final.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Brief Guide to Asylum. Information September 2014	Report	2014	n.a.
NGOs	Scottish Refugee Council	Proposal for the future of Bridgeton, Castlemilk and Maryhill jobcentres	Report	2017	http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0001/1627/Jobcentre_consultation_response.pdf
NGOs	BEMIS	Poverty and Ethnicity. Agenda and Policy Development in Scotland—Lived experience of Ethnic and Cultural Minority Communities.	Report	2016	http://bemis.org.uk/PDF/bemis-poverty-and-ethnicity.pdf
NGOs	BEMIS, CEMVO, Scottish Government	Ethnic Minority 3rd Sector Network Interim report on consultation themes, discussions and outcomes of 'The Future of Scotland' events	Report	2014	http://bemis.org.uk/docs/em3sn-white-paper-consultations-summary.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Refugee Employment Advice & Support Service	Website	2018	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/what_we_do/refugee_services/refugees_into_jobs/refugee_employment_advice_support_service
NGOs	Refugee Council	Refugee Council briefing on Right to Work for Asylum Seekers – Consideration of Lords Amendments, Immigration Bill, House of Commons. April 2015	Report	2015	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/7669/Refugee_Council_briefing_on_Lords_Amendment_59_-_permission_to_work_for_asylum_seekers.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Refugee Council briefing for Westminster Hall debate on asylum seekers and the right to work. January 2017	Report	2017	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0003/9621/Refugee_Council_briefing_Westminster_Hall_Debate_on_asylum_seekers_and_the_right_to_work_11_Jan_2017.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Refugee Council submission to the Work and Pensions Universal Credit Inquiry. March 2017	Report	2017	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0004/0348/Refugee_Council_Universal_Credit.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Refugees into Teaching	Website	2018	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/refugees_into_teaching

NGOs	Refugee Council, Oxfam	Safe but not settled. The impact of family separation on refugees in the UK	Report	2018	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0004/2515/Safe_but_not_settled.pdf
NGOs	Scottish Refugee Council	Building a better future for refugees in Scotland. Scottish Refugee Council Manifesto, Scottish Parliament Elections 2016	Manifesto	2016	http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/assets/0001/0736/Scottish_Refugee_Council_Manifesto_-_Scottish_Parliament_Elections_2016.pdf
NGOs	Refugee Council	Services and links for Refugee Health Professionals. PLAB and Clinical Attachment Project for Refugee Doctors	Website	2018	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/what_we_do/refugee_services/refugees_into_jobs/refugee_health_professionals/services_and_links_for_r
NGOs	Lift the Ban	Lift the ban: why people seeking asylum should have the right to work	Report	2018	https://www.refugee-action.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Lift-the-Ban-report.pdf
NGOs	Human Rights Watch, Kalayaan	UK: Protect Migrant Domestic Workers. Don't Dismiss Reports of Forced Labor, Exploitation	Press release	2014	https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/09/04/uk-protect-migrant-domestic-workers
NGOs	Kalayaan	Kalayaan briefing for House of Lords Second Reading of the Immigration Bill 2015, 22 December 2015	Report	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Briefing-for-Lords-2nd-Reading-Imm-Bill.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan, Anti-Slavery International	Anti-Slavery International and Kalayaan: Submission for the Universal Periodic Review of the United Kingdom - 3rd cycle. 27th Session (May 2017)	Report	2016	https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwiv-K_w1N7fAhUhsKQKHfHIDIsQFjAAegQIBBAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fuprdoc.ohchr.org%2Fuprweb%2Fdownloadfile.aspx%3Ffilename%3D3901%26file%3DEnglishTranslation&usg=AOvVaw3ukdAU49Bfr_2LiF6HEaRR
NGOs	Kalayaan	Producing Slaves: The tied Overseas Domestic Worker visa	Report	2014	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaan-2nd-Reading-Modern-Slavery-Bill.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Britain's forgotten slaves; Migrant domestic workers in the UK three years after the introduction of the tied Overseas Domestic Worker visa	Report	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaan-3-year-briefing.pdf

NGOs	Kalayaan	For the Modern Slavery Bill to protect migrant domestic workers it must ensure basic rights. Kalayaan briefing ahead of the 25th March 2015 debate in the House of Lords on the Modern Slavery Bill	Report	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaan-Briefing-for-Lords-MSB-25.3.15.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Kalayaan briefing for Committee Debate on Amendment 94 in the House of Lords	Report	2014	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaan-briefing-on-Amendment-94.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Briefing for Second Reading of Modern Slavery (Victim Support) Bill in the House of Lords	Report	2017	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaan-Peers-briefing-Modern-Slavery-Victim-Support-Bill.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Kalayaan's contribution to the ICIBI's inspection of the identification of potential victims of trafficking at the UK Border	Report	2016	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Kalayaans-contribution-to-ICIBI-inspection-22-08-2016.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Independent reviewer calls for an urgent end to the tied visa system for migrant domestic workers	Press release	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/campaign-posts/independent-reviewer-calls-for-an-urgent-end-to-the-tied-visa-system-for-migrant-domestic-workers/
NGOs	Kalayaan	Immunity for traffickers of domestic workers: Kalayaan in Supreme Court	Press release	2017	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Press-release-11-May-2017.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	Court of Appeal judgement rules that diplomatic immunity is upheld, leaving diplomatic migrant domestic workers employed by diplomats without a remedy	Press release	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Press-release-Judgement-kalayaan.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan	KALAYAAN is intervening in a case in the Court of Appeal concerning a migrant domestic worker found to be trafficked by a diplomat and her claim for compensation	Press release	2015	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Press-Release-Reyes-v-Al-Malki-intervention-FINAL.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan, Anti-Slavery International	Kalayaan and Anti-Slavery International submission to the UN Special Rapporteur on	Report	2018	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/QuestionnaireNGOs_EN-17-05-2018-K-ASI.pdf

		Contemporary forms of Slavery. Questionnaire on Domestic Servitude of Migrant Domestic Workers			
NGOs	Kalayaan	Still enslaved: The migrant domestic workers who are trapped by the immigration rules	Report	2014	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/documents/tied%20visa%2014.pdf
NGOs	Kalayaan, Human Rights Watch	UK: Amend Modern Slavery Bill. Restore Right of Domestic Workers to Change Employers	Press release	2015	https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/02/22/uk-amend-modern-slavery-bill
International Organisations	UNHCR	Towards Integration. The Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme in the United Kingdom	Report	2017	https://www.unhcr.org/5a0ae9e84.pdf
International Organisations	IOM	Success stories. From skills to work: advice from migrants and employers	Report	2017	https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/5544_IOM_Boekje_Success_Stories_2018.pdf
International Organisations	IOM	Link it: Linking pre-departure and post-arrival support to facilitate the socio-economic integration for resettled refugees in the EU	Brochure	2017	http://oim.ro/attachments/article/627/IOM%20LINK%20IT%20Leaflet.pdf
Faith-based Organisations	Caritas Europa	End poverty in Europe. Our solutions to make it happen	Report	2016	https://www.caritas.eu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/150101-PU-End-poverty-in-europe-our-solutions-to-make-it-happen.pdf
Faith-based Organisations	Restore	Equipping Refugees for Work	Website	2018	http://www.restore-uk.org/what-we-do/equipping-for-work/
Faith-based Organisations	Caritas Europa	Social Justice and Equality in Europe is possible	Report	2016	https://www.caritas.eu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/esm_2016.pdf
Faith-based Organisations	Caritas Europa	SHARE Integration - A Network of (small size) cities, towns and local actors committed to offering protection and welcome for resettled and relocated refugees in Europe	Website	2018	https://www.caritas.eu/functions/policy-advocacy/share-integration
Faith-based Organisations	International Catholic Migration Commission	Welcome back to the SHARE Network!	Report	2018	http://resettlement.eu/sites/icmc/files/SHARE%20Integration%20Magazine%20June%202018.pdf

Faith-based Organisations	Islamic Relief UK	Women's Empowerment. Future Skills: Vocational Training, Mentoring and Support for Disadvantaged Women	Website	2018	https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/about-us/where-we-work/uk/womens-empowerment/
Labour Union	TUC	"Immigration - What's the Story?" Show Racism the Red Card screening	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/immigration-whats-story-show-racism-red-card-screening
Labour Union	UNISON	1 Day Without Us 2018: celebrating migrants, celebrating migration national day of action	Press release	2018	https://www.unison.org.uk/events/1-day-without-us-2018-celebrating-migrants-celebrating-migration-national-day-action/
Labour Union	The Voice of Domestic Workers	6 Years On: The Tied Overseas Domestic Worker Visa	Press release	2018	https://www.thevoiceofdomesticworkers.com/single-post/2018/06/16/6-Years-On-The-Tied-Overseas-Domestic-Worker-Visa
Labour Union	Unite	10th anniversary of educational programme that has helped more than 7,000 migrant workers	Press release	2017	http://www.unitetheunion.org/news/10th-anniversary-of-educational-programme-that-has-helped-more-than-7000-migrant-workers/
Labour Union	UNISON	Unison Annual Report 2016/17	Report	2017	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2016/12/2017-NBMC-Annual-Report.pdf
Labour Union	UNISON	Challenging prejudice	Brochure	2016	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2016/09/23794_WEB_amended.pdf
Labour Union	Union/Trade Union/UNISON	Stand together	Brochure	2016	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2016/09/23795_WEB_amended.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	A fairer deal on migration. Managing migration better for Britain	Report	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/A%20fairer%20deal%20on%20migration.pdf
Labour Union	OHRH	A Right to Change Employer for Overseas Domestic Workers	Press release	2018	http://ohrh.law.ox.ac.uk/a-right-to-change-employer-for-overseas-domestic-workers/
Labour Union	The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group	Class Acts? Examining modern slavery legislation across the UK	Report	2016	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/atmg_class_acts_report_web_final.pdf
Labour Union	The Anti Trafficking Monitoring Group, Human Trafficking Foundation	Anti-Trafficking Monitoring Group (ATMG) & Human Trafficking Foundation submission to the UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary forms of Slavery Questionnaire on Access to Justice and Remedy	Report	2017	http://www.kalayaan.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/ATMG-HTF-submission-to-Special-Rap-Contemporary-Slavery_Justice-Remedies_Final.pdf

Labour Union	Unite	Black and Asian Ethnic Minority Leadership Course	Brochure	2017	https://unitetheunion.org/media/1454/black-asian-ethnic-minority-leadership-course.pdf
Labour Union	Usdaw	The Right to Religious Observance	Report	2011	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=60f69edf-872c-451c-9e69-38769d50a7b1
Labour Union	BFAWU	BFAWU Response to Michael Gove's Food Industry Jobs-Grab!	Press release	2018	https://www.bfawu.org/bfawu_response_to_michael_gove_s_food_industry_jobs_grab
Labour Union	UNISON	Black LGBT Asylum Seekers	Press release	2014	https://www.unison.org.uk/motions/2015/black-members/black-lgbt-asylum-seekers/
Labour Union	TUC	Channel 4 should cancel Immigration Street, says TUC	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/channel-4-should-cancel-immigration-street-says-tuc
Labour Union	TUC	Congress 2014 Resolution 13 – Immigration Bill	Press release	2014	https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/congress-2014-resolution-13-immigration-bill
Labour Union	UNISON	Creating an Agenda on Equality and Human Rights	Press release	2015	https://www.unison.org.uk/motions/2015/national-delegate-conference/creating-an-agenda-on-equality-and-human-rights/
Labour Union	Unite	Domestic workers call on Downing Street in visa justice plea	Press release	2014	http://www.unitetheunion.org/news/domestic-workers-call-on-downing-street-in-visa-justice-plea/
Labour Union	Unite	Domestic workers rally to oppose the return to slavery in the UK	Press release	2014	http://www.unitetheunion.org/news/domestic-workers-rally-to-oppose-the-return-to-slavery-in-the-uk/
Labour Union	Usdaw	Campaigning Against Racism and Prejudice	Report	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=5d087785-c72a-489f-bd67-4d0271fb29d6
Labour Union	Unite	Unite Strategy for Equality 2014-2017	Report	2014	n.a
Labour Union	TUC	General Council statement on refugees	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/general-council-statement-refugees
Labour Union	GMB	Hats With Stickers On Redcar Site Not Enough	Press release	2015	http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/hats-with-stickers-on-redcar-site-not-enough
Labour Union	GMB	MAC confirms abuse of low paid workers	Press release	2014	http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/mac-confirms-abuse-of-low-paid-workers
Labour Union	GMB	MAC Proposals Can Help BA Workers	Press release	2016	http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/archive/newsroom/ba-workers.html
Labour Union	GMB	Redcar Protest On Undercutting On April 30th	Press release	2015	http://www.gmb.org.uk/newsroom/redcar-protest-on-undercutting-on-april-30

Labour Union	TUC	Government fund to tackle migration impacts is little more than ministerial spare change, says TUC	Press release	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/government-fund-tackle-migration-impacts-little-more-ministerial-spare-change-says-tuc
Labour Union	TUC	Government must stop employers exploiting migrant labour, says TUC	Press release	2018	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/national/government-must-stop-employers-exploiting-migrant-labour-says-tuc
Labour Union	TUC	Government must take immediate action to manage migration better for Britain, says TUC	Press release	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/government-must-take-immediate-action-manage-migration-better-britain-says-tuc
Labour Union	TUC	Government should stop playing a numbers game with migration figures, says TUC	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/government-should-stop-playing-numbers-game-migration-figures-says-tuc
Labour Union	TUC	Immigration – confusion and inaction from government	Press release	2017	https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/immigration-%E2%80%93-confusion-and-inaction-government
Labour Union	UNISON	Immigration and Austerity	Press release	2016	https://www.unison.org.uk/motions/2017/black-members/immigration-and-austerity/
Labour Union	Unite	Immigration Document Checks and Workplace Raids	Report	2010	https://unitetheunion.org/media/1455/immigration-document-checks-and-workplace-raids.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	Immigration is not to blame for unaffordable Housing	Press release	2018	https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/immigration-not-blame-unaffordable-housing
Labour Union	Unite	Justice for Windrush	Brochure	2018	n.a.
Labour Union	The Voice of Domestic Workers	International Domestic Workers Day 2016: A renewed hope for UK Migrant Domestic Workers	Press release	2016	https://www.thevoiceofdomesticworkers.com/single-post/2016/07/17/International-Domestic-Workers-Day-2016-A-renewed-hope-for-UK-Migrant-Domestic-Workers
Labour Union	Unison	ITUC launches report on migrant workers	Press release	2014	https://www.unison.org.uk/news/article/2014/03/ituc-launches-report-on-migrant-workers/
Labour Union	SOAS Students' Union	Justice for Cleaners	Press release	2014	https://soasunion.org/campaigns/justiceforcleaners/
Labour Union	TUC	Managing migration better for Britain. What the government should be doing now	Report	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/ManagingmigrationbetterforBritain.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	Safety and Migrant Workers. A TUC guide for trade union activists	Report	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/Migrant%20workers%202015.pdf
Labour Union	UNISON	Migrant workers are getting organised	Press release	2017	https://eastern.unison.org.uk/news/article/2017/07/migrant-workers-getting-organised/
Labour Union	TUC	Migration and the South West. A South West TUC guide to population and migration	Report	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/migration-and-the-south-west-report_0.pdf

Labour Union	Northern TUC	The truth about immigration. Information and arguments for workers in the North East and Cumbria	Report	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/NE%20%20Cumbria%20immigration%20leaflet%202016.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	On International Migrants Day, let's fight for the rights of undocumented workers	Press release	2017	https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/international-migrants-day-let%E2%80%99s-fight-rights-undocumented-workers
Labour Union	UNISON	Organising migrant workers. A UNISON branch handbook	Report	2008	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2013/06/Online-Catalogue173513.pdf
Labour Union	UNISON	Myths about migrant workers	Brochure	2009	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2013/07/Online-Catalogue182633.pdf
Labour Union	Unite	Race Equality guide for Unite negotiators	Report	/	https://unitetheunion.org/media/1457/race-equality-guide-for-unite-negotiators.pdf
Labour Union	UNISON	Race equality in the UK is going backwards, says conference	Press release	2018	https://www.unison.org.uk/news/2018/06/race-equality-uk-going-backwards-says-conference/
Labour Union	Unite	Race Forward. Tackling race discrimination in the workplace	Report	/	https://unitetheunion.org/media/1458/race-forward-campaign-pack.pdf
Labour Union	Usdaw	Discrimination. Tackling Racial Harassment at Work	Report	2016	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?guid=74d224a8-5945-4d08-a950-c40278969993
Labour Union	TUC	The Migration Messaging project	Report	/	https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=2ahUKEwjxif3wODfAhWMYoUKHWkECXoQFjAAegQIABAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.tuc.org.uk%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2FThe%2520Migration%2520Messaging%2520project.doc&usg=AOvVaw2Ic5Tl1Xi5hRPNt9o2Ife
Labour Union	TUC	Trade unions support refugee employment rights on UN International Migrants Day	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/trade-unions-support-refugee-employment-rights-un-international-migrants-day
Labour Union	TUC	TUC briefing on the Immigration Bill	Press release	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/tuc-briefing-immigration-bill
Labour Union	TUC	TUC calls for immediate action to manage migration better	Press release	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/tuc-calls-immediate-action-manage-migration-better
Labour Union	TUC	Response to Migration Advisory Committee review of teacher shortages	Report	2016	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/TUC%20response%20to%20MAC%20teacher%20shortages%20review%20final.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	Submission to Migration Advisory Committee	Report	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/TUC%20Submission%20to%20Migration%20Advisory%20Committee%20consultation%20on%20Minimum%20S...%282%29.pdf

		consultation on Minimum Salary Thresholds for Tier 2			
Labour Union	TUC	Shortage Occupation List partial review: nurses. Submission to the Migration Advisory Committee	Report	2015	https://www.tuc.org.uk/sites/default/files/TUC%20submission%20to%20Migration%20Advisory%20Committee%20consultation%20on%20nurses%20and%20Shortage%20Occupation%20List%20final_0.pdf
Labour Union	TUC	Unions must tackle the toxic debate around immigration	Press release	2014	https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/unions-must-tackle-toxic-debate-around-immigration
Labour Union	UNISON	Tackling hate crime and hate incidents: a workplace issue	Report	2017	https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2017/11/UNISON-tackling-hate-a-workplace-issue-Nov2017.pdf
Labour Union	Unite	Women and Equalities Committee inquiry Results of Race Disparity Audit	Report	2017	n.a.
Labour Union	Unite	Victims of Modern Slavery: Inquiry. Work & Pensions Select Committee. Submission from Unite the Union	Report	2016	n.a.
Labour Union	Usdaw	No room for racism - conference backs the Usdaw campaign against prejudice	Press release	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/About-Us/News/2017/Apr/No-room-for-racism-conference-backs-the-Usdaw-camp
Labour Union	Usdaw	Stand up to racism - Usdaw supports the national demonstrations on UN Anti-Racism Day	Press release	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/About-Us/News/2017/Mar/Stand-up-to-racism-Usdaw-supports-the-national-dem
Labour Union	Usdaw	Usdaw tackles racism and insecure employment at the STUC Black Workers' Conference	Press release	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/About-Us/News/2017/Oct/Usdaw-tackles-racism-and-insecure-employment-at-th
Labour Union	Usdaw	Usdaw takes challenging racism and hatred to the TUC Black Workers' Conference	Press release	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/About-Us/News/2017/Apr/Usdaw-takes-challenging-racism-and-hatred-to-the-T
Labour Union	Usdaw	Usdaw takes their 'no room for racism' campaign to the TUC	Press release	2017	https://www.usdaw.org.uk/About-Us/News/2017/Sep/Usdaw-takes-their-No-room-for-racism-campaign-to-t
Labour Union	The Voice of Domestic Workers	Visa changes needed to help migrant domestic workers	Press release	2016	https://www.thevoiceofdomesticworkers.com/single-post/2016/10/03/Visa-changes-needed-to-help-migrant-domestic-workers
Labour Union	TUC	Why investment in public services, skills and working conditions can restore public trust in immigration system	Press release	2018	https://www.tuc.org.uk/blogs/why-investment-public-services-skills-and-working-conditions-can-restore-public-trust

Labour Union	NFU	NFU echoes migration committee labour warning	Press release	2018	https://www.nfuonline.com/sectors/horticulture-and-potatoes/hort-and-pots-news/nfu-echoes-migration-committee-labour-warning/
Labour Union	NFU	NFU Policy Proposal. A Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) for the Next Decade	Report	2012	https://www.nfuonline.com/assets/6094
Employers Organisations	CBI	Open and Controlled. A New Approach to Immigration after Brexit	Report	2018	http://www.cbi.org.uk/index.cfm/_api/render/file/?method=inline&fileID=4232B592-ACCC-40DB-9338BA0A97198435
Employers Organisations	Association of British Orchestras	ABO Response to Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693489/Association_of_British_Orchestras.pdf
Employers Organisations	British Screen Advisory Council	Submission to: Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence. The economic and social impacts of the UK's exit from the European Union and how the UK's immigration system should be aligned with a modern industrial strategy	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693494/British_Screen_Advisory_Council_.pdf
Employers Organisations	Creative Arts and Entertainment (SIC 90-93)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/694491/Creative_arts_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	Creative Industries Federation	Response to the Migration Advisory Committee's call for evidence: EEA workers in the UK Labour Market	Report	2016	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693496/Creative_Industries_Federation.pdf
Employers Organisations	Finance and Real Estate (SIC 64-66)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693424/Finance_and_Real_Estate_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	Manufacture of Food and Beverages (SIC 10-11)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693419/food_and_drinks_manufacturing_-_responses.pdf

Employers Organisations	Health (SIC 86)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693457/Health_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	Information Technology (SIC 62-63)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693417/Information_Technology_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	London Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Response to Migration Advisory Committee call for evidence: "The economic and social impact of the UK's exit from the EU"	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693712/London_Chamber_of_Commerce_and_Industry.pdf
Employers Organisations	London First	Migration Advisory Committee Call for Evidence Impacts of the UK's Exit from the European Union: EEA Citizens Consultation Response	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693715/London_First.pdf
Employers Organisations	Other manufacturing (SIC 12-33)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/692019/other_manufacturing_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	One Dance UK	Submission to the Migration Advisory Committee – 27 October 2017 Response to Call for Evidence Economic and Social impact of Brexit	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693498/One_Dance.pdf
Employers Organisations	Utilities (SIC 35-39)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/692253/Utilities_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	Construction (SIC 41-43)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693137/construction_TL_-_responses.pdf

Employers Organisations	Professional Services (SIC 68-75, 94, 99)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/698330/Professional_Services.pdf
Employers Organisations	Agriculture, forestry and fishing (SIC 1-3)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/692718/Agriculture_forestry_and_fishing_tl_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	Transport (SIC 49-51, 53)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693952/Transport_TL_-_responses.pdf
Employers Organisations	UK Screen Alliance	Evidence to the Migration Advisory Committee on the Impact of Brexit on the Visual Effects and Animation industries	Report	2017	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693501/UK_Screen_Alliance_.pdf
Employers Organisations	UK Music	Migration Advisory Committee Call for evidence on the economic and social impact of the UK's exit from the EU	Report	2017	https://www.ukmusic.org/assets/general/UKMusic_MigrationAdvisoryCommittee_FINAL.PDF
Employers Organisations	CBI	Brexit uncertainty demands more responsible business	Press release	2016	http://www.cbi.org.uk/insight-and-analysis/brexit-uncertainty-demands-more-responsible-business/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Brexit White Paper - analysis of cross-cutting & sectoral issues	Press release	2018	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/brexit-white-paper-analysis-of-cross-cutting-sectoral-issues/
Employers Organisations	CBI	CBI responds to Migration Advisory Committee interim report	Press release	2018	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/cbi-responds-to-migration-advisory-committee-interim-report/
Employers Organisations	NFU	Vision for the future of farming. Access to a competent and flexible workforce. Delivering for farmers and for the public	Report	2017	https://www.nfuonline.com/nfu-online/news/brexit-vision-for-the-future-overseas-labour-july-2017pdf/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Brexit and Industrial Strategy. CBI response to Migration	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693345/CBI.PDF

		Advisory Committee's Call for Evidence			
Employers Organisations	London Councils	Bridging the Skills Gap	Press release	2017	https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/node/32276
Employers Organisations	CBI	CBI Comments on Migration Advisory Committee Tier 2 recommendations	Press release	2016	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/cbi-comments-on-migration-advisory-committee-tier-2-recommendations/
Employers Organisations	NFU	CBI report on migration post-Brexit - NFU comment	Press release	2018	https://www.nfuonline.com/news/latest-news/cbi-report-on-migration-post-brexit-nfu-comment/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Job creation up but skills shortages & rising labour costs start to bite – CBI/Accenture Survey	Press release	2015	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/job-creation-up-but-skills-shortages-rising-labour-costs-start-to-bite-cbi-accenture-survey/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Migration statistics response	Press release	2015	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/migration-statistics-response/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Our response to Home Secretary's speech	Press release	2015	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/our-response-to-home-secretary-s-speech/
Employers Organisations	NFU Scotland	Scottish Agriculture's Seasonal Workers Needs Pressed to UK Government Ministers	Press release	2017	https://www.nfus.org.uk/news/news/scottish-agricultures-seasonal-workers-needs-pressed-to-uk-government-ministers
Employers Organisations	CBI	Latest on Apprenticeship levy and skilled migration debate	Press release	2016	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/skills-update-latest-on-apprenticeship-levy-and-skilled-migration-debate/
Employers Organisations	CBI	Speaking up on skills vital to help next generation	Press release	2017	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/speaking-up-on-skills-vital-to-help-next-generation/
Employers Organisations	CBI	The path ahead. CBI/Accenture Employment Trends Survey 2015	Report	2015	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/job-creation-up-but-skills-shortages-rising-labour-costs-start-to-bite-cbi-accenture-survey/the-path-ahead/
Employers Organisations	NFU	Update for members on the NFU's work on labour availability	Press release	2018	https://www.nfuonline.com/sectors/horticulture-and-potatoes/hort-and-pots-news/update-for-members-on-the-nfus-work-on-labour-availability/
Employers Organisations	London Councils	Update on apprenticeship activities in London	Press release	2017	https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/members-area/member-briefings/economic-development/update-apprenticeship-activities-london
Employers Organisations	CBI	What will UK immigration policy look like after Brexit?	Press release	2017	http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/what-will-uk-immigration-policy-look-like-after-brexit/
Employers Organisations	NFU	Why we can have our strawberry and eat it too	Press release	2018	https://www.nfuonline.com/cross-sector/farm-business/employment/employment-news/why-we-can-have-our-strawberry-and-eat-it/
Employers Organisations	NFU	Working for horticulture and potatoes growers post Brexit	Press release	2018	https://www.nfuonline.com/sectors/horticulture-and-potatoes/hort-and-pots-news/working-for-horticulture-and-potatoes-growers-post-brexit/

Employers Organisations	Education (SIC 85)	Responses to the MAC consultation on the impact on the UK labour market of the UK's exit from the European Union	Report	2018	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/693431/Education_TL_-_responses.pdf

ANNEX II - Policy & Service Taxonomy

Policy/service	Composition /substance	Year of implementation	Coverage	Actors involved	Funding mechanism	Functioning as barrier or enabler	Link
Immigration policies							
National level: United Kingdom							
Tier Points-Based Immigration System	The United Kingdom's points-based 5 tier visa system is the main UK immigration route for migrants from outside the European Economic Area (EEA) to come to the UK to work, study, invest or train. The system separates applicants into five 'tiers'. In order to be eligible for a visa in any of the five tiers you must pass a points-based assessment. In work visa applications, points are generally awarded according to the applicant's ability, experience and age. You must reach a points score above a minimum threshold if your application is to be successful. The minimum number of points required varies for each tier. The five tier visa system consists of the following: - Tier 1: This category is for 'high value migrants' and covers entry of entrepreneurs, investors and people considered to possess 'exceptional talent'. - Tier 2: This category is for skilled workers with a long-term job offer from an employer in the UK. It also includes those who are transferred into the country by multinational companies. - Tier 3: This tier was designed for low-skilled workers filling specific temporary labour shortages. It was never opened for applications and is not currently operational. - Tier 4 Visa: This category is for students aged over 16 from outside the EEA who wish to study in the UK. Applicants must have a place at a registered UK educational establishment before they can apply.	2008	Non EU Migrants	Home Office, UK Visa and Immigration	Employers and Migrants	The Tier Points Based Immigration system (particularly Tier 2) is considered as a barrier of integration into labour market due to its cap number, charge on employers and salary threshold.	https://www.gov.uk/entering-staying-uk/visas-entry-clearance and file:///C:/Users/AG180905/Downloads/CBP-7662%20(1).pdf

	- Tier 5 Visa: This category contains six sub-tiers of temporary worker including creative and sporting, charity, religious workers, and the youth mobility scheme which enables about 55,000 young people every year to work in the UK on working holidays. The visas are awarded to young people from countries that have reciprocal arrangements with the UK.						
Overseas Domestic Workers (ODW) Visa	Overseas Domestic Workers visas allow domestic workers who have worked in a private household for at least one year to enter the UK and continue working for their employers. Workers who enter the UK on these visas are allowed to be in the country with their employer for up to 6 months. They are unable to change employers or jobs during this time. These workers are, in effect, tied to a single employer and dependent on that employer for both income and the right to continue residing in the UK. Prior to 2012, ODW visas allowed workers to change employers and were less restrictive in how long workers were allowed to stay in the UK.	2012	Overseas Domestic Workers. There are approximately 18,000 Overseas Domestic Worker Visa (odwv) issued every year according to the Home Office's data.	Home Office	Domestic Workers/Employers	Barrier - Some independent reviews find that the existence of a tie to a specific employer and the absence of a universal right to change employer and apply for extensions of the visa are incompatible with the reasonable protection of overseas domestic workers while in the UK (ex. The Ewins Review).	https://www.gov.uk/domestic-workers-in-a-private-household-visa

Windrush Scheme	People who arrived in the UK at the beginning of 1970 and do not have documentation confirming their immigration status have faced difficulties after the last two Immigration Bills in proving their right to work, to rent property and to access benefits and services to which they are entitled. The Government has apologised, after deportation scandal, to people in this position and has made a commitment to help them get the documents they need. The Windrush Scheme provides them help and support.	2018	Commonwealth citizens and others who have been in the UK for a long time and they have never clarified their immigration position	Home Office	Home Office	Enabler enacted after a recent scandal concerning deportation of Windrush generation	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/undocumented-commonwealth-citizens-resident-in-the-uk
Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme (VPRS)/ Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Programme (SVPRP)/ Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme (VCRS)	Refugees arriving through the VPRS receive five years support to help them settle in the UK and they are granted with five years' leave to remain. Local authorities and other partners receive funding to support these new arrivals in accessing education, employment, healthcare and other key services, as well as to encourage social mixing and integration.	2014 and 2016 (VCRS)	Refugees resettled under the VPRS (20,000 people by 2020, at the moment they are 10,500) + up to 3000 people in the VCRS	Home Office, Department for International Development (DfID), the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and International Organisation for Migration's (IOM).	The first 12 months of a refugee's resettlement costs are fully funded by central government using the overseas aid budget. The Government has also provided an additional £10m ESOL funding to enhance the English language skills of adults to improve their resettlement and integration experience and employability. For years 2-5 of the scheme there is £129m of funding available to assist with costs incurred by local authorities providing support to refugees under the VPRS. There is also an exceptional cases fund to assist the most vulnerable refugees.	The first 12 months of a refugee's resettlement costs are fully funded by central government using the overseas aid budget. The Government has also provided an additional £10m ESOL funding to enhance the English language skills of adults to improve their resettlement and integration experience and employability. For years 2-5 of the scheme there is £129m of funding available to assist with costs incurred by local authorities providing support to refugees under the VPRS. There is also an exceptional cases fund to assist the most vulnerable refugees.	https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/631369/170711_Syrian_Resettlement_Updated_Fact_Sheet_final.pdf and https://www.gov.uk/government/news/inspection-report-published-vulnerable-persons-resettlement-scheme and https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-scheme-launched-to-resettle-children-at-risk

Gateway Resettlement Programme	The Gateway Protection Programme is the UK's contribution to the UNHCR global resettlement programme. Candidates for resettlement to the UK will have been classified by UNHCR field offices as refugees and selected on the basis that they have pressing humanitarian or security needs, are not able to return to their countries of origin and cannot integrate locally. The Home Office then makes the decision on who to accept under the UK programme. People accepted are granted Indefinite Leave to Remain as Refugee	2004	Refugees (750 people per year)	Home Office, Refugee Council, UNHCR	The Gateway Protection Programme is a scheme operated by the British government in partnership with the UNHCR and co-funded by the European Union.	The programme acts as an enabler of integration. While the UK Government focuses on providing the financial support, it is up to local councils and non profit organisations to establish integration services.	https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/what_we_do/refugee_resettlement/gateway_resettlement_programme and https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/provide-services-for-asylum-applicants-refugees-and-migrants#refugees:-gateway-protection-programme
Employment Related Policies							
National level: United Kingdom							
Right to work for asylum seekers - Asylum and Immigration Act (legal framework)	People can apply for permission to work after they have been waiting for a decision on their asylum claim for over a year. Those who have made further submissions which have been pending for over 12 months can also ask for permission to work. However, even when such approval is given this is restricted to jobs on the Shortage Occupation List and people seeking asylum are not allowed to be self-employed.	1999	Asylum seekers	UK Government (Legislative Act)	n.a.	Barrier	https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1999/33/contents

Job Centre Plus help for recruiters	Job Centre Plus offers services to employers to facilitate their recruitment. Some possible services are offering work trails for jobseeker on benefit or work experience for young people between 18 and 24 years old or with a long history of unemployment or through sector based work academies	n.a.	All residents in England, Scotland, Wales including refugees and migrants with indefinite leave to remain	Department of Work and Pension, Job Centre plus	In England through the UK Government, while in Scotland through the Scottish one	n.a.	https://findajob.dwp.gov.uk
Job Centre Plus and careers advice service	Job centre Plus and careers services can play a role in supporting refugees and migrants to access UK job market. However, few specialist migrant employment service exist in the UK ant they are often developed at local level.	2015	All residents in England, Scotland, Wales including refugees and migrants with indefinite leave to remain	Department of Work and Pension, Job centre plus, advice services, NGOs	Voluntary sector grant funding mainly	They could be an enabler but they are often available only in specific part of the country	Northern Welcome (formerly Northern Refugee Centre) www.nrcentre.org.uk / 30 Refugee Education Training and Advice Service (RETAS) http://retasleeds.wix.com/retasleeds 31 Asylum Seekers & Refugees of Kingston upon Hull (ARKH) http://arkh-hull.com/ 32 At the time of writing, the Migrant Workers North West website was not functional www.migrantworkersnorthwest.org
Work and Health Programme	The Programme provides support to help people find and keep a job. It is available, on a voluntary basis, to those with health conditions or disabilities, and to various groups of vulnerable people in England and Wales, but it will be devolved also to Scotland.	2017	Refugees in England and Wales	Department for Work and Pensions, Jobcentre Plus and five service providers (Shaw Trust, Reed in Partnership, Ingeus, Pluss, Remploy)	The Work and Health Programme is a government funded service and it is co-financed by the European Social Fund.	Enabler	https://www.gov.uk/work-health-programme-and-file:///C:/Users/AG180905/Downloads/CBP-7845.pdf
Entrepreneur VISA	Entrepreneur VISA helps overseas entrepreneurs and early stage technology business or start-ups to relocate their business in the UK	2008	Migrants with access to at least £50,000 funding	Department of International Trade	Company	n.a.	https://www.gov.uk/tier-1-entrepreneur

Self-employment support HMRC	Online availability of self-employment support information	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	https://www.gov.uk/guidance/help-and-support-if-youre-self-employed
New Enterprise Allowance	New Enterprise Allowance helps people to establish a business through a mentorship programme and after approval of business plan a weekly allowance up to £1274 over 26 weeks and apply for loans	n.a.	People that are over 18 and over 18 and either: get Universal Credit, Jobseeker's Allowance or Employment and Support Allowance or get Income Support and are a lone parent, sick or disabled	Department of Work and Pension, Jobcentre Plus	It is a government funded service	n.a.	https://www.gov.uk/moving-from-benefits-to-work/starting-your-own-business
Anti-discrimination policy for MRAs - Equality Act (legal framework)	The Equality Act prohibits direct and indirect discrimination, harassment and victimisation. It protects people from discrimination on the basis of the protected characteristics of: age; disability; gender reassignment; marriage and civil partnership; pregnancy and maternity; race; religion or belief; sex; and sexual orientation. Everyone will have one or more of the protected characteristics, including refugees and asylum seekers. Therefore, while status as a refugee or an asylum seeker is not in itself a protected characteristic, they will benefit from the protection.	2010	MRAs in England, Scotland and Wales (not Northern Ireland)	UK Government (Legislative Act)	n.a.	Enabler	http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents

Anti-discrimination policy for migrants workers in the workplace - Equality Act Part 5 Work (legal framework)	There are some specific duties related to employment under the Equality Act 2010. The main aim of these duties is to ensure that Black, Asian and ethnic minority workers are not discriminated against and have equality of opportunity in the workplace.	2010	Migrant workers	UK Government (Legislative Act)	-	Enabler	http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents
Hate Crime Action Plan	The Hate Crime Action Plan, published in 2016, set out a comprehensive four year programme, which focused on five themes: preventing hate crime by challenging beliefs and attitudes; responding to hate crime within our communities; increasing the reporting of hate crime; improving support for victims of hate crime; and building our understanding of hate crime.	2016	MRAAs	UK Government the criminal justice agencies (the Police Service, the CPS, the courts and the National Offender Management Service) and community groups representing those affected by hate crime.	In 2016, the Home Office has launched a £2.4m scheme for protective security measures at vulnerable faith institutions.	Enabler	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/hate-crime-action-plan-2016
Modern Slavery Act	The Modern Slavery Act gives law enforcement the tools to fight modern slavery, ensure perpetrators can receive severe punishments and enhance support and protection for victims. The Section 53 of the Act states that provision for leave to remain in the UK must be made for overseas domestic workers to apply as a recognized victim of slavery or human trafficking, however this leave is restricted to work as a domestic worker in a private household without recourse to public funds. An application for further leave needs to be made within 28 days of being formally recognised and documentary evidence provided on how the domestic worker will maintain and accommodate themselves without recourse to public funds.	2015	All workers	UK Government (Legislative Act)	n.a.	Enabler - Even if some Unions' documents for the overseas domestic workers highlight that this kind of application will be impossible for those residing in safe house accommodation, who have not had permission to work whilst they are waiting for their trafficking claim to be determined and are then made to leave support services within 45 days of being identified. Additionally, if a domestic worker has an outstanding protection claim, their application for further leave will not be processed until their protection claim is determined first.	http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/30/contents/enacted

National Referral Mechanism (NRM)	It is a framework for identifying victims of human trafficking or modern slavery and ensuring they receive the appropriate support.	2009	Migrant Domestic Workers (people victim of human trafficking)	Modern Slavery Human Trafficking Unit (MSHTU) and Home Office Visas and Immigration (UKVI)	n.a.	Enabler	http://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/about-us/what-we-do/specialist-capabilities/uk-human-trafficking-centre/national-referral-mechanism
Immigration Act 2016	The Immigration Act 2016 included new sanctions on illegal workers and rogue employers better co-ordination of regulators that enforce workers' rights prevent irregular migrants in the UK from accessing housing, driving licences and bank accounts introduced new measures to make it easier to enforce immigration laws and remove irregular migrants	2016	Migrants	Home Office	n.a.	Barrier	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-bill-part-1-labour-market-and-illegal-working
Devolved level: Scotland							
Employability fund and Scottish Employability Pipeline	The aim of the employability fund is to improve learner progressions along the skills and employability pipeline. The specific objectives of the Fund include supporting activity tailored to meet individuals' needs; a focus on progressing individuals into sustained employment; to be responsive to employer demand; and to complement other funded activity at the local level. The Employability pipeline instead provides a framework to support the effective delivery of employability services.	2013	People living in Scotland including Migrants and refugees	Scottish Government, Skills Development Scotland, other providers private and non profit sector	Scottish Government with European Structural and Investment Funds	n.a.	https://www.gov.scot/policies/european-structural-funds/improving-employment-opportunities/

Community job Scotland	Community Jobs Scotland is delivered by SCVO working in partnership with the Scottish Government and Scotland's third sector. The programme focuses in particular on unemployed young people aged 16-29 who are care experienced, are carers themselves, early Armed Forces service leavers (under six years), those with criminal convictions and those who have disabilities or other health issues.	n.a.	Young people who can benefit from Community Jobs Scotland are: care leavers/care experienced young people with convictions carers military service leavers (serving less than 6 years) disabled people or with long term health conditions homeless people (including temporary or unstable accommodation) person affected by drug misuse (i.e. alcohol, drugs) person with lower than SCQF level 5 qualification work programme completers who remain unemployed refugees with immigration status allowing them to undertake employment ethnic minority groups	Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations, Scottish Government and Third Sector	Scottish Government	n.a.	http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/policy-and-partnership/youth-employment/community-jobs-scotland/
Certificate of work readiness	The Certificate of Work Readiness (CWR) is a qualification owned by SDS and certificated by SQA. It helps individuals prepare for work through employability training and a work placement, which results in a nationally recognised SQA qualification upon completion. The course lasts around 10 weeks of training and work experience	2013	People living in Scotland including Migrants and refugees	Scottish Government, Skills Development Scotland, other providers private and non profit sector	Scottish Government through the employability fund	n.a.	https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/what-we-do/employability-skills/certificate-of-work-readiness/

Business Gateway	Business Gateway provides support to people that would like to start or run a business. They provide professional resources, support and tools to help you learn new skills, create new opportunities and develop sustainable strategies for growth.	2013	People living in Scotland including migrants and refugees	Local councils	Local councils provide funds	Enabler although it is not very used by people coming from migrants backgrounds	https://www.bgateway.com/about
Scotland's Employer Recruitment Incentive	SERI targets support at unemployed young people with the greatest barriers to employment to enable them to obtain and remain in sustainable employment (including Modern Apprentices). It offers employers up to £4,000 when their company commits to a new job or new Modern Apprentice. The funding is available as a contribution toward the additional costs of recruiting and sustaining a young person during their first 52 weeks of sustainable employment.	2018 (the scheme was paused for some years)	People living in Scotland including Migrants and refugees	Skills Development Scotland, Scottish Government	The incentive is fully funded by the Scottish Government and is managed and delivered by Local Authorities. Skills Development Scotland administers the programme on behalf of the Scottish Government.	n.a.	https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/what-we-do/supporting-scotlands-employers/scotlands-employer-recruitment-incentive/
Fair Start Scotland	Fair Start Scotland is an employment support service which helps people living in Scotland to find work. Fair Start Scotland replaces Work First Scotland and Work Able Scotland.	2018	People living in Scotland including Migrants and refugees	Scottish Government, Department for Work and Pensions, Job Centres across Scotland.	It is funded by the Scottish Government, with Scottish Ministers committing an additional £20m over and above UKG funding in each year of Parliament - committing up to £96 million overall.	n.a.	https://www.mygov.scot/help-find-job/ and https://www.gov.scot/publications/fair-start-scotland/

Public Sector Equality Duty - Section 149 of Equality Act 2010 and the Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties) (Scotland) Regulations 2012 as amended (legal framework)	The Equality Act 2010 and the Public Sector Equality Duties have revitalised equality work, not just within the Scottish Government itself but across Scotland's public sector. The purpose of the public sector equality duty is to ensure that public authorities and those carrying out a public function consider how they can positively contribute to a more equal society through advancing equality and good relations in their day-to-day business. The public sector equality duty covers the following protected characteristics: age, disability, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation. The public sector equality duty also covers marriage and civil partnerships, with regard to eliminating unlawful discrimination in employment. The public sector equality duty requires public authorities, in the exercise of their functions, to have due regard to the need to: • Eliminate unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation and other prohibited conduct • Advance equality of opportunity between people who share a relevant protected characteristic and those who do not • Foster good relations between people who share a protected characteristic and those who do not.	2011	MRAAs	UK Government, Scottish Government, Equality and Human Rights Commission (Legislative Act)	n.a.	Enabler	https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/advice-and-guidance/public-sector-equality-duty
Race Equality Framework for Scotland 2016 to 2030 (REF)	The Race Equality Framework for Scotland 2016-203040 (REF) sets out the Scottish Government's approach to promoting race equality and tackling racism and racial inequality between 2016 and 2030.	2016	MRAAs	Scottish Government in partnership with COSLA and the Scottish Refugee Council	\	Enabler	https://www.gov.scot/publications/race-equality-framework-scotland-2016-2030/
Education related policies							
National level: United Kingdom							

Adult Education Budget - Apprenticeships, Skills, Children and Learning Act 2009 - Section 101 Apprenticeships, Skills, Children and Learning Act 2009 (legal framework)	The AEB aims to engage adults and provide the skills and learning they need to equip them for work, an apprenticeship or other learning. The AEB supports three legal entitlements to full funding for eligible adult learners. These are set out in the Apprenticeships, Skills and Children's Learning Act 2009, and enable eligible learners to be fully funded for the following qualifications: • English and maths, up to and including level 2, for individuals aged 19 and over, who have not previously attained a GCSE grade A* - C or grade 4, or higher, • first full qualification at level 2 for individuals aged 19 to 23, • first full qualification at level 3 for individuals aged 19 to 23. The AEB also supports delivery of flexible tailored provision for adults.	2009 (2018 is the year of implementation of the current budget)	MRAAs: Refugees or Migrants with humanitarian protection, limited/discretionary leave to remain or indefinite leave to remain can access to apprenticeship. Asylum seekers can't usually access to apprenticeship, but if they are being looked after by children's service they may be able to. Non-EEA citizen is eligible for funding if they have permission granted by the UK government to live in the UK, which is not for educational purposes, and have been ordinarily resident in the UK for at least the previous three years before the start of learning.	UK Government, Secretary of State for Education, Education and Skills Funding Agency, providers of education and training. However from 2015, the government agreed a series of devolution deals between central government and local areas	The AEB is a governmental funding. The funding rules are public each year in advance of next funding year. The rules apply to all providers of education and training who receive AEB funding from the Secretary of State for Education acting through the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA).	Modern Apprenticeship constitute a possible enabler to integrate people. However, BME Communities including refugees struggle to access apprenticeship	http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2009/22/part/4/chapter/1/crossheading/education-and-training-for-persons-aged-19-or-over-etc and https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/733335/2018-19_AEB_funding_rules_July.pdf
UK NARIC	UK NARIC is the designated United Kingdom national agency for the recognition and comparison of international qualifications and skills. It performs this official function on behalf of the UK Government.	1984	Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers	Department of Education, ECCTIS Ltd	Department of Education, Individuals and Organisations	It can be an enabler. However, it is rarely used for refugees and migrants	https://www.naric.org.uk/naric/
English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)	English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is the term used for English language courses taken by people whose first language is not English and who need English to communicate in daily life. ESOL learners are very diverse, ranging from highly educated and proficient learners tackling a new language, to individuals who have little or no experience of schooling and	New courses from 2014	Some courses are only for people who are specifically unemployed, others are accessible to all people that don't have English as the native language. This is valid for people resident in England	UK Government, Education and Skills Funding Agency, Colleges, Third Sector Organisations and local councils	Government-funded adult ESOL is mainly provided through further education colleges, as part of local authorities' community learning provision, and by independent training providers. Courses are funded by the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) through the Adult	ESOL Classes are usually an enabler. However long waiting list can hinder the accessibility to the class	https://www.unionlearn.org.uk/english-speakers-other-languages-esol

	are not literate in their first language. ESOL Classes are a devolved matter.				Education Budget (AEB) in the same way as other further education courses. These courses are delivered in the classroom up to and including Level 2 for eligible learners aged 19 and over who are unemployed. All other adult ESOL are co-funded. No funding is available for ESOL at workplace level.		
Community-based English language programme (CBEL)	The programme provides free support for people with no or very little English where this is a significant factor in their isolation. Classes are held in community settings (e.g. community centres, libraries, family centres, etc.) and delivered outside of a usual adult education location.	2013 - 2018	Migrants resident in the England for more than 12 months.	The Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), English local authorities, colleges and training providers.	The programme was designed and overseen by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG). From 2013/14 to 2015/16, MHCLG funded an £8m Community-Based English Language programme, supporting six projects to deliver English courses to adults with the lowest levels of English and evaluate the programme	Enabler. In the evaluation of the programme positive results were found in terms of social integration and English proficiency	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-based-english-language-programme-a-randomised-controlled-trial--2
Integrated Communities English Language Programme	This new Programme will be focused on helping to improve the English language skills of those people who may be isolated by their inability to speak the language. The new Programme will replace and build on the learning from this Department's current Community-Based English Language Programme.	from 2019	Migrants resident in the England for more than 12 months, with no or very little spoken English, not in employment and not actively seeking employment	The Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), English local authorities and training providers.	The programme is designed and overseen by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG). It has up to £6m of funding available between 1 April 2019 and 31 March 2020 and it is currently looking for a small number of projects led by organisations, consortiums or partnerships that are capable of delivering at scale.	Enabler	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/integrated-communities-english-language-programme-prospectus
Devolved level: Scotland							

Migrant and Refugee Skills Recognition Pilot Project	The Scottish Government's ambition is to develop a system in Scotland that will enable all citizens to gain recognition for their skills and experience, regardless of the context/country in which they were gained. To achieve this the Government, in partnership with education providers and a wide range of other organisations - including the SCQF Partnership - set up a 15 month pilot to explore processes for recognition with a focus on migrants who have come to live in Scotland. The project is specifically targeting the Tourism/Hospitality, Health and Social Care, Construction/Engineering and IT sectors.	2018	Migrants and refugees + wider population	The project is being led by GCU in partnership with the Bridges Programmes, Skills Development Scotland, Glasgow City Council, Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework Partnership, Scottish Qualifications Authority, the Scottish Refugee Council and Glasgow Clyde College.	Scottish Government is funding the pilot project	Still pilot project	-
Modern Apprenticeship Programme/ Graduate Apprenticeship Programme	Modern Apprenticeships is a programme that offer the opportunity to enhance Scotland's work-based learning system and reduce youth unemployment. There are over 80 Modern Apprenticeship frameworks. Modern Apprenticeships are available at four different level. SDS is working to ensure industry can make Modern Apprenticeships more accessible through Equality Action Plan.	2014	Migrants and refugees can apply to Modern Apprenticeship. Each year, over 27,000 people start a Modern Apprenticeship – combining a qualification with on-the-job experience.	Skills Development Scotland and Scottish Government	SDS administers Scottish Apprenticeships on behalf of Scottish Government that fund 27,000 new MAs every year.	The programme is an enabler however the uptake from migrants, BME community and refugees is very low	https://www.skillsdevelopmentscotland.co.uk/what-we-do/apprenticeships/modern-apprenticeships/
Developing the Young Workforce (DYW)	Developing the Young Workforce (DYW) is a seven-year programme (2014-2021) that aims to better prepare children and young people aged 3–18 for the world of work.	2014	Young migrants	Scottish Government, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), Commission for Developing Scotland's Young Workforce, Scotland's education and employer communities	The Scottish Government has made available an initial £12m for implementation in 2014-15 and a further £16.6m in the 2015-16 budget.	Enabler	https://education.gov.scot/scottish-education-system/policy-for-scottish-education/policy-drivers/Developing%20the%20Young%20Workforce%20(DYW) and https://www.gov.scot/publications/education-working-commission-developing-scotland's-young-workforce-final-

							report/pages/6/ and https://www.gov.scot/publications/developing-young-workforce-scotlands-youth-employment-strategy/
Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA)	Education Maintenance Allowances (EMAs) provide financial support for 16 to 19 year olds from low-income households who undertake appropriate full-time courses at school or college. EMAs are available to eligible people aged 16 to 19 who have reached school leaving age and that meet residency and household income criteria. EMA is also available in Northern Ireland and Wales.	1999	Young migrants and refugees	Scottish Government	The EMA payment will be made into the young person bank account and it is usually paid in arrears. Payments are made on a fortnightly basis in arrears and the payment start date depends on the date of the student's 16th birthday.	Enabler - Even if the Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) system may have a number of barriers for minority ethnic young people, especially those who are recent migrants or refugees without leave to remain who will be unable to access payments due to residency criteria.	https://www.mygov.scot/ema/
ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) Strategy for Adults in Scotland Welcoming Our Learners: Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015-2020	All Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision in Scotland. It is delivered by a range of providers, including community learning and development, colleges, schools and voluntary sector organisations. ESOL takes place in settings such as schools, colleges and community based settings, as well as in workplaces and the home. It supports the language learning needs of a diverse range of people, living in Scotland, whose first language is not English. These include refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers, settled minority communities and their families.	2007 (original strategy)	All Scottish Resident for whom English is not the first language	Scottish Government, Scottish Funding Council (SCF), Education Scotland, ESOL providers including Community Learning and Development (CLD) services through local authority partnerships, colleges, schools, voluntary organisations, universities and private language providers.	Provision is publicly funded but there is also a growing number of private language schools that tend to provide intensive English language courses for people visiting Scotland on a short-term basis.	Enabler	(ESOL Strategy) https://education.gov.scot/Documents/ESOLStrategy2015to2020.pdf and (ESOL Summary Report 2015-2016) https://education.gov.scot/Documents/ESOLSummaryReportJuly2017.pdf
Welfare related policies							
National level: United Kingdom							

Support for asylum seekers - Immigration and Asylum Act [Section 95] (legal framework)	Asylum seekers can apply for support for the period during which their asylum application and any subsequent appeal is being considered. The application can be for subsistence and accommodation or for subsistence only. Applicants must satisfy a 'destitution' test. Once the asylum claim has been fully determined, those people who are granted refugee status, humanitarian protection or discretionary leave to remain will have the support terminated 28 days after the decision. An asylum seeker who has no dependent children at the time of a final refusal decision will have their support terminated 21 days after the decision. An asylum seeker who has dependent children will continue to be supported after the refusal of their asylum claim at the same rate as during their claim until they leave or they are removed from the UK.	1999	Asylum seekers	Home Office, Private Housing Providers	Home Office	n.a.	https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1999/33/section/98
Universal Credit - Welfare Reform Act 2012 (legal framework)	Universal Credit is a payment to help people on a low income or out of work with living costs. It's paid monthly - or twice a month for some people in Scotland. Universal Credit replaces the following benefits: • Child Tax Credit • Housing Benefit • Income Support • income-based Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) • income-related Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) • Working Tax Credit. Depending on the work related group a person will be placed in, he/she should look actively for a job (up to 35 hours per week)	2017	People subject to immigration control and who granted leave states that they cannot claim public funds are not eligible. Refugees are eligible such as migrants with indefinite leave to remain	Department for Work and Pensions, Job Centre Plus	The UC is a UK Government funded benefits system that replaces six existing benefits for people of working-age in the UK.	Barrier	https://www.gov.uk/universal-credit

Post Grant Appointment Service	PGAS is an assisted service to support new refugees to transition from asylum support to mainstream benefits. The process involves contacting all newly granted applicants as early in the 28 day grace period as possible. Applicants are contacted by the Home Office asking whether they would like help facilitating their access to mainstream benefits. Where applicants confirm that they would like assistance, an initial appointment with the DWP Job Centre is made for them and they then receive accurate information of the time and venue of the appointment. During the appointment, the DWP staff take the process further to complete the required application form and to arrange a cash advance if appropriate.	2017	Refugees	Home Office, Department for Work and Pensions, Job Centre	Department of Work and Pension	The programme could be seen as an enabler. However, we are not sure the process is working	https://cityofsanctuary.org/2017/12/11/post-grant-appointment-service-to-facilitate-move-on-of-new-refugees/
Victim Care Contract	The Adult Human Trafficking Victim Care and Coordination contract is managed by the Salvation Army since July 2011, through which it is responsible for the oversight of delivery of specialist support services to adult victims of human trafficking. Clients wishing to access the service must consent to being referred into the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) and have received a positive 'reasonable grounds' decision. Support may be provided to clients prior to a 'reasonable grounds' decision if they are assessed as destitute. The specialist victim care service is designed to accommodate, protect and support clients. Each client is allocated a Support Worker who works with them to jointly agree a needs based, tailored Support Plan for the duration of their 'recovery and reflection' period in the service. A crucial aspect of the Support Plan is the work necessary to enable and equip a client, both practically and psychologically, to move on from the service to independent or further supported living in the UK or abroad.	2011	Adult victims of human trafficking	Home Office, Ministry of Justice, Salvation Army	The contract is jointly funded by the Home Office and The Ministry of Justice.	-	https://www.salvationarmy.org.uk/Anti_Human_Trafficking_Latest_Report

Local Authority Asylum Support Liaison Officers (LAASLOs)	It is an additional funding provided to support the role that local authorities in England play in relation to asylum dispersal. LAASLO facilitate the transition of new refugees from government-supported accommodation into mainstream society during their 28-day 'move on' period and help facilitate the return of failed asylum seekers.	2018	Newly granted refugees that have come via the asylum route and that, when they received a positive decision on their asylum claim, are housed in local authority areas participating in LAASLOs.	Home Office - Department for Communities and Local Government and 20 local authorities	The funding comes from the UK Government's Controlling Migration Fund and is being channelled through the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government. The LAASLO scheme is currently only funded for two years.	Enabler - LAASLO acts as a facilitator to provide post-decision support in the 20 local authority areas where it has been introduced, but not all local authorities participating in dispersal arrangements have received this additional resource. The nature of limited LAASLO provision also means that newly granted refugees may also experience differential support determined by which local authority area they are housed within when they receive a positive decision on their asylum claim.	https://www.local.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/171123%20CEX%20letter%20F%20INAL.pdf
Controlling Migration Fund	The Controlling Migration Fund is designed to support local areas facing pressures linked to recent immigration.	2016	Local authorities	UK Government, Home Office, Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, local authorities	The Fund will be available over the 4 years from 2016-17 to 2019-20, and is in 2 parts: • a local service impacts part of £100 million, to help English local authorities and their communities experiencing high and unexpected volumes of immigration to ease pressures on local services • an enforcement part worth £40 million to direct enforcement action against people in the UK illegally in order to reduce the pressure on local areas	-	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/controlling-migration-fund-prospectus
Community Sponsorship Scheme	Community sponsorship enables local community groups to welcome and support refugees directly in their local communities. It was introduced by the Home Office in response to the desire from civil society to play a greater role in refugee resettlement, and with the expectation that the community-led approach will lead to positive integration	2016	Refugees	UK Government, Home Office, Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, Department for International	Neither community sponsors nor local authorities receive year one tariff funding for community sponsorship cases. The sponsoring group takes full responsibility for resourcing and delivering	Enabler	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/community-sponsorship-how-you-can-make-it-happen

	outcomes for refugees and communities. The Community Sponsorship Scheme which was launched in July 2016, complements the resettlement undertaken by local authorities. Under community sponsorship, the people responsible for finding a property and delivering resettlement support to a refugee family from their arrival are not local government officers; they are members of the local community. It is the community sponsor's responsibility to support the resettled family from the moment of arrival in the UK. This will include: • meeting the family at the airport; • providing a warm welcome and cultural orientation; • providing housing; • supporting access to medical and social services; • English language tuition; and • support towards employment and self-sufficiency. Community sponsors provide integration support for a family for the first 12 months of their time in the UK, and accommodation for the first two years.			Development, local authorities	the family's needs according to a statement of requirements, similar to that for local authorities. Local authorities will be entitled to claim funding in year 1 towards education costs in line with council-led resettlement schemes. Funding for years 2 to 5 may be available to local authorities. This will be determined on a case-by-case basis following a review of the needs of the resettled family and how they will be met. LAs can make a business case to the Home Office to apply for the money.		
Devolved level: Scotland							
Scottish Welfare Fund	It is a national scheme aims to provide a safety net to people on low incomes by the provision of Crisis Grants and Community Care Grants. Refugees can access mainstream welfare benefits on the same basis as UK nationals and this includes applying for Community Care Grants and/or Crisis Grants from the SWF.	2013	Refugees	Scottish Government and 32 local authorities	It is a national scheme, underpinned by law and delivered on behalf of the Scottish Government by all 32 local authorities. The Welfare Funds (Scotland) Act 2015 places a statutory responsibility on each local authority to maintain a Welfare Fund. The Act also gives powers to Scottish Ministers to make regulations and publish guidance, setting out how these funds should be administered.	Enabler	https://www.gov.scot/policies/social-security/income-related-benefits/

Family Reunion Crisis Grant Fund	This Grant supports the integration of refugee families arriving in Scotland under family reunion rules, who would otherwise be destitute. It provides them with the financial support they need to meet their basic needs during their first days in Scotland, before they are able to access welfare benefits.	2018	Refugee families	Scottish Government, local authorities, British Red Cross	The Scottish Welfare Fund (SWF) is be the legislative and delivery mechanism for Family Reunion Crisis Grants, as refugee families arriving in Scotland for family reunion are already entitled to crisis grants through the SWF following their arrival. Under the Family Reunion Crisis Grant process, sponsors (i.e. the member of the family already in Scotland) are able to make an application for a crisis grant before family members arrive in Scotland for family reunion, with the same eligibility criteria as currently for SWF. If approved, grants will be paid to the sponsor prior to the arrival of the family members in Scotland. The Scottish Welfare Fund will be the delivery mechanism for the Family Reunion Crisis Grant Fund.	Enabler	https://www.gov.scot/publications/scottish-welfare-fund-family-reunion-crisis-grant-guidance/
Healthcare for refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland - The National Health Service (Charges to Overseas Visitors) (Scotland) Regulations 1989 (legal framework)	NHS Scotland provides general medical services to all refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland, including those whose claims have been refused. Asylum seekers are entitled to the full-range of NHS care and services in Scotland.	1989	Asylum seekers and refugees	NHS Scotland	\	Enabler	https://www.nhsinform.scot/care-support-and-rights/health-rights/access/healthcare-for-refugees-and-asylum-seekers-and-overseas-visitors#asylum-seekers-and-refugees and https://www.nhsinform.scot/media/1126/health-care-for-asylum-seekers-and-refugees-in-scotland-v6-2016-206.pdf

New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy (New Scots 2)	The purpose of the New Scots strategy is to coordinate the efforts of organisations and community groups across Scotland involved in supporting refugees and asylum seekers.	2018-2022	Asylum seekers and refugees	Scottish Government in partnership with COSLA and the Scottish Refugee Council	There is no programme of funding specifically allocated to the implementation of the New Scots strategy. However, the Scottish Government provides funding to support the integration of refugees and people seeking asylum in Scotland through its equality budget.	Enabler	https://www.gov.scot/publications/new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy-2018-2022/pages/1/
Healthcare for refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland - The National Health Service (Charges to Overseas Visitors) (Scotland) Regulations 1989 (legal framework)	NHS Scotland provides general medical services to all refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland, including those whose claims have been refused. Asylum seekers are entitled to the full-range of NHS care and services in Scotland.	1989	Asylum seekers and refugees	NHS Scotland	\	Enabler	https://www.nhsinform.scot/care-support-and-rights/health-rights/access/healthcare-for-refugees-and-asylum-seekers-and-overseas-visitors#asylum-seekers-and-refugees and https://www.nhsinform.scot/media/1126/health-care-for-asylum-seekers-and-refugees-in-scotland-v6-2016-206.pdf

ANNEX III A - Interviews

Interview Stakeholders			
	Date of Interview	Function/Role	Type
Interview 1	08/10/2018	Employment Coordinator	NGO
Interview 2	08/10/2018	Chair	NGO
Interview 3	08/10/2018	Policy Officer	Devolved Government
Interview 4	24/10/2018	Policy Officer	Local Council
Interview 5	29/10/2018	Equality Officer	Public Funded Agency
Interview 6	29/10/2018	Civil Servant	Local Council
Interview 7	29/10/2018	Deputy Director	NGO
Interview 8	31/10/2018	MP	Parliament
Interview 9	01/11/2018	Director	NGO
Interview 10	01/11/2018	Representative	Trade Union
Interview 11	01/11/2018	Policy Officer	UK Government
Interview 12	21/11/2018	Policy Officer	Devolved Government
Interview 13	27/11/2018	Policy Officer	UK Government
Interview 14	04/12/2018	Civil Servant	Local Council
Interview 15	04/12/2018	Director	NGO
Interview 16	05/12/2018	Manager	Local Council
Interview 17	11/12/2018	Manager	Public Funded Agency
Interview 18	13/12/2018	Manager	NGO
Interview 19	17/12/2018	Policy Officer	NGO
Interview 20	18/12/2018	Policy Officer	Trade Union
Interview 21	10/01/2019	Manager	Local Council
Interview 22	15/01/2019	Academic	University
Focus Group	10/12/2018	Civil Servants/Mangers	Local Council

ANNEX III B - Interviews

Pseudonym of Interviewee *	Date of interview	Age	Gender	Family Status	Country of origin	Migration year	Education (primary, secondary, tertiary)	Current occupation in host country	Occupation in country of origin	Languages the individual speaks
Interview 1	02/10/2018	Mid 30s	M	Single	India	2011	Tertiary	IT - Insurance Company	Working with IT	English, Hindi
Interview 2	05/10/2018	Mid 30s	M	Single	Pakistan	2010	Tertiary	PhD researcher		English, Pakistani
Interview 3	23/10/2018	Early 40s	M	Married with children	Sudan	2012	Tertiary	Student	Public Sector Official	English, Arabic
Interview 4	27/10/2018	Mid 30s	F	Married with children	Iran	2009	Tertiary		n.a	English, Persian
Interview 5	27/10/2018	Early 40s	M	Single	Iran	2011	Tertiary	Student and Waiter	Civil Servant	English, Persian
Interview 6	28/10/2018	40s	M	Single	Iran	2011	Tertiary	Engineer	n.a	English, Persian
Interview 7	01/11/2018	30s	F	Married with children	Pakistan	2002	Tertiary	Not Working	n.a	English, Pakistani
Focus Group	05/02/2019	70s (8 WOMEN)	F	Married with children	India	1980	Primary	Retired	n.a	English, Hindi

ANNEX IV – Summaries of Conducted Interviews

Stakeholders		
Interview Number	Short Description of Interview	Date of Interview
S1	Interviewee 1 is a refugee employment coordinator for a non-profit organisation which works with refugees. He declared that there are no policies specifically created for refugees but the policies developed are designed for the entire population. He identified English classes as particularly effective services. He highlighted several times the difficulties of living in area badly affected by austerity, with a low number of entry-level jobs. He also proposed some potential policies to better assist refugees to increase their self-employment. Moreover, he highlighted how exploitation and zero hours contracts are a real risk for refugees. Quotes used in the text: "To announce that there will be another x million pounds going to help the integration of refugees, it would not sound great to a lot of their voters" (Interview S1); Interviewee 1 highlighted that refugees and migrants "have skills and experiences in areas of work that's not really available in the UK (Interview S1), therefore policies "should also encourage and think about what they could set up as a business if they had the opportunities and ideas" (Interview S1);	8.10.2018
S2	Interview 2 is the chair of an ethnic minority network. She is also a migrant herself. She explained how austerity has resulted in cuts to pre-employment support for ethnic minorities, deeply affecting their routes into employment. In addition, she highlighted how discrimination and a lack of skills and qualifications recognition are two major challenges for BAME communities. She also distinguished between the issues experienced by the BAME community born in the UK and migrant communities. Monitoring, transparency and targeted changes in terms of the policies of both public sector and private sector employers were considered to be crucial in supporting anti-discrimination policies. Furthermore, industry and government were seen to have a responsibility for promoting more services and policies that can facilitate the integration of BAME communities into the labour market. Quotes used in the text: In those cases when MRAA were shortlisted many found that, "at the end it doesn't transfer to employment" (Interview S2); interviewees often claimed that the government should call for action from large organisations "to monitor their employment and workforce, which often will show the need for more representation within the workforce (Interview S2); There was also the perception that "there should be more of inspection and monitoring, and government setting challenges around all of this" (Interview S2). A lot of MRAA communities "require pre-employment support whether it is because they have a language barrier or they have confidence issues, or because they are new to the labour market and they are new to the way things work here. Or they might be poor or deprived, they are refugees, so they may have other fears and worries about their engagement. They might not have means to travel to interviews" (Interview S2).	8.10.2018

S3	Interview 3 is a policy officer and her remit is integration strategy. She explained the differences in terms of policies affecting migrants and refugees. She highlighted the barriers encountered in terms of asylum seeker's access to work and the difficulties experienced by refugees in having their skills and qualifications recognised. She further emphasised the importance of creating opportunities for self-employment, where people can market their skills and experience to potential customers and clients. Finally, Interviewee 3 insisted that the financial crisis and the austerity which followed is continuing to affect the availability of those jobs that will enhance the careers of MRAA. Moreover, she explained that feeling confident in the community is considered to be a key variable in successfully accessing the job market. Quotes used in the text: Respondents agreed that this policy deeply affected the lives of asylum seekers because "they lose skills, confidence to work, they lose their connections (Interview S3); Some positive outcomes, mainly depended upon the disposition of specific work coaches in terms of "understanding that people when being resettled have specific needs" (Interview S3)	17.10.2018
S4	Interview 4 is a policy officer and her remit is the integration of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. She explained how the policy context in Scotland differs from that in England, exploring the different pros and cons of the services provided. She specifically discussed the ban on working for asylum seekers, self-employment services, language courses and employability pathways. Her main focus was the barriers encountered by women such as the lack of available childcare and the pros of the resettlement programme such as support programmes. She touched upon the importance of skills and qualification recognition and the risk of exploitation which refugees and asylum seekers often face. Quotes used in the text: There is a consensus that Scotland needs migrants and refugees, that's part of the reason why the Scottish Government says that immigration control should be different in Scotland. At UK level [this] is not echoed, it is a negative narrative, that doesn't really find much attraction in policy terms in Scotland" (Interview S4); "if you have somebody who is empathetic and understand and actually what you need to be doing in the first instance is getting some language under your belt and then working and trying to get language that helps to get to jobs, that's fine. If you get somebody that says you need to go and get a job I am not interested, that would be very challenging" (Interview S4); the providers for example "would not provide translation services, so if they are running a course or advice session they would not provide an interpreter, if you want to come you need to bring your own translator...people might have a friend that speaks English but given that courses give information around tax, hmrc etc. you would need to be very sure about what it is translated" (Interview S4); The pathway into the labour market was often through social connections, and although some of these connections could be good, they could also "raise the risk quite significantly that people are not getting the minimum wage, are being exploited or working illegally" (Interview S4).	24.10.2018

S5	Interview 5 is an officer for a publicly funded organisation supporting employability programmes and she works specifically on outreach to refugees and migrants. She is also a migrant herself. She explained how the ban on working for asylum seekers, the lack of recognition of qualifications and skills, the fragmentation in services and a lack of awareness of the specificities of the UK job market are all barriers to the integration of refugees. She also emphasised the importance of informing employers about the recruitment processes for people with a refugee background and the long waiting list that exists to access ESOL classes. She also explored barriers in self-employment, difficulties with immigration law for migrants and the risk of exploitation there is in specific jobs that are easily accessible for refugees. Quotes used in the text: a lot of refugees are working in warehouses, it is zero hour contracts, it is not an ideal working environment but a lot of people will do it because they will find the opportunity to work there. They are not happy but that's the job they can get" (Interview S5); "the problem is that people want to start working now and in the UK there are a lot of regulations but people they don't see what the point of this is. People that work with refugees need to know more what are the processes they need to take in order to start their own employment" (Interviewee S5); A role for native workers was also recognised in terms of trying to "influence their employer by advocating for a more diverse workplace" (Interview S5); Employers could also be incentivised to hire migrants and refugees and thus guidelines and processes "on how to recruit a person from a refugee background, how to target and attract and how to make it more appealing to a refugee person" (Interview S5) should be a focus for development.	29.10.2018
S6	Interview 6 is a policy officer and she is working in several European projects which deal with the topic of integration and migration. In her interview, she highlighted the importance of community services in promoting the integration of MRAA, the importance of co-producing policies and the opportunity that social enterprises offer in terms of self-employment. She also stated the importance of public sector organisations in playing a lead role to set an example in terms of integration and diversity. No quotes used in the text.	29.10.2018
S7	Interviewee 7 is working in a third sector organisation supporting the interests of ethnic minorities. She highlighted the difficulties that people often have in having their qualifications and skills recognised and in accessing employability programmes that often defined as a cycle, moving the person from one programme to another, without really providing access to employment. Discrimination was another problem identified by the interviewee alongside the increasing difficulties experienced by asylum seekers. Gaps in work experience and decreasing confidence were also perceived by the interviewee as affecting the possibility of MRAA accessing the labour market. Possible solutions are the development of volunteering pathways that can provide both experience and confidence. Interviewee 7 also identified the increasing restrictions experienced by MRAA for example, in terms of the irregular job market, as deeply affecting labour market integration. Quotes used in the text: volunteering was recognised as an important opportunity particularly for asylum seekers "to learn new skills and maybe even transfer the skills they have to work in Europe" (Interview s7).	29.10.2018
S8	Interviewee 8 is a UK Government MP who sits on a specific committee related to migration, refugees and asylum. She specifically discussed the impact of Brexit on the availability of migrant labour and the increasing needs of employers. She also suggested that granting the right to work to asylum seekers would be beneficial for the entire community. Concerning services, in relation to employability she discussed the effectiveness of statutory funded services and the increasing cuts being made to funding for ESOL classes. She highlighted that often migrants are trapped in irregular labour markets and austerity is still having consequences on the most vulnerable sections of the population. Quotes used in the text: The immigration policies for economic migrants were described by one interviewee as "we don't let them in at all" (Interview S8)	31.10.2018

S9	Interview 9 is the manager of a non-profit organisation which supports employability programmes and integration programmes for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. He explained that due to austerity cuts there are fewer programmes available for people to develop their employability and although there were programmes in the past specifically designed for women, these were no longer available. He added that often people who arrive in the UK don't have the necessary knowledge of the UK job market to successfully integrate and services are always not available. Requalification and the recognition of skills have always been an issue in his experience. Future job markets with low protections such as the gig economy or Amazon warehouses are attracting more and more refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. He also extensively referred to the EU and identity politics as one of the main barriers for MRAA integration. Finally, he spoke about the irregular job market as the only solution for some people to find work. Quotes used in the text: a context where "identity politics affected everything and divided jobseekers from different nationalities" (Interview S9).	1.11.2018
S10	Interview 10 is a representative of a trade union who works on the recruitment and retention of members. He explained that a lot of the time migrant workers are involved in the most precarious sectors, where wages and contractual security are low. He added that automation is not only going to affect migrants but also the jobs of native workers and that anecdotally there is mismatch between skills and actual jobs. Finally, he also emphasised how often civil servants working in government departments are conservative in that way that they follow and support central government. No quotes used in the text.	1.11.2018
S11	Interview 11 is a government policy officer who works in a department that deals with the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. During the interview he explained his conceptualisation of integration and highlighted how often people from migrant communities are trapped in jobs that do not match their skills. He also stated that there are specific communities where women are further away from the labour market. Through new funds and initiatives his department is trying to create and evaluate new and innovative projects and it is trying to make use of the resources available to improve integration programmes. Quotes used in the text: "MRAA do not have the same access to the same jobs, good jobs or jobs that match their skills" (Interview S11).	1.11.2018
S12	Interview 12 is a policy officer and works on specific programmes involving the recognition of skills and qualifications. She highlighted the importance that the recognition of previous skills can have for refugees, migrants and asylum seekers, in order to access a job that matches with their experience. Employers also play a key role in recognising these skills according to the interviewee. Quotes used in the text: Additional difficulties were also identified for people who "come from countries that don't have that [piece of] paper, [therefore] trying to recognise skills and top up their skills so they are recognised to do their jobs is challenging" (Interview S12) because of the lack of a benchmark.	21.11.2018

S13	Interviewee 13 is a Government policy officer, working specifically on the resettlement programme of refugees. The interviewee identified how the lack of knowledge of the UK job market, the difficulties of accessing ESOL classes in some areas and the need for vocational language training as possible barriers affecting the inclusion of resettled refugees in the UK job market. Bespoke services were identified by the interviewee as important for the creation of positive results in terms of employability. Collaborations and partnerships with employers were also seen to be important to develop employability schemes. Language issues and the lack of UK qualifications were also identified as two key barriers for MRAA to access employment. Finally, Brexit was identified as a possible opportunity for refugees due to the decreasing numbers of European workers moving to the UK. Quotes used in the text: Because employers will look for employees and “they have experience of working with people for whom English is not the first language and not having UK qualifications, they should be able to integrate Syrian or other nationalities in their company” (Interview S13); “working one to one with the individual and looking at what are the specific things that stop that person from getting work, how to address those things, whether it is getting NVQ or getting a construction certificate or doing specific training, helping the individual to identify and apply for a job” (Interview S13); there is a great benefit to get employers to provide properly structured work placement schemes and enable people to begin to demonstrate and understand what it is like to work here and demonstrate they have employability skills that they are not necessarily linked to [their] qualifications” (Interview S13); in some areas of the country, “it is easier get into a ESOL class, in other areas is harder. There are issues around things like not arriving at the beginning of the term and waiting until the next course starts and there are issues around the [travel] distance of colleges” (Interview S13); Vocational training alongside traditional English language provision was also identified as a possible solution, for example “an intensive course about the English you need to work in a warehouse, how the machine operates, the Health and Safety and any other specific language that relates to that job” (Interview S13).	27.11.2018
S14	Interviewee 14 is a policy officer at the local level, working on reducing social and economic inequalities. The interviewee elaborated the differences in terms of narrative between Scotland and England. She also highlighted the difficulties in accessing ESOL classes and in particular vocational ESOL, as well as the poor availability of skills recognition with the exception of NARIC. Quotes used in the text: Respondents had different opinions concerning community classes, while some of them explained how they could be an effective solution for supporting people to learn English, others instead discussed how they were places where people could spend some time and although not useful to get a job, they could provide other benefits “such as social bridges and connections” (Interview S14) which were particularly important for MRAA women.	4.12.2018

S15	Interviewee 15 is the Director of a non-profit organisation dealing with the employability programmes for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. She highlighted the differences in treatment of asylum seekers between Scotland and England, the tension in terms of policies, and she supported the Scottish policy approach as every year it was more welcoming and had more potential. However, she also highlighted that the attitude of people towards MRAA are not so different between Scotland and England. She also criticised immigration policies and the definite leave to remain that is given to refugees. She discussed the needs of increasing ESOL hours for people as an investment for their future. In addition, she criticised the resettlement programme in dispersal areas as increasing the risk of isolation for people. She recognised that an employer's role is crucial and often employers are apprehensive about a person's immigration status or they have retained some prejudice about people's language based upon their accent. She drew attention to the need to develop an entrepreneurship programme. Moreover, the skills recognition system was highlighted as important to provide people with the opportunity to find a job. Modern apprenticeships were also identified as being a difficult pathway for migrants and refugees due to the low pay involved and the lack of engagement with the BAME community on these opportunities. Entry level opportunity jobs are available but often it is where migrants are trapped in conditions of underemployment and exploitation. Unfortunately, the irregular labour market also was also being resorted to by MRAA according to our interviewee given that people are often desperate to work. Quotes used in the text: However, these services were often provided from a wide variety of organisations but due to the lack of funding and the lack of a "national integration service commission which can for example oversee employability programmes and identify the standard level of the services" (Interview S15), they were often perceived as fragmented and thus they fell short in terms of their accessibility to the broader population; In Scotland, asylum seekers are allowed to take part to ESOL classes while in England they are not, so "they are very much seen as the others and when they receive the leave to remain they are completely unequipped, [but] pressure is put on them immediately to find work" (Interview S15); Remedies were suggested such as a "minimum of 240 hours a year of ESOL provision for each person" (Interview S15); what employers want: "some employers say they need a piece of paper, others say they need someone that knows how to do the job" (Interview S15).	4.12.2018
S16	Interviewee 16 is a policy officer at the local level which manages the resettlement scheme in a local authority. English language was identified by this interviewee as a major barrier both for migrants but also for employers, who have some difficulties in understanding the different cultural background of MRAA. Qualifications are also important for employers according to the interviewee. He added that irregular employment is not an issue for his specific area. No quotes used in the text.	5.12.2018
S17	Interviewee 17 is an officer for a public funded organisation supporting employability programmes. She highlighted the lack of awareness of services as one of the key problems alongside the fragmentation between public sector and third sector service provision. The interviewee explained that modern apprenticeships presented a problem in relation to the salary (minimum wage). Furthermore, employers are perceived as assuming that there is always a language barrier and a qualification barrier with MRAA. The interviewee didn't perceive that Brexit would be a barrier, at least not in Scotland because there would always be employment opportunities. No quotes used in the text.	11.12.2018

S18	Interviewee 18 is a project manager of a non-profit organisation which supports advocacy projects for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The interviewee discussed that often policies are not co-produced with people from a migrant background. The interviewee explained that the relationship with public sector organisations often depended upon the people managing the services. The lack of speedy accessibility to English language courses were also considered to be a barrier while modern apprenticeships were being identified as a bit confusing and often not easily accessible by the BAME community. examples of best practice have also been identified by the interviewee such as with Police Scotland which has found a way to better engage with BAME Community. Role modelling is identified as a potential enabler of integration, particularly for women. Entry level opportunities are available but they are often in very precarious sectors and roles. Asylum seekers are identified as a particularly vulnerable category due to the Home Office policies on asylum. Quotes used in the text: although policies can be positive, their potential effectiveness is hindered, because “they are not shaped with the involvement of these communities, there are a lot of barriers perceived and they are not communicated enough” (Interview S18); Another approach to tackling discrimination was identified in the course of our research such as training for all staff to be organised for different institutions and bodies “to make sure that they are aware of different cultures” (Interview S18) and that a more diverse workforce can help employers in accessing a more diverse variety of markets; Some of the respondents explained that “people are waiting three years to access [courses] and it is far too long (Interview S18).	13.12.2018
S19	Interviewee 19 is a parliamentary and policy officer at a non-profit organisation focusing on women. The interviewee often highlighted how women from the BAME community face discrimination in the workplace. Employers, in the opinion of the interviewee, should strive to make their business more inclusive and improve the mechanisms for reporting discrimination. A lack of evidence and data concerning BAME women were highlighted as important to properly inform policy makers of the barriers these groups were facing. More culturally sensitive childcare was requested and problems related to the salaries and costs of modern apprenticeships for over 25 years old were identified. Problems with recognising qualifications were also identified and few people using employability services was also a problem. According to the interviewee, career advice for young people should be delivered by people with gender competences that are able to challenge their own stereotypes. Entry level employment opportunities are often found in the low paid sectors and self-employment programmes for women can constitute the only solution for women who face discrimination at work. Quotes used in the text: “very few people have actually accessed employability services. Some of them because they don’t need too, others didn’t think it would have been sensitive on their needs” (Interview S19); Services should avoid “replicating gender stereotypes and making sure that people who are delivering career advice and guidance have gender competences and they are able to challenge their own stereotypes or perhaps the stereotypes of the people they are trying to help so helping them to find a career that best suits” (Interview S19); “the increasing amount of women in self-employment has coincided with rise of low paid self-employment and part time self-employment and what we see it is that women are often forced to self-employment because they face discrimination in labour market” (Interview S19); very few people decided to convert their qualifications and “that was mostly because it’s too complex, long winded and expensive (Interview S19) and sometimes not recognised at the same level of a UK qualification.	17.12.2018

S20	Interviewee 20 is a policy officer for migration issues in a trade union. Campaigns for the right to work for asylum seekers were identified as potential enablers while the interviewee also discussed the effect of the Immigration Act 2016 on undocumented migrants. Moreover, labour laws should be better enforced according to the interviewee through investment in bodies that protect workers from exploitation. Several cuts to employment programmes were highlighted and apprenticeships were not considered to be possible paths for migrants. Industrial policy and strategy with investment in quality jobs was identified as a potential enabler for MRAA labour market integration. The scenario after Brexit doesn't appear very positive according to the interviewee, with the risk of decreasing rights and jobs. Quotes in the text: The narrative that “any solution for the UK worker involves restricting migration services and scapegoating” (Interview S20); “they became more likely to be employed as undocumented workers, informally in some part of the economy, mainly hospitality and care” (Interview S20); the government “has not invested in the bodies that are meant to insure workers. The labour abuse authority has not been given the resources in order to enforce minimum standards. The Gangmaster authority was meant [to ensure] that certain sectors have to be licensed and had to demonstrate respect for certain standards, but sectors such as care, construction and cleaning, they don't require labour licences” (Interview S20).	18.12.2018
S21	Interviewee 21 is a resettlement refugee officer for a local authority. The interviewee explained that refugees are not mentioned in top down policies because they are not seen as part of the community. Services that are provided such as modern apprenticeships are often not accessible to migrants and refugees. According to the interviewee, language is a big barrier to employment. Skills recognition is often down to negotiation with employers while it would be easier to have a broader mechanism that recognises skills and qualifications. The interviewee recognised that entry level employment is often exploitative and some jobs in the local authority area are almost reserved to specific communities. Quotes used in the text: “often the needs of refugees inside the labour markets are seen as completely separate to the needs of the labour market” (Interview S21); According to some of the interviewees “refugees are never mentioned in top down policies” (Interview S21)	10.01.2019

S22	Interviewee 22 is an expert both at academic and civil society level in the field of integrating migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The interviewee highlighted the lack of co-production of policies concerning migrants and refugees, the low representation of MRAA and the difficulties to share knowledge through a trusted platform. According to the interviewee, employability policies differ based upon the group of migrants you are dealing with and usually it is easier to employ people that have already a high degree of human capital. Organisations that help people with face to face interactions, deal with interactions well and create a learning process based upon a specific mission and vision are the organisations that deal with migrants in the most effective way. Incentives for employers should be supported and policies should be well-funded if they aim to be effective. Recognising qualifications is important, however acquiring a qualification is also important to expand knowledge and social capital. The interviewee added that the Brexit scenario doesn't look good but people will find a solution to cope with the crisis. Quotes used in the text: Some of the stakeholders acknowledged that “none of the policy has been made, designed or co-designed with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Interview S22). The New Scots Strategy of the Scottish Government was described by one respondent as “one of the best policies in the world, which is already showing much more [support and effort] than England which doesn't have an integration policy but a green paper” (Interview S22). Finding new routes to support people in gaining qualifications can also help to “expand the networks of MRAA and capacitate the host population to work with people whose understanding is different” (Interview S22).	15.01.2019
Focus Group 1 (Interview Recording 23)	The focus group was composed of four officers of a local authority undertaking different roles in the employability of resettled refugees. They identified a number of barriers to the integration of MRAA into the labour market such as the understanding of the UK labour market, issues relating to trauma, language skills, and a lack of professionalism, very high expectations and a lack of social capital. They also widely discussed the limits of the benefits system and they asserted that often a dependency on benefits had developed. They also highlighted that their work is effective because it is a partnership approach, where the local authority has a lead role. Engagement with employers is one of the areas they would like to improve and they also discussed the changing benefits system as being difficult to understand. Some risks about the definition of volunteering were also raised in the discussion. Difficulties in achieving qualifications to move to further education alongside a lack of access to ESOL classes were also highlighted. Modern Apprenticeship presented some barriers in terms of attraction for employers in particular in hiring people over 25 years old. An additional barrier that was identified was a lack of translation of specific certificates that can provide access to job placements. Brexit was considered as a challenge due to the European funding that often sustains and supports some of the employability pathways. Quotes used in the text: Our interviewees identified “a lack of national certificate courses at colleges, which give you entry routes. There is a lack of choice, suitable ones, for the courses that people wanted to do and there is a lack of thought about how the people that have a lack of education, can achieve the qualifications they need to move to further education” (Focus group).	10.12.2018
Beneficiaries		
Interview Number	Short Description of Interview	Date of Interview

B1	Interview 1 moved to the UK almost ten years ago for personal reasons. He lived in London for two years before moving to Glasgow where he now lives. He is a highly educated migrant, in a good job that matches his skills. He faced some challenges in accessing jobs, at the beginning due to for profit agencies trying to match him with lower grade jobs but at the moment he is working in a position that matches his skills and qualifications. He hasn't faced discrimination. He highlighted the uncertainty of the visa process and how Brexit is affecting the lives of migrants who have decided to invest time in the UK. He decided to become a UK citizen but he stated that despite doing so some of the barriers (e.g. dependants) in becoming settled in the UK are still there despite his citizenship. Social networks deriving from the Indian Community and his religious community had supported him in dealing with the day to day challenges he encountered. Quotes used in the text: Visa restrictions, uncertainty and fee structures often affected the lives of people and families, who, despite living in the UK for 5, 6 or 7 years found that "they might not have the visa and they decided not to take a call [and wait to acquire the Indefinite Leave to Remain]" (Interview B1) thus deciding to move back to their home countries.	3.10.2018
B2	Interviewee 2 moved to the UK almost eight years ago because of its academic reputation and the affordability of the Masters programme he enrolled in. He lived in Glasgow for his Masters and his employment, before moving to London for his PhD which he is currently undertaking. After the graduation, he was aiming to develop his own business but due to a lack of capital and the restrictions imposed by immigration laws, he decided to look for a job. He recognised that his lack of knowledge of the processes to access the UK job market hindered his path to employment. He supports the idea of developing some sort of platform to help migrants to explore how to enter the UK job market. In addition, he also highlighted how migration policies can affect the employment and self-employment of newcomers. Quotes used in the text: According to some of the migrants we interviewed, they never encountered any service "tailored towards people that don't know the basic part of the job market structure" (Interview B2)	5.10.2018
B3	Interview 3 moved to the UK seven years ago when he has asked for asylum. He obtained refugee status and afterwards he is applying for citizenship. He is undertaking his second Masters degree and working part-time. He had previously completed a Master's degree as soon as he arrived in the UK. Afterwards he began to study again from the bachelor level. He explained that his qualifications are not recognised in the UK due to the language barrier. Networking and developing social capital are pinpointed as fundamental to finding a job. Services such as integration usually address the most urgent needs, while he recognises that the job centre is usually only trying to give you whatever job possible. He proposes as solution possible incentives for employers to hire refugees. After his Master's he is hoping to open his own business because due to his disappointment in the lack of success he has had thus far when sending his CV (receiving no feedback). Quotes used in the text: "lack of references is a barrier to find a job for refugees and asylum seekers. If you don't have references you can't find a job" (Interview B3); Often it was mentioned how the work coaches "put people [under] pressure to go away and find any kind of job" (Interview B3), and often people decided to not attend because it was perceived that there was "no dignity around that" (Interview B3); According to Interviewee B3, "when you apply for a job, you have to build the cv and most likely it has to be related to experiences inside the UK or a similar system and you need the qualification to be from the UK (Interview B3).	23.10.2018

B4	Interviewee 4 moved to the UK with her husband more than ten years ago. She has studied but has struggled to find a job matching her skills. Thus, through a friend she was able to find a job in a sector that usually is related to her cultural background. She emphasised the importance of social connections in finding a job and the difficulties in having her qualifications recognised. Quotes used in the text: Some of the MRAA interviewed, for example, were unaware of the services available to support employability, mentioning that a specific organisation “helps to sort emergency issues and immigration status, while there was no plan about work, study” (Interview B4); , interviewee B4 declared “because I am from a different country and somebody from Scotland applies for the same job you know, it makes sense she gets the job because she speaks the language in a more confident way” (Interview B4).	27.10.2018
B5	Interview 5 moved to the UK as a refugee with a United Nations programme. He has returned to education and is at the moment studying, working and volunteering at the same time. He highlighted that connections and volunteering have been very important for him to become integrated in the community. Moreover, he thinks that existing rules and regulations should be changed to enable the integration of refugees with employers. Quotes used in the text: “it would be better for people to come and start again, from a very basic level” (Interview B5).	27.10.2018
B6	Interview 6 moved to the UK for studying his MSc and afterwards his PhD. At the end of his PhD he started to work in a company related to his field of study. He highlighted that the barriers people face are related to the Tier 2 visa and the time it takes to navigate the bureaucracy. He also stated that often there is a feeling of instability because of the relationship between the visa and the employers. Finally, he explained that in his view sometimes educated refugees have an easier life than international students. Quotes used in the text: it is very difficult to move from one work visa to another work visa (Interview B6).	28.10.2018
B7	Interview 7 moved to the UK with her family when she was a teenager and she attended school, undertook an apprenticeship and attended university. She discussed in depth the difficulties of accessing the labour market and the high competition among candidates. Networking and social contacts were important to find jobs in her experience. She also emphasised the importance of informing companies about immigration policy rules, so people can have the opportunity to access the labour market. Moreover, she described the role of agencies in supporting her to find a job as being very ineffective agent and she stated that services which support the development of CVs could be useful. Finally, language and the way that people sell themselves is one of the main enablers to accessing jobs in her opinion. Quotes used in the text: Some organisations were also perceived as not fully understanding the visa policies or not knowing “that the Home Office takes time to process [applications]” (Interview B7); they had to figure out how to navigate the UK job market and how to build up a “perfect and competitive cv” (Interview B7) alone.	1.11.2018
Focus Group B	Focus Group B included seven women from India who moved to the UK several years ago. They highlighted how hard life had been when they moved to the UK because they had to adapt to a new life, without families and they had to manage jobs or businesses as well as their families. They often struggled to find jobs, so many of them decided to work with their husband in self-employment. They had experienced significant levels of discrimination but they use the organisation that they are now part of to help them to get through difficult times. They find that nowadays immigration is on the one hand more difficult because people need to find a job before moving, and on the other hand it is also easier because there are more integration services available. No quotes used in the text	29.01.2019