

Adult Refugees learning in the German dual VET workplace (GdVET)

A Bakery Company Case Study

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Abstract

This paper explores how refugees learn at the German dual VET (GdVET) workplace. It looks at the interactions between Germans and refugees, questions what learning and working in a group in the workplace means for the participants, and what factors support the refugees' learning.

For this purpose, a framework of five spheres borrowing and combining elements from Wenger's (1998b) Community of Practice and Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning is used. They allow to observe and discuss possible learning characteristics for refugees in a GdVET. These spheres are explored in a case study, a bakery factory. For this sake, a limited participatory observation and eight interviews with Germans and refugees at the workplace were conducted.

Results confirm, i.a., the refugees' extraordinary motivation and commitment, highlighted in previous research and media. Furthermore, the particularly striking loyalty the refugees hold for their work domain is elicited and analyzed in the context of the refugees biography, experience, and development at work. It is found that the bakery's owner's role and his tireless commitment to equal opportunities and against racism play a significant identificatory role for the refugees and their professional identification. Furthermore, the study shows that learning in a multicultural setting with vertical power relations also happens by non-verbal negotiation through observing the reaction of the others and testing out possibilities, roles, and participation. All of them leading eventually to a multicultural domesticated workplace to which all can feel committed.

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I need to apologize to my wife and children for being absent so often in my office studying and writing instead of spending time with them. Without their patience, understanding, and support, I would never have managed to study at this age. A stage of life in which learning is challenging, rewarding, exciting, yet time-consuming, and often exhausting.

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List of Abbreviations

A1, A2, B1, B2, C1	German language levels according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. See www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages
AfD	Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany)
BA	Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Federal Employment Agency)
BAMF	Federal Office for Migration and Refugees [Bundesamt für Migrations und Flüchtlinge] www.bamf.de .
BBG	Berufsbildungsgesetz (Vocational Training Act)
BD	Ban on Deportation
BIBB	Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training)
BMI	Bundesministerium des Innern (Federal Ministry for Interior, Building and Community)
BMWi	Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy
CoP	Community of Practice
DB	Deportation Ban
DIHK	Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Germany
GdVET	German dual Vocational Education Training
GRC	The Geneva Refugee Convention
HwO	Handwerkerordnung (Craftsman Regulation)
IAB	Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung der Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Institute for labor market and vocational research)
IAB	Institut für labor market and vocational research [Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung] www.iab.de .
IHK	Commerce and Industry Chamber
SOEP	Socio-Economical Panel [Sozio-Oekonomisches Panel] www.diw.de/de/soep .
SOEP	Sozio-oekonomisches Panel (Socio-Economical Panel)
SP	Subsidiary Protection
Voc.S	Vocational School
ZdJ	Zentralrat der Juden (Central Council of Jews)

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1 Introduction

Almost a million refugees entered Germany in 2015 (Funk, 2016), and ways to manage and integrate them had to be found. Beginning a German dual VET (GdVET) is a step towards achieving this (Münk et al., 2018, p. 9). Still, the entry requirements were complicated (F. Braun & Lex, 2016, p. 10), with prohibitions excluding refugees with declined or pending residency status. Recent law amendments enabled the once threatened with deportation to start a GdVET. It may be the last chance for a residency (Kiesel, 2019).

The GdVET workplace-learning predominance instigates adapting to a new environment, relocation, possible family arrangements, and solving financial issues. It is a challenge for every new GdVET apprentice. Refugees face even more challenges and obstacles (Lahner, 2017).

This thesis is a bakery-company case study offering GdVET to refugees, among others. Although looking into the learning experience of all workers, it puts a particular emphasis on illuminating perspectives and experiences of adult refugees¹ learning in a GdVET.

It applies a theoretical frame using five spheres borrowing and combining elements from Wenger's (1998b) Community of Practice and Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning. The field notes of a limited participatory observation, together with eight semi-structured interviews with refugees and German GdVET trainees, concise the qualitative data for the research.

Such an investigation requires discussing the social, legal, and political context around 2015. Chapter 2 sheds some light on this, the GdVET in general, how adult refugees can access it, and the legal residency permits.

The literature review (chapter 3) focuses on German publications ending with considerations when discussing refugees GdVET-learning. In Chapter 4, the theoretical frame informing this study is presented. In chapter 5, the research method and Mayring's (2015) qualitative content analysis method is briefly addressed as the choice of data analysis. Discussing the findings and examining them along the five spheres follows in chapter 6. The research ends with a conclusion in chapter 7.

1.1 Why a bakery?

About 70% of the GdVET learning takes place at the workplace, and only 30% in vocational school (Fürstenau et al., 2014; Kathrin & Robert, 2012).² It secures future workers acquainted with the business culture (S. Braun, 2014) and innovation (Bliem et al., 2014). Paid an average wage, GdVET-apprentices must accept starting late, working early, and sacrificing weekends and holidays. Bakery owners, desperate to find employees, praise refugees for rescuing their business (Federl, 2016; RTF, 2016; StN, 2018).

Since 2015 the number of refugees starting a Baker-GdVET increased yearly, making a bakery-GdVET case study promising to answer how refugees learn in a multicultural workplace.

¹ Whenever the term refugees is used in this thesis, it will be dealing with adult refugees. Only if this is not the case, the refugees age will be declared.

² Dual VET in this form exists only in „Austria, Luemburg, Switzerland, Denmark and parts of the Netherlands“(Fürstenau et al., 2014)

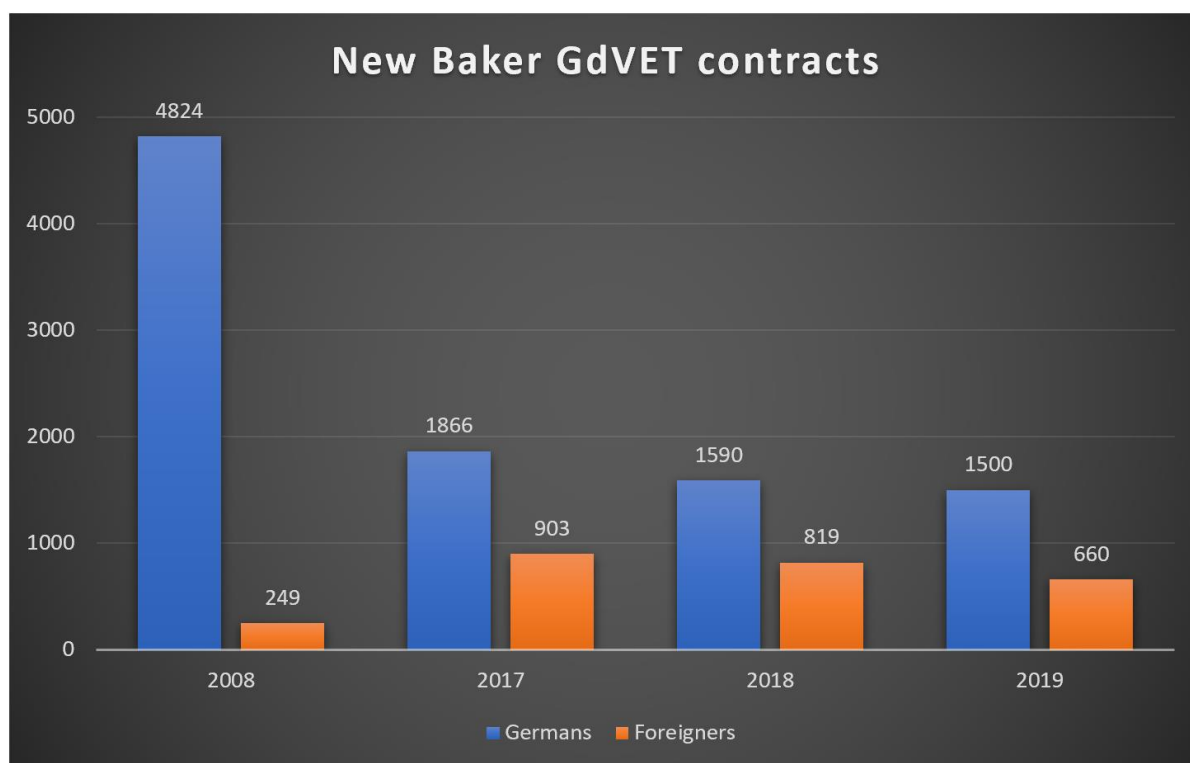


Diagram 1: Refugees entering 2015-2016 took 1-2 years to learn enough German for a GdVET (Data derived from BIBB, 2019)

1.2 Aim and questions

This thesis investigates how refugees learn and develop with German co-workers during a GdVET in a bakery. The following questions are at the forefront:

- How does learning occur in a culturally heterogeneous GdVET setting?
- Which challenges and reproducible factors lead to success?
- How is learning experienced and perceived by and with Refugees in a GdVET?
- Which aspects can be observed in refugees learning in a GdVET?

2 Study context

Understanding refugees' learning must consider their migration across social spheres, their biographies, and the sociocultural structure of the host country (Morrice, 2014). This chapter summarizes the relevant events since 2015 and their effects on Germany's society, politics, jurisprudence, and education. As the canvas and the lifeworld upon which refugees and natives interact (Habermas, 2011), it is crucial to investigate refugees' learning experience in a GdVET.

2.1 Refugee's situation in Germany

Refugees usually come from different learning systems. Sometimes, coming from countries with decades of war, they are mostly early school leavers.³ They are expected to learn the new language, cultural and legal system, meet local expectations, and adhere to all administrative requirements.

The German public debate about migrants' integration has been an expectation imperative and rarely a participatory discussion, even long before the refugee migrations in 2015. Terms like

³ About 65% of the Syrian refugees, for instance, have not reached even the school level of basic competencies, which are indispensable for further education (Lahner, 2017, p. 4)

"Integration willingness" surfacing in the public discourse had long been used, excluding selected migration groups and classifying them ethnically (Goetze, 2008, p. 269).

Similar neologisms can be traced back over two decades. In 2000, the previous Minister for foreign affairs introduced "integration objectors" (Winkler, 2000) describing EU opposing states. In 2006, Peter Ramsauer (CDU)⁴ rediscovered it to stigmatize refugees (Ramsauer, 2006). After a couple of years, the term resurfaced when Sarrazin (2010) published his book on how Germany dismantles itself (Klinkhammer et al., 2011). Sarrazin had been widely promulgating racist statements against Muslim migrants, including ideas of racial superiority,⁵ and has since been a bestselling author attracting millions of watchers in TV appearances (Frindte, 2013; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2016). Racist expressions against Muslims became socially accepted and "saloon-ready" (Turner, 2012, p. 174).

GdVET-Applicants with an Arabic or Turkish name receive half as many replies as their German competitors. Believing that an Islamic background influences the applicants' capabilities (Granato & Skrobenek, 2007), one-third of German human resources clerics considered Arabic-sounding names an exclusion reason (Granato & Skrobenek, 2007; Schneider et al., 2014).

In this context, about a million Muslims fled to Germany. Nevertheless, many civil organizations and politicians were hospitable and highly engaged.⁶ Without the voluntary engagement, "the state would have collapsed" (Hildebrandt & Ulrich, 2015). Academics, some politicians, churches, and the Zdj⁷ criticized the Islamophobic stereotyping of refugees and stated that they are a challenging chance for Germany (Geis & Orth, 2015; Münkler & Münkler, 2016; Ternès et al., 2016).

At the same time, conspiracy theories circulated about Muslims taking over Germany (Nocun & Lamberty, 2021; Tworuschka & Tworuschka, 2019), and the right-wing party (AfD) gained up to 27,5% of the votes (Statista, 2020). Thousands of demonstrators went out chanting against Muslims and refugees, some attacking a bus with refugee children or chasing them publicly (Hasselbach, 2018). Then again, the industry and its representatives saw refugees as a chance to solve the German skills shortage. They demanded better refugee opportunities to enter GdVET's (DIHK, 2021; Öchsner, 2015; Siems, 2015). Employing refugees became increasingly attractive (Vogel, 2018)⁸ as about half of the companies complained about employee shortages and did not find GdVET-applicants to fill these gaps⁹ (Hardege & Hartig, 2019).

The Federal Employment Agency (BA) predicted a 2 million skilled workers shortage by 2020 (BA, 2011). Germany will need yearly 400.000 migrants to compensate for the employee decline (Beigang, 2021). The DIHK¹⁰ demanded lifting bureaucratic hurdles for refugees' employment, offering them incentives to learn German and be permitted as unskilled workers in

⁴ CDU stands for Christian Democratic Union

⁵ The Human Rights Treaties Division CERD, has condemned Sarrazin's statements as containing „ideas of racial superiority“ and incite „racial discrimination“ (CERD, 2013). The reprimandation has no effect what so ever. Only after his second book in 2018 and the damage his party was so gross, that he was excluded from the party after a hearing in Berlin in 2020 (Kostolnik, 2020).

⁶ 55% of the Germans over 16 years of age supported the refugees (BMFSFJ, 2018)

⁷ Council of Jews in Germany

⁸ Though not possible in the frame of this paper, it is worth questioning to which extent the refugee migrations of 2015 and the desperate need for skilled workers might have changed the attitude of human resource clerics in accepting applicants with an Arab or typical Muslim name as (Granato & Skrobenek, 2007) and Schneider (2014) or the governmental request (Drucksache 18/8829, 2016) had showed previously.

⁹ The GdVET will be discussed below

¹⁰ Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Germany

GdVET preparation programs (März, 2019). Companies needed governmental guarantees that the refugees they educated would not be deported,¹¹ and law changes encouraged educating and employing them. (Lahner, 2017, p. 4).¹²

While asylum-seeking applications numbers to Germany between 2003 and 2013 were relatively constant, about 34.000 per year, it raised to 173.00 in 2014 (Schönhagen & Herbert, 2020), in 2015 to 441.000, and in 2016 it exploded to 722.370 applications, before dropping yearly to about 102.000 by 2020 (BMI, 2021).¹³ The EU had reregulated the 1990 Dublin Convention in 2003 to become what is known today as the Dublin Regulation. Accordingly, refugees must register in the EU country they first enter. Because EU-States surround Germany, refugees fleeing Syria in 2015 towards Germany had to register in the EU-countries they entered first. The unprecedented refugee migrations since WWII., public opinion, and the humanitarian decision of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, were essential in letting almost a million refugees into Germany.¹⁴ Fearing to fall under the Dublin Regulation, thousands of refugees avoided registering in Greece, Hungary, and Serbia, because of their hostility to refugees and for better chances in Germany. (Schönhagen & Herbert, 2020).

Starting a GdVET, which is explained in the following, is a means to include Refugees into the German society and system.

2.2 The German dual VET (GdVET)

Duality is the core of the GdVET, a simultaneous education with "on-the-job training" complemented with a vocational school (Voc.S.). Its continuous adjustment¹⁵ has perfectly integrated young newcomers into the labor market (OECD, 2018). Candidates apply for a GdVET in companies that compete, advertise, and use different strategies to recruit the best apprentices.¹⁶ Once accepted, the company and the GdVET apprentice sign a VET contract.

2.2.1 The structure of a GdVET

The GdVET has no formal requirements. Companies decide themselves the entry requirement (Kumpernatz, 2018). The GdVET's are accredited, and the content is delineated in the VET-regulation issued by the concerned ministry and approved by the Ministry for Education and Research. It determines the vocation title, duration, skills and capabilities, education frame plan, how skills and capabilities should be transmitted, and the examination requirements.

¹¹ "Duldung" is a status, which will be discussed below. It means that a refugee has been denied asylum and is tolerated to stay in Germany until they are deported. They may be deported at any time. See more about this in Chapter 2.3 under „The particular situation of the Geduldete.“

¹² The legal frame, especially for the insecure state of „Duldung“ (tolerated status), was revised first on the 31st of July 2016 to provide certainty to the companies willing to provide training to Geduldete. The new residence title „residence grant for the duration of vocational training“ was added into section 25b of the residence act (AufenthG). The §60 paragraph 2 sentence 3 tolerates foreigners when urgent humanitarian reasons are found. Beginning an education was interpreted as an urgent humanitarian reason. § 60C has expressed this verbatim when a refugee begins an education. The additional § 60c of the residency act grants the tolerated foreigner “Geduldete” a working permit for 30 months after absolving the education.

¹³ It needs to be said that in 2015 the arrival of asylum seekers is estimated to have been much higher, but because of the delay in application processing, many of the refugee seekers of 2015, due to the war in Syria, were only registered in 2016 (Lahner, 2017)

¹⁴ Right-wing parties sued the government for breaching the Dublin regulation. The Court of Justice of the European Union concluded that opening the borders in 2015 was legal because of humanitarian reasons (Röhligh, 2017).

¹⁵ For instance, between 2000 and 2017 two thirds of the existing 327 dual VET programs have been revised and adapted at least once (OECD, 2018).

¹⁶ In fact, in the German discourse, the term “Ausbildungsmarketing” (Vocational Education Marketing) has been used for almost two decades for personal recruitment management (S. Braun, 2014; Buschbacher, 2010; Dietl, 2003)

Companies offering a GdVET must adhere to it and are controlled by relevant chambers and unions (BBG, 2005, paras. 27–30; HwO, 1953, para. 21). The chambers are also responsible for conducting the intermediate and final exams. (BIBB, 2017).

Companies finance the entire GdVET, paying trainees one-third of an entry salary. They also register them in an independent Voc.S. with approx. 12 h. weekly schooling.¹⁷ Two-thirds of the Voc.S. curriculum is technical vocational education, and one-third is general education (Jungkunz, 2008). The language efficiency B1¹⁸ is obligatory at the Voc.S. (Frick et al., 2016). A national accredited journeyman's certificate (Gesellenbrief) is handed once passing practical and written exams. After that, one may go for a master craftsman's certificate (Aarkrog, 2005, p. 105). It entitles founding an own business, being a vocational trainer, or entering university in a relative subject (Lauer, 2019).

2.2.2 The current GdVET situation in Germany

In Germany 324 governmental-certified GdVET's (BiBB, 2021) lasting between 2 and 3,5 years (BMBF, 2016; Esser, 2020) exist. While the demand for qualified workers rises, the newly signed VET contracts decrease yearly.

Refugees' willingness to enter a GdVET meets welcoming industrial forces pushing to make their employment easier (Kostner, 2016). The following diagram shows the decreasing number of GdVET-contracts in contrast to the vacant positions increase.

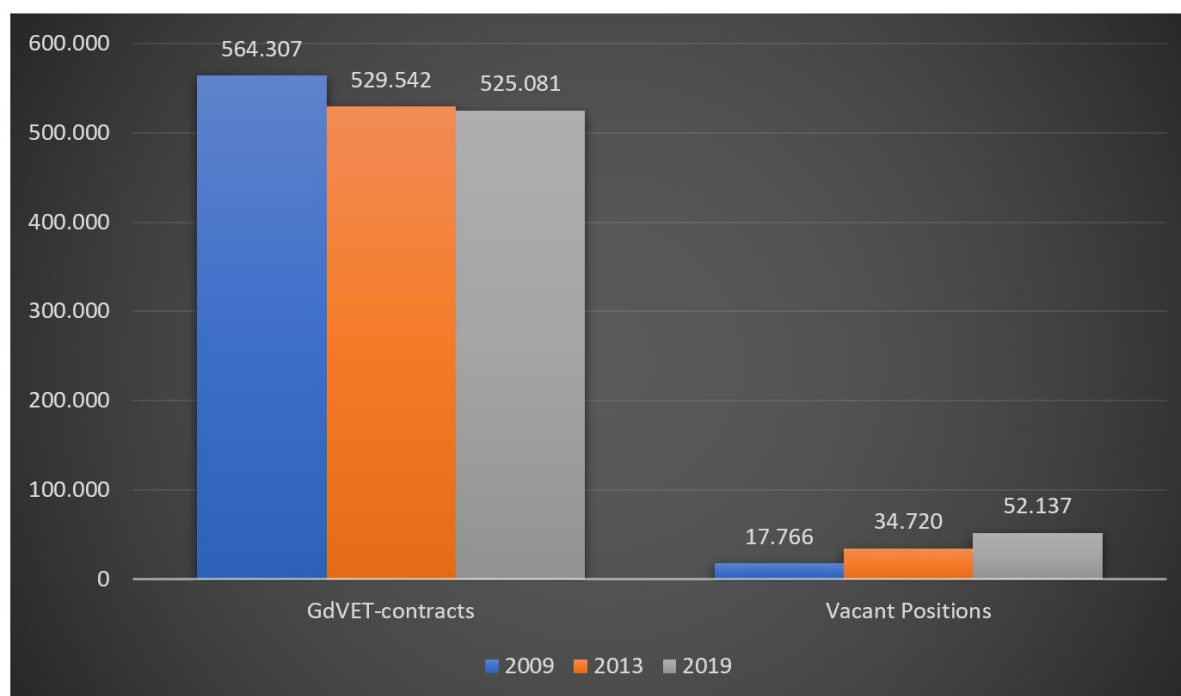


Diagram 2: GdVET contracts decrease vs. Positions Increase (BMBF, 2019, p. 51)

The following chapter will discuss the refugees' legal residence titles and the GdVET access depending on them.

¹⁷ In some cases, the Voc.S. can be visited as successive blocks for several weeks. (Kathrin & Robert, 2012)

¹⁸ The levels A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment

2.3 Refugee is not refugee

The term "refugee" is publicly used for all foreigners seeking protection. Legally though, depending, i.a., on migration cause and origin country, different refuge titles influencing employment, integration, and education chances are granted.

Four legal protections are awarded (BAMF, 2021):

- A) Acknowledgment of entitlement to asylum (Asylees).¹⁹
- B) Award of subsidiary protection (SP-Refugees).²⁰
- C) Ban on deportation (BD-Refugees).²¹
- D) Award of refugee protection according to the Geneva Refugee Convention (GRC-Refugees).²²

A fifth status, the "Duldung," plays a significant role in the context of this study. It will be discussed at the end of this chapter:

- E) Temporary suspension of deportation (Duldung).²³

If none of these 5 cases apply, the person must be deported.²⁴

Regardless of the status, refuge-seekers must apply at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). After several procedures, the "decision-maker" (BAMF, 2021, p. 38) determines if the application was successful or rejected.

In the following, the five cases are summarized with a view on their residence permits and GdVET chances.

A) Asylees

Art. 16a of the basic constitutional law provides politically persecuted persons asylum. Asylum seekers must apply in the first EU country they entered. That means that one has to enter Germany by air or sea to request asylum (Kraft, 2016). The BAMF examines the case and decides if another EU country is responsible or not (BAMF, 2020). If the other country refuses, the application is continued in Germany (Pelzer, 2020; Würdinger, 2018). Only in the fewest cases is asylum granted.²⁵

B) SP-Refugees

The SP expands the GRC to protect against torture, inhumane treatment, and the death penalty. Since 2015 the rights of SP-refugees have been continuously eroded, most evident in family reunion restrictions (Habbe, 2018). In 2015 only 0.6 % of the applicants were granted SP, while 22.1% were given SP in the following years. The rise is due to the mass applications of 2015. By 2019 the SP grants went back to an average of 10.6% (BAMF, 2020).

¹⁹ (Basic Law [GG], 1949, sec. 16a)

²⁰ (Asylum Act [AsylG], 1992, sec. 4)

²¹ (Residence Act [AufenthG], 2007, sec. 60 V., VII.)

²² (Asylum Act [AsylG], 1992, sec. 3)

²³ (Residence Act [AufenthG], 2007, sec. 60a)

²⁴ (Residence Act [AufenthG], 2007, sec. 58)

²⁵ From 2015 to 2019, only 0.7 to 1,3 percent of all applications have been granted asylum. Between 25 to 38,5 percent were rejected. Another 12.6 to 32.4 percent were dismissed due to formality reasons. Such formal rejections are applications which are addressed mistakenly to Germany, because the asylum seeker should have applied in another European country, or if the applicant withdraws his oder her application (BAMF, 2020)

C) BD-Refugees

Refugees cannot be deported if it would lead to human rights violations or if returning to the origin country could pose a danger for life, health, or freedom. When no other protection form applies, the BD is granted (Habbe, 2018). From 2015 to 2019, between 0.7% and 6.6% of all applicants were given a BD status (BAMF, 2020, p. 52).

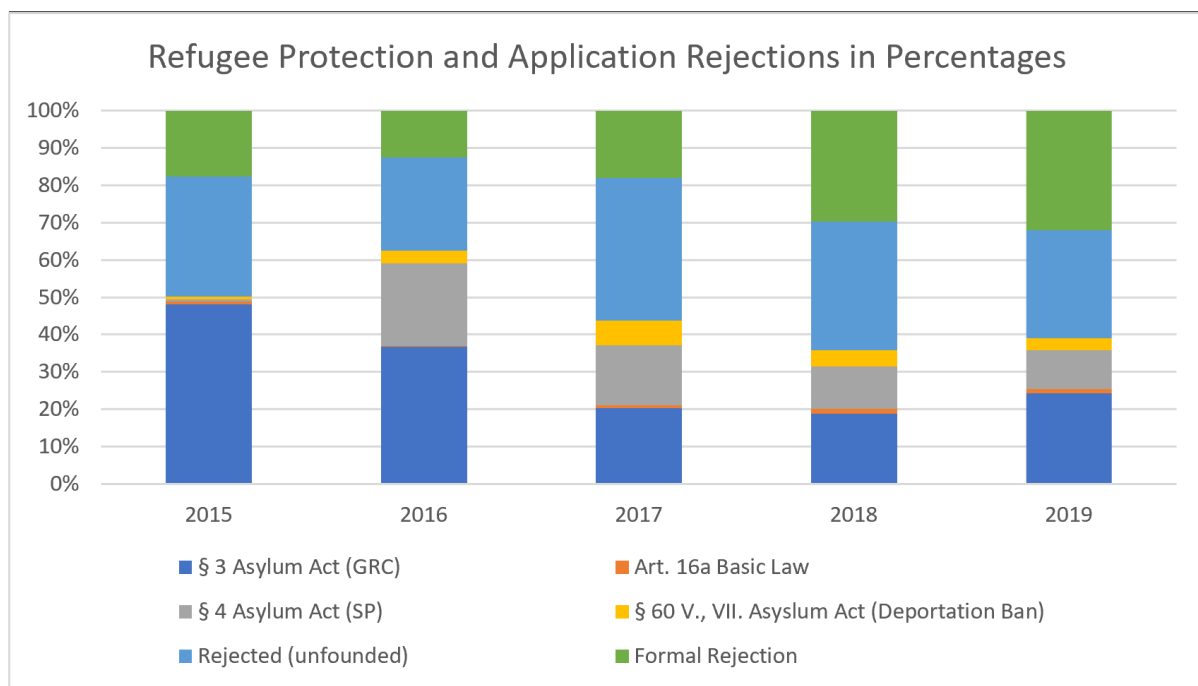
D) GRC-Refugees²⁶

Unlike the constitutional Asylum right, entering Germany through another European country leads not to application dismissal. Protection is also granted if the persecutors are non-state actors or if the state of origin cannot provide protection, and no safe regions exist in it. The Protection, according to the GRC, is the one with the least restrictions. From a legal perspective, only these applicants are refugees.

The following table and diagram show the awarded protection forms in Germany between 2015 and 2019.

Year	Art. 16a Basic Law (Entitled to Asylum)	§ 4 Asylum Act (Subsidiary Protection)	§ 60 V., VII. Asylum Act (Deportation Ban)	§ 3 Asylum Act (Refugees acc. To the GRC)	Rejected (Need of protec- tion unfounded)	Formal Rejec- tion (Dublin / retreat of application / other)
2015	2.029	1.707	2.072	137.136	91.514	50.297
2016	2.120	153.700	24.084	256.136	173.846	87.967
2017	4.359	98.074	39.659	123.909	232.307	109.479
2018	2.841	25.055	9.548	41.368	75.395	65.507
2019	2.192	19.419	5.857	45.053	54.034	59.591

Table 1: Asylum and Refuge in Numbers (BAMF, 2020)



²⁶ The GRC has been materialized into the German law through §3 Asylum Act

Diagram 3: Refugee Protections and Application Rejections

E) Duldung

"Duldung" means merely "Toleration." People in this category are referred to as "Geduldete." It attests only a temporary legal deportation suspension, exempting from being pursued with illegal residency (Dienelt, 2016). Geduldete expect to be expelled, and only temporary reasons hinder the deportation, e.g., unverified nationality, missing passport, or illness. (Ghelli, 2015). Renewing this uncertain status can last for decades and has become known as the "Chain Duldung" (van Baar, 2017, p. 150). Believing that Geduldete would be the exception was a mistake. (Dienelt, 2016). By the 30th of June 2020, precisely 271.767 Persons were obliged to leave the country, from which 220.907 held a Duldung (Drucksache 19/21406, 2006, p. 36).²⁷

Some significant law changes have been implemented to encourage Geduldete to enter a GdVE (see below the 3+2 Regulation).

Residence titles

Asylees and GCR-Refugees, receive an extendable three years residence permit. Once proving higher German efficiency (C1)²⁸ and secure livelihood, they may apply for an unlimited residency after the first three years. If their German efficiency is below (B1), they may apply for it after five years.

SP-Refugees receive a one-year residency permit, extendable for two years at a time. After five years, they can apply for permanent residency if their livelihood is secured, their German level reaches (B1), and they are employed socially insured.

DB-Refugees receive a renewable residency title for at least one year. They can apply for a permanent residency under the same conditions for SP-Refugees (BAMF, 2019).

Working permit

Asylees, SP-, DB-, and GCR-Refugees receive unrestricted working permits for the residency duration. Asylum Applicants and Geduldete must wait for 3-months to apply. The BA²⁹ hands out a working permit if the employment wouldn't cause adverse effects on the labor market, no European or acknowledged refugee is entitled to the vacation (priority check)³⁰, and the employee in question doesn't work under worse conditions than Germans. The priority check is lifted after 15 months of living in Germany. After four years, the supervision through the BA is dropped (Hartig et al., 2017).

Starting a GdVET

Asylees, SP-, DB-, and GCR-Refugees may begin a GdVET with no limitations. Asylum Applicants have a waiting period of 3 months. The Geduldete have special regulations, which are discussed in the following part.

²⁷ Of the 220.907 tolerated a sum of 148.840 were declined asylum applicants.

²⁸ The BAMF and Legislation use the Levels A1 to C2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. See: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages>

²⁹ Bundesagentur für Arbeit (BA) is the Federal Employment Agency

³⁰ The so called priority check can be dropped in the federal states according to the labor market needs since June 2016. With the same date it is dropped, when Asylum Seekers and Geduldete start a GdVET and for the duration of them searching for employment hereafter (Drucksache 19/7442, 2019).

The particular situation of the Geduldete

The Duldung is one of these labels to appear adhering to the GRC (Hathaway, 2003). They are only a backdoor to limit movement freedom, work, education, and social support. Geduldete were discriminated since decades in the asylum procedures and education (Geiger, 2015).

Previous research emphasizes that having a Duldung means to "live in a limbo" (Aksakal & Schmidt-Verkerk, 2014, p. 22; Saidi, 2018, p. 80). Fearing deportation at any time causes depression (Nutsch & Bozorgmehr, 2020) and severe psychological problems (Lillig, 2008, p. 93). The insecurity feelings, rejection, and discrimination can become intrinsic to young peoples' experience and socializing in the host country (Tize, 2020). The already affected are stigmatized and are perceived as such (Böhme et al., 2019; D. Müller et al., 2014).

The Duldung is the "subjectively emotional and objectively factual the most insecure and least privileged stay in Germany" (Steden, 2017, p. 26).

The 3+2 Regulation and the Ausbildungsduldung (VET-Toleration)

Companies offering a GdVET needed some assurances that Geduldete could continue to work in the company (Schreyer et al., 2015). Business organizations, trade unions, NGO's and the various Chambers of Commerce and Industry have pressured politics to implement the 3+2-Regulation (DGB Bayern, 2015, p. 4; IHK zu Coburg, 2015, p. 22; Voigt, 2016; WM, 2015).

On the 25th of Mai 2016, the government published details of the new integration act, including the 3+2-Regulation (Kostner, 2016).³¹

The 3+2-Regulation introduced the "Ausbildungsduldung" (VET-Duldung) for the GdVET-duration. A two-year extendable residence permit is granted if graduates are employed instantly. Elsewise, a six-month residence permit is provided for Job searching. The VET-Duldung expires if the GdVET is discontinued or grave criminal offenses are committed (Batsching & Riedel, 2018; Gag, 2018; Thielen, 2020).

For Geduldete, the VET-Duldung can be a ticket out of ongoing desperation into a future. A permanent residency can follow if at least 60 monthly contributions into a statutory pension fund are paid, and the applicant reaches B1 German efficiency (Schreyer et al., 2018).

In image 1, the various refugee statuses are shown together with the training opportunities.

³¹ For a copy of the declaration see: <https://www.spdfraktion.de/system/files/documents/meseberger-erklaerung-zur-integration.pdf>. The code itself was enacted on the 31st of July 2016, and the residence act was amended accordingly

	Asylees (Art. 16a GG) GCR-Refugees (§ 3 AsylG)	SP-Refugees (§ 4 AsylG)	DB-Refugees (§ 4 AufenthG)	Asylum Applicants (in process at the BAMF)	Geduldete (§ 60a ff. AufenthG)
Duration of first Residence Permit	• 3 years	• 1 year	• At least 1 year	• Not decided yet	• Average 6 months • 3 years for Dual VET
Residence Permit Extension	• Extension for 3 years. • May receive direct permanent Residency if highly integrated	• Extension for 2 years a time.	• May be extended.	• Depends on status granted by BAMF	• Average 6 months • 2 years if employed after Dual VET • 6 months to search for employment after DVET
Beginning a Dual VET	• No limitations	• No limitations	• No limitations	• May start a Dual VET at employer after a 3 month waiting period • Foreigners' Registration Office must approve.	• May start a Dual VET at employer at once. • Foreigners' Registration Office must approve.
Working permit	• No limitations	• No limitations	• No limitations	• Only with limitations. • Restricted to the duration of the application Process.	• Only with limitations. • Restricted to the duration of the toleration.
Unlimited Residence	• After 3 years if C1- GER-Efficiency and livelihood secured • After 5 years if A2- GER-Efficiency and livelihood secured	• After 5 years if B1- GER-Efficiency, livelihood secured and employment with a statutory pension fund	• After 5 years if A2- GER-Efficiency and livelihood secured	• Depends on application process	• After 5 years if B1- GER-Efficiency, livelihood secured and at least 60 months payments into social security

Image 1: Synopsis of training opportunities of various refugee statuses

3 Literature review

Legal acts modifications concerning refugees' residence, education, and social aid took place in the last decade, the latest in June 2016 (see Chapter 2.3). Publications on refugees' legal status before this date are becoming superfluous for today's reality.

Because of the GdVET-duration, the first cohort affected by the new act has only been able to pass the GdVET exams by 2019. Research on refugees learning in a GdVET is sparse, and literature about refugees' experience in GdVETs still needs to be published. In contrast, there is a lot of German literature on the economic necessity and benefits of integrating refugees into the labor market. The 2015 migrations raised new interest in the subject. The first results were not published before the end of 2016.

This literature review focuses mainly on two overlapping aspects:

- 1) **The significance of migration biographies on refugees' learning and capabilities:**
Adult refugees experience fleeing from their home countries as a cultural, economic, social, and emotional rupture of what was known to them for many years. An entire life, accustomed social environment, and culture are left behind to become a stranger in a new world. Learning language, social expectations, rules, and the new system become a survival necessity. Nevertheless, adult learners do not start from zero but bring their past into the new "social learning space" (Morrice, 2014, p. 153). This important notion has been practically neglected in GdVET research.
- 2) **The GdVET and refugees' learning:**
The focus is on how refugees learn a vocation and develop a vocational identity in the multicultural social setting of the GdVET workplace.

3.1 The significance of forced migration on refugees' learning and capabilities:

In the IAB-BAMF-SOEP adult Refugee survey³², only 5% reported enrolling in any education. Half of the 4500 surveyed adult refugees spoke very little German. Over half of them had their asylum papers still being processed. Still, two-thirds started some sort of German course. After only one year, 78% of them were sure they would soon be working (Brücker, Rother, et al., 2016).

Many refugees who came to Germany in 2015 and the couple of years to follow are highly motivated to learn the language, to work, and to get educated (Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016; Brücker, Rother, et al., 2016; Lahner, 2017; Meyer, 2014; Scheu et al., 2020). They want to work, become independent, reach financial security, enjoy freedom and support their families (Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016). High motivation to start some education is one of the main reasons the refugees chose Germany as a destination (Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016; Scheu et al., 2020).

However, to be productive through work and education has more meaning to many refugees than merely financial security. Some perceive social aid as humiliating (Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016) and as a negatively devaluating experience. Such pride becomes a force for "professional and ultimately an identity reorientation" (von Groenheim, 2018, p. 232). Others see work and becoming productive society members as a moral duty, to return the favor to Germans (Scheu et al., 2009). Such determination may be the strength behind refugees showing not only high enthusiasm but also often more engagement and skill-learning than their German peers (Geburzky, 2019; HWK Pfalz, 2020; Kulms, 2017; Lahner, 2017; P. Müller, 2015; Scheu et al., 2020).

The refugees' motivation can be traced in figures. After only 18% in the IAB-BAMF-SOEP adult Refugee survey (2016) spoke good or very good German, by 2017, the figure had doubled, and by 2020 it raised to 44%. Furthermore, the percentage of refugees taking part in some sort of education doubled in one year, from 5% to 10%, half of them in a GdVET (Brücker et al., 2019). By 2020 17% had signed a GdVET-contract, and 68% were employed (Brücker et al., 2020).

There are several explanations for the refugees' learning drive that need to be considered. For instance, authorities and the new society require that the refugees learn the language, understand the rules, and adapt (Morrice, 2014, p. 152). Not participating in state-regulated integration courses (mainly language courses) could lead to sanctions (Carpenter, 2018; Pichl, 2018). But then again, most refugees actively express their interest in these courses to access work and education. They aspire financial freedom and to be able to support their family (Beck, 2020; Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016). Still, such motives are not typical only for refugees! The high motivation of refugees must lie in a common experience they have or had; the most obvious is the biographical crisis to flee their home country. Such experience comes along with turbulent and contradicting emotions between hope and hopelessness. The biographical crisis becomes the "turning point" in refugees' lives (Kloubert, 2020, p. 2), and it could be their driving force to excel.

³² The IAB-BAMF-SOEP Refugee survey started in 2016 (N=4500 adult Refugees). It has 450 Questiones about the development, wellbeing, social interaction, education etc. It is conducted annually and is growing in participants number. It is a Joint proect by the Institute für labor market and vocational research (IAB), the Federal Ministry for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) and the Socio-economical Panel.

The migration biography doesn't end upon arrival in the target country. The reorientation in a new culture with structural restrictions and financial limitations is experienced as a social class decline and cultural dissolution. The situation "triggers self-reflection" upon which the "personal self-constitution" must be regained (von Groenheim, 2018, p. 232).

Studies show that refugees go through a twofold crisis. On the one hand, they fled from their home countries; on the other, they must reposition themselves while transforming into a new labor market (Wacker & Held, 2018). This process involves hardship and continuous learning in all aspects of life (Morrice, 2014). It makes refugees know the meaning of learning in the most distressful situations and transforms personal identities with determination, persistence, and willpower (Friedenthal-Haase, 2020).

Refugees bring high motivation, strength, and determination developed through their experience. Such Qualities will be an essential asset they carry into the new learning situation (Morrice, 2014), the GdVET workplace.

3.2 The GdVET and refugees' learning

Refugees entering a GdVET will spend about three years interacting with German workers. The working community members could aid refugees who were uprooted and trying to find out how to function in the new world (Friedenthal-Haase, 2020). Colleagues support them in work, language, social issues and are decisive for workplace integration (Rybnikova & Wilkmann, 2021). It may be one of the reasons why refugees in GdVET are reported to be "especially loyal" (Fischer, 2018; Wasner, 2017).

GdVET trainees learn the craft's skills, shared repertoire, stories, and symbols of the workplace community. While growing into the group with mutual engagement and ongoing negotiation, the interaction and experiences become meaningful, transforming their identity (Wenger, 1998b). How then is this the case with refugees in the GdVET?

3.2.1 Some considerations

Before moving to the theoretical framework for this research, some implications on refugees' GdVET workplace learning theorized through the literature need to be mentioned.

3.2.1.1 Cultural distance & learning in a mixed GdVET

Refugees bring their own language and culture into the GdVET workplace, which can be strange to the German culture and workplace. As more distant the refugees' culture, as more they are perceived as a threat to local customs (Czymara & Schmidt-Catran, 2016) and described as "cultural incompatible" (Badawia, 2005, p. 205).

To be functional, refugees must learn the language and cultural symbols of the new country and the workplace (Morrice, 2014). They may be expected to shed their culture or give it up altogether (Berry, 1997; von Groenheim, 2018). Consequently, compared to a German GdVET trainee, the refugees' identity transformation from a GdVET trainee to a main worker in the company is expected to involve more intense learning.

3.2.1.2 Social and cognitive constructivism perspectives in refugees GdVET learning

From a social-constructivist perspective, "social interaction, exploration, and negotiation" are essential for collective knowledge construction. From a cognitive constructivist perspective, learning means building "mental structures that mirror or correspond to the reality" (Doolittle & Hicks, 2003, pp. 79–81). The challenges from the social-constructivist perspective could be explained with the aforementioned cultural distance. The cognitive-constructivist view suggests that refugees will contrast their old knowledge frame with the GdVET workplace's existing

reality. The tug-of-war between the former biographically conditioned knowledge and self-understandings on one side and the new knowledge, demands, and challenges on the other, play a significant role in the learning process (Morrice, 2014). In German literature, this issue is nearly neglected.

3.2.1.3 Learning in a multicultural space

The GdVET workplace is culturally German. One much-ignored aspect in adult refugees GdVET learning is that learning occurs at its best when confronted with the unknown that must be explored (Morrice, 2014). From this aspect, cultural distance can enhance innovative learning. Representatives of two distant cultures meeting to learn can be a periphery which Wenger (1998b) describes as a "fertile area for change" (p. 82). The GdVET workplace may be the ultimate social space where high variation leading to discernment occurs; a *conditio sine qua non* for learning (Marton & Trigwell, 2000).

3.2.1.4 The GdVET as a bridge for socio-cultural integration of refugees

Refugees in the predominantly German GdVET workplace experience interaction, possibly leading to learning the necessary skills for living in the host country (Johansson, 2016). Socio-cultural integration is evolving, and contact between Germans and refugees is intensifying. While in 2016, only 37% of the refugees had regular contact with Germans, by 2018, a total of 57% reported this (Scheu et al., 2020; Siegert, 2019).

Refugees completing a GdVET become recognized members of the workplace (Habisch, 2016). They have a say and negotiation voice, engage mutually with their colleagues, and could create together culturally hybrid reifications and symbols. In the case of a bakery, this may be through introducing new pastry or using typical slogans from the refugees' mother tongue.

The positive feedback on refugees' GdVET training can be a source of pride. It can be a door to broader socio-cultural integration, transforming refugees into fully equal members of the larger German Society. Completing the GdVET can add meaning to the migration history, resolve the biographical crisis, and open ways for a dignified and secured future.

4 Theoretical frame

Lave and Wenger's (1991) Communities of Practice (CoP) situated learning concept is rooted in analyzing apprenticeship in a culturally homogeneous setting like the "Yucatec Mayan midwives in Mexico," the "Vai and Gola tailors in Liberia," or the "work-learning settings of U.S. navy quartermasters" (p. 65). Later on, Wenger (1998b) explores the concept in a "large U.S. insurance company" (p. 16), also homogeneous in culture, language, and tradition.

Heterogeneity was a missing variable. Nevertheless the CoP-concept has experienced an evolution in itself. It began with a focus on professional identity development continued with interaction to personal growth on the participation trajectory to become a managerial tool to improve organizations' competitiveness (Li et al., 2009).

The CoP concept has become referred to as a "business strategy" (Veronica & Suryawan, 2012), or a "managerial tool" (HUGHES et al., 2007) and is seen as a "strategic advantage" for "global competitiveness" (Zboralski & Gemunden, 2006, p. 218).

Having become a global competition tool, the question of CoP-heterogeneity is answered by Wenger et al. (2002) in that "different cultural backgrounds (are) likely to affect the development of global communities" (p. 100).

Similarly, Agrifoglio (2015) has the organizational perspective in mind when explaining that heterogeneous is "where members have different backgrounds because they come from various organizations" (p. 34).³³

The GdVET, though overwhelmingly achieved at the working place of a company, and despite being a tool to guarantee new workers for large and small companies alike, is regulated by law. It puts the learning apprentice into the focus of the GdVET, while considering skills required by the employing companies (BBG, 2005, paras. 27–30; HwO, 1953, para. 21; BIBB, 2017).

The unprecedented high refugee migrations in 2015 and many refugees beginning a GdVET have created new, never experienced, cultural heterogeneity in the GdVET scene (Funk, 2016; Kiesel, 2019; Lahner, 2017; Münk et al., 2018). Communication problems, trauma, housing, cultural distance, residence insecurity, and financial instability challenge the traditional CoP framework. This research aims to develop a theoretical framework based suitable to explore heterogenous CoP's as in the GdVET case with refugees and Germans.

In the following (4.2), the relevant CoP-elements, which Wenger (1998b, 1998a, 2000, 2010; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2016) developed, are discussed and summarized. The three CoP characteristics, namely the domain, community, and practice, are highlighted and briefly reviewed. In the following part (4.3), two characteristics derived from Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning are added. Together they form what will be termed as five spheres, each juxtaposed to the nature of the GdVET. They enable a framework to collect, analyze and discuss the data (chapter 6 & 7).

4.1 The GdVET-workplace as a social learning environment

Since Lave & Wengers' (1991) CoP-concept introduction, numerous publications have been dealing with it as "promoting learning and knowledge transfer to a particular extent" (Heiss, 2009, p. 75), with some few critical voices (Roberts, 2006).

Lave & Wenger (1991) had observed the legitimate peripheral participation of apprentices in crafts. Looking into practitioners' community participation and learning with experienced workers to become community members and masters themselves, they recognized that an essential condition for apprentices to be acknowledged potential members is to be granted sufficient legitimacy. Learning then happens on the trajectory path in which the newcomer interacts and participates with the members while producing objects, representative ideas, and forms.

CoPs are understood as knowledge holders. Participating in their cultural practice becomes an "epistemological principle of learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 56). Consequently, the learning possibilities are determined by the social structure, power relations, and legitimacy conditions. This fundamental nature of CoPs emphasizes the social aspect of learning.

Wenger (1998b) demarked the CoP from the rest of the world by describing three overlapping relation- dimensions to it:

- 1) Joint enterprise: it is negotiated continuously between members holding each other accountable with a focus on the enterprise in their interactions.
- 2) Mutual engagement: is the social component in a CoP, the interaction and working together.

³³ Compare also Dubé et al., (2006) addressing heterogeneity from the perspective of global organizations using ICT to reduce cost and time by establishing virtual CoP's.

- 3) The shared repertoire of experiences: stories, actions, discourses, and tools and artifacts.

Learning together is one of these mutual engagements. It holds the CoP together and allows its ongoing existence because its members value participation (Wenger, 1998a). Accordingly, Wenger (2010) locates the concept of CoP within social learning. And with social learning at the heart of a CoP, Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner (2015) define a CoP as "groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (p. 1).

They carve out three essential characteristics for a CoP which partially subsume the dimensions mentioned above:

1. **The domain** refers to the members' commitment to the CoP. The shared domain of interest defines newcomers' identity on their learning path. Members of the domain value the domain sphere and the collective task and competence developed through the interaction and learning in the group.
2. **The community** indicates the members' social nature in building learning relations, valuing each other, and personal attachment to the domain.
3. **The practice** implies that the CoP members are practitioners, developing a shared repertoire of tools, methods, and stories to solve task problems. Learning these and being part of their creation takes time and practice.

Having said this, the CoP-concept directs our attention to a couple of features and principles, helpful in investigating how learning occurs in groups with a shared passion and striving to excel. They will be discussed in the following under the corresponding CoP-characteristics.³⁴

The domain

The active social participants construct meaning from their environment. When persons make meaning, they are involved with their entire personality, heart, brain, biography, and relationships (Wenger, 2010). Hence, any attempt to understand people's learning must consider the whole person. The social structure, power relations in the CoPs, and legitimacy conditions of the newcomers declare their membership nature. It influences the members' loyalty, commitment, identity formation, and learning in the CoP between its group members.

The community

The degree and diversity of mutual engagement define the social adherence and members' interest in their domain. Furthermore, social relations and interactions in the group influence loyalty, commitment, and identity formation. Subsequently, learning takes place within the mutual engagement. Mutual engagement and productivity are essential in the individual and collective CoP valuing. It builds the emotional compass into the group and is a psychological force to identify with the profession.

The practice

The members as active practitioners develop a shared repertoire of experiences, narrations, tools, solutions, symbols, and more. However, creating a shared repertoire takes time and

³⁴ These features and principles are derived from the publications between the first mentioning of the CoP by Lave & Wenger (1991) until the latest used in this thesis by Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner (2015). For the sake of fluent readability, further referencing in this part will be omitted.

constitutes the CoP culture, internal language, and history together with the community. New members learn the rules and skills, shape them, and spark innovation.

The trajectory from the legitimate periphery into the CoP core can be traced by how the newcomers master the shared repertoire, how they participate in the CoP culture, identify themselves with the profession, and influence reifications by meaning-making or forms and objects.

4.2 Reviewing the GdVET in five spheres: some implications

In the following, the discussion on the specific nature of GdVET (Chapter 2) is reviewed within five spheres, and their implications are highlighted. The first two spheres are derived from Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning. The latter three use the CoP-characteristics delineated by Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner (2015).

4.2.1 Sphere 1: Situated learning environment

The VET-Regulation delineates meticulously how and what the trainee must learn at the workplace. A company must be accredited, provide suitable trainers, and be controlled regularly by the responsible authorities. Only decent-sized companies can afford to offer a GdVET and pay the obligatory GdVET trainee wage. Hence, the GdVET trainee has enough interaction and learning chances from old-timers and other trainees.

4.2.2 Sphere 2: Social structure, power relations, and legitimacy conditions

The GdVET starts with a VET contract. Once signed, the trainee is paid and becomes a junior worker. The contract and the employment nature of the GdVET provide clear defined legitimacy. All co-workers know that the trainee is a fully recognized junior.

Because the GdVET is costly, companies invest only in promising trainees that would secure future staff for business continuity. Trainers, old-timers, supervisors, or owners have the power of seniority. The trainees hold the power of being the future guarantee of the company. Trainees may hold the superiors accountable if they do not implement the VET-Regulation. At the same time, the seniors must rely on the trainees once they have learned the workflow. The apparent power relations set the rules that constitute the social structure and background upon which interaction, communication, and learning occur.

4.2.3 Sphere 3: The domain

The GdVET trainees, in most cases, will have chosen or at least approved to the vocation they aspire. They commence as whole individuals, with their own biographies, sets of minds, capabilities, and weaknesses. They enter the domain as members and learn to value the group, workplace, and company as part of their professional identity.

4.2.4 Sphere 4: The community

GdVET is mainly for craftsmen vocations. The workplace is diverse, and the trainees do not spend 36 months learning one machine or desk. The variation enables mutual engagement at many sites, on several levels, and with different persons. The group spirit at the workplace influences the trainee's loyalty, participation negotiation, commitment, social interaction, and identity formation. Being socially active in the GdVET workplace will inevitably lead to negotiating aspects of the domain. The experiences can be processed and cognized into meaningfulness and value.

The trainers and experienced co-workers accompany the trainees in their journey until passing their exams and beyond. Becoming accredited with a journeyman's certificate is a source of pride for the trainees and trainers. The old-timers recognize the effort and accomplishment of

their juniors and welcome them into the seniors. Growing together, experiencing learning with each other, and narrating stories to be told to newcomers is essential in learning and identity building.

The social learning of a GdVET trainee in the community exceeds learning the necessary workplace skills and tasks.

4.2.5 Sphere 5: The practice

The nature of handicrafts, working in the group for a bakery company at many weekends and holidays, construct unity, workers' traditions, company culture, and history. Learning all these and more needs time provided by the GdVET duration of 36 months. The GdVET trainees start as newcomers, often knowing not more than that they will learn a vocation. Gradually they learn the shared repertoire while mastering the trade and becoming prominent workers in the community and domain members.

5 Methodology

5.1 Considerations and choices

Empirical research uses quantitative or qualitative methods. The qualitative method approaches verbalizing experienced reality, interpreting and understanding it. Quantitative research attempts to find regularities by quantifying experienced reality through numbers (David, 2008).

Both approaches differ in research methods, fields, and understanding of science. The qualitative approach may use film, photos, graphics, drawings, and even costumes as non-numerical sources of data. However, it heavily relies on observation protocols, interview transcripts, letters, and journals. The research process does not need to be standardized for collecting quantitative data. (Bortz & Doering, 2006)

The limited interview participants (N=8) for this research make the qualitative approach appealing. Being a comprehensive examination of a small sample as well as "a single instance of a bounded system," it may be termed a case study (Creswell 1994 & Tight 2010 in: Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375). Furthermore, it is a typical single-case representing the GdVET, enabling some "analytic generalizability" with further studies (Yin, 2009, as cited in: Cohen et al., 2017, p. 284). As most of the GdVET takes place at the workplace, exploring how refugees learn in it is a case study of a culturally mixed GdVET.

Case studies are methodological crossbreeds using a wide range of methods for data collection. Still, the primary instrument is traditionally observation, especially in a workplace's natural setting (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 385).

The time constraints of the research and the inconvenient working hours between 03:00 and 22:00 would make it significantly more difficult to collect enough data through participant observation alone. Furthermore, the researcher would often get in the way of the heavy workload at the facility. To interview the participants in between could be perceived as a disturbance in the long run. Furthermore, my personal migration background could make refugees more likely to gain deeper insights into their biographies in interviews.

The above discussed difficult situation of refugees needs to be taken into consideration. Conducting interviews and collecting data where different ethnicities may have experienced cultural misunderstandings can violate what is considered to be social pertinent. Yet, the interviewer and the interviewee have different understandings of what is appropriate and not. The interviewer could impair the interview goals. On the other hand, awareness of this fact "can become

an excellent source of knowledge" (Legewie, 1987, p. 147). Hence particular sensitivity, empathy, and understanding are crucial skills for this research.

Mangold (2017), a co-researcher in a qualitative research by Brücker, Kunder, et al. (2016), in which 123 Refugees could talk about their motives and hopes in Germany, recognizes methodological challenges while conducting qualitative interviews with refugees. Her recommendations to be aware of possible re-traumatization while discussing refugees' experiences need to be considered. She also stresses their willingness to provide information, uncertainty about their current legal status, and that signing the consent form creates trust and openness.

5.2 Qualitative research quality criteria

Mayring (2016) mentions six quality criteria that ensure validity and reliability of data, analysis, and interpretation. The ongoing documentation of all details lies at the forefront, from the first thoughts through literature review, data collection method, and analysis to interpretation. According to his second criteria, the argumentative securing of interpretation, this research puts particular weight on explaining the interpretations and possible alternative understandings. His third criteria, the rule-governed research, will be observed using a semi-structured interview for the main data collection. I will be analyzed according to Mayring's (2015) content analysis. His fourth and central criteria, the proximity and adequacy of the subject, are reached as I have been working almost daily for 18 months in voluntary aid for refugees. I am still in close contact with many refugees. The proximity is also given by the closeness of half of my family to their cultures, languages, and traditions. The education of adult refugees is a concrete social issue and hence adequate for a research subject. The fifth criteria, communicative validation, is difficult to achieve. It has been partially achieved by a short reflection on the conducted interview after each session. The sixth criteria of Triangulation has been sought to be achieved by adding a week of a limited participatory observation before conducting the semi-structured interviews with seven of the eight interview partners. Also interviewing Germans as well as refugees allows to widen the perspective on how adult refugees learn in a GdVET. The limited scope of this research allowed not further triangulation.

As Mayring (2016) states, the quality criteria "must be suitable to the methods" (p. 143). His six criteria have been enriched with the last of the seven criteria set by Steinke (2005); the reflected subjectivity. Meaning and subjective views take shape in interaction. The underlying meaning of words is "double constructed," once from the perspective of the biography of the narrator and once based on the "interview interaction" (Helfferich, 2005, p. 22). Because of my proximity to the subject and interview partners and my personal experience of racism and discrimination, I need to reflect on my awareness and practice distance while having empathy and understanding. Furthermore, I need to reflect on my subjectivity in the interaction and the danger of influencing the narrator.

5.3 Choosing the bakery and interview-partners

When the refugees' migrations reached their peak in 2015, many citizens, including myself, approached the refugees, organized their accommodations, helped in courses, papers, and many other issues. Speaking fluently in Arabic, German, and English, I often translated between refugees and Germans. In a street event, a baker with a mobile bakery offered bread for free. One of the refugees, Osman, also interviewed in this research, helped him out and stayed ever since with the bakery. On this day, the bakery owner approached me and said: "I will do my part in integrating these new citizens and offer them work and GdVET." Some months later, he offered three of the refugees I was intensively working with a part-time job. And ever since, he has

employed and educated almost a dozen refugees and expanded his business. When I asked him if I could conduct this research in his company, he agreed at once.

He informed his employees that a researcher would come to do some participant observation and interviews and that they may choose to talk with me or not. Eventually, he informed me that five refugees, three Germans, and himself were glad to be interviewed. One refugee, who introduced me to the bakery the first day, did not appear for the interview. Nevertheless, she had provided some insights about learning in the group without being enrolled in the GdVET.

5.4 Data collection

The necessary empirical data were collected in three stages.

5.4.1 First stage: Semi-structured interview with the owner of the bakery

This interview provided information about the biography, personality, and motives to train refugees and experiences made in this. It enabled access to the bakery. Additionally, it illuminated the work process, the tasks, and the training plan of the refugees. During the interview, I also informed the owner about the research project in more detail. Interviewing the owner at the beginning could suggest that I am in a powerful position. My desire to find participants in the bakery will be transmitted by the owner directly to the employees. In a Foucaultian sense, it may be perceived as an obligation to participate (Foucault 1998 in: Cohen et al., 2017). To avoid this, the owner was informed not to pressure his employees into participation.

5.4.2 Second stage: Short-termed participatory observation

I also conducted a short-termed participatory observation, which allowed the employees to get acquainted with me as a researcher and the project. The success of qualitative research relies heavily on voluntary participation (Pfoser & Hörschelmann, 2018). By showing them that I need them and not the opposite, the perhaps exercised power over them to participate may "circulate" back to their hands (Brookfield, 2001, p. 7). The notes of observations and communication helped design the semi-structured interviews for the next stage. Two observation reports were added to the data for analysis.

5.4.3 Third stage: Semi-structured Interviews

Two semi-structured interviews were designed; one for refugees and one for Germans working at the bakery. Two German female workers, Olivia and Kim, were interviewed in a nearby café belonging to the bakery and closed partially due to COVID-19 regulations. The third German worker, Max, was interviewed in a 5 km distant city where the bakery has a factory hall for bread and pastry production. One Refugee, Hassan, preferred to visit me at home, where I took him after lunch to my workshop. There we had the necessary privacy for an interview. I had toured with Hassan one day while participatory observation, delivering bread to customers. Hassan recognized me from my voluntary work and German lectures for Arabic-speaking refugees online, which helped melt the ice.

The bakery has a mobile bakery car standing in a nearby city. There I interviewed Hosni and Osman; both were baking and selling bread. We could sit at a bank behind the mobile bakery separate from pedestrians and conduct the interviews.

A fourth refugee, Ibrahim, was interviewed in the main factory in the nearby city. Because he hesitated at the beginning, we went to the backstage entrance of the factory, where he smoked a cigarette and agreed to the interview.

Three refugees had passed their GdVET as bakers less than a year ago. Hassan was entering the final exam in bakery merchandising after three months. Yet his responsibilities and learning in the different bakery departments were accelerating. The bakery owner pointed him out as eager to learn every aspect of the entire company.

Osman, Ibrahim, and Hosni were Refugees with a VET-Duldung, while Hassan held a GCR-refugee status.

All interview partners, but one, had seen me at least once during the participatory observation and had talked to me about my research project. The shortest interview lasted 24 and the longest 65 minutes. The interview with the bakery owner was 104 minutes long.

5.5 Designing the semi-structured interviews

The planning of the semi-structured interviews follows the SPSS method introduced by Helfferich (2005). SPSS stands for the four first letters of the following German terminology:

1) Sammeln (Collecting)

To collect possible questions which arise through the literature review, pre-research, and in this case, while the participating observation and owner-interview. No selection or reduction takes place. All questions that seem of interest are simply collected.

2) Prüfen (Examine)

The collected questions are examined on redundancy, efficiency, and necessity. They are re-framed and simplified to become open, operative, and possibly softened with friendly openings. In the end, they are cross-checked on their relevance to the research aim and questions.

3) Sortieren (Sorting),

The questions are clustered into themes, categories, or types at this stage.

4) Subsumieren (Subsuming).

Finally, the bulk of questions is subsumed into a semi-structured interview with a limited amount of open questions corresponding to the subquestions aimed to resolve. Helfferich (2019) concludes that the questions in a semi-structured interview should be "as open as possible, as structured as necessary" (p. 670).

The following images 2 and 3 show implementing steps 1 to 4 of the SPSS method using the software Mindmanager 2016 from Mindjet.

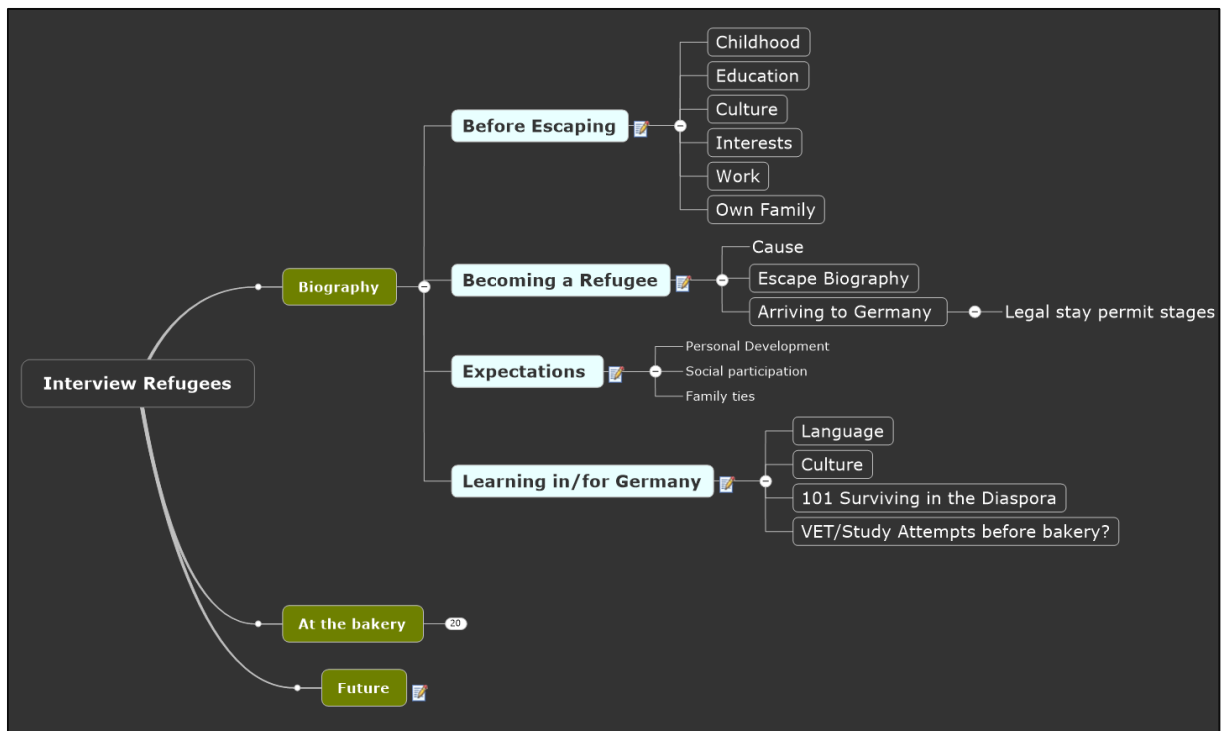


Image 2: Mindmanager 2016. The Topics (blue) are clustered in three expandable groups (green). Each Topic has subtopics of interest with additional attached documents and information.

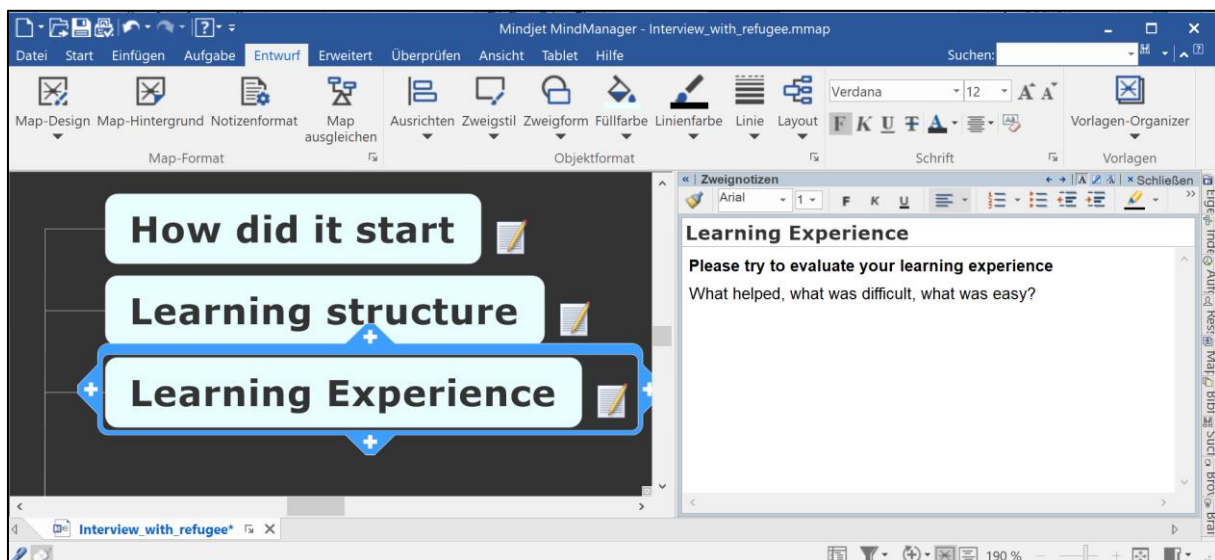


Image 3: Zoom-in showing the formulation of Questions in the integrated text editor.

In the end, the open questions were formulated into a table used while conducting the interview:

Nr.	Leading Question	Aspects	Group
1	Tell me about your life, family, childhood, school, and work in your home country.	Before escaping <input type="checkbox"/> Childhood <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Culture <input type="checkbox"/> Interests <input type="checkbox"/> Work <input type="checkbox"/> Own Family	Biography
5	How did it become that you entered this bakery?		At the bakery

Table 2: A sample of the table in Appendix B. The Questions Nr. 1 and 5 in the column "Leading Question." In the column "Aspects," Subtopics can be checked during the interview.

All three semi-structured interview questions are attached in Appendix B to D.

5.6 Transcribing the interviews

Before analyzing the interviews, the recorded data needs to be transcribed. Though different transcription systems exist, there is no agreed-on standard. While the highest possible accuracy is desirable, formulating transcription rules "often leads to a fetishism, that stands in no justifiable relation to the research questions and outcome" (Strübing, 2018, p. 379).

The interviews were held in German, Arabic, and German, mixed with English words. The transcription rules used in this research are inspired by Kuckartz's (2018) transcription rules for computer-based qualitative analyses, mainly the following:

- The transcription is verbatim and not summarized.
- The German and Arabic dialects are directly translated while transcribing into standard English.
- Emphasized words are capitalized.
- Additional fill-in voices (hm, ah, etc.) are not transcribed, as long as they are not intended to interrupt the conversation flow.
- Laughing, crying, explanations, etc., are added in brackets and cursive: (*laughing*).
- Interruptions through the interviewer are added in square brackets preceded with an I for Interviewer: (I: OK).
- The Interviewer is preceded with an I, and the Interviewee with a fictitious name.

5.7 Data analysis

The data is analyzed using the qualitative content analysis method of Mayring (2015). Accordingly, the data should not be freely interpreted but through a systematic approach and rules, which a third party can reconstruct. These rules are not chiseled in stone and must be adapted to the nature of the data. The analysis can follow or combine a summarizing and explicatory or structured approach. In this thesis, the data was structured to focus on the "category construction and justification" (Mayring, 2015, p. 51).

The category construction is based on three elements. First, there are the categories of the semi-structured interviews. They already have a general category construction to be used in the analyses and the essential subcategories (compare image 2 above).

Secondly, in Chapter 4, the theoretical implications of a GdVET in five spheres have been discussed. Possible peculiarities for refugee apprentices in these spheres were identified and added as code categories (V1 to V5), each broken down into several subcodes.

Thirdly, inductive subcategories were developed while reading the transcriptions, paraphrasing and summarizing specific passages, coding them, and making memos (Mayring, 2015). Most of these codes were collected in the category "Inductive Categories." Some developed within the analysis process to be subsumed under one of five spheres.

After coding the first three transcripts with the software "f4transcript", the project was restarted with "MAXQDA," which would allow deeper analyses, comparison, and search options (see image 4 on next page as one example).

Several codes were similar and could fit in different categories. In this case, they were marked in the memo next to it. While reflecting on the data and the corresponding codes, they would gain specificity and possibly be renamed or rearranged.

For instance, next to the fourth code under the sphere V3 (domain), the following memo was added at an advanced stage:

"While V2-SPL-Learning to Self-confidence and Power emphasizes the power relations, here the emphasis is on the proudness to be acknowledged by the rest of the group. Here the social pulling factor into the professional identification is in focus."

At the end of the process, the codes were double-checked, weighted, and, if necessary, merged or subcategorized.

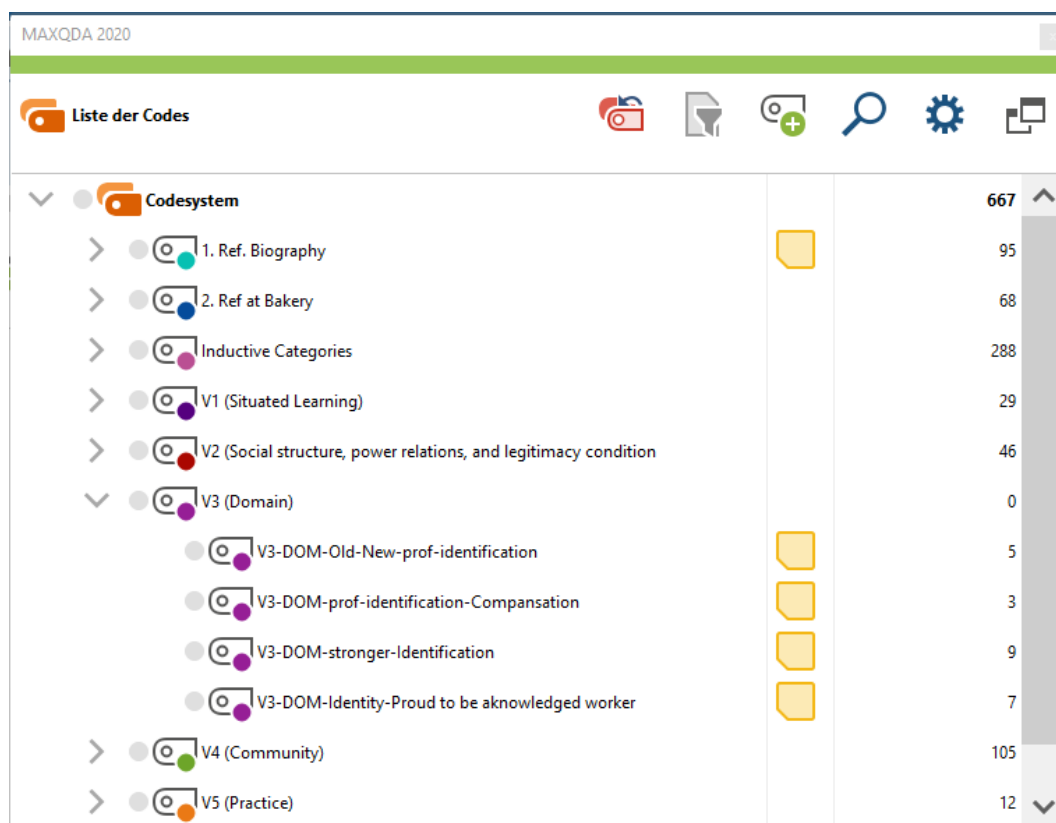


Image 4: Code-Categories. The discussed variations in 4.3.3 would only suggest the first three codes in V3(Domain). Inductively a fourth category was added while coding the interviews.

5.8 Ethical considerations

All interview partners and I signed two copies of the consent form (see Appendix A). Before signing, they were explained every aspect of the document and asked if there was an open question or desire to add or change something in the form. German participants would see this as an acquainted formality and nod it through. For the refugees, I would translate and explain it. If I do not speak their mother tongue, I described it in simplified German and discussed it in more detail to ensure they understood the content. Mangolds' (2017) observation that signing the consent form adds seriousness and trust was reinforced in this research. It was especially the case with Ibrahim, who initially hesitated to be interviewed.

My parents were both from culturally mixed families, and I was born in a fifth country. I speak Arabic fluently and have a typical Arabic Muslim name. This circumstance gave me access to the refugees, who would recognize a shared migration experience in me, even if I never was a refugee myself. It was evident when, for instance, Hassan would speak about Germans and say: "you know what I mean!"³⁵ Ibrahim hesitated to give an interview at the beginning. Still, he agreed at last with the notion: "only because you are an Arab."³⁶

Because I am a criminal investigator, which many refugees in City (A) know, I revealed this in my introduction. Previous experience with refugees has shown that some refugees commented on my profession with some reservations. I held it necessary to ensure that the interview had nothing to do with my work and was merely out of scientific interest. Nonetheless, I could observe how conducting interrogations influenced my interview technique, for instance, in the desire to cross-examine a previous answer in contradiction to a later one. I would first suppress this desire but then reframe the question less confronting.³⁷

Two of the refugees recognized me from my voluntary refugee aid work in 2015 and 2016. One of them followed my German lessons for Arabic-speaking refugees on YouTube.

I also knew the bakery owner, who was welcoming the refugees. Because of his central position in the marketplace and cultural center of the city, some of the staff recognized me from various events.

Due to the closeness to the bakery and the interview partners, I consciously practiced distancing by not slipping into rapport too often with the interviewees. The interviewees were given fictive names while transcribing, and I took a break of 5 weeks before coding. That allowed me to be distanced emotionally from the material. At some instances, I could not remember having heard or experienced the data I was reading. At this point, I felt I had detached enough to approach the evaluation as objectively as possible.

6 Findings

Refugees are given fictive oriental names: Fatima, Hassan, Hosni, Ibrahim, and Osman. Accordingly, Germans are given fictive European names: Boris, Max, Kim, and Olivia.

6.1 The bakery – Setting the scene (participatory observation impressions)

When first introduced to the Bakery in City (A), a refugee, Fatima, showed me around. She is a mother of three children who fled domestic violence in her country. She remarried in Germany to a man of her origin country. She would hold my arm while talking and joke around. From

³⁵ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 12)

³⁶ (Interview_Ibrahim, Pos. 5)

³⁷ For instance, when Ibrahim would complain that the owner did not help him with some official papers for two months, though I knew the whole circumstance I asked: „May this have to do with COVID?“

my experience with refugees from her homeland, I did not expect physical closeness. But then I noticed that she was close to all workers in this way. Her German was weak but confident, and she would drag me happily through the shop and introduce me to all workers, who would ask what I was doing and why. While the customers would come in, she would hand out bread or make a coffee while someone else would take the orders. Everyone seemed to know exactly what to do, and each would do everything, be it checking the inventory, selling, making coffee, or cleaning the backstage. Only the bakery section was a no-go area for the sellers. In it, a German and a refugee baker were preparing buns in lightspeed while talking to me and piling filled trays with bun dough to rest.

When entering the shop as a customer, the bakery section is to the right side and fully visible through only a Glas wall. On the left of the shop are a couple of tables and chairs, which are restricted because of COVID. Directly in front of you, you find the sales counter with some sandwiches, pastry, the solid commercial coffee machine, and over 15 sorts of bread. Later on, I found out that Fatima had only a part-time aiding job. Boris mentioned that she would most possibly not start a GdVET because of her children.

Nevertheless, he will stick to Yamin because she works hard, although it takes her more time than others to learn the trade. Fatima has a great smile on her face and seems to be loved by everyone.

I accompanied Hassan for a full day when he took over the driver's shift. Hassan is doing a GdVET as a bakery merchandiser but decided to do the driver because the actual one was ill. He said that he is eager to learn each aspect of the whole business. We first drove to the café where he dropped some bread and pastry and collected empty buckets. A German female worker in the café seemed not in a good mood the day, and Hassan commented while driving that this is how some are in the morning. We delivered bread to other places before going to the City (B) factory.

Hassan talked about his biography and how he insisted on learning German from the first day but never had real luck until he started working with Boris. Hassan holds the status of a GCR-refugee and could work for 9,50 Euros the hour instead of going through a less-paying GdVET. Still, he wants to have something for the future.

I was pretty astonished at how fluently Hassan spoke German. Though we both spoke Arabic fluently and chose to communicate in Arabic, he spoke German in between as if assimilated into both languages.

When we reached the factory to collect new bread, it was not finished yet. Hassan introduced me to the sister of Boris, managing the office work. I was surprised that he had forgotten to tell his sister, who commented that Boris knows what he is doing and smiled, permitting me to move freely in the factory. Then Hassan guided me through the factory, introducing me to the workers. All of a sudden, he disappeared. I searched for him and found him washing dishes and cleaning in the pastry section. I asked him if this was part of his GdVET work. He said that this is not the case, but he prefers helping out instead of sitting around and waiting.

All workers highly respected Hassan, and he moved swiftly between the factory sections, carrying stuff and organizing as if he spent his entire life there.

I used the chance to chat with some refugees who had just passed their GdVET. I met Osman and Ibrahim, who I would interview a couple of days later. Osman was a happy spirit, making jokes about his own German while pushing the dough into the oven. Ibrahim seemed somewhat

skeptical. When I introduced myself to him, he first grabbed his mobile phone to call Boris. Osman started laughing and told him that Boris knew I was here. Boris hadn't told almost everyone about my project.

There were four German workers in the factory: a woman and an apprentice in the pastry section and a young man with a hearing disability. He had tried another GdVET, but he said it was too difficult with his disability. I remembered Boris telling me about his father giving chances to weaker students. I could not talk to the woman at the pastry; she was deeply concentrating while decorating her cakes. Hassan would pop up in the background carrying out some stove trays and scraping the cake rests off to wash them.

In the baking section, I met the fourth German worker, Max. He seemed to understand Osman pretty well, and both would joke and laugh together. Ibrahim seemed to be the more serious member. I chose not to disturb him, to not lose the chance of an interview.

At this stage the bread, we originally came to pick up was finished. We returned to City (A), piling up the bread baskets.

I also had the chance to spend some time another day with Osman and Hosni, who were working in the mobile bakery, the company had in City (C). Both were a well-rehearsed team. Osman and Hosni passed the exams, but obviously, Hosni was leading the team. Later on, Hosni told me that he is the boss when Boris is absent, which explains his confident appearance. He spoke strikingly good German, and the customers would talk with him at their ease. Three customers noticed how I was scribbling notices and approached me. They thought I was a social worker helping refugees. After I told them that I'm a researcher, they told me how wonderful it is to have these refugees selling bread. Not only is the bread of this bakery good, but both Hosni and Osman are open-hearted and friendly. They do not want to miss this mobile bakery anymore.

Hosni though not from the same country as Osman, could speak a dialect Osman understands. Osman repeatedly asked him to translate what he wanted to say to me. Boris came to the mobile bakery with some snacks for Osman and Hosni. I noticed how Boris would ask Hosni what they needed. Hosni would list what Boris needs to purchase to make some sheet cake or other specialties without having made any notices. Hosni reported then how much they sold and which bread sells best the day.

I took a walk with Boris to bring some coffee, and he told me that Hosni leads this part and knows every aspect of the trade. Boris does not like interfering in functioning units.

It seemed that every person is an integral part of the whole enterprise in this company. At the same time, smaller units exist or are appointed for special occasions. The GdVET graduates, and in the case of Hassan, GdVET apprentices, play a significant role and are fully responsible and productive members of the community. The dedicated boss, his urge for humanity and justice, and his teams-orchestrating (see chapter 6.2) play a substantial role in this success.

6.2 The company and its managing owner

After tenth grade school, Boris began a baker-GdVET to become like his father and mother, who owned a bakery in City (B). It has always been clear that he will follow in his father's footsteps. But his father died, and when his mother had a new partner, things developed differently. He started his own business together with his sister in 1998 in City (A). The company grew over the years to include next to the bakery workshop in City (A) a Café and a production factory for pastry and bread in City (B) with an attached store.

Employing around 50 persons, the company committed to organic baking has become a cultural cornerstone in City (A). It engages in several cultural events, offering baking workshops for citizens and offering GdVET's to young people.

Boris's ideals strongly influence the company's spirit. It is impossible to discuss how learning functions in it without shedding light on him. The refugees I interviewed or talked to in the participatory observation, all with no exception, show high respect, devotion, and gratitude to Boris for his continuous support.

"Hosni," who expresses his gratitude, puts it in the following words:

Mr. Boris has helped me a lot. I cannot leave him. I found a company in Berlin, a Turkish bakery, and they would also pay me more. Berlin has, in general, more chances than here. But I cannot leave Mr. Boris; I just cannot. He has been so good to us. (...) And for me, it is so, if he has helped me and needs me, how should I then say no, I am leaving you for one or two Euros more an hour. That cannot be!³⁸

Boris believes to have learned to strive for social justice from his father, who accepted weak students into a GdVET and was "a person, who always would give people a chance."³⁹

Boris improved the wage system of his apprentices, which is governmentally regulated between 600 and 850 Euros. Workers applying directly for a job, even if not trained, are legally entitled to 9,50 € per hour and earn twice as much as an apprentice. He swiftly decided to divide the business into expert niches. GdVET students are paid 150 Euros more once they master a niche. By that, the salary of GdVET students rises to the level of regular workers after a couple of months.

Boris remembers that he was on a train with a friend filled with people heading to the demonstrations opposing the refugees entering Germany. "I was sitting there, and I was so much embarrassed (...), and I said, we must do something. And one way to do this is to approach the refugees and give them a perspective."⁴⁰

As for the educational philosophy of the Bakery, Boris sees himself as in the "organizing position." Each worker has understood that he is "a trainer in his way."⁴¹ Sometimes, he intervenes to get the best out of training. He gave, for instance, Osman, who speaks very weak German, the task to explain to a Japanese apprentice how this or that is done in English so that he "explains what he has just learned."⁴²

Boris, who has been offering GdVET since 1998, is amazed by the "truly high motivation" of refugees and their readiness to do things that "people in Germany do not learn anymore. For instance, taking a broom and just sweeping the floor."⁴³ He notices this as the big difference between refugees and German:

No, honestly, this is like that. This was a big difference (...) that the refugees help tackle things. They want this! I mean, this is motivation. And if someone brings along motivation, then we can reach much together."⁴⁴

³⁸ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 117-119)

³⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 75)

⁴⁰ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 73)

⁴¹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 89)

⁴² (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 89)

⁴³ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 91)

⁴⁴ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 91)

Acknowledging the high motivation of his refugees, Boris decided to help them out when they failed their written Exams. He simply paid them a full wage like trained, educated workers from the day they failed the exam because they "work every day and (...) are diligent."⁴⁵

Boris looks positively back since the refugees mass-migrated to Germany. He has "learned in these last five years about training and education so much more, which (*he*) also implement(s) with other trainees."⁴⁶

He tolerates no discrimination or racism. In the beginning, he was hesitant about refugees in the bakery because he had mainly young female workers, and the refugee apprentices were young men. But he quickly noticed that they would rush to help the female colleagues carry things or bring stuff from higher shelves. And sexual harassment did happen, "but then from German workers."⁴⁷ One none-refuge foreign worker was fired during the research. He had insulted Hassan and openly raised his middle finger to insult him on the road.

6.3 Learning attitude, dignity, and pride

In accordance with previous research (Brücker, Kunert, et al., 2016; Brücker, Rother, et al., 2016; Lahner, 2017; Meyer, 2014; Scheu et al., 2020), the refugees showed eagerness to learn and be successful. Hosni put it as simple as "it is necessary for foreigners just to sit and learn, right?!"⁴⁸

Hassan had the initiative to start learning early on. While still in the language school, which refugees get financed by the government, he applied for a part-time job in the bakery. He wanted to improve his German and "test out the employment System (...) and how the Germans deal with each other and so on."⁴⁹

The high determined attitude to learn and be successful identified in other studies (see chapter 3.1) is supported in this case. When Osman, Hosni, and Ibrahim failed the written exams the first time, they all took a two-week vacation before the reexamination, and they put immense effort into learning. All passed the written reexamination at the end. Hassan had still not entered his exams at the interview but succeeded later on from the first time.

That pride can become a force for "professional reorientation" (von Groenheim, 2018, p. 232) can especially be seen in Hassan's case. When mocked at the vocational school for his German, he told himself, "I need to have some patience and become better gradually."⁵⁰ Today he masters every aspect of the company. He proudly describes how he has "reached a level, that (*he*) learn(s) everything fast, to the degree that (*he is*) the one who is helping"⁵¹ these that would help him at the beginning."

For Hassan makes dignity and respect are learning prerequisites. He came to Germany because they would treat "you as a human being with dignity and respect."⁵² The most important matter in the GdVET working environment for him is to "respect other colleagues no matter from where you come."⁵³ And it is pride that leads Ibrahim not to ask his girlfriend or her family to

⁴⁵ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 93)

⁴⁶ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 98)

⁴⁷ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 100)

⁴⁸ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 54)

⁴⁹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 46)

⁵⁰ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 61)

⁵¹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 67)

⁵² (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 119)

⁵³ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 129)

help in the foreigners' office. He fears the workers there would believe that "he speaks no German."⁵⁴

The determined attitude towards learning and success is further shown in how Hosni also manages to contain his pride and overlook harassment or unfair treatment to reach the goal. Only when he has passed his exams does he put such people in their place: "Now I can tell such persons to do their part, and I do my part. I like working as a team, but I do not like when someone misuses this."⁵⁵

While dignity and respectful treatment are undoubtedly important for every person, it seems that because refugees start as grownups entirely alone in a foreign culture, the GdVET plays an accelerated important role of social space for them. Respect and dignity become even more crucial for refugees. Other GdVET-Students can harness acknowledgment at home, with friends and family. Refugees often have only the domain of the GdVET, and pride is a capital, which they can contain, but would not give up.

6.4 Learning at the workplace

Lave and Wenger (1991) consider learning an "integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world" (p. 35). The GdVET-workplace is such a lived-in world, in which situated learning and how refugees transform from the peripheral participating "newcomers" to the become practicing "old-timers" (p.112) can be observed.

The German workers remember how refugees were introduced to the workplace without a specific curriculum. They looked and learned, and everyone showed them something. Max welcomes the new learning style. Osman, for instance, has shown "perfect development" in it.⁵⁶

Whether learning traditionally in school with books is considered situated learning shaped by "social arrangements" producing the learning methods and tools (Woolf, 2009) or not, the vocational school accompanying the GdVET-workplace allows one to cognitively prepare for the workplace learning and arrange the workplace-experience.

Boris claims that observing is enough to make a dough, but understanding what happens in it, needs more profound knowledge, and "for this, we need the vocational school."⁵⁷ Boris noticed that each person, refugee or not, has different learning strengths. Hassan, for instance, "has a photographic memory. If he sees something two-three times, he saves it."⁵⁸ And Osman, he adds, although he cannot speak so good German, was the second-best in the written exams after studying hard for three weeks. It shows" that he is really intelligent, he only has this language problem."⁵⁹

Furthermore, Boris tries channeling the learning at the workplace by bringing different GdVET students together or enabling the development of godparenthoods in the company helping the refugees in issues beyond the workplace borders.

Now after the refugees have passed the exam, Boris fears his over average motivated refugees could leave if he gives them no further education facilities:

⁵⁴ (Interview_Ibrahim, Pos. 58)

⁵⁵ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 139)

⁵⁶ (Interview_Max, Pos. 136)

⁵⁷ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 85)

⁵⁸ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 87)

⁵⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 96)

"I must give them some challenges to keep them highly motivated. I will talk with them soon to tell them that if they want to make their "Meister" (master craftsman's certificate), they can do it here. Elsewise they will leave us."⁶⁰

6.5 Perceiving each other

Lave and Wenger (1991) stress that "participation in social practice is the fundamental form of learning" (p. 57). Refugees' social practice participation is this of a newcomer in a twofold sense. They are not only new to the workplace but to the entire culture (Wacker & Held, 2018). Because the value of learning, motivation, and identity formation is heavily dependant on "acceptance by and interaction with acknowledged adept practitioners" (p.110), it is worth investigating how the refugees and Germans at the workplace perceive each other while learning together.

The findings show that the German workers at the bakery think highly of the refugee apprentices. They are convinced that refugees are more motivated than Germans, approach things positively,⁶¹ have "more ambition, (*and*) are more engaged than others"⁶² in the GdVET.

Max admires how helpful they are, especially Hassan, who "helps out a lot, and always approaches everyone friendly."⁶³ Olivia adds that he always has "a smile on the face, he is always motivated, and asks what he could do."⁶⁴ For Kim, the refugees' attitude "truly improves the working atmosphere."⁶⁵ Hassan and Hosni gained the trust of Boris to become leaders in the bakery.⁶⁶ "They must lead the group after they only had to integrate into it."⁶⁷

When asking the German workers if they had learned something from the refugees, they point directly to positive characteristics and their social engagement in work, which has seemingly influenced the social environment at work.

The bakery owner, Boris, observing the workflow, noticed that the German workers say to themselves, "Oh, there are some workers (*refugees*) who really work hard and want to reach something." By working hard and being successful, "the refugees have come to be a role model."⁶⁸ According to him, the refugees bring new qualities to the working atmosphere, like "more respect towards their superiors."⁶⁹

From the refugees' perspective, the staff also learn from them. Hosni, who has evolved to be a leader in the bakery, says that new apprentices as well as the German workers "always ask (*and*) also learn with (*him*)."⁷⁰

Hassan says that the German co-workers may have learned tidiness and systematic work from him. He is sure that they have learned from him patience: "Maybe if you ask anyone in the

⁶⁰ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 135)

⁶¹ (Interview_Max, Pos. 55 & 57)

⁶² (Interview_Kim, Pos. 76)

⁶³ (Interview_Max, Pos. 107)

⁶⁴ (Interview_Olivia, Pos. 63)

⁶⁵ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 57)

⁶⁶ At the time Hosni had just passed his exams and Hassan was still in the GdVET. The Germans workers interviewed, and who would attest the leading qualities of Hosni and Hassan, have been working in he bakery between 6 and 15 years.

⁶⁷ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 109)

⁶⁸ (Interview_GER_Boris Pos. 102)

⁶⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris Pos. 103)

⁷⁰ (Interview_Hosni Pos. 111)

company about me, they will tell you: 'Hassan is patient.' And often they tell someone: Be like Hassan and be patient."⁷¹

Hassan reports that the German co-workers ask him how to operate the coffee machine or the cash register, things that are a "must know for everyone" and "which they actually taught me here."⁷²

It seems that while the refugees learned the trade, be it baking or selling from the Germans, the Germans themselves learned personal and social qualities like motivation, patience, helpfulness, and friendliness from the refugees.

Hassan and Hosni, with leading qualities, have become old-timers in only a couple of years, and the German co-workers and apprentices ask them about the trade itself. This development was possible because Boris has divided his staff into fully functioning small teams while fostering learning from and with each other. For instance, he would let Hosni lead the mobile bakery with the aid of Osman, who does not speak good German, but a dialect that Hosni understands. And to foster Osman's learning, he would give him the task of explaining some working steps to a Japanese apprentice.

6.6 Aspects concerning refugee trainees in a mixed GdVET bakery within the five spheres

Refugees encounter numerous administrative, financial, and housing difficulties and often face family worries and loss. Furthermore, they have far more challenges to tackle when starting a GdVET than German trainees. Such challenges may occur in the social interaction due to communication difficulties, misunderstandings, a mismatch of expectations by the refugees and the reality on the ground, or racism (Lahner, 2017). At the same time, the literature showed that refugees are often extraordinarily motivated (Brücker, Kunert et al., 2016; Brücker, Rother, et al., 2016; Geburzky, 2019; HWK Pfalz, 2020; Kulms, 2017; Lahner, 2017; Meyer, 2014; Müller, 2015; Scheu et al., 2020), highly engaged (Pierenkemper & Heuer, 2020), and more loyal to the company than German trainees (Fischer, 2018; Wasner, 2017).

The forced migration cannot be neglected when researching refugees learning capabilities. Their biographies could be a source of endurance, power, and motivation. Refugees may have greater self-reflection while learning in a new social sphere. They will bring into the GdVET domain their past and challenge the present (Friedenthal-Haase, 2020; Morrice, 2014).

While all aspects of the GdVET as a CoP (see chapter 4.3) are also valid for refugee GdVET trainees, some special aspects occur in their case. In the following, the scheme of five spheres of theoretical implications for a GdVET (chapter 4.2) is used to discuss these while keeping the refugees' situation in Germany (chapters 2.1-2.3) in mind. This procedure attempts fulfilling part of Wengers' (2010) notion to see learners as whole persons while asking how refugees learn in a GdVET.

6.6.1 Special aspects influencing sphere 1: Situated learning environment

Refugees consult experienced refugees, friends, and family members when confronting difficulties (Baranik et al., 2017; Simich et al., 2004). Instant GdVET-workplace challenges require immediate solutions. Allocated mentors, workplace-godparents, and aiding old-timers are efficient strategies (Hartig et al., 2017). Nevertheless, German efficiency is an important variable

⁷¹ (Interview_Hassan Pos. 75)

⁷² (Interview_Hassan Pos. 113)

influencing communication, understanding technical terminology, writing skills at the Voc.S., and exams (Meyer, 2014). Weak German is considered one of the main reasons refugees discontinue a GdVET (Glasl, 2017).

The language deficit problem is perceived by Germans and refugees differently. From the perspective of the native German workers, no language hurdles existed with Hassan or Hosni, who "mastered German." Yet Ibrahim speaks German merely "OK," and with Osman, "communication is quite more difficult."⁷³ Nevertheless, Hosni, speaking fluently German, failed the written exams together with Ibrahim and Osman. Only Hassan, speaking excellent German, passed his entire exams instantly.

Hosni, Ibrahim, and Osman took two weeks of learning vacation for the written re-examination and reported hard times. Apart from the learning vacation, their commitment to the company especially to Boris, motivated them to learn three months together with a German student five hours weekly.⁷⁴ The joint activity to learn, and the collective struggle to succeed, has on one hand strengthened their relationship with each other as well as with the teacher, the motivating co-workers and their boss making this possible. On the other hand it has binded them to the domain and by succeeding after this struggle, their new professional identification becomes even more meaningful. The most eager of the three, Hosni, would even study with the student "2 to 3 times a week" and took vacation an entire month to "learn 13 hours daily on his own."⁷⁵

From the refugees' perspective, the German language was a hurdle in their development. Logically, they have spent more time than German peers in theoretical learning.

The refugees' struggle, motivation, and eagerness to succeed have paid off. Many German coworkers would sympathize, encourage, help them, and a positive situated learning environment evolved in which mutual respect and trust could evolve.

Osman stressed that he did not understand what was said in the Voc.S. "because the language is very difficult"⁷⁶ at the beginning of the GdVET. He acknowledges that the German workers encouraged him and told him he would manage the exams.

Hassan doubtlessly speaks exceptionally fluent German. He was eager to learn German as soon and as well as possible. For this reason, he had applied for a mini-job in the bakery in the first place. He thought of cleaning and helping out but was convinced to work in the sales, even if his German was not good then. When Boris advised him to start a GdVET, he enrolled him in a Voc.S. It shows that difficult experiences can be a learning drive (von Groenheim, 2018). When other students in the Voc.S. made fun of Hassan as an idiot not capable of succeeding in the exams, he took it as a challenge and a motivation to prove them wrong. These experiences enter the GdVET learning space with him and his coworkers, and Boris highly recognizes his learning eagerness.

Some coping strategies were implemented to tackle the communication difficulties. Olivia mentions that one needed to explain it "slowly and clearly and ask if they (*the refugees*) have understood."⁷⁷

⁷³ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 43,47)

⁷⁴ (Interview_Osman, Pos. 113)

⁷⁵ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 73)

⁷⁶ Interview_Osman, Pos. 101

⁷⁷ (Interview_Olivia, Pos. 27)

In the beginning, there was only one refugee, Osman, who struggles up to the day with German. Kim explains that he is super when you teach him something (*speaking slowly*).⁷⁸ For her, the "other (*refugees*) speak very good German."⁷⁹ Hence Kim concentrates on showing Osman how to do things because "he also implements all very fast, once shown to him."⁸⁰

At least in this case study, there seems to be a correlation between German language proficiency and reaching leading positions. Boris is developing Hosni in leadership. He assures that "Hassan will also develop in this way" because Hassan "also came with a pretty high language level."⁸¹

Nivorozhkin et al. (2006) show that German efficiency already influences migrants' work choice and quality before applying for even work. In the bakery case, the refugees most fluent in German seem to have the highest self-confidence and receive the highest respect from coworkers. This may be explained, by the fact, that as better the language proficiency, "as better the career opportunities" (Luft, 2009, p. 234). Accordingly, Max describes Hosni as "the best apprentice learning here," who "also made many things out of own initiative." He adds that "Hosni (...) has the leading skills."⁸²

Kim believes the extraordinary ambition and engagement by the refugees in learning "has to do with the language. (...) because they are trying so hard to learn the language, their whole GdVET is marked with more ambition. (...) especially with Hosni."⁸³

6.6.2 Special aspects influencing sphere 2: Social structure, power relations, and legitimacy conditions

Refugees, Asylseekers, SP-Refugees, and DB-Refugees, are formally equal to Germans in the GdVET. But Geduldete may lose their Ausbildungsduldung if they deliberately interrupt their GdVET or fail the exams. If so, they face a threat of being deported (Batsching & Riedel, 2018; Gag, 2018; Thielen, 2020). Hence, they are in a weaker power position than the other GdVET trainees. On the other side, the chance to receive a residence permit after years of fearing deportation seems to boost their motivation and learning determination.

When talking about power relations, racism cannot be neglected. It aims to invent and produce differences, social demarcation, and hierarchy (Auma, 2017). The effects prejudice, racism, and Islamophobia have on refugees have been discussed above (see chapter 2.1)

The examination of legitimacy conditions in the bakery and its influence on refugees' learning show that prejudice, discrimination, and racism play a role in learning and teaching. Refugees are sometimes "exposed to aggressive racist discrimination and exclusion by customers or colleagues" (Bormann & Huke, 2018). In the case of the bakery in question, traces of racism were detected.

Boris noticed a twofold hierarchy. "There is the hierarchy from the expert to the trainee, but then there is also a further hierarchy if the apprentice is a foreigner."⁸⁴ He believes they "have racism" in the company, but the refugees "do not want to report" it.⁸⁵ Some workers could not

⁷⁸ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 49)

⁷⁹ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 34)

⁸⁰ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 51)

⁸¹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 109)

⁸² (Interview_Max, Pos. 101, 115)

⁸³ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 78)

⁸⁴ (Interview_Boris, Pos. 43,44)

⁸⁵ (Interview_Boris, Pos. 109)

stand it and resigned after employing refugees.⁸⁶ Kim also observed how a female worker would command the refugees around.⁸⁷

Such observations correspond to Kulaçatan's (2016) identified experiences of racism at the workplace and their existing fears mainly "expressed silently" (p.108). Especially refugees encounter "derogatory remarks, prejudices, discrimination in companies, vocational schools and institutions" (Kothén, 2020, p. 7). In the bakery case, each refugee deals with such experiences differently. Osman ignores it⁸⁸ but notices that the German colleagues are still "commanding him around." On the other hand, Hassan hates particular shifts because individuals work in them. He assumes Germans "are afraid or influenced by the media."⁸⁹ He recalls how some customers would avoid entering the shop complaining: "I do not want that this one (*Hassan*) serves me and that I should not touch the bread bag."⁹⁰ And some colleagues "would laugh and had no patience"⁹¹ at the beginning, when he still was learning German.

The question is how such stress affects the refugees learning. Hosni and Hassan challenged it to prove their capability. Yet, it has undoubtedly hindered learning when Osman reports that "many (*Germans*) resigned and did not want to work in the mixed group with foreigners."⁹²

The experience of racism varies. Osman first reports that he has learned much of the Germans but adds further that "some are not so kind, because they do not want to work with foreigners and so on."⁹³ In contrast to Osman, who only fled a village fight, Hassan experienced war, family loss, destruction and was in the center of a major war. His biography is marked by fighting all odds and trying to make the best of his survival in Germany. His effort into learning German and seeking contact with Germans and their culture is beyond what many refugees have done. Asking how the discriminatory treatment has influenced his work and learning, he replies:

"Very much. You try to integrate as well as you can, and such people come and make you hate the community. True, not all are alike, but at the moment you experience something like that, you have a bad drop back, and the day is just bad!"⁹⁴

Possibly because several German workers encourage the refugees and help them be successful, and because Boris takes care of his refugee employees, treats them fair and even elevates them to become "role model(s),"⁹⁵ the refugees develop a critical view differentiating between those that do not like foreigners and these that are accepting and aiding. By that the negative impacts of racism on becoming a member of the domain, feeling affiliated to the group and the identification with the profession are reduced to the possible minimum.

Nevertheless, experiencing bullying, being laughed at, and being commanded around were burdens.

⁸⁶ (Interview_Boris, Pos. 100)

⁸⁷ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 97)

⁸⁸ (Interview_Osam, Pos. 67)

⁸⁹ (P_Obs_which_Driver_Hassan, Pos. 25)

⁹⁰ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 52)

⁹¹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 105)

⁹² (Interview_Osman, Pos. 132)

⁹³ (Interview_Osman, Pos. 121)

⁹⁴ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 127)

⁹⁵ (Interview_GER_Boris Pos. 102)

When all three refugees with a "Duldung" failed the exam, the German colleagues encouraged them to continue learning. Still, they did not know that failing the exam would mean dropping out of the 3+2 Regulation (see chapter 2.3) and being deported. Boris remembers:

"I will never forget this evening. We sat together (...), and I only realized then that much more was at stake for them. (...) everything depends on this exam, the residence permit, the perspective, the following two years residency."⁹⁶

The fear of failure sparked eagerness to pass the reexamination. In contrast to the three refugees with a "Duldung," Hassan holds the GRC-refugee status and cannot be deported. It is the nature and biography of Hassan and his desire to make his family proud that have been his drive to excel. His mother sold her Gold, and his family sold some property to finance his refuge in Europe. He is eager to work and support them financially. Hassan also stressed how eager he was to learn German from the beginning: "The key to the country is the language."⁹⁷

As for the refugees with the Duldung, Boris sees that succeeding in the reexaminations gave them some "motivation explosion."⁹⁸ They were initially in a weak position, depending on the GdVET to stay in Germany. Now they learned how to block German workers commanding them for the sake of authority.

Even Osman, who complains still being bullied, learned to draw a line after passing his exams:

"So he (*Osman*) told him, I succeeded now the exams, I am not a trainee anymore. (*laughing*). I thought this was GOOD, that now he ... at last. You realize how important such a paper (*certificate*) can be."⁹⁹

The craftsman certificate has boosted their self-confidence and transformed them from legitimate apprentices who could fail and be deported to certified experts, main domain members and community citizens. The once reserved and shy Ibrahim¹⁰⁰ declares his professional identity proudly: "now I have a craftsman certificate. And I work here (...). I make bread and cakes."¹⁰¹

Hosni has a clear cut opinion:

"I have lots of patience. And with each worker is totally different in the way he works. For instance, I would notice that I come and work 8 or 9 hours. And someone would be there and do nothing but command you to do this and that. And I knew that this was the case, but I just kept quiet and waited until I learned all of the work or until I got the craftsman certificate. Now I can tell such persons to do their part, and I do my part. I like working as a team, but I do not like when someone misuses this."¹⁰²

Self-confident, he says that he is a "craftsman baker" and "proud" to be also a "shift manager."¹⁰³ The experience of being commanded around has sparked in Hosni, the wish to make learning a better experience and becomes an active member in teaching newcomers:

⁹⁶ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 93)

⁹⁷ (P_Obs_which_Driver_Hassan, Pos. 28)

⁹⁸ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 135)

⁹⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 44)

¹⁰⁰ (Interview_Max, Pos. 115)

¹⁰¹ (Interview_Ibrahim, Pos. 46)

¹⁰² (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 139)

¹⁰³ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 83-85)

Hosni: And believe me, when we have now GdVET apprentices, I do my best to teach them. I do almost 80% of the work with them because I do not want that they experience what has happened to me.

I: So you are trying to do things better?

Hosni: YES, because I do not like people pushing you around, only because you are new and learning.

Hosni has developed from a refugee with a deportation threat to be a leader and and oldtimer himself influencing the development of the company and how education learning happens in it. Max describes him as having "leading skills,"¹⁰⁴ and Kim sees in him "the boss (...) if anything is, then he has the decision. (...)." ¹⁰⁵

Besides Hosni, Boris also started to develop Hassan to become a leader.¹⁰⁶ Hassan knows about his abilities and value, lending him power in the company and says: "I have an excellent position because wherever they put me, I can stand (...). And I believe he would not give up on me so easily, I think."¹⁰⁷

Boris notices that not all remarks to the refugees are triggered by racism, but sometimes by jealousy because:

"They notice how they are becoming better than themselves in work. Some workers do not understand that the refugees surpass them, and they do not even notice it. In the beginning, they only had more motivation but not the skills, but now after three years with also the skills they have learned, they are top."¹⁰⁸

The power relations have shifted. The refugees once laughed at have changed the game. They have become role models, leaders, and trainers. Some appreciate their motivation, achievements, and constant development and accept them as leading members in the new culturally divers domain; others feel jealous and fear them.

6.6.3 Special aspects influencing sphere 3: The domain

Wenger (2010) directs our attention to the refugees' commitment to the bakery as a shared domain of interest. Interaction and joint learning of new skills communally spark an appreciation for the domain. They help participants construct meaning from their new environment while defining a new professional identification. Because the domain is a social sphere and the social nature of humans is "a central aspect of learning" (Wenger, 1998b, p. 11), the social structure, legitimacy, and power-relations discussed above (see chapter 6.6.2), membership, loyalty, commitment, and identity formation are ongoing developing procedures of negotiation.

Refugee biographies are often marked by war and persecution, which must be considered as well as the new sociocultural structure in Germany when attempting to understand how their interaction develops (Morrice, 2014). They often come with certificates, or life experiences yet have difficulties accrediting these (Kirilova et al., 2016; Liebau & Salikutluk, 2016) and must undergo a professional reorientation. This was also the case with Hassan, Hosni, and Osman, as shown below.

¹⁰⁴ (Interview_Max, Pos. 101, 115)

¹⁰⁵ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 108, 112)

¹⁰⁶ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 109)

¹⁰⁷ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 79)

¹⁰⁸ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 120)

Such circumstances influence professional identification's form, nature, and speed. Possibly evident high motivation levels compensate such hindering effects on learning (Geburzky, 2019; HWK Pfalz, 2020; Kulms, 2017; Lahner, 2017; P. Müller, 2015; Scheu et al., 2020).

The difficulties in the language mentioned above also play a role. Nevertheless, giving the refugees a career chance could be an accelerating factor. The articulated thankfulness and desire to give back (Scheu et al., 2009) can add meaning to the domain leading to value it considerably more than other trainees.

As for Ibrahim, his refuge biography started when he was 15, pending five years between countries before Germany. He entered a language school, started visiting language Cafés, and found a mini-job in a refugee aiding organization. Therefore, he had no professional reorientation as Osman, Hosni, and Hassan. Osman started working after tenth grade in school in a tire factory for seven years before coming to Germany. Because of his weak language skills, he started first with a preparatory training year in the bakery. Hosni, on the other hand, had started studying Journalism at the American University, for which he also jobbed as a driver. It was the reason to be threatened and shot at by Islamists. He could not enter University in Germany because of his Duldung status (See chapter 2.3 E). Hassan was studying economics to avoid entering the military before fleeing to Europe. He could have entered University in Germany for free with a governmental loan because of his GCR-Refugee status (full residency). Nevertheless, he chose the GdVET at the bakery.

Hassan and Hosni alike are developing to become leaders in the company. Boris notices that as higher the education the refugees have in their homeland as more commitment to the domain they show:

"He (*Hassan*) also (*as Hosni*) came with a pretty high language level. He came from his country with a secondary school certificate. One can notice this in his development here."¹⁰⁹

All refugees show strong professional identification, and the findings show that they were undergoing a professional reorientation, and constructing new meaning at the GdVET workplace is not a choice but a survival necessity.

Eventually, they feel committed to the domain. Hassan describes it as follows: "It has become a huge part of my life. I spend more time at work than at home. It must run in my veins. I live from it, I eat and drink from it, my salary comes through it."¹¹⁰

Hassan struggled from almost giving up in Turkey, fleeing to Europe, and encountering several dropbacks and racism until he found this bakery. These experiences and the support from Boris and workers in the company have made the bakery to be also his personal domain, "because (*he*) lived with them, and (*they*) have become one family (...). They were open to all questions (*he*) had (...)." ¹¹¹ This domain personalization intensifies the refugees' identification with the new profession and dilutes the border between private and professional spheres.

The significant motivation to learn and reach something has been addressed above. Here it only needs to be highlighted that such motivation plays a role in professional identification and could also be a byproduct of meaning construction. Once handed out the craftsman certificate, the

¹⁰⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 109)

¹¹⁰ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 91)

¹¹¹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 56)

refugees were proud to have accomplished something and be acknowledged as professionals. The transition to a fully accredited baker was completed.

Another factor shouldn't be underestimated. Max believes that one reason for the high refugees' motivation is that "they want to prove to (*them that they*) can do this."¹¹² Such ambition mixed with dignity and pride is also a driving force to challenge their opponents. When laughed at in the Voc.S., Hassan thought he needed to "have some patience and become better"¹¹³ than them and wait until he learned all of the work.¹¹⁴ Similarly, Hosni "kept quiet and waited until (*he*) learned all of the work"¹¹⁵ before drawing limits to people commanding him around.

All refugees show what Wasner (2017) and Fischer (2018) described as being "especially loyal." It results from the support they experienced in the GdVET workplace after experiencing war, persecution, and rejection. Gratitude towards the bakery company and significant loyalty to Boris was repeatedly expressed in the interviews.

Boris would always treat all his workers fairly and combat racism. Especially paying out his GdVET students who failed the written exam, a fully paid craftsmen's salary, is highly respected. He managed to bind his GdVET refugees to his company and give them a domain where they develop and feel committed to it and its community.

"(...), after I failed the first exam, Mr. Boris paid us the salary of a professional worker (...). Mr. Boris is very VERY kind. Very kind."¹¹⁶

Hassan, who described the company as "running in his veins," wants "to offer something to people who have helped (*him*) in the darkest times!" When he "did not even speak the language (...), no one accepted (*him*) but Boris."¹¹⁷ He declares his loyalty and says: "I will not leave this company even if they pay me more. Yes, I am very loyal. (...)"¹¹⁸

Boris is central for Hassan in the entire interview. Boris is "very respectful, very much, to the furthest extent."¹¹⁹

"He has endured us, helped repair the mistakes, and supported us. What shall I say? In everything, financially and morally. And he has won us like that also. We try to pay him back."¹²⁰

Similarly, Hosni is loyal and attached to Boris. He was offered a better-paying job in Berlin, where you "have more chances. (...)." However, Hosni adds: "Mr. Boris has helped me a lot. I cannot leave him. (...) When someone is kind like Boris, then I do for him everything in work and so." ¹²¹ Boris is a father figure and a role model. Hassan also learns hard not to disappoint him and says: "I do not want to disappoint him. I learned hard because I am a learner and because it is important for me not to disappoint Mr. Boris."¹²²

¹¹² (Interview_Max, Pos. 57)

¹¹³ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 61)

¹¹⁴ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 60)

¹¹⁵ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 139)

¹¹⁶ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 96, 99, 101)

¹¹⁷ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 91)

¹¹⁸ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 91, 97)

¹¹⁹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 131)

¹²⁰ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 131)

¹²¹ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 107, 137)

¹²² (Phone call with Hassan 20.10.2021)

The bondage and loyalty to Boris have influenced how the refugees grow into their professional identity. The advantages of the bakery are instantly associated with the character of Boris. Hosni is motivated to work with Boris because "this is an organic bakery. The products are very very perfect A-one! And Boris is such a person that when you want to learn, then you can learn fast and more."¹²³ Osman enjoys working in the bakery and feels especiall close to Boris "because (he) is very kind and motivating. He always helps and is nice."¹²⁴

The question of loyalty has been dealt with in this chapter from the perspective of Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner's (2015) essential characteristic, "the Domain." Accordingly, the shared domain defines newcomers' identity on their learning path. Valuing the domain sphere and the collective task and competence developed through interaction and learning also includes the group's influence and dynamics.

The refugees have made positive as well as negative experiences in the group. The positive experiences in the group outweighed the negative ones. Boris's interference and management philosophy seem to be channeling these experiences to the positive. Noticeably, the refugees tend to blend the group and Boris into one entity. It can be sensed in Hosni's statement that "the people of Boris are all nice,"¹²⁵ or when Hassan speaks of the "people" who supported him in the darkest times before continuing immediately to talk about Boris.

Also, Ibrahim shows the same pattern, switching to Boris while mentioning positive workers in the company: "The Germans here in the company are all kind, and Mr. Boris also has really helped us a lot, much too much."¹²⁶

The refugees' fascination with Boris does not belittle the contributions of and interaction with others in the domain but makes it visible to them. The experiences with German workers become meaningful because they harmonize with Boris's guidelines in his company.

As for the effect of language difficulties on tempering the domain and community valuing process, it is found to be slightly true in the case of Osman and Ibrahim. Osman, who speaks very weak German, though also praising Boris, says that the commanding around did not stop until today. Ibrahim, who speaks relatively good German but not as good as Hassan and Hosni, also praises the domain and Boris. Still, he hopes to have his private bakery one day together with his Girlfriend. Their bondage to the domain seems not so strong as in Hosni's and Hassan's case, who are both fluent in German. What also is visible is that the more fluent in German speak in over 15 passages scattered over the entire interview about Boris, while Osman and Ibrahim mention him between 3 to 4 times.

At least, in this case, there appears to be a correlation between language efficiency and commitment to the domain. It can be due to faster integration, fewer misunderstandings, and favoring these refugees who are fluent in German over those who are weaker in German.

Being part of the domain is a subjective feeling. Its perception differs between refugees and Germans in the company. Refugees report longer durations, 18-27 months, before being accepted within the group. In contrast, the German co-workers believe that the refugees were accepted after 2 to 8 weeks. Boris noticed that it took longer at the beginning when Osman was the only refugee in the company. As more refugees came as faster, they were integrated

¹²³ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 115)

¹²⁴ (Interview_Osman, Pos. 99)

¹²⁵ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 125)

¹²⁶ (Interview_Ibrahim, Pos. 30)

into the group. Such different perceptions may be because refugees are the strangers who need more adaptation time than Germans feeling secure in their accustomed domain.

6.6.4 Special aspects influencing sphere4: The community

Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner (2015) highlight the social nature of the members in building learning relations and valuing each other as a factor creating personal attachment to the domain. It can easily be accomplished in a culturally homogeneous group. Yet, social interaction is strongly culturally embedded. Already children develop different interaction patterns in the early years (Farver & Howes, 1988; Gabrenya & Barba, 1987). How then is it with adult refugees in a foreign country? Recent research shows how difficult it is for refugees to connect with members from the host community (Almohamed et al., 2018).

It had been demonstrated in the previous chapter that the refugees in the bakery perceive the duration it took them to be part of the domain up to 36 times longer than how the German colleagues estimated it. This stark contrast also has to do with different social expectations towards the community in the workplace; expectations, which are interwoven with the refugees' personal culture and experiences. Refugees have generally higher levels of feeling lonely than the rest of the citizens (Entringer et al., 2021), and as older¹²⁷ the refugees are when fleeing their country as higher the fear of being alone rises, which makes the interpersonal relationships for refugees significant for their social existence (Hax-Schoppenhorst, 2018) and wellbeing.

The social bondage to the learning group builds the emotional compass and is a positive force to learn and identify with the profession (Timoštšuk & Ugaste, 2012). From this perspective, the nature, quantity, and quality of the social interaction directly influence learning, participation, and negotiation of meaning (Kasabian, 2016). In this case, the social interaction with Germans at the workplace and beyond also influences loyalty and commitment to the domain.

Hosni and Osman complain that they "go working and have no contact"¹²⁸ with Germans. "We would love to have a partner, but we find none."¹²⁹ Hassan would "love to have more contact" with the Germans. He grew up in a country "where contact is the rule."¹³⁰ Though having mutual respect in the company, he has no German friends. The feeling of not being able to connect makes Boris even more important. The above-discussed attachment and focus on him can also be explained by missing contact with other Germans.

Some social interaction and **joint activities** beyond the workplace does exist. Max, describing Osman as his friend, chose to spend Christmas with Osman and Hosni, who invited him to dinner. When Max noticed that Osman likes hip hop and has never been to a concert before, he took him to one in Berlin. Sometimes they go swimming together. Though not socializing with the refugees outside of work, Kim occasionally gives Hosni a ride to work. Olivia remembers how Fatima brought some Safran as souvenir gifts from her country for the ladies in the company. Olivia knows this only from her family. Occasionally they message each other and share pictures.

Multicultural experience and learning did take place at the workplace. The interviews show that it has been mainly noticed and processed into affiliation with the domain by the German workers only. Social and financial stability allows the freedom to be interested in cultural aspects.

¹²⁷ The youngest refugee starting a GdVET in the bakery was 20 years old and had already experiences five years fleeing

¹²⁸ (Interview_Osman, Pos. 142)

¹²⁹ (Interview_Osman, Pos. 146)

¹³⁰ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 47)

The refugees had more severe worries between family members living below poverty and being deported. Only Hassan would highlight cultural differences and question them in his interview. But then again, he did not fear deportation like the other three refugees with the Duldung.

Kim finds it "really exciting to learn about foreign cultures and accept them."¹³¹ She explains that she makes Shakuka (Levant dish) with them while avoiding ham.¹³² She even makes it now at home. Olivia appreciates the multicultural environment as an asset while serving international guests.¹³³ Boris's fingerprint in the multicultural encounter plays an important role:

"It is my responsibility as the boss to bring all together, to bring out the best of each one of us and reach together something good. And if you see here how some interact so easily and freely with the clients."¹³⁴

And Boris himself learned to appreciate the positive and tolerate differences:

"Often they have problems with time planning and so on. It also could be because they lived over the years planning day by day. (...) But on the other side, I know, if I call them now and say I need someone tomorrow, they will come."¹³⁵

Only Hassan reflects on cultural differences and criticizes the weak family bond in Germany, compared to his culture where "Even if you get married, you still live with your family unit."¹³⁶ However, on the professional level, he says to have learned to be organized and punctual. "We did not have this in our country, to be honest. (...) I have learned this very much from them. We used to live like in a slum."¹³⁷

The multicultural group members eventually grew together and reached a mutual valuing of the domain, uniting them. Boris remembered the anniversary party in 2020:

"And last year we had the 20th anniversary with food, music, and show. And when I look at the pictures today, you really sense the mood in the evening together. You noticed that all sat together mixed and had a good time together. And I stood there and said this is how it should be."

It seems the refugees and their German colleagues have different cultural concepts about how much social interaction amounts to be sufficient. Moreover, for the refugees, except Ibrahim, who has a German girlfriend, the people in the company are the main social actors they encounter. When Germans return home, they return to family, friends, and peers with a shared social normality. Refugees return home to be alone and strangers.

When the refugees complain little contact with the Germans, they do not mean to belittle their colleagues' help. They merely wish for more interpersonal social activity with Germans in general. Hosni, Hassan, and Osman asked openly about the possibilities of interacting more with Germans.

The findings in this sphere suggest that the mutual engagement, social relations, and interaction experienced by the refugees are highly dependant on Boris. Because social interaction is paramount in learning (Kasabian, 2016), more can be done to accelerate valuing each other on

¹³¹ (Interview_Kim, Pos. 114)

¹³² (Interview_Kim, Pos. 59)

¹³³ (Interview_Olivia, Pos. 67)

¹³⁴ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 102)

¹³⁵ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 105)

¹³⁶ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 12)

¹³⁷ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 77)

the employee level and create better social learning. Not all companies can have a Boris, who in his person manages to attract the loyalty and respect of refugee GdVET students. Still, surely all company managers can learn from him.

6.6.5 Special aspects influencing sphere 5: The practice

If the practice can measure the path from being a newcomer to becoming a core member, i.e., how practitioners master the shared repertoire, participate in workplace culture, develop professional identification, and influence reifications (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2015), then it becomes especially interesting when refugees enter the GdVET-workplace. Not only is the GdVET educational system of Germany entirely new to them (Haack et al., 2018), but the whole cultural setting and language also (see chapters 4.1 and 4.2.5).

Possibly learning the shared repertoire through refugee GdVET trainees may be slower. Nevertheless, refugees could be the trainees with the highest impact on creating new reifications. Because of their stark contrasting cultural backgrounds and personal biographies, the workplace can become a multicultural space where participants encounter high variation and discernment, sparking learning from and with each other (Marton & Trigwell, 2000).

The GdVET of the refugees at the bakery took more than 36 months in three of four cases because of the written reexamination. Learning German sufficiently to pass a written exam has been energy and time-consuming besides being detached from their culture and family with all possible challenges one possibly could encounter (Geburzky, 2019; HWK Pfalz, 2020; Kulaçatan, 2016; Kulms, 2017; Lahner, 2017; P. Müller, 2015; Scheu et al., 2020).

However, the refugees in the bakery mastered the repertoire and took part in the company's working culture, influencing it on multiple levels and creating new shared repertoires. Their learning motivation and working attitude have not been unnoticed. Boris reports how the German co-workers' work attitude has improved because they see that the refugees surpass them.¹³⁸ Today some refugees have become role models for newcomers,¹³⁹ Germans and refugees alike. Hosni actively influences the learning atmosphere by deliberately "doing almost 80% of the work with them"¹⁴⁰ to spare them the problems he and the other refugees had encountered.

Boris engages the refugees in new decisions up to the highest level. For instance, Boris decided to let Hassan take part when he, his sister, and their office manager had a meeting with an IT-Application developer in Munich.¹⁴¹

From practice perspective, it needs to be questioned to which extend the cultural differences influencing communication and interaction discussed above have affected negotiation? From the Wengerian (1998) view, this happens between participation and reification.

Such an influence on communication can be demonstrated through the example of Hosni. He was, as Hassan and Osman commanded around at the beginning. He chose to keep silent and learn all the work until he got his craftsman certificate.¹⁴² Only then did he tell them "to do their part" while he would do his. One should not forget that refugees started the GdVET in the weaker position, which Boris describes as an additional "hierarchy from the expert to the trainee

¹³⁸ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 120)

¹³⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris Pos. 102)

¹⁴⁰ (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 146)

¹⁴¹ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 133)

¹⁴² (Interview_Hosni, Pos. 139)

if he is a foreigner."¹⁴³ Thus, apart from cultural expectations or language difficulties, negotiating meaning between two actors in a vertical power relation becomes even more difficult.

Nevertheless, the negotiation would happen with workers who would not exercise hierarchical power or Boris. But negotiation and participation also happen nonverbally by observing each other's reactions while challenging rules and exploring possibilities and chances. Such observational communication can be reviewed through two perspectives. There is the German workers' perspective perceiving refugees as motivated, capable, versatile hard workers, and friendly persons. Then there is the refugees' perspective, who are aware of their power hierarchy development and their social and professional skills. Hassan, for instance, proudly emphasizes his "good position, because wherever they put" him, he can stand. He is confident, Boris will "not give up on (*him*) so easily."¹⁴⁴

When asked if the Germans have learned something from them, Hassan and Ibrahim immediately tell what this may be. Hosni also has some ideas. The rapid reaction shows that the negotiation on the participation level took place. Despite the hierarchical power discrepancy, the refugees communicated the meaning and value for certain characters and skills they hold. The German co-workers have recognized these and learned to appreciate them.

Communication of skills also took place in the other direction. All refugees mention that they have learned the trade from the Germans, mainly by participation in the workplace. Hassan adds that he has learned to be organized and punctual, virtues unknown in his country. He made them become a part of his working attitude. When asked if the Germans have learned anything from him, he answers "tidiness and being systematic in work" and "being organized at work."¹⁴⁵

What he had learned from his German colleagues became an elementary part of his personality, and other German colleagues can now learn it from him. Apart from that, they learn from his personal virtues, like patience. Today "often they tell someone: "Be like Hassan and be patient."¹⁴⁶

As the refugees have a new home and family in the domain (see chapter 6.6.3), and negotiation, participation, and learning occurred, the question is, how do reifications look like in a multicultural workplace like the bakery. After all, "there is no participation without reification" (Wenger, 1998b, p. 66).

German expressions have gained new insider meanings in the bakery ever since refugees entered the workplace. Olivia mentions that when Hosni is in the baking factory, they often use the phrase "I need a schnapps"¹⁴⁷ when things become difficult, though Hosni does not drink. Arabic expressions like "Salamu Alikum" for greeting or "Yallah Yallah" to hasten things are used in the group. And when something is excellent, Boris says, "Masha Allah."¹⁴⁸

Boris actively demands that the refugees show him what they can "then (*they*) make something out of it together. For instance (*they*) have this pita bread."¹⁴⁹ It took only half a year before Boris added several adapted oriental dishes to the Café menu.

¹⁴³ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 18)

¹⁴⁴ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 79)

¹⁴⁵ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 69)

¹⁴⁶ (Interview_Hassan, Pos. 75)

¹⁴⁷ (Interview_Olivia, Pos. 51)

¹⁴⁸ "Masha Allah" means "As God wishes" but is used as an expression of fascination in the entire Muslim world.

¹⁴⁹ (Interview_GER_Boris, Pos. 116)

Not many reifications could be observed or harvested out of the interviews. To find these more extended participatory observation periods will be necessary to learn the insider language and symbols.

In the case of the new dishes introduced to the Café, they seem to have a domesticating function. I.e., the culture of the refugees mixed with the local company culture to a hybrid culture providing a meaningful domain to all workers.

7 Concluding discussion and further research

The events around 2015 have reopened old debates about refugees in Germany, which led to realizing that successful integration should facilitate education for all refugees, especially for Gedulete. In this context, legislative changes and subsidies have made access to GdVET much easier. Nevertheless, legislation alone makes no education. Refugees encounter many hurdles until being accepted into a GdVET.

This research was conducted in a medium-sized bakery company of about 50 workers. Though not representative for all possible 324 GdVETs in Germany (BiBB, 2021), the so far published findings on refugees in GdVET could be largely confirmed. Because of the cultural access to the interview partners in this case study, some aspects could be explained with refugees' perspectives in mind.

With the target to find out how refugees learn in a multicultural GdVET setting, how they and their co-workers experience it, and which challenges and reproducible factors lead to success, the findings of this research can be summarised as follows.

The experience of the refugees learning in a GdVET, as in the case of a bakery, cannot be summarized in one linear experience. Rather, their experience was multi-layered and complex. This could be shown in particular through the five spheres used as a framework while discussing the findings. Dignity and respectful treatment play an essential role for the refugees, for whom the social setting of the GdVET workplace is in many ways the most important social sphere in the new country. It is the community they know, in which they evolve, and a sort of family substitute. On the one hand, this leads to increased motivation and commitment in practice; on the other hand, it also leads to social expectations that the German co-workers must not necessarily fulfill. Most refugees want more social contact with Germans.

The refugees are highly motivated to earn and develop themselves in the bakery. This has also to do with their biography and accepting the challenge for a restart. While German students can retreat to familiar surroundings or learn another profession if they fail the exams or change their minds, refugees are usually older and on their own when they start the GdVET. For them, it is a means to survive. For Geduldete, it has become the only chance to get a permanent residence permit in Germany.

Because "participation in social practice is the fundamental form of learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 57) in a situated learning setting at the workplace, the refugees interact with the German co-workers and how they experience and feel subjectively about it, of paramount importance in their learning experience. And it is here that a significant difference can be measured regarding how long it took them to arrive socially in the group. Refugees feel that it took them months and years, while Germans believe it took only several weeks. The development of the refugees in the bakery indicates that these refugees who can speak German more fluently are

those that have higher esteem to learn and are more accepted and faster promoted in the company.

In the multicultural encounter between Refugees and German co-workers, learning occurs in various ways. There is, on one side, the plan of the company boss orchestrating who works with whom to foster learning. Then there is the German co-workers' effort in explaining how to make the dough or sell the products and so forth. On the other side, learning also happens through observation and non-verbal communication. By observing the reactions of others and testing what is possible, roles and participation are negotiated among each other. In the process, all participants learn from and with each other. New reifications emerge that domesticate the workplace as a multicultural domain to which all can feel committed.

Succeeding the exams is extremely important for the refugees, especially for the *Geduldete*. While approaching written exams hang like a sword of Damocles over the hearts of the *Geduldete*, succeeding in the exams and receiving the craftsman's certificate is a motivation explosion. It transforms refugees from the weak and dependent position into equal workers with the oldtimer Germans in the company. From this moment, they can block such co-workers, who used to bully them, and even participate with confidence in educating and training the newcomers.

The study also showed that racism did play a role in hindering learning. Nevertheless, the refugees managed to develop some coping strategies. The most efficient strategy is sitting through it and learning for the GdVET to prove the critiques wrong and get this certificate that would change everything. Here, the bond with the company manager in the case of this bakery plays a decisive role. For the refugees, the bakery owner is a role model and, in a way, a father figure. They do not want to disappoint him, and hence he is one of the essential learning motivators. He becomes the symbol of the domain. Not every business can have such a personality as its leader. Nevertheless, it can be learned that equal opportunities, respect, and rejecting racism and discrimination are the essential factors binding refugees and motivating learning. In some cases, refugees invest increased effort not to disappoint or blame the owner.

This case study shows the possible potentials of learning together in a multicultural domain. Learning happens in both ways. While German co-workers seem to learn from refugees' motivation, friendliness, and readiness to work and learn hard, the refugees report learning from the Germans mainly the art of the trade and tidiness. From a social learning perspective, investing more into social joint activities for the entire group and mediating the different expectations between Refugees and Germans can only lead to more learning, professional identification, satisfaction, and workplace wellbeing.

However, this research also shows that more research needs to be conducted, considering refugees' psychological and sociocultural characteristics and biographies. Such research is promising, especially by or with the assistance of researchers who can understand the language and culture of the refugees and thus get access to their inner emotional world. Learning in a GdVET, though a social act, is an emotionally loaded experience, especially when the learner is in a foreign country and so much depends on succeeding in the GdVET. Understanding how the refugees think and feel is key in understanding how they learn.

Especially the learning happening through non-verbal negotiation by observing the reaction of others and testing out the possibilities, roles, power, and participation demands more observational participatory research to be illuminated.

Looking back on this research journey, I realized that much of what the refugees and the German staff reported sounded familiar. I observed myself being emotionally triggered while remembering similar situations in my development since settling in Germany two decades ago. A disadvantage here or there, or the feeling of being in an unknown environment and having to prove myself over and over again, even though I am half-German and grew up with the German language and customs since childhood. How much harder must it be for refugees who have been forced to give up a previous life and culture and travel into a fully strange diaspora to live better or even merely to survive. The excellence with which these refugees perform and develop overwhelms me and dictates humbleness and respect.

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Appendix A

Einverständniserklärung (Consent)

Forschungsprojekt:	MA-Arbeit: Refugees Learning in a Bakery as an Intercultural Community of Practice
Institution:	Linköping University
Interviewer:	Marwan Hassan
Interview Datum:	
Interview code:	

Ich erkläre mich bereit an einem Interview in Rahmen der benannten Forschung teilzunehmen. Über das Ziel und den Verlauf des Forschungsvorhaben wurde ich informiert. Ich erkläre mich ferner bereit, dass die Linköping Universität meine persönlichen Daten in der unten aufgeführten Form und Dauer und für die angegebenen Zwecke bearbeitet.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass das interview mittels einem Aufnahmegerät aufgezeichnet wird. Es wird durch Herrn Hassan unter dem Interview Code gespeichert, um es zu verschriften. Die Aufnahme wird spätestens zum 01.07.2021 gelöscht. Die Verschriftung wird insofern anonymisiert, dass sie ohne Namen und Personenangaben gespeichert werden.

Ich bin damit einverstanden, dass einzelne Auszüge aus den Transkripten, die nicht mit meiner Person unmittelbar in Verbindung gebracht werden können, als Material für wissenschaftliche und unterrichtende Zwecke genutzt werden können. Darüber hinaus bin ich damit einverstanden, dass eine anonymisierte Zusammenfassung des Interviews als Anhang zur Masterarbeit beigelegt und an der Linköping Universität digital und in Papierform gespeichert und zusammen mit der Masterarbeit publiziert werden darf.

Meine Teilnahme an dem Interview und meine Zustimmung für die Verwendung dessen wie es oben beschrieben ist, sind freiwillig. Ich wurde in keiner Weise dazu gezwungen. Ich kann jederzeit meine Zustimmung bis zum Abschluss der Forschung ohne Nachteile gänzliche oder in Teilen widerrufen, ebenso kann ich die weitere Verwendung der Daten jederzeit widerrufen.

Der Datenbeauftragter: Linköping Universität, 581 83, Linköping, Corp. Ident. Nr. 202100-3096. Legale Basis der Datenbearbeitung: Zustimmung (Consent)

Für weitere Information wie die Daten verwendet werden, oder falls Sie glauben, dass die Daten so verwendet wurden, dass sie die Vereinbarung oder Rechtsvorschriften verletzen, bitten ich Sie den Datenschutzbeauftragten der Linköping Universität dataskyddsbud@liu.se zu kontaktieren. Wenn Sie Reklamationen bezüglich der Bearbeitung ihrer persönlichen Daten haben, haben sie das Recht sich an die verantwortliche Behörde zu wenden, in diesem Fall die schwedische Datenschutzbehörde.

Mit meiner Unterschrift erlaube ich die Daten so zu verwenden wie oben erklärt.

xxxxxxx,	
Ort, Datum, Name Teilnehmers	Unterschrift
xxxxxxx, , Marwan Hassan	
Ort, Datum, Name des Forschers	Unterschrift

Appendix B

Interview with Owner,

Date 08.03.2021, Beginning: _____ End: _____

Nr.	Leading Question	Aspects	Group
1	Would you tell me a little about yourself and how you became a baker?	<input type="checkbox"/> Weltsicht, Ideology, strong beliefs, essential experiences for the person	Biography
2	How has your life, apart from the bakery business been, since you started your bakery?	<input type="checkbox"/> As above	Biography
3	Could you describe your business structure before going into the details of DVET-Education?	<input type="checkbox"/> Development of the business <input type="checkbox"/> Employee Hierarchies <input type="checkbox"/> Working hours <input type="checkbox"/> Wage policy <input type="checkbox"/> Development Chances <input type="checkbox"/> Vacations <input type="checkbox"/> Rewards	About the bakery
4	I understand that you offer vacancies for DVET apprentices. Could you please tell me how you started to provide this?	<input type="checkbox"/> DVET History of bakery	DVET/General
5	How could my son, for instance, become a baker in your bakery? What would this cost him in time and money?	<input type="checkbox"/> DVET system in bakery <input type="checkbox"/> Financing <input type="checkbox"/> General obstacles	DVET/Refugees
6	In 2015, when we had the refugee crisis, you told me that you intended to offer DVET vocations to refugees. Why had you decided to do this?	<input type="checkbox"/> Convictions, Weltsicht, social responsibility <input type="checkbox"/> Chance, business, new ideas	DVET/Refugees
7	Could you please tell me how the procedures are for a refugee to become a baker at your place, And what you need to do to make this happen?	<input type="checkbox"/> Special regulations for refugees <input type="checkbox"/> Difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> Authorities involvement	DVET/Refugees

		<input type="checkbox"/> Financing	
8	How did you choose your refugee DVET trainees? And are there any prerequisites they must bring with them?		DVET/Refugees
9	How would you describe their learning in your bakery?	<input type="checkbox"/> Variations in Learning between different refugees <input type="checkbox"/> Variations in Learning between locals and refugees <input type="checkbox"/> Learning from each other <input type="checkbox"/> Learning with each other	DVET/Refugees
10	Which successes and which failures would you consider worth telling?		DVET/Refugees
11	Would you please tell me how the refugees developed professionally and socially in the employers' Team?	<input type="checkbox"/> Learning as becoming: Identity / do they identify with the CoP <input type="checkbox"/> Learning as belonging: community / social configuration / Teamgeist <input type="checkbox"/> Learning as doing: practice / mutual engagement <input type="checkbox"/> Learning as experience: meaning/meaningfulness	CoP/Identity
12	Is there anything special that would pop up in your mind when reflecting on refugees' DVET Apprentices?	<input type="checkbox"/> Agreeing <input type="checkbox"/> Specially good <input type="checkbox"/> Compromises <input type="checkbox"/> Differences <input type="checkbox"/> Specially problematic <input type="checkbox"/> Social membership <input type="checkbox"/> Alignment	CoP/Negotiation
13	Would you say they have influenced your bakery? How?	<input type="checkbox"/> Sharing existing reifications <input type="checkbox"/> Producing new reifications	CoP/Reification

14	How do you think your Team becomes motivated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Team days? <input type="checkbox"/> After-work mutual engagements? <input type="checkbox"/> Else?	CoP/Mutual engagement
15	How long does it take for your refugees to learn the typical tasks of your bakery, and how do you train them?	<input type="checkbox"/> Routines? <input type="checkbox"/> Was to do this? <input type="checkbox"/> Samples? <input type="checkbox"/> Shortcuts? <input type="checkbox"/> Direct Tutoring, group learning?	CoP/Shared repertoire
16	Do you know how the refugees tackle the daily life problems outside of the bakery?		CoP/Community membership
17	Have you noticed any personality development in your refugee-trainees from introducing them until being main workers in your Team?	<input type="checkbox"/> Spectator Phase <input type="checkbox"/> Involvement Phase <input type="checkbox"/> Coming-to-terms Phase <input type="checkbox"/> Reciprocal interdependence phase	Trajectories
18	Would you like to add something to this interview?		

Appendix C

Interview with Refugees,

Date _____, Beginning: _____ End: _____

Nr.	Leading Question	Aspects	Group
1	Tell me about your life, family, childhood, school, and work in your home country.	Before escaping <input type="checkbox"/> Childhood <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Culture <input type="checkbox"/> Interests <input type="checkbox"/> Work <input type="checkbox"/> Own Family	Biography
2	If you wish, you could tell me what led you to flee and search for refuge.	<input type="checkbox"/> Cause <input type="checkbox"/> Escape Biography <input type="checkbox"/> Arriving in Germany <input type="checkbox"/> Legal residence permit history	Biography
3	What were your expectations when you applied for refugee status in Germany?		Biography
4	How and what did you learn to live in Germany?	<input type="checkbox"/> Language <input type="checkbox"/> Culture <input type="checkbox"/> 101 Surviving in the Diaspora <input type="checkbox"/> VET/Study Attempts before bakery	Biography
5	How did it become that you entered this bakery?		At the bakery
6	Describe how your VET is structured?	<input type="checkbox"/> Work hours <input type="checkbox"/> School hours	At the bakery

		<input type="checkbox"/> Home study hours	
7	Please try to evaluate your learning experience	<input type="checkbox"/> What helped <input type="checkbox"/> What was difficult <input type="checkbox"/> What was easy	At the bakery
8	Tell me about learning together with your colleagues. What do you learn from or with them? What do they learn from or with you?		At the bakery / Social Interaction / Leading
9a	Describe yourself as an employee in this bakery in short		At the bakery / CoP/Identity
9b	Thinking of your colleagues and work Do you Agree or Disagree? Where do you make Compromises?		At the bakery / CoP/Negotiation
9c	Whom do you help, and who helps you? What is important for you in the bakery community?	<input type="checkbox"/> social membership <input type="checkbox"/> alignment <input type="checkbox"/> sharing existing reifications <input type="checkbox"/> producing new reifications	At the bakery / CoP/Participation - Reification
9d	What motivates you when you work here?	<input type="checkbox"/> Team days? <input type="checkbox"/> After-work mutual engagements? <input type="checkbox"/> Else?	At the bakery / CoP/Mutual engagement
9e	How long did it take you to understand the routines in the bakery?	<input type="checkbox"/> Routines? <input type="checkbox"/> Way to do things? <input type="checkbox"/> Samples?	At the bakery / CoP/Shared repertoire
9f	Every person can be especially good at something and less at something else. Is this also the case in the bakery?	<input type="checkbox"/> Shortcuts?	At the bakery / CoP/Shortcuts
9g	What do you do when you do not know how to do something in the bakery?		At the bakery / CoP/Learning

9h	Have you made friends with the rest of the employees?		At the bakery / Cop/Community membership
10	What would you believe to have learned in the bakery that helps you also outside of the bakery?		At the bakery / New Skills
11a	Please think back how you felt while being in the bakery. The first days, you started the VET		Trajectories / Spectator Phase
11b	Please think back how you felt while being in the bakery. How you began to be involved in the system and with the colleagues		Trajectories / Involvement Phase
11c	Please think back how you felt while being in the bakery. When do you believe to have understood how the bakery and colleagues function		Trajectories / Coming-into-terms Phase
11d	Please think back how you felt while being in the bakery. Have you experienced failures and success? Tell me about it.		Trajectories / Reciprocal inter-dependence phase

Appendix D

Interview with Germans,

Date _____, Beginning: _____ End: _____

Nr.	Leading Question	Aspects	Group
1	Sagen mir bitte etwas zu deinem Leben, Kindheit, Familie, Schule usw. bis zum Tag wo du bei dieser Bäckerei angefangen haben.	Before escaping <input type="checkbox"/> Childhood <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Culture <input type="checkbox"/> Interests <input type="checkbox"/> Work <input type="checkbox"/> Own Family	Biography
2	Wie bist du dazu gekommen hier zu arbeiten und welche Aufgaben hast du?	<input type="checkbox"/> Work hours <input type="checkbox"/> School hours <input type="checkbox"/> Home study hours	At the bakery
3	Beschreibe bitte wie es war, als Flüchtlinge begannen hier zu lernen und zu arbeiten.		At the bakery
4	In wie fern bist du daran an ihrer Ausbildung bzw. Anlernen beteiligt.	<input type="checkbox"/> What helped <input type="checkbox"/> What was difficult <input type="checkbox"/> What was easy	At the bakery
5	Was haben sie von dir direkt gelernt?		At the bakery / Social Interaction / Leading
6	Was hast du von ihnen gelernt?		At the bakery / CoP/Identity
7	Was habt ihr zusammen neu erworben, gelernt oder geschaffen?		At the bakery / CoP/Negotiation
8	Habt ihr mittlerweile eine gemeinsame Insidersprache?	<input type="checkbox"/> social membership <input type="checkbox"/> alignment	At the bakery / CoP/Participation - Reification

		<input type="checkbox"/> sharing existing reifications <input type="checkbox"/> producing new reifications	
9	In wie fern helfst ihr euch gegenseitig, also ihr als Einheimische und die Flüchtlinge bei der Arbeit?	<input type="checkbox"/> Team days? <input type="checkbox"/> After-work mutual engagements? <input type="checkbox"/> Else?	At the bakery / CoP/Mutual engagement
10	Wie lange hat es gedauert, bis ihr euch gegenseitig verstanden habt? Habt ihr bekannte Routinen für jeden Mitarbeiter?	<input type="checkbox"/> Routines? <input type="checkbox"/> Way to do things? <input type="checkbox"/> Samples?	At the bakery / CoP/Shared repertoire
11	Welche besondere Stärken haben deine Flüchtlingsmitarbeiter?	<input type="checkbox"/> Shortcuts?	At the bakery / CoP/Shortcuts
12	Wer hilft dir am meisten aus, wenn du gerade etwas nicht schaffst?		At the bakery / CoP/Learning
13	Habt ihr Kontakt jenseits der Arbeit?		At the bakery / Cop/Community membership
14	Bitte denke zurück, als deine Flüchtlingsmitarbeiter hier begonnen haben. Wie waren sie emotional drauf und wie dachtest du, dass sie über die Arbeit hier denken?		Trajectories / Spectator Phase
15	Wie lange hat es gedauert, bis sie selbst angepackt haben, sich engagiert haben usw. Beispiele		Trajectories / Involvement Phase
16	Wann meinst du, sind sie als vollwertige Mitarbeiter anerkannt worden? Gab es hierbei Probleme seitens der lokalen Mitarbeiter?		Trajectories / Coming-into-terms Phase
17	Glaubst du, dass die Flüchtlingsmitarbeiter jetzt verstehen wie der Einheimische funktioniert?		Trajectories / Reciprocal interdependence phase
	Sind sie selbstständiger geworden?		
	Gab es Hochs und Tiefs?		
18	Wie würdest du das Lernen zusammen mit Flüchtlingen in drei Sätzen beschreiben?		