Chapter Five

Work-Based Learning and the Inclusion Pathway into the Labour Market

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As worldwide conflicts and economic inequality persist, and climate change endangers the livelihood of large populations, migration is to some degree a fact to stay (Khanna, 2021). Migration within the European Union already necessitates a substantial change in the systems of education and employment, and the social state as a whole (CISOTRA, 2018), taking account of a large number of non-native speakers within the system of education and initial and further training.

Refugee migration adds a distinct and quite complex element to that megatrend. The countries of Europe are all confronted with a degree of involuntary migration, ranging from escape from individual prosecution to economic and social despair. As Chapter 2 of this book demonstrates, the countries of Europe have committed to the protection of migrants. Trying to fence Europe in would contradict core European values, bear unacceptable human costs and delay the unavoidable adaptation to modern transcultural society. Whether we like it or not – we have to learn to deal with such a society. On the positive side, there is ample evidence that an open and diverse society has better prerequisites for striving in a rapidly changing world (Florida, 2005). Not being the target of migration or the source of migration is an indicator of economic, educational and social failure that should be highly concerning to policymakers in such countries. There is also no denying that such change means tension and conflict.

Based on the research within the CISOTRA project (CISOTRA, 2019, 2021) we can clearly see that in all of the partner countries, the situation implies substantial challenges. In Turkey, a large Syrian population is trying to settle down as an early return to their home country

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becomes ever more improbable, phenomena like child labour are being reported, while many refugees aim at further migration to the northern countries of Europe. In Greece, a large population of refugees lives in a situation of permanent transition, without substantial efforts for inclusion in the host society. In contrast, the agreed processes of organised transition are slow to be implemented.

Italy, despite substantial efforts of parts of the state and institutions at better societal and labour market inclusion, is characterised by phenomena of illegal labour and societal disintegration. At the same time, individual transition plans to northern Europe are counter-productive for societal inclusion. In Slovenia, the low number of young refugees profit from a dedicated community of supporters. Still, a growing political controversy on migration challenges the foundations of such support and the ability of the country to be an active player in European schemes to meet the challenge. Finally, in Germany, the final destination for many refugees, the high hopes of young refugees, in particular for security, opportunities for education, employment and ability to support families at home meet a society in transition to digitalised, high-tech, highly educated, culturally diverse and dynamic society and economy, which challenges the adaptability of large segments of the residents (OECD, 2019).

In all partner countries, the research analysis and studies make it very clear that unaccompanied minors and young refugees are youth on the move. They are a particularly 'transnational' group, as they have often been on the run for a long time, are away from family and traditional ties, frequently have travelled through various countries, worked and suffered there and are often not sure about their future in the countries of their present residence.

In some countries with less economic opportunity, unaccompanied minors and your refugees primarily seek to move on to the northern countries. But, unfortunately, in the northern countries they get involved in a legal process that often leads to deportation or an illegal status, or one that does not encourage societal or economic integration.

Young refugees, therefore, are a very particular group to be distinguished from 'migration from country A to country B' youth. In stark contrast to voluntary migration, unaccompanied minors are primarily involuntary migrants, partly forced to escape from individual prosecution, war and terror, partially sent away out of such situations as the

bearers of high hopes of whole families, somewhat being wholly displaced in the process of disintegration of home countries, and having long histories of escape through several inhospitable transit countries (CiSOTRA, 2021).

The solution to the challenge seems to be obvious. Admit the relatively young refugees to the demographically challenged countries of northern Europe, teach them the country's language, educate them and organise a well-coordinated system of transition to work. However, this seemingly straightforward solution appears to be much more complex on closer analysis. As the countries of northern Europe (in the partnership of CiSOTRA represented by Germany) are the target country for many young refugees, we will, in the paragraphs to follow, discuss the topic of transition to education and employment primarily from the experience of Germany, however on a level of abstraction that makes the insights potentially useful for similar countries as well.

The chapters of this volume on the current situation in the respective partner countries include additional aspects of the situation of education and employment of young refugees in these countries, most prominent among these the prevention of child labour and other forms of illegal or otherwise unacceptable forms of treating minors and youth. In addition, the chapter details the work-based learning related to aspects of the wider 'model' of transition of UAM to adulthood.

The low level of youth unemployment in countries that use quality work-based learning schemes has not gone unnoticed. Consequently, the European Commission has for quite some time recommended work-based learning as a means to fighting youth unemployment (European Commission, 2012). Integration to work through work-based learning is a recipe easily prescribed but hard to implement.

The interests of the host countries and the desires and aspirations of young refugees seem to be in perfect harmony: security from prosecution and war and work in a prosperous country on the one side and a new generation of keen new citizens able and willing to fill the positions in work-based apprenticeship and work in crafts and industry, which have been left open by shrinking numbers of younger generations in the target countries on the other side. However, this perfect harmony is based on several assumptions that have to be tested and conditions that have to be produced and managed carefully.

Several assumptions have to be made on the side of the refugees: a willingness to take on the challenges of a situation of extreme insecu-

rity as long as the status of residence is unclear while having to be increasingly functional in a complex system of education and care; acceptance of the partly strange and unfamiliar habits and motivations of the enthusiastically welcoming volunteers in a free and individualistic society; forming a rational mental model of opportunities and challenges to be faced with persistent effort and resilience in the face of disappointment. They have to get to grips with defeats and sometimes even phenomena of racism and well-meaning but sometimes paternalistic support. These elements are factors of stabilisation and orientation, which have to be mastered from both sides (Pietsch & Steiner, 2019).

On the side of the resident society (of which large parts have a migrant background of their own nowadays), challenges include the intercultural opening of the education and employment system, sincere openness and willingness to reform, and the necessary investments and determination to make the system work. Success in these aspects is required to deliver on the claim so famously made by the German chancellor Angela Merkel in 2015 'Wir schaffen das!' (Together we will succeed in this!).

On the side of the refugees, a tremendous effort must be made to cope not only with the usual challenges of adolescence but also with insecurity, change of the cultural environment, language, societal rules and habits, religion and expectations of host country actors, home country families, and peers. Young refugees face a multi-faceted challenge of practical coping with the necessities of such change and successful identity building (Wiesinger, 2018).

The core of the challenge is that young refugees are required to be included in a highly differentiated working society (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, 2017). Individual identity and societal position are determined by one's position in the world of work. This is quite a stark contrast to societies more determined by family, religion, and position in a hierarchical political system of clientelism or other forms of societal organisation (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012).

We claim that work and the formative power of work are key to a successful orientation and inclusion in the receiving societies. The labour system in the receiving countries is based on a high-quality work-based education, based on the dual system of company-based initial training and corresponding vocational schools form the backbone of education and initial training in the most successful industrial countries, in-

cluding Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Denmark. Training providing companies are the core to inclusion while being more or less alien to the education and training systems of most other countries, which have focused on following family traditions and businesses or academic education as the sole source of individual success and which share an understanding of vocational education as being inferior and outright stigmatising.

As this different understanding can be a fundamental source of misunderstanding, if not a feeling of being discriminated against, if work-based education is being recommended to young refugees, it might be useful to remind some of the arguments in favour of the work-based education, according to the common understanding in the core target countries of migration.[1]

- *Work as the source of identity.* In countries like Germany, people usually identify themselves as 'being' a certain professional, like a carpenter, mechanic, public servant, etc. There are more than 300 certified vocational degrees in addition to academic and other professional profiles.[2] 'Being' assumes the professional identity being part of one's own overall identity and overall personal formation, not to be confused with doing a random 'job' for a living.
- *Work as a place of societal encounter.* The place of work is the place of encounter between people from all origins. Here people are primarily colleagues with a common task and common duties rather than being defined by culture and origin.
- *Therefore, work is a place of societal acceptance.* Being a good colleague, proving one's value to the team, fitting in is the ticket to societal acceptance, if not full immersion.
- *Work as a source of role models.* The workplace is the place where successful role models can be met, among them many with a migration background on their own. The workplace is the alternative to being stuck in societally unintegrated peer groups and parallel societies.
- *Work as a source of income and self-consciousness.* In contrast to

[1] For a general presentation of the dual vocational training system and its benefits, see https://www.govet.international/en/54879.php.

[2] See the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training website, https://www.bibb.de/en/39.php.

other forms of society, the work-based societies of northern Europe imply a strong expectation that each individual provides for itself. This has been strongly influenced by the sweeping reform of the social state, e.g., in Germany in the scope of the 'Hartz reforms' (Wietschorke, 2019; Walwei, 2019). Also, not all income is equally accepted. Of course, not even being rich is a ticket to society, but societal respect depends on the income being earned legitimately and transparently.

- *Therefore, there is a standard model of acceptable 'well-qualified' work as a source of sustainable income as the almost exclusive form of existence in the labour society.* This implies quite long pathways of education and professional training, which amount to 3–4 years for a typical apprenticeship, plus potential further training, plus the substantial additional time for educational and pre-vocational preparation for newcomers to the country, which can amount to ten years of education and training until final integration to work and a full income.
- *Finally, work as a source of self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1997). As all facets of society are centred around paid labour, access to qualified work is the almost exclusive source of legitimate self-consciousness and feeling of self-efficacy through success in 'making' something to the highest standards or providing services with excellent customer feedback. However, just doing a 'job' as a source of income is not the way to societal respect and individual satisfaction in labour societies.

This obviously implies several conflict points, which are being experienced by practitioners when consulting with young refugees (Burkert, 2021).

On the side of refugees, the most important are

- Unrealistic expectations: most refugees perceive Germany as a 'rich' country. The overall level of wealth is being identified with individual success. Only over time, a more differentiated perception of a highly differentiated society sinks in. Social differences are rising, and large segments of the resident population are in a more or less precarious situation, struggle to make ends meet and face multiple mechanisms of competition, exclusion and discrimination. Therefore, success in such a society cannot be taken for

granted and is highly dependent on individual social, economic, and educational resources.

- Therefore, ambition is required, while over-ambition, the expectation of immediate access to pathways of education like the stereotypical ambition 'to become a doctor, lawyer or pharmacist,' which only very few of the resident population can achieve and which depend on high resources and academic achievement in the top 0,5% of an age cohort, can be a recipe for disaster.
- This fact creates tension within individuals, such as pressure from families in home countries to achieve success. But, on the other hand, the inability to achieve such success and generate an income that can support far away families implies shame and blame, even the necessity to break up with one's own familial roots.
- Finally, as newcomers to the resident society cannot be expected to be fully aware of the mechanisms of the host society, there is a substantial danger of interpreting usual conflicts of socialisation to the labour market as racism. Many practitioners describe the experience of young refugees as one of tremendous individual freedom. However, this has been reconciled with the basic fact that work-based training systems along the dual system are based on the necessity of being accepted by a training employer. This acceptance cannot be enforced but is a matter of an individual encounter and reconciliation. External control in authoritarian and culturally conformist societies is replaced with a system of quite non-transparent, implicit and intricate codes of conduct and habitual expectations. Freedom implies the competence of self-control, which is an exercise in trial and error even for youth born in these countries and who benefit from familial acculturation.

On the side of the education and labour system, these conflict points are reinforced by overall unpreparedness for the new phenomenon of relatively high-volume refugee immigration. The understanding of labour migration is largely being shaped by the experience of the inflow of 'guest worker' migration during the sixties and seventies, which was characterised by migration in the then large sectors of unqualified mass production factory work. Climbing the social ladder and integration into the host societies during this period was partly not expected by either migrants or the host society and has largely been left to the

market forces and empirically required multiple generations and is still not finished (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). On the other end of the spectrum, a degree of migration of highly qualified experts proved to be largely unproblematic. However, the immigration of refugees who have no place to go back to in the case of failure and expect to be successful in a short period is a new phenomenon. Therefore, several assumptions are being made, which are only partly realistic on the side of educators and training companies and potential employers.

- Expectation to be fully functional: schools are designed to serve a resident population socialised according to the basic rules and habits of the country. They are not intended to socialise students from scratch. Consequently, they are relatively short on resources and they leave such socialisation to the social support systems in families and social groups. On the other hand, employers are profit-making companies that depend on the almost full productivity of their trainees and employees. This can be the case but is dependent on a far above average effort on the side of the migrant trainee vs resident students.
- Knowing the size of the challenge, educators and employers expect a very linear effort on the side of the refugees, which conflicts with the challenges of normal adolescence, and even more with coping with individual traumatisation, poverty in resources and ambition to live freely in security and develop an own identity. While the resources for dealing with such challenges are mostly quite limited, the expectations that young refugees compensate for disadvantages and individual gaps are even higher, adding to the stress and feeling of tension and conflict on the side of the refugees.
- Therefore, the expectation of high obedience and conformity, resilience, and tolerance to disappointment conflicts with the promise of freedom, success, and non-discrimination.
- Such legitimate but somewhat naive expectations reflect a minimal transcultural awareness and intercultural opening of businesses. Formed by previous experiences, most companies have limited awareness of young refugees' special needs, resources, and conflicts. On the one hand, this is legitimate, as such awareness and intercultural sensitivity is not their core business. However, on the other hand, the currently quite limited efforts to im-

prove systematic inclusion are counter-productive in the face of high demand for trainees in many sectors, such as the crafts and SME industries (Fachkräftesicherung für kleine und mittlere Unternehmen, 2021). Therefore, a high degree of individual openness of company owners and a more professional approach are required.

What Can Be Done? Prerequisites of Making Work-Based Learning Work

Despite the tensions and conflicts that have been described above, the practice of immigration of UAM in transition to adulthood currently can be described as a fragile success. None of the apocalyptic visions of the vociferous enemies protecting refugee UAM and young refugees have come true (Brückner et al., 2020). On the large, young refugees have profited from a welcoming attitude of the large majority of the host societies, real economic opportunities in societies with a substantial demand for labour and flexibility and adaptability of institutions and arrangements which have been, while not being without frictions and dysfunctionalities, unprecedented. Moreover, these efforts could build on the capacities of a solid and flexible, if underfunded, educational system, youth support system, including a large pool of highly professional social work professionals, overall open and experienced training companies, and a large and energetic civil society, namely substantial volunteer engagement (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend, 2017).

These elements have created a large pool of good practices of inclusion into education and training, which could be synthesised by the CiSOTRA project into a general model of transition from the status of a protected unaccompanied minor to societally and economically fully included and immersed young adult.[3]

Elements of this model include outreach and engagement to youth, stabilisation, orientation, smooth transition through 'chains of education' into work-based and, in some cases, academic training and sustainable inclusion in the regular employment system. The main elements of this model, which are all backed up by good practices documented in the working papers of the CiSOTRA project, will be ex-

[3] The paragraphs to follow are detailed in CiSOTRA (2021); the model is explained in detail in Chapter 4, documentation of good practices is to be found in Chapter 7.

plained in brief before we finally point to the key areas that need expansion and improvement.

On the level of social inclusion, there is a broad consensus among the partners about the risk factors for refugee youth to drop out of society permanently out of frustration, denied opportunities, lack of building social relations and mental illness.

Many actors see the danger of forming an alienated 'parallel society' of individuals who are not deported but also not an integrated part of the society. They are in danger of joining the ranks of other equally alienated groups that have dropped out of the system at some point (CiSOTRA, 2019, p. 92).

While the status of UAM is relatively straightforward and secure, the status of adulthood brings the challenge of freedom. Therefore, all elements described below, stabilisation, orientation, and progressing through education, need to be addressed professionally at a minor age already. Capable professional structures and proper training of guardians is vital in this area. However, as most young refugees are in the later stages of the juvenile hood, this period is comparatively short. Therefore, the focus of attention is the delicate phase of transition to adulthood of young refugees.

At the point of reaching adulthood, young refugees are no longer obliged to be in contact with custodians and are free to act based on their own deliberations. While this is normal for youth who have often managed their own escape and have acquired a level of 'street smartness,' the experienced young refugees decide upon continuation of supportive contacts with custodians and other institutions. Therefore, it cannot be taken for granted that refugee youth remain in contact with relevant institutions, seek information actively, use media in which institutions communicate, remain registered in the various systems, live in a social environment that encourages constructive education or work ethics or are physically and mentally capable of reacting to input.

'Engaging,' therefore, describes activities to reach out to these 'hard to reach.' This often includes proactive ways of reaching out to these youth and persistence in patiently contacting them in various formats. The key here is organising a smooth transition. Awareness of educators in schools, guardians and supporters of the potential and risk factors of dropout, low-level access support and attractive offers. Hands-on learning is key to avoiding dropouts. Further pathway, the existence of realistic opportunities, encouragement of high ambitions while chan-

nelling ambition to realistic 'first steps' are key features that need to be considered before reaching adulthood (CISOTRA, 2021, Chapter 7).

Such stabilisation during the transition period should include support in clearing the status of residence, a screening of resources and opportunities, and the status of mental and physical health, social embeddedness and perception of well-being. Connecting minors to relevant actors outside of their basic support bubble, increasing their 'social capital,' through exposing them to accessible representatives of relevant institutions and organisations, such as further education, support organisations, sports clubs, youth organisations, young women's groups, and the like is of critical importance. Most important is the exposure to role models of success in the German education and training system, namely migrants with similar experiences who have 'made it' in the host country training system. These can empathise with the minor migrants, are credible in their eyes and can effectively communicate opportunities and conditions of success. These efforts need to be reinforced close to adult age. Support needs to include orientation at all stages since minors frequently have to leave the system without having a range of trustworthy people to turn to for support and orientation.

'Orienting' describes all methodologies to realise opportunities and options, to decide about one's own aims and life strategies ('life projects'), build relevant competencies, trust, confidence and motivation to become able and willing to access the host country education training and employment system despite potential initial irritation, misunderstandings and frustrations. The factors of social un-integration point to the fact that many refugee youths lack the orientation in at least two dimensions: lack of orientation vs reasonable and meaningful goals for themselves: What do they want to achieve? Who do they want to be? Here a readjustment of initial 'dreams' and ambitions to the actual conditions of the host country is the main challenge.

A lack of orientation vs the means to achieve these goals: 'What are the opportunities, the pathways, whom to talk to, what to do?' Here the highly fragmented and even for experts quite confusing multitude of institutions, organisations, opportunities and challenges needs to be reflected, which in all cases requires qualified support.

Without adequate room to form such orientations, without a partner to discuss perspectives and possibilities to reverse former decisions and re-orient, there is a danger of frustration due to a lack of alternative plans. Interventions that aim at qualification or employment only,

without supporting the forming of such orientations and without an element of building the competence to form such orientation, must therefore be regarded as inadequate for sustainable integration. Peer role models are particularly important in this respect. Increasingly, the self-organisation of refugee and migrant youth will play a greater role in providing orientation. Also, exposure to representatives of the 'final destination' for youth, of the world of employment, i.e. craftspeople, qualified workers with migration backgrounds, entrepreneurs, young engineers and academics, in particular professional women, must be a real presence for young refugees in addition to the representatives of volunteer refugee support organisations.

This longer process of orientation also has to include opportunities for experimentation and reflected experience, which provides for various kinds of work-based learning experiences, if possible, in real-world environments. They already need to be organised during the stage of regular school education, as foreseen to at least a modest extent within the German system, given the larger needs of the orientation of refugees.

Practices, such as shorter or longer internships, but also a whole year of voluntary service in the social sector (as in the case of the German youth voluntary social service[4]) are examples of such orientation.

The aspect of 'stabilising' acknowledges that overall stabilisation is a multi-factorial and long-term process rather than a momentary phenomenon. Progress and setbacks need to be expected and balanced. The much-discussed article by one of the most experienced professionals in the field, Irmela Wiesinger, on identity building of young refugees, points to the several phases of migration. Often the high need for guidance does not become apparent until two to three years after arrival, before which many youth function under the 'facade of functioning normally.' 'Honeymoon phases' interchange with phases of conflict and tension. The preparation phase and the actual act of migrating are usually followed by a phase of overcompensation characterised by a high level of conformity, which leads to a phase of 'decompensation,' traditionally marked by tension and conflict and an increased risk of dropout and counter-productive behaviour. Finally, if

[4] See https://www.bundes-freiwilligendienst.de/fsj-freiwilliges-soziales-jahr/ and https://www.caritas.de/fuerprofis/fachthemen/caritas/caritas-als-arbeitgeber-fuer-fluechtlinge/freiwilligendienst-fuer-fluechtlinge.

the systems of orienting and stabilising work properly, the phase of understanding finalises the inclusion process (Wiesinger, 2018). Details of this discussion are described in a lecture within the E-Learning portal of CiSOTRA.[5]

Inserting. In all of the partner countries, on a conceptual level, but also more and more in practice, the actors are working to integrate social work, education and training. There is a high level of insight that social work alone is not enough, that youth must be educated, trained and integrated into work. On the one hand, this is a consequence of the insight that these youths will stay in high numbers and not return to their 'home' countries soon.

Suppose they are not to be an alienated part of the host societies permanently. In that case, ways must be found to educate, train, and insert them into the general education and training system. This is a huge challenge in all countries for several reasons. First, the national reports in the scope of the CiSOTRA Project mention significant heterogeneity of educational prerequisites, individual aspirations, language skills, and cultural background (CiSOTRA, 2019). Also, most of the youth arrives at an age at which the host country youth mostly finalise their educational career while refugee youth are about to begin it.

Therefore, serious efforts to include these youth require a major reform of the educational, social support, training and insertion systems in all partner countries. Basically, all countries are more and more transforming to 'migration societies' in general. Therefore, they have to adapt their systems to this fact to make their overall systems diversity-friendly. At the very least, all countries must face the challenge of developing complementary systems for the particular group of young refugees from individual measure/project level to system level.

Like their native counterparts, refugee youth need to move along a 'chain of education.' These 'chains' include various stages of primary and secondary education, compensatory measures in preparation for an apprenticeship or job, with the final target of sustainable integration in qualified work. The effectiveness of this chain depends on a smooth transition between the individual elements of that chain in educational systems, which can be quite fragmented, as is the case in Germany. Therefore, actors in the system have to ensure that each step is appropriate for the status of the youth and that proper care is taken for the

[5] https://elearning.CiSoTRA.eu/.

links in the chain to fit together. Moreover, the transition from one part of the chain to another often requires specific support.

For refugees, this 'chain' is quite specific, as they usually enter the system late (at the age of 16 or later) with sometimes very basic educational prerequisites or even no school experience at all.

Therefore, a very specific 'chain of education' has emerged, which is highly specific in each partner country. The principle will be illustrated by an example from Germany, more specifically, the strategic partner of the city of Munich.

An overall characteristic of the system are offers of consultancy and support, such as youth migration services, school social work, and support provided by volunteer organisations.

After having cleared individual prerequisites, learning the host country's language is the next stage, which enables the refugee to obtain a basic school degree as the first step to further education.

One specific form of schooling is vocational integration classes, which combine language learning with initial work-based learning experiences in a range of subjects and related specific language learning. These newly developed classes are considered a good practice, described in more detail in the working papers of the CiSOTRA project (CiSOTRA, 2021, p. 92).

The educational efforts aim to insert into the dual system of initial training, i.e., obtaining an apprenticeship with a regular training company. In addition, as described more closely below, such apprenticeships are now often supported by additional measures, such as 'assisted apprenticeships.'

In the dual system of training, apprenticeships provide high-quality training, leading to a highly appreciated certification of professional competence, which opens the door to qualified employees and entitles accessing higher education, e.g., at universities of applied sciences. Apprenticeships are therefore by no means excluded from quality education, but represent a portal to such education. Most of the owners of SMEs in Germany and Switzerland and leaders of companies such as BMW, Siemens, Continental, and others take pride in having started their career with an apprenticeship in the dual system (Schlittler, 2014).

Students with appropriate educational prerequisites are free to attend upper secondary school and obtain the relevant degree to access the university directly or directly access the university in case of having exams from the home country recognised.

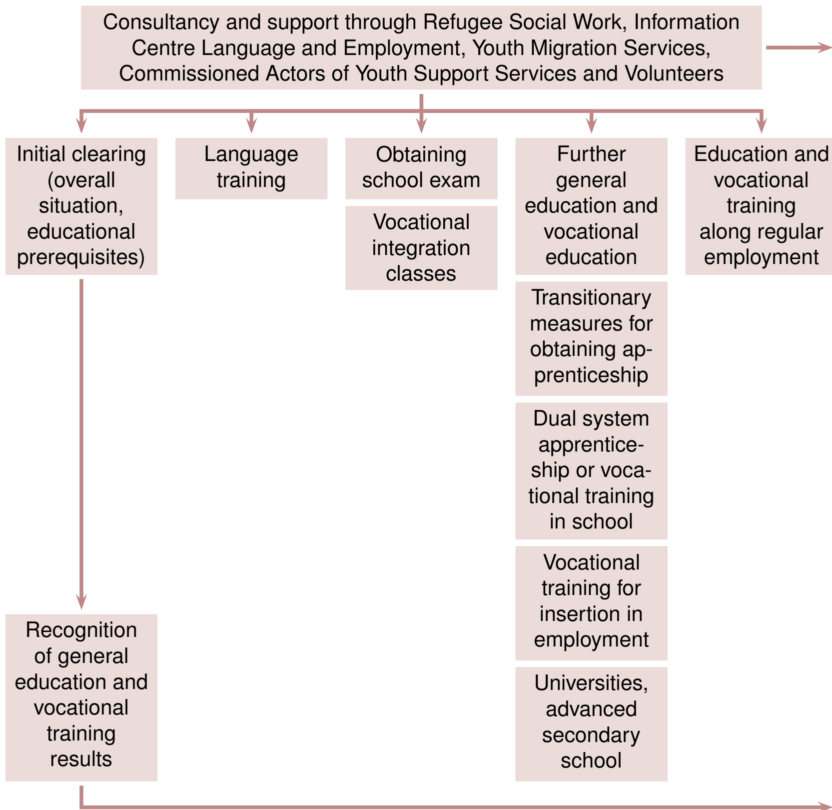

FIGURE 5.1 Chain of Education for Young Refugees, City of Munich, Germany (adapted fom Landeshauptstadt München, 2018, p. 63)

While apprenticeships in the dual system are still considered the 'standard' form of training, all persons with legal residence are free to enter the general labour market, i.e., taking on a 'job.' More usual and common among these are jobs at fast-food restaurants, delivery services or unqualified work in production or services. However, while these are typical, such jobs are not encouraged. This is because the low level of income obtained there will usually not suffice to lead a fully independent life, support a family or even support families in the home country (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2020). In general, therefore, there are efforts to organise such work into regular qualifications and encourage young refugees to obtain a fully sustainable qualification that bears much higher chances of independent non-precarious living in primarily high-cost environments.

One recent focus of reform of support for all youth struggling with integration into mainstream education and training has been (e.g., in the case of Germany) recognising the long-term character of social stabilisation, which requires assistance for the individual also after initial insertion into education, training and employment. The GP (DE 7) 'assisted apprenticeship' (CiSOTRA, 2021, p. 101). reflects that such assistance by social work can only be phased out gradually, as the training itself and later on the income and socialisation in a regular team of coworkers and company provide a dependable structure for the individual.

Typically, therefore, stabilising an alienated and socially unintegrated individual is one of the areas in which spatial/community coordination and the maintenance of a close network of actors are particularly important. In addition, many activities that do not directly aim at qualification or professional insertion, such as sports activities, becoming part of an association or club, cultural activities and volunteerism can contribute much to the stabilisation of individuals.

Here the closer community, the neighbourhood and the municipal community have to develop and maintain an attitude of openness and a 'welcoming culture,' not only within initiatives and organisations which are dedicated to refugee support but in all parts of the civil society as well as in all parts of the public administration and institutions.

Coordination of education and training of refugees has therefore been the topic of federal programmes which have supported municipal 'coordinators for refugee schooling,' a function that many municipalities have recently adopted as a regular part of their institutional framework, e.g., the CiSOTRA associated partner City Hall of Regensburg (Bräu, 2018). Within this framework for work-based training and insertion to employment, three actors require a more detailed mentioning: schools, employers and NGOS.

The Role of Schools (Vocational Schools)

Schools must be the focal point of such efforts of work-based inclusion. As schools, due to universal obligatory school attendance for children, are a universal contact point to state and societal organisations as a whole, they in many respects represent the host society. Therefore, they can potentially be a hub for such holistic approaches or at least be an important part of them. Traditionally, schools could count on the socialising function of families and the general society; they now serve

a large segment of students who are newcomers and whose families cannot socialise them into the host society. In some cases, families connected by virtual communication from the home country or traditionally oriented families who hold unrealistic expectations and are misinformed by native language media can even hold back such socialisation. The ability of families to assist with socialisation is absent in the case of unaccompanied minors. Schools must replace such socialising structures.

While the reports from all partner countries indicate the factual importance of what schools do or not do, a conscious adoption of such a role is reported only in some best practices.

Being able to play such a role presupposes the insight into the desirability and necessity of such a role as well as the willingness to develop a matching role profile and appropriate training of teachers and the new additional elements of 'whole schools'[6] such as social workers, community developers, employment consultants, psychologists, associated sports instructors from sports clubs, etc.

Schools are traditionally only responsible for learners at obligatory school age, while many young refugees are beyond this age, starting their educational pathway at a time at which their resident peers conclude it. However, older youth can profit from school-type resources concerning educational prerequisites and personal development level. Moreover, school-based vocational training also blurs the line between initial school education and adult learning. Therefore, transforming schools into more comprehensive training and learning centres is an important point for development.

Teaching, social work and consultancy for transitioning to the general training and employment system are even more integrated into such schools. However, institutional separation among the various professions involved in supporting, educating and administering refugee youth is still a fact, as is the separation of training of these professionals, their professional communities and professional learning.

For all of this, insight into the basic concepts of diversity, interculturality and inclusiveness as a mission for schools is necessary. Unfortu-

[6] Cf. Conclusions of the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on Inclusion in Diversity to achieve a High-Quality Education for All (2017). For an overall discussion of the role of schools in migrant children education cf. ROMigsC (2019).

nately, all partner countries struggle to make progress on this, as good practices exist but are slow to be universally adopted.

The literature shows conceptual insights in all partner countries and reports examples of activities in this direction. Elements like the consultancy PUR at vocational school centre in associated partner City Hall of Regensburg are examples of such new elements (CiSOTRA, 2021, p. 97; Pietsch, 2018).

The Role of Companies

Companies are the core actors of inclusion. Companies are free to choose their trainees and employers, and all employees are dependent on their mutual acceptance if a productive work environment is to be achieved. In this sense, there is the right to *seek* employment in work of one's own liking (freedom of choosing work). Still, there is no legally enforceable entitlement either to work or even to receive in-company training (Deutscher Bundestag, 2016).

Therefore, training with an employer depends on matching the demand for qualified and productive labour on the side of companies and the individual aspirations and competencies of young would-be trainees. In most cases, this is a win-win situation, as companies take pride in providing excellent training opportunities in the company, which they regard as a batch of quality for the company excellence and an element of social responsibility.

Therefore, companies are prepared to invest heavily in such training (Pfeifer et al., 2020). These investments are often only recovered after several years of employment following the initial training. This is why companies are highly motivated to take on their apprentices after the initial training.

Companies mostly feel a high degree of responsibility and commitment to their apprentices and are prepared to support them in all aspects of life and professional development. In exchange, they expect commitment, willingness to learn, fitting into the team, and a focus on the apprenticeship, i.e., they expect that the candidate puts the success of the apprenticeship in place as one of the individual priorities. As a result, apprentices are mostly not trained within isolated bubbles within the companies, but primarily by experienced expert workers.

Accepting the apprentice by his or her colleagues is not an unfair demand towards foreigners. Still, a pretty typical feature of the dual system, as evident from a comprehensive and intensive discussion on

the trainability of the resident young generation already long before refugee migration became a factor. Work teams are susceptible to the willingness and team competence of candidates, as a regular rate of 25% of dropouts from apprenticeships clearly demonstrates. Extensive support systems that have been set up for decades to avoid such dropouts now have to be adapted to the specific needs of refugee youth. The refugee youth profit from high demand for apprentices in many segments of crafts and industry, in particular in more peripheral regions, due to demographic change, which is a fundamental shift from the situation a few years ago, when only 'the best and the brightest' were able to obtain an attractive apprenticeship placement.

Companies and institutions like chambers of crafts have developed several projects to advise and support their members on how to be more interculturally open and capable of supporting their apprentices. As a result, such intercultural competencies and attitudes are more and more part of the training of trainers (Handwerkskammer Niederbayern-Oberpfalz, 2018). Overall, the integration of refugees into the dual training system has been a remarkable success, as the most recent study of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training demonstrates. Moreover, integration in of refugee youth the training is even higher than that of resident youth with migration backgrounds, which depends on the high level of engagement for this group from all sides, including companies (Eberhard & Schuß, 2021).

To avoid the experience of work-based learning as a 'reality shock' of being confronted with partners whose job and identity is not constituted by supporting refugees in distress but by getting quality work done and making a profit, all support structures need to be focused on preparing for this standard situation of inclusion. Civil society plays a critical role here.

The Role of Civil Society

NGOS and civil society are a 'live laboratory' to develop and test such constructive and viable orientations and identities in the host society. In all partner countries, NGOS play a vital and positive role.

While in some countries there is a strong tradition of partly faith-based (e.g., Caritas and other catholic organisations and their protestant counterparts) and volunteer engagement in social care as a whole, new initiatives in all of the partner countries add to the traditional ones.

Almost everywhere, partners assess that the formal state system would be insufficient to cope with the challenges and that volunteer work prevents the system from collapsing. Many initiatives point to innovation that also needs to be adopted by the regular system, such as expanded language learning opportunities, communication and social learning, general social work and community organisation.

A particular focus is on civil society engagement. In all of the partner countries, there is a broad consensus that the surge in the number of refugee youth could not have been managed without the engagement of non-governmental organisations. The same is true for the ongoing support and integration of young refugees.

While access to institutions is a legal right for those with a legal title of protection, integration or inclusion is a societal matter, where the 'struggle for acceptance' (Honneth, 2003) is a complex two-way process in which the mutual acceptance of the host country civil society actors and young refugees is the prerequisite for sustainable civic engagement.

The volunteers in NGOS play an indispensable role in providing the almost unconditional offer of emotional welcoming and support to migrants, opening the hearts and doors where actors who are more restricted by their core professional missions have a hard time doing so (Han-Broich, 2012).

Millions of volunteers have helped overcome the frictions of the surge of migrants and continue doing so in an impressive number. In the meantime, many have grown into substantial organisations that are quick to fill any gap identified in the refugee support system.

Such gaps include sufficient opportunities for in-depth language learning, extra lessons and individual support for apprentices, encouraging the particular needs of young refugee women, upholding the support structures also during the Covid-19 pandemic, which often implied moving the support to virtual spaces.

NGOS and the multiple spaces which they provide for individual and peer reflection of the multiple challenges that young refugees face, the time donated to young refugees to provide them with opportunities for meeting young residents and giving them a launchpad for developing forms of self-organisation in groups and associations of their own liking and preferences is a prerequisite without which inclusion into the system of education and employment would be bound to failure.

On the other hand, NGOS must also keep an eye on the final goal

of such inclusion in the 'real world' context of work and making a sustainable living. Therefore, the organisational development of such organisations has to focus on supporting inclusion into environments where they are confronted with people who may not be fully enthusiastic about the fact of migration, ignorant or indifferent about the distress and plight of young refugees and demanding ambition, functioning and resilience also vs negative experiences.

NGOs can do young refugees an excellent service by not shielding them from such attitudes and expectations but by being a place to discuss these in a protected space of peers and professionals. Here a differentiation of experiences is the key and a shortcut from negative experiences to narratives of self-victimisation and assumed racism, which must be balanced by exposing young refugees to the success stories of migrants who have 'made it.'

Their experiences and coping strategies cannot be replaced by the experiences and perspectives of well-meaning, primarily middle class, liberal volunteers, which form the most significant part of refugee supporters. These are challenged to exercise self-restraint and limit themselves to a kind of process accompaniment, which opens up spaces for self-organisation and self-reflection of young refugees. The best of NGOs have clearly identified this challenge and aim to quickly transfer the management of their organisations to young people with refugee experiences, as is the case with the NGO 'Campus Asylum.'[7]

Conclusion

The transition to a society that is characterised by more migration, among which a large number of young, frequently traumatised, displaced and distressed young unaccompanied refugees requires full engagement and management and even a fundamental reform of education and employment systems – tolerance and goodwill are not enough.

All efforts must have the apparent target of sustainable inclusion into modern labour societies.

Professionals and volunteers have to complement an ethical, client-centred approach with a realistic view of expectations of a labour centred society and conditions for success therein:

There is no social inclusion in modern labour societies without in-

7 See https://www.campus-asyl.de/leichtes-deutsch-other-languages/englisch/ and https://www.campus-asyl.de/verein/.

tegration into the legal labour market. To support such inclusion, the education systems in the target countries of migration has to adapt to:

- more non-native speakers,
- older learners,
- learners with multiple and persistent needs of psycho-social stabilisation, orientation and identity building.

The needs of such 'new' learners are not that different from the needs of ever-larger segments of the working population in a rapidly changing economy (digitalisation, globalisation, adaptation to climate change).

Therefore, the resident population can profit from improved flexible, modular life-long learning systems. The CiSoTRA project has documented a wide range of good practices that show elements of such systems, such as vocational school centres, which have been expanded to centres of lifelong learning and comprehensive support, better coordination of all actors, including NGOs, particularly those that encourage the self-organisation of young refugees and working with companies, in particular SMEs, to provide a wide range of training opportunities in a more flexible, modular and accessible mode. Flexible stubbornness is needed.

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