# PARTICIPATION OF REFUGEE YOUTH IN GERMANY'S VET SYSTEM: REAL-WORLD LABS AS OPPORTUNITIES FOR CO-CONSTRUCTIVE KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND INNOVATIVE PRACTICE TRANSFORMATION

Annette Korntheuer and Stefan Thomas

#### **ABSTRACT**

Germany has become the most important destination country for young refugees in Europe (Destatis, 2021). Vocational education and training can make an important contribution to overcome educational barriers and gain participation in society (Will & Hohmut, 2020). Since 2015, rural regions have faced new challenges in establishing effective support systems for young apprentices with forced migration experience (Ohliger et al., 2017). The participatory LaeneAs research project seeks to identify educational barriers and to promote successful educational pathways for young refugees in vocational training. In four distinct rural areas in Germany, stakeholders in formal, non-formal, and informal learning environments and young refugees will be brought together in real-world laboratories. The authors aim to open space for a co-constructive knowledge production process between scientific and political stakeholders, educational practitioners, and refugee youth. Real-world laboratories are a socio-spatial methodology that combines research and a sustainable capacity building process. The lifeworld expertise will be used for a contextual condition analysis of structural, societal, and individual barriers to education as well as

Annual Review of Comparative and International Education 2021 International Perspectives on Education and Society, Volume 42A, 25–34 Copyright © 2022 by Emerald Publishing Limited All rights of reproduction in any form reserved for practice transfer. Building on the discussion of the current state of research and the identification of significant gaps in the practice and research landscape, this essay will focus on the critical discussion of the methodological implementation of the study.

**Keywords:** Migration; educational barriers; vocational education and training; real-world labs; social integration; young refugees

#### INTRODUCTION

Germany has emerged as one of the most important destinations for young refugees in Europe. Since 2015, the question of how the German education system can overcome existing educational inequalities and disadvantages among young refugees has been raised with particular emphasis. At the end of 2019, nearly 340,000 refugee youth – recognized refugees, rejected asylum seekers, and asylum seekers – aged 16–24 lived in Germany (Destatis, 2021). Vocational education and training (VET) can make an important contribution toward overcoming educational barriers and gaining access to equal social participation. In Germany, successful involvement in the labor market usually requires a two- to three-yearlong vocational training for most professional occupations (Matthes et al., 2018). However, numerous scholars as well as human rights and advocacy groups have criticized Germany for being insufficiently prepared to provide educational opportunities to refugee youth despite the obligation under international and European laws to offer them equal access to education as German nationals (Vogel & Stock, 2017). The participatory *LaeneAs*<sup>1</sup> research project seeks to identify educational barriers and promote successful educational pathways for young refugees in vocational training. As part of this project, in four distinct rural areas in Germany, stakeholders from formal, non-formal, and informal learning environments, and young refugees will be brought together in real-world labs. We aim to open space for a co-constructive knowledge production process among scientific and political stakeholders, educational practitioners, and refugee youth.

Building on the discussion about the current state of research, this research essay will identify significant gaps in the practice and research landscape. Furthermore, it will describe how these may be addressed through the methodological implementation of the study.

## REFUGEE YOUTH: WHAT DO WE KNOW FROM RESEARCH ABOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE GERMAN VET SYSTEM?

Disrupted Educational Careers and Educational Resilience

Specific barriers to educational participation arise because of the forced migration experience. For example, young people had to interrupt their educational

careers before, during, and after flight (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al., 2020). Similarly, the living conditions after arrival in Germany, regarding placement in camps and shelters, have been criticized as a significant obstacle to the successful participation of children and youth in education (Crul et al., 2019; Korntheuer et al., 2018). Complex and restrictive asylum policies are perceived as discriminatory at the individual level. Nevertheless, the resilience and high educational aspirations of refugees are seen to contribute toward overcoming societal barriers to education (Lynnebakke & de Wal Pastoor, 2020).

#### Access Barriers to Educational Opportunities for Refugee Youth in the German VET System

Vocational training in Germany is a model of success by international standards. For example, the VET system is viewed as a reason for significantly lower youth unemployment rates in Germany compared to other European countries, as it enables a smooth transition from school to the labor market. Apprentices acquire recognized certificates and expertise, which are fundamental to maintain competitiveness in the German skilled trades (Pollmann-Schult & Mayer, 2004).

However, certain groups of immigrant youth have been already shown as unlikely to benefit from these advantages in several studies (Hunkler, 2016). Some authors emphasize that their significantly lower school-leaving qualifications make a successful transition into the VET system difficult. Others point to the lack of information about the German VET system, which leads qualified migrant youth to opt for academic education instead of vocational training, while certain authors view discriminatory practices in companies as a reason for this (Huke, 2020; Hunkler, 2016; Liebau & Salikutluk, 2016). This raises the question as to whether such challenges in accessibility also apply to young refugees (Will & Homuth, 2020). Although 34% of unemployed young people with a refugee background, who registered with the Federal Employment Agency at the end of 2018, are currently undergoing in-company training, there are doubts as to whether this training can be successfully completed (BIBB, 2020). Despite good manual skills and extraordinary motivation, young refugees have large educational and language deficits. In addition, companies face hurdles considering immigration law requirements, which prevent the employment of even well-qualified young people (Korntheuer et al., 2018; Matthes et al., 2018).

#### Exclusion of Refugee Youth from the Knowledge Production Process

Thus far, young refugees have been able, only to a marginal extent, to bring their subjective perspectives into the academic and public discourse and become visible as active producers of knowledge. The influence of intersecting categories (family, peer, and gender), which have so far been viewed as hindering factors in their educational pathways, needs to be re-examined by including subjective experiences. The few studies that include youth perspectives show that conflict and discrimination within the workplace can lead to dropouts (Huke, 2020).

### PRACTICAL ISSUES: WHY DO WE NEED SUPPORT SYSTEMS IN RURAL AREAS?

Lack of Support Structures in Rural Areas

Over the past years, young refugees have been frequently assigned to rural communities that are faced with the challenge of establishing refugee integration policies and practices for the first time (Rösch & Schneider, 2019). Schools in rural areas also have little experience with students of non-German origin (Bremm et al., 2017). Furthermore, refugee youth are confronted with German neighborhoods that are often hostile toward them (Glorius et al., 2018). The same is true for schools, businesses, and (sports) clubs (Thomas et al., 2018). Thus, the social and institutional learning environment seems to offer little support for successful VET careers in the case of young refugees (Ohliger et al., 2017).

#### Non-formal and Informal Learning Environments as Educational Resources

However, there is also evidence of diverse informal structures in rural areas, which facilitate the social participation of newcomers (Schiff & Clavé-Mercier, 2019). Due to manageable social networks, civil society structures such as neighborhood associations, volunteerism, and individual initiatives are found to support local integration, social participation, and inclusion into the local labor market (Wagner, 2019). In rural areas, refugees have easier access to affordable housing, which, in turn, can contribute to a successful educational career (Schammann et al., 2020). Families and migrant networks are often regarded as barriers to education in the current public discourse. However, they also support young refugees in their educational trajectory, as shown by empirical findings (Shapiro, 2019; Wehrle et al., 2018).

#### Local Stakeholders' Networks

In addition to settlement support from non-governmental organizations, the local government as well as business and trade associations are also engaged in supporting young refugees, in order to tackle the demographic change and shortage of skilled workers in rural areas. On the other hand, industrial and craft associations and enterprises complain that the school qualifications of young refugees are significantly lower than those of previous apprentices and hardly meet professional requirements. Factors promoting educational participation of new immigrants in VET have thus far been studied primarily in (large) cities (Allard & Small, 2013). Availability of urban counseling services and their accessibility by public transport is, therefore, described as a resource for successful educational biographies (Rösch & Schneider, 2019). In this context, rural municipalities face specific knowledge gaps in developing innovative programs in cooperation with chambers, trade unions, and education providers to integrate young refugees into the local training market. Early practical experiences in the field show that the relationship networks among these local actors can serve to reduce educational inequality by complementing the two learning venues of company and

school through informal educational environments (Rösch & Schneider, 2019; Schammann et al., 2020).

Through *LaeneAs*, we propose to contribute to the identification of educational barriers and promote educational opportunities for refugee youth in the German VET system in rural areas, at several levels, as mentioned below.

- The influence of forced migration on educational processes, in the context of vocational training in rural areas, will be examined as a desideratum of educational research.
- The focus will be on the interplay of social integration perspectives and education, of stress factors and resources in the real world, resulting, for example, from the biography, the family, and social networks, as well as of individual educational disruptions and resilience factors.
- In addition, the impact of non-formal educational opportunities in shaping specific life situations and socio-spatial conditions will be captured. These educational environments have been researched to some extent for urban settings but very little regarding rural areas.
- Practice transformation will be promoted by implementing the participatory and co-constructive research approach of real-world labs.

#### RESEARCH APPROACH: REAL-WORLD LABS

Real-worlds Labs for Co-constructive Knowledge and Transformation

Laene As will establish real-world labs in rural districts to address the gaps outlined in research and practice regarding the educational barriers of refugee youth in VET. Real-world labs are an approach of participatory and transformative action research and citizen science (Scheller et al., 2020, pp. 52–57). Their aim is to combine both (a) co-constructive knowledge production and (b) innovative practice transformation (Renn, 2018), as explained below.

Real-world labs aim at *transdisciplinarity* as a co-constructive knowledge production exercise by putting the real-life and problem-related perspectives of stakeholders outside of academia into the center of the research and innovation cycle. Diverse stakeholders from various institutions, contexts, and positions are brought together through knowledge coalitions, which engage in participatory research and co-constructive knowledge production (Bonhoure et al., 2019; Thomas et al., 2021). The members of a knowledge coalition generally share a social concern in the research topic, which connects them to each other. Further, this shared social concern leads them to a mutual interest in gaining deeper insights into and initiating change within their social practices. Transdisciplinarity is realized precisely, not only by going beyond the boundaries of academic disciplines, but also by situating research and development in the "real world." The research forum, as a communicative space for co-researchers and co-creators, is mediated by academic partners. Thus, this knowledge coalition consisting of

academic and non-academic researchers strives to acquire *evidence-based* and *socially relevant* knowledge.

Real-world labs are interested in innovation and transformation with the use of a social experimentation approach, in order to improve and optimize the social processes under study (Schäpke, Bergmann et al., 2018). Stakeholders and actors from the field not only participate in research, but also in the development of innovative actions. One of the origins of this social experimentation methodology can be found in the action research approach proposed by Kurt Lewin in the 1940s (Lewin, 1946). Action research examines well-established social practices, ideally in "a spiral of steps, each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action and fact-finding about the result of the action" (Lewin, 1946, p. 38). The interplay of action and reflection constitutes this progressive spiral of knowledge (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). In an iterative process, evidence-based knowledge and deeper insights into the structure, conditions, and meanings of social processes are explored using scientific methods. The knowledge acquired about real-life social processes leads to action planning, in order to transform and change the studied institutions, routines, and practices. On the one hand, academic researchers can scientifically test theories based on guiding hypothesis in the planning and action phase of transformative projects. On the other hand, this transdisciplinary and transformative science format empowers non-academic stakeholders and enlarges their action potency to make informed and evidence-based plans for changing and improving their social practices. The experimentation-based approach of real-world labs allows stakeholders to practically test their action plans against social realities, regarding their realizability, practicability, and sustainability.

A major limitation of real-world labs is that transformation in institutionalized practices is generally challenged by "structural conservatism" (Engels & Walz, 2018). A steady negotiation of perspectives and interests among stakeholders is important, in order to engage with functional processes that are already implemented in social reality. The on-going debate about the research topic among the knowledge coalition members is guided by a steady comparison between the target state defined by stakeholders and the actual state examined by scientific methods. Action plans must be adapted and altered during their practical realization, according to new insights, observed consequences, and the stakeholders' expectations. Deepening of insights into the structure of social reality and into the logic of practices that enable or hinder conditions of change can flow back into a sustainable planning of actions (Schäpke, Stelzer et al., 2018). However, change always touches on already established power relationships in the field and can require a renegotiation of social positionalities. This renegotiation must be counterbalanced in the research forum by establishing bonds of trust among all participants. It is essential for the mediation of the debate in the research forum, that the perspectives, interests, and practical logic of every stakeholder be recognized as equivalent (Engels & Walz, 2018). On the other hand, the transdisciplinary approach alters the ownership of knowledge and innovation. It can accelerate the identification of the stakeholders with their projects, so that the chances for finding practical and sustainable solution are increased (Schäpke, Stelzer et al., 2018).

#### Real-world Labs in Laene As

The LaeneAs project aims to acquire new insights into the causes of educational barriers to promote equal opportunities. It seeks to do so by applying a participatory research design for co-constructive knowledge production and transformative practice development (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). Theoretical interests should lead to practical solutions to reduce educational barriers in vocational training for young refugees, especially in rural areas. The starting point of the real-world labs and the co-constructive collaboration is to establish cooperation among three groups of stakeholders: (1) officials from the local government and administration who organize and finance education, (2) practitioners from the formal and informal educational institutions (vocational schools, social work, refugee counseling, civil society organizations, etc.), and (3) young refugees in training. The research forums are proposed to take place in four rural districts, two in the western state of Bayaria and the other two in the eastern State of Brandenburg. This should allow for a comparison between different regions in Germany, in order to generalize findings across contexts. The project will unfold at three levels, as described below.

Level 1: Identification of Barriers to Education: The first goal of the project is the identification of socio-structural, socio-spatial, and individual barriers to education, in the context of vocational training. Educational processes must be re-adjusted, especially in the rural areas, because of social changes and challenges arising from migration. At the same time, VET can become an opportunity for opening a perspective for integration between the German society and labor market. The identification of educational barriers includes a gender- and diversity-conscious approach that tackles the specificities of rural areas. The social discourse on ideas of normality and stereotypes must be considered, regarding its influence on the actions of the stakeholders. This discourse affects both the practitioners in the educational system who act as gatekeepers of social participation and the young refugees who seek social integration.

Level 2: Best-practice Projects: Laene As aims at a research-based development of best-practice models to reduce structural barriers and to promote successful educational biographies. Building of networks among educational service providers in the real-world labs will lead to educational innovations. These innovations in turn will break down the identified barriers to education by developing measures for successful education, learning, and integration. Vocational training in Germany is one of the main catalysts for refugees to acquire education and language, develop knowledge and skills for the labor market and improve social participation. The analysis of local educational environments, as formal and informal places of learning, will create a favorable ground for the exemplary development of best-practice solutions. Educational processes will be further developed within the spiral of action and reflection based on these findings. The comparison among different regions should lead to generalizable findings that can stimulate further projects in rural areas.

Level 3: Young Refugees' Perspectives: LaeneAs pays special attention to young people's perceptions of their own educational situation and prospects. Participatory and reconstructive research methods offer access to young refugees'

living conditions and their everyday life in rural areas. This will justify the particular importance of their perspectives for the further development of the educational system. Initiating participatory peer research aims at empowering young refugees. In doing participatory research, young people are enabled to clarify their own perspectives and interests toward making improvements in the rural VET systems. Furthermore, they get the chance to bring their subjective perspectives into the academic and public discourse and become visible as active producers of knowledge.

#### Methodological Process

At each of the four sites, the real-world labs will create a space for collaborative research, reflection, and development (Defila & Di Giulio, 2018, p. 13; Singer-Brodowski, 2018). The central strategy will be to expand transdisciplinary collaborative networks among local actors. This will have the following objectives: (1) to collect data to answer the scientific question, (2) to develop best-practice models specific to the local fields, and (3) to ensure the sustainability of innovation strategies by incorporating the stakeholders' expertise and perspectives. The real-world labs will be implemented as a series of six future workshops (Kuhnt & Müllert, 2006) involving group discussions. The future workshops method consists of three steps: researching the current state, envisioning best practices, and putting action plans into practice. Additionally, expert interviews are conducted to gather sociospatial expertise from local representatives and practitioners. Also, to implement the participatory peer research group approach, we consider photo-voice as a particularly suitable method. This will include the individual perspective of the refugee trainees into the real-world labs, in order to identify educational barriers and develop best-practice models. Further, narrative interviews will be conducted with the young people, in order to examine their educational environments which are differentiated according to intersectional characteristics (educational background, gender, inequality, etc.).

#### **SUMMARY**

In the *LaeneAs* project, we consider real-world labs as a promising approach for gaining new insights into the structural barriers to education, as well as for achieving a better integration of refugee youth into VET by developing best-practice models. In our fieldwork so far, we have found that rural areas offer special opportunities to realize the ambitions of refugee youth. This is because networks among actors in the education system are already established here and hence people know each other. At the same time, there is great interest in participating in the real-world labs, precisely because scientists rarely stray into rural areas. In addition to doing research, we see it as a specific challenge which motivates us to develop strategies for overcoming structural conservatism and resistance to change within well-established social practices to improve the integration of young refugees into the educational system.

#### **NOTE**

1. LaeneAs stands for "The Rural Educational Environments of Young Refugees in Vocational Training." In German, it is "Die ländlichen Bildungsumwelten junger Geflüchteter in der beruflichen Ausbildung."

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