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Trust, space, time and opportunities. Case study report on participation and non-formal education in the support for young people in transitions to work in West-Germany (WP 6)

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Inhaltsverzeichnis

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52

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Youth Policy and Participation

Potentials of participation and informal learning in young people's transitions to the labour market. A comparative analysis in ten European regions.

Trust, space, time and opportunities

Case study report on participation and non-formal education in the support for young people in transitions to work in West-Germany (WP 6)

By Axel Pohl and Barbara Stauber

February 2004

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Contents

1. Introduction	3
2. Contexts of Youth Transitions	4
3. Sample description	8
4. Biographic orientations	14
Biographical reconstruction of transitions prior to project entry	14
Experiences with support prior to project entry	17
5. Case studies analysis	21
5.1 Case Study LaSilhouette, Munich	21
5.1.1 Description	21
5.1.2 Analysis	23
Participation	23
Motivation	25
Participation – motivation	26
Learning and biographic progression	28
5.2 Case Study ‘Door-Opener’ / Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart	30
5.2.1 Description	30
5.2.2 Analysis	32
Participation	32
Motivation	34
Participation – motivation	35
Learning and biographic progression	36
6. Common evaluation of case studies	39
6.1 Evaluation of success by young people, project workers and funders	39
6.2 Critique by young people, project workers and funders	41
6.3 General evaluation	42
Further development of projects: perspectives and obstacles	43
Influences of current policies on case study agencies	44
7. Conclusions	45
7.1 Recommendations on political and policy level	46
7.2 Comparison and transfer of findings	47
References	48
Annex: List of expert interviews	49

1. Introduction

This report presents West German findings of the European research project ‘Youth policy and participation – Potentials of participation and informal learning in transitions to work (YOYO)’. It is based on the analysis of in-depth interviews with young people from two youth schemes and the evaluation of two case studies of the respective projects. The purpose of these case studies was to gain insight in the relationship between individual project settings and young people’s experiences at the micro-level of single policy implementation. An in-depth discussion of the theoretical, methodological and transnational framework of this study, is included in the previously published findings of the project, especially the Yoyo Working papers 1 to 3, made available via the project’s website. The West German cases were chosen against the background of peculiarities of the German transition system identified in one of the first steps of analysis. The policy framework of the German transition system is crucial for the understanding of the particular value of the insights we can get from an analysis of particular projects. These contexts are further investigated into in section 2. While the official systems of vocational training and higher education are highly standardised and inclusive in the sense of integrating about 80 to 85 per cent of young people, there is a sharp divide between the ins and outs of this system – particularly between what we have called the ‘hard sector’ of policies for young people like the dual system of vocational training and the ‘soft sector’ of youth work. Participation in a wider sense is almost entirely delegated to the soft sector. Two projects have been selected which try to overcome this gap:

1. *La Silhouette* (Munich), a training scheme for young women with migration backgrounds. The project provides a regular apprenticeship in dressmaking for 6 applicants per year. Particular (ethnic, cultural etc.) backgrounds are explicitly considered in the project.
2. *Mobile Youth Work* (Stuttgart), an outreach youth work project for young people in underprivileged urban areas that provides drop-in centres, leisure activities and counselling for young people on a low-threshold-basis. For own year a special ‘Door-Opener’ project was funded to use outreach youth work with regard to transitions to work of disengaged young people which however has been stopped again by the City Council.

The two projects have been chosen because both of them in their own logic integrate elements of the aforementioned ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ sector of youth policies – although they start from different directions. Mobile youth work in the literal sense is a youth work project that tries to create bridges into the labour market and LaSilhouette is a recognised vocational training provider which includes some typical features one would rather expect from the ‘soft sector’.

2. Contexts of Youth Transitions

In this section, we will give a short characterisation of the German transition system by highlighting the situation of the youth labour market, the school system, the system of vocational training and the ‘parallel system’ of measures and training courses of the vocational youth assistance for school leavers failing to enter regular training or employment.

Labour market for young people:

In 1998 the unemployment rate for the under 25 year olds rose to 11.8 per cent compared to a national rate of 12.3 per cent. Due to massive state intervention and a positive economic development it fell to 9.1 per cent in 2001 (Bundesanstalt 1999; 2001), and rose again up to 9.7 per cent in 2002 (Bundesanstalt, 2003, see also table 1). These figures also mirror the situation on the training market, because young people normally are involved into training at least until the age of 19 or 20, which systematically keeps the level of youth unemployment low. Unlike other European countries, unemployment rates in Germany do not fall after the age of 25, i.e. youth unemployment carries a high risk of continuous exclusion.

The German *school system* reveals – above all in a European comparative perspective – as highly formalised and selective while forcing children and parents to take crucial educational decisions at a very early stage (after primary education). As the OECD-PISA-study now confirmed, this together with other characteristics of the German school system (e.g. packed curricula, little project-learning, little full-time schooling) causes a re-production of social inequalities instead of promoting educational mobility.

In 2000/2001, 7.1 per cent of pupils left school without any qualification, 22.2 per cent with the basic qualification, 42.9 per cent with the middle qualification and 27.8 per cent with ‘Abitur’ or ‘Fachhochschulreife’ as the two leaving certificates leading to higher education (see table 1 for the long-term development of this distribution). There is a clear gender division within the above proportions regarding their educational level and the access to the training system provided by this level: The majority of those achieving middle and higher qualifications are female, which not only reflects their educational aspirations, but also their difficulties to enter vocational training to the same extent as their male counterparts, who, despite of being over-represented with those who have only basic qualifications or no qualifications at all, still do have access to vocational training in some areas. Another division is related to ethnicity: the percentage of young people from ethnic minorities with no and basic qualifications is twice as high as the national average (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2002).

The system of *vocational training* still represents the ‘main road’, with a gender divide between the dual system of apprenticeship training and the school-based training with almost 60 per cent males in the dual system while females are highly predominant (80 per cent) in school-based training in education, nursing, health etc. (see Krüger 2001). While the dual system holds a quasi monopolistic role in providing entrance to qualified work since the 1990s there has been a considerable decline of training places revealing the dependency of training supply from the performance of the economy as a whole: in June 2003, 14.5 per cent less training places were on offer compared to 2002 while applicants rose again with 5 per cent. The estimated lack (official figures!) is about 70.000 missing training places in 2003 (BIBB 2003). With these characteristics, the German system is highly representative for a conservative, employment-centred type of transition regime (see State of Art Report, Yoyo Working Paper 1, Walther et al., 2002) with the following dominant types of trajectories (BIBB 2002, quotes for 2000):

- The dual system of apprenticeship training as the main route, especially for males with middle and lower secondary educational level (51 per cent);
- Full-time vocational schools especially for females with middle secondary education (9 per cent)
- Higher education restricted to those with upper secondary education (Abitur); options of upgrading from lower trajectories being limited and very demanding (26 per cent).
- A rate of 14 per cent does not achieve either vocational or higher education qualifications which reflects the selectivity of the education and training system (Troltsch 2000).

There is an increasing gap between qualifying routes and the non-qualified route (leading to unskilled jobs) due to rising entrance demands in the training sector while the labour market for unqualified jobs decreases.

This accounts as well for the routes provided by the *vocational youth assistance* addressing those who fail to enter regular training or employment directly and includes courses without acknowledged certificates, pre-vocational training courses, employment schemes service etc. It is estimated that almost one fifth of the whole population of school leavers embark in this parallel system with its limited options for training or professional prospects (Braun, 2000), but tend to produce ‘revolving doors’ effects, ‘scheme careers’ (Lex, 1997). The parallel system is still the place where problem groups are located which in most cases are constructed as ‘disadvantaged’ according to an individualising deficit-approach requiring compensatory education and training. Recent policies have tried to use a more sensitive, less stigmatising vocabulary (‘those with the lowest chances’; BMBF, 2003) while at the same time in the

context of lacking training opportunities the term of 'lack of trainability' has been introduced to broaden the access to (still compensatory) vocational youth assistance. While measures continue to address individual deficits of selected problem groups (young women, migrants, early school leavers) it has shown that the recent Immediate Action Programme failed in reaching these groups.

Astonishingly, there is no clear correspondence in policy discourses and strategies to include unemployed youth; moreover, discourses seem to follow different directions according to the segmented policy sectors dealing with young people: on the one hand, there is a discourse on training, in which the political slogan 'training for all' is going along with rather repressive discourses ('you have to take what is available'), both stemming from the increasing decline of training places. This tendency fits to the recent trends in employment policy (Hartz-Konzept) reinforcing the climate of 'activation': rights and responsibilities ('Fördern und Fordern', literally 'support and demand'), with an explicit bias on the latter. This tendency already had been introduced by the 'Job-Aktiv-Law' of 2001, and currently is visible in the successor of the Immediate Action Programme in which young people, who reject a certain measure or drop out will not be funded any more. On the other hand, there is an (yet weaker) educational debate, in which an increasing sensibility for education in the broader sense of 'Bildung' can be observed (e.g. Bundesjugendkuratorium, 2001); this relates to the OECD-PISA-study in which the German school system performed rather badly, especially with regard to social mobility.

Youth policy in Germany is very much segregated from other fields of education and welfare, therefore its influence and importance are minor; although it has to be said that the Children and Youth Welfare Act foresees transition-related interventions and where local authorities can afford to invest in transition related policies their approaches are often more flexible and targeted than those administered by the national Employment Service. With the change of tide in government policies on youth unemployment there has been the acknowledgement that new ways are to be found to include more young people into the education and training system. Therefore transition policies seem to become increasingly aware of the benefits of youth policy approaches and methodologies such as outreach methods. One good example for this change is the inclusion of outreach approaches in the government's Immediate Action Programme. And within youth work, progressive strategies of developing integrated support structures are discussed, always against limited resources due to the break-down of public local funding. However, due to the segmentation of policy sectors (education and work, training, youth work) these discourses are far from merging to qualify each other, and

currently, repressive discourses clearly dominate. New developments of re-structuring the Employment Service seem to be going in a completely different direction – although the impact of this on youth transitions at the moment cannot be clearly anticipated.

Our West-German cases were found in two urban contexts: *Munich* (region Bavaria) and *Stuttgart* (region Baden-Württemberg), in terms of economy and labour market the most prosperous contexts in Germany. The case study selection process involved several steps: in a first step, experts from several research and practice institutions on the national level were interviewed and national databases of good practice in the field of youth transitions were consulted to gain an overview of the field of transition-related youth projects. This resulted in a refinement of selection criteria and a pre-selection of seven projects from all over Germany. In a second step, short study visits combined with interviews with project managers were made to get first hand information for the final selection which was realized in a third step involving a scoring card which enabled us to rate the projects according to a weighted set of criteria. The most important criteria were the combination of labour-market relation on the one side and the inclusion of participatory and informal learning elements on the other side. Although the two cases are set in South Germany where official youth unemployment rates are comparably low (see table 1), there are considerable risks which make transitions into the labour market difficult. These risks are mostly related to the rapid decline in apprenticeship opportunities offered by enterprises in the past few years. This tight situation on the training market is aggravated by the financial crisis national, regional and local public bodies as the main funding sources for youth schemes are facing.

Table 1: Unemployment rates in Munich and Stuttgart in May 2003 (May 2002)

	Munich	Bavaria	Stuttgart	Baden-Württemberg	West Germany	Germany
Unemployment	6,9 (5,7)	6,6 (5,6)	7,2 (6,4)	6,1 (5,2)	9,2 (8,2)	11,5 (10,5)
Females	6,1 (4,9)	-	6,6 (5,4)	-	8,2 (7,5)	10,7 (9,9)
Males	7,7 (5,9)	-	7,7 (6,6)	-	10,1 (8,8)	12,3 (11,0)
Under 25	5,6 (4,0)	6,7 (5,3)	5,7 (4,7)	5,7 (4,6)	7,6 (7,0)	9,3 (8,7)
Absolute	7,104 (5,035)	-	3,464 (3,203)	-	-	-
Females	(1,723)	-	(1,268)	-	-	-
Non-Germans	12,7 (10,1)	-	12,5 (10,9)	-	18,8	20,4

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 2003, numbers refer to percentages of the whole workforce

In *Munich* some changes can be felt already, all projects funded by the City Council of Munich (Department of Social Affairs) under the category ‘profession-related youth-

assistance’ are now forced to legitimate the effectiveness of their work anew – although most of them are rather successful both in terms of successful transitions of their participants as in term of quality of social support. An external evaluator has been engaged to assess the quality of these projects. Fortunately for the project, this evaluation process could be turned from a controlling measure towards a rather productive process of defining quality standards out of project realities by assessing all levels of support the project officially and informally provides. Thus, the achievements but als prerequisites of the project achieves to guarantee such a broad range of support for the future could be made visible.

The *Stuttgart* example’s history is closely related to the new political ‘activation’ agenda on youth unemployment which included the political confession that not all young persons in need of support in their transitions actually got that support by the official support institutions. The project was given extra funding in order to improve the benefits of this approach for transition related agencies (the project ‘Door-Openers’). After one year this service has been stopped – in favour of more institutionalised, school-related measures – whilst the youth workers continue to do ‘their best’ in supporting young people informally also in transition-to-work-related issues (assistance with cv’s and interviews, contacts with employers and employment service for placements and apprenticeship).

3. Sample description

The sample of young people interviewed for our research has been recruited with the support by the two case study agencies chosen according to the process described earlier. It included 27 young men and women who partly were interviewed at the time they entered the project and in follow-up interviews one and a half year later, and partly of young people who were only interviewed once.

Table 2: Interview sample by Gender and Age Groups

<i>Project</i>	Total	Gender		Age Groups		
		Male	Female	16-18	18-21	Above 21
LaSilhouette	11		11	2	5	4
Mobile Stuttgart	17	12	5	4	11	2
Totals (per column)	28	12	16	6	16	6

As the selection of interview partners was bound to the two case study agencies, this resulted in an all-female sub-sample in Munich and a larger share of young men being interviewed in

Stuttgart. The Munich agency is an all-female training organisation with only a limited number of apprenticeship places, the average age of the interviewees is slightly higher than in Stuttgart, with 18 to 21 years being the largest age group in both cases. The target groups of the two projects as the basis for interview partner selection brought about some similarities and some differences. A similarity is the educational background of the young people where the majority in both groups have achieved a basic lower secondary certificate. Only few interviewees had gained no general education certificate at all. This corresponds to a particular contradiction of the German education and training system which produces relatively low rates of young people dropping out at secondary level, but which is highly dependent on the organised market of apprenticeships offered by enterprises, and thus devaluates especially the lower segments of educational qualifications.

Table 3: Interview sample by Education

<i>Project</i>	Achieved Level of Education			
	Primary or no qualification	Lower secondary (basic)	Upper secondary (vocational or upper* secondary)	?
LaSilhouette	3	5	3	
Mobile Stuttgart	1	11	2	2
Totals (per column)	4	16	5	2

* former participants who have completed vocational training in the project

One obvious difference between the two groups of interviewees is their occupational status at the time of the interviews: the young women from Munich were mostly interviewed during their apprenticeship or shortly after it and therefore, in table 4, are filed under “Skilled work” or “Training” while a considerable share of the interviewees from Stuttgart are either unemployed or involved in unskilled work or petty jobs.

Table 4: Interview sample by Occupational Status

<i>Project</i>	Occupational status				
	Unemployed	Unskilled	Skilled	Training	Unknown
LaSilhouette	1		5	5	
Mobile Stuttgart	5	4	1	4	4
Totals (per column)	6	4	6	9	4

* former participants who have completed vocational training in the project

The difference between the project structures and bindingness – LaSilhouette offers a three year training course with four days a week at the workshop and one day at a vocational school, Mobile youth work is a voluntary counselling offer – are also at the bottom of a

methodical difference in the interviews. While in Munich in a regular training institution it was easy to keep in contact with the respondents, and 4 interviewees could be interviewed two times, we encountered major difficulties in Stuttgart. With the withdrawal of the ‘door-opener’ approach, some of the interviewees have lost contact with the Mobile youth work altogether. Reaching these young people proved to be very difficult, and thus we succeeded only in two cases to make an interview arrangement as a follow-up to WP2 interviews. But, as the youth workers reported, some also refused to talk to us stating ‘there is nothing I could tell’: most of our previous interviewees were still unemployed at that moment, having lost their casual jobs or even their apprenticeship places. This negative development could be one of the reasons they did not want to give an interview. In one case we had the opportunity to ask one of the previous interviewees ourselves and he replied

Man, I don’t know what the use of this should be, I simply need a job and nothing happened since last year anyway. (Yakup – Mobile – 21, male, field note)

This means that in some cases, biographical developments had to be re-constructed from a single interview and project workers’ information without having the opportunity to follow-up with the young persons themselves.

Another common feature of the sample group generally found, was a rather high training orientation, which of course reflects the German normality, but which nevertheless is astonishing considering the different educational careers and levels of our sample. Most of these young people’s transitions consist of a lot of transition steps, with frequent drop-outs and breaks, with the exception of a small group with rather smooth transitions (which can also be due to their young age). Further general characteristics of this sample are low educational, social and economic resources, and most of the interviews have a migration background, which in itself is a very heterogeneous topic, ranging from members of the second or third generation of work immigrants to juvenile refugees with or without family.

Clustering

Within this sample we found 4 clusters, which have to be understood as patterns to organize the transitions of groups of our interviewees. These clusters are not exclusive, means: they overlap. We found them by using two criteria: personal biographies (and life events) and patterns of trajectories. We present them with individual biographic portraits of young people fitting well into each of them.

1. *Young people whose trajectories are structured by severe 'interfering life events', as migration, ongoing troubles with parents, drugs. We accorded this type of trajectory to five interviewees*

Mona, 17 (La Silhouette, Munich), coming from Zimbabwe, lives since age of 2 in a white German foster family with higher education background and a high level of aspirations towards their kids. In *Mona's* adolescence a big identity crisis brought through, during which *Mona* run through a fast decline of educational levels: from higher to lower secondary to a scheme for low-qualified young people - with the consequence, that her foster grandfather, a former professor, did not speak to her any more. Negotiating culture to her was not facilitated at all, *Mona* tried to get in contact with her biological mother in Zimbabwe which revealed to be very difficult, and *Mona* suffered a total psychical breakdown, meanwhile attending a second scheme which provided not very satisfying practical experiences for young people. In LaSilhouette, which she learnt to know with the help of her foster mother (a psychologist, working at the employment service), she finally found a good place; in the second interview, however, she is the one who is most critical towards 'a façade of friendship', and admits that she is considering dropping out. She is still in psychiatric treatment and still very engaged in contacting her mother in Zimbabwe.

2. *Young people whose trajectories are mainly affected by 'negative school experiences', sometimes combined with a strong peer-orientation influencing patterns of coping (largest cluster with nine cases)*

Natascha, 19 (Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart), came to Germany with her mother and her younger sister when she was seven. Her father had left the family before she was born. Because of the small flat with little opportunities for individual privacy she soon spent much time with a group of youngsters she knew from school. After having passed from primary school to lower secondary school (Hauptschule), her motivation for learning diminished rapidly. The group she identified with in school developed a habitus of rejection towards all school-related issues. When she was 14 she often had problems to attend or follow classes, because she had spent the night out with her peers. Alcohol and soft illegal drugs use were common to this group:

We only had crap in our heads, we only had boys in our heads, we were drunk every day, the only thing we thought about was having fun (*Natascha – Mobile – 19, female, 414*).¹

¹ Interview quotations are coded in this way: pseudonym – project - age, sex, paragraph of transcript.

She leaves school without finishing the grade and failing in applying for a training post. Consequently, she enrolls in a training scheme in the local neighbourhood simply because there is nothing else left to do. Because several attempts to get an apprenticeship place by engaging in different job placements fail, she works in petty jobs in a café and at MacDonald's. She still has to defend her decisions against the norms of her peers:

First I didn't want to work there, but then I said, just give a shit about the others, let them talk, after all, it is about me, it is about my life and I myself have to make a living of something (Natascha – Mobile – 19, female, 453).

In the meantime she is unemployed and has dropped all her career aspirations to a minimum.

3. *Young people whose trajectories are relatively 'smooth' from school to a training measure to (supposed) qualified work (eight cases)*

Hatice, 17 (La Silhouette, Munich), although participating in a scheme, has a rather smooth transition biography: she – only due to bad German language knowledge – got rather bad marks at lower secondary, failed to achieve the qualified certificate for lower secondary (intermediate qualification, existing only in Bavaria), and had been placed in a pre-vocational course; during this time, a social worker (who visits her family very often because her little brother has a severe illness), noticed that Hatice was in trouble of professional orientation, and he recommended her to visit the fashion show of LaSilhouette. By this, she came to apply for a training place and got it. Hatice is a rather silent young woman who never complains, and it is difficult to estimate how severe the problems she is struggling with were and still are. Having chosen her story as an example for this cluster, might result from the way she describes her transitions: rather smooth, with no big troubles, and almost no social conflicts. But, she probably would have failed under less supportive conditions.

4. *Young people whose trajectories are a mixture of 'in-and-out'-movements including phases of unemployment and with uncertain future (five respondents' cases)*

Orkan, 22 (Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart), calls himself a typical 'kid from the 'hood'. His parents moved to Germany when he was small from what is now a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Looking back to his schooling career he explains his difficulties with the immigration background. His parents were both working as unskilled workers to make a living and he spent most of the time 'hanging around in the streets' in his spare time. After leaving school with the certificate of the basic secondary school, he has to visit the compulsory basic vocational education (BVJ) because all his applications for apprenticeships turn out negative. Having improved his certificate by this vocational education year he hopes

for better opportunities on the apprenticeship market, but again cannot get a training post. During that period his involvement into petty crime has resulted in several infringements and one act of cruelty brings him into youth detention for 3 months. After having served his sentence, with the support of Mobile youth work he enrolls into a vocational training course run by a provider in his local neighbourhood. But after 3 months time, he commits another infringement again and is arrested again. This time, his prospects for a short sentence are bad. After six month of arrest he is released to wait for his trial. He uses this period to provide himself with a positive professional perspective he wants to present at court to avoid the worst case. Together with Mobile youth workers again he applies for an apprenticeship as a brick-layer and succeeds. The judge takes this a positive 'integration perspective' and sentences him to 6 months of prison (which he already had served) and 1 year of probation. At the beginning of the apprenticeship, his only goal is to keep the post until he would have served his probation time. But, step by step, he develops some motivation for the apprenticeship and with much support from the local drop-in centre finishes the qualification. In the meantime he has found a full-time employment in an industry enterprise on a limited contract, but he hopes for an upgrade of this.

4. Biographic orientations

By this paragraph we want to introduce the biographic perspective of the research project, which in this context is crucial for two reasons: first, it ensures that attention is paid to individual transitions respectively to narratives which re-construct transition biographies as a methodological way to consider and acknowledge the subjects, their experiences and their expertise (Chamberlayne et al., 2000). Second, this biographical perspective here is also used as a means to evaluate the effects of the measures analysed as case-studies: it is by biographical look back at experiences and orientations *before* project entry respectively before getting in closer contact with the projects that their influence can be made visible. This reconstruction of course is more difficult and more influenced by current experiences as we got access to interviewees mainly through projects, which means: that the young people already have been in contact with projects when getting the task to look back and to try to remember moods and experiences prior to this contact.

Biographical reconstruction of transitions prior to project entry

With the invitation to look back, young people talk about their aspirations, needs, wishes and plans before entering the project, and also before having been demotivated. Considering the German normality, it is not astonishing that most of them remember having felt the strong need to learn something and that the appropriate context for this had been vocational training. Entering the regular training system in principle is the main objective also of those respondents with no training options. Most of them are still struggling between placements, pre-vocational courses and training schemes not providing an officially recognised certificate.

Training is a must, this was clear so far, I have to get training, so I wrote applications (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 88).

Young women clearly relate this aspiration to the fact of gendered labour markets:

... because otherwise as a girl you don't have any choice of occupations (Mona – LaSilhouette – 17, female, 74).

Apart from this clear training orientation, there are also some who would have preferred to stay at school because of being a safer space compared to work and training, and remember fears of not being able to fulfil employers' demands:

I wanted to stay in school, ... to enjoy school whilst I was afraid of making an apprenticeship (Sultan – LaSilhouette – 19, female, 24-25).

Some others pictured how they detested the normality of getting oriented towards training, how they wished to do something different, but how much they felt under pressure to apply

for a training place. Interesting in the European context are expressions in which young people clearly relate their failure to these characteristics of the German transition system:

You really get pressure in lower secondary: you must, you must ... training, training, training, without training you will not make it. And there are no alternatives (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 21, female, 53-58). ... you were forced to make this and that – ‘otherwise you will not go further on’. I often felt misunderstood. It was not, that I did not want to do anything, but it was not possible to say: ‘I don’t want to make a vocational training’, that I wanted to somehow try a different way ... There are so many who really only because of pressure or anxiety just start any vocational training. I would have wished that other kind of people, **no** teachers, but for example social pedagogues, would have been there, that one would have been able to talk with. Eventually, a little bit of this feeling, this pressure, this load would have been taken off our minds (140-142).

The normality of and pressure towards vocational training being the only recognised trajectory after lower or middle secondary school are often remembered as highly demotivating experiences:

... writing applications, applications, applications ... without any result (Ali – Mobile – 20, male, 43)

accompanied by reducing aspirations (training in metal manufacturing) ...

... until at some point I decided to write an application for something in construction. So I got an apprenticeship place as a builder (Ali – Mobile – 20, male, 43).

For those who are not or not yet in training, work is clearly a means to make their living and be financially independent. But even those who are further away from achieving this goal emphasize the meaning of work as a socially and personally important experience. All these types of aspirations – towards training and work, towards education respectively towards a non-existing alternative – had been disappointed and cooled out in a desperate process of de-motivation – down to a small ‘rest’ of motivation, which in some cases later on could be picked up by the projects. Although our sample does not allow generalising the findings stand in correspondence to qualitative research on young women’s life plans (Oechsle and Geissler, 1998) suggesting gender-specific patterns of coping. While young women manage to protect their identities more successfully and keep such a residual motivation, young men due to their reference to ‘honour’, ‘dignity’ and ‘respect’ often failed to distinguish between different options and thus to identify meaningful possibilities.

Looking back to these developments thus meant to reconstruct processes of de-motivation – a task the interviewed young people fulfilled without personalizing the problem: they clearly related internal processes of de-motivation with external factors and circumstances - the retrospective view they now could take over with some temporal distance revealed to be an opportunity to make visible the interaction between structural and subjective aspects.

As an example, interviewees whose trajectories we have attributed to the ‘interfering life event’-cluster, especially those whose trajectories were structured by migration, describe

processes of school failure as an interwoven process of external ascriptions and self-ascriptions. They see the roots of de-motivation in a structural degradation within a school system, which does not acknowledge their competences:

Getting such bad marks here annoyed me totally (...) Because I already have been at school (in Togo), I have learned, I had good marks, e.g. in French, but here I am taken for stupid, although I am not stupid at all (Valerie – LaSilhouette – female, 19, 290-291).

Even those, who have been born in Germany, recognize the impact of being a ‘foreigner’:

There were a lot of teachers who showed you that they do not like to work with foreigners, and our director during class eight to all of us said: ‘almost nobody of you will achieve the improved lower secondary qualification, this I guarantee’. And the other teachers supported him, like: ‘you will not make it anyway. You have not even to try’ (Reyhan – LaSilhouette – female, 18, 37).

The respondents’ ambition related to work is highly dependent on (their assessment of) their current situation. Among the young men in Stuttgart who could not or not yet enter into what they perceive as the ‘real’ labour market, one clear preference is ‘training first’. They are aware of the recent changes of the local labour market:

It has changed. You can’t get into these unskilled jobs at Daimler anymore. They only take people with training (Baris – Mobile – 21, male, 173).

One shared pattern of interpretation is found among young men, who tend to interpret their success or failure on the labour market as the outcome of their face-to-face communication and bargaining with employers. Direct communication between them and the employer is given more importance than formal qualifications or support by specific institutions and agencies. This also accounts for problematic situations, where lack of respect from employers is given as a reason for being fired from placement or employment:

I know that I can not start the job and say I take over control. But at the same time he (the superior) owes me respect. He said ‘I’ll have a cup of coffee and you carry up the tiles’ – to the sixth floor. I said ‘Ok, since when do we have slavery again’. He said ‘If it doesn’t suit you, just leave.’ And it doesn’t suit me. So I left (Özkan – Mobile – 19, male, 583).

The feeling of being accepted as a person and acknowledged in individual needs gets crucial for transitions. Especially migrant young men refer to ‘respect’ as a subjectively relevant issue, reinforced by the collective meaning within youth culture (rap and hip-hop scene).

Within the cluster ‘negative school experiences’, transition problems were presented as an effect of school careers. It is interesting, that respondents who fit into this cluster do not miss to stress their active part in this. This at first glance seemed to be a male pattern, but had to be relativated after the second round of interviews. Rather than talking about de-motivation, transition problems are described in terms of active behaviour as ‘trouble-maker’:

I never have been a good pupil, I would have been able to be one, but I didn’t want to, I was too lazy. I always made trouble (‘ich habe immer Scheiße gebaut’). I left the first school, then again problems and I was thrown off the second school and in the end there was no school who would take me (Orkan – Mobile – 23, male, 357-358).

The active way of describing transition problems, e.g. as reluctant pupil, often is combined with intentions of change – demonstrating individual control in both past and future:

And I don't want to play the fool again, like in school. This time I want to be the one who is sly (Yildirim – Mobile – 8, male, 304).

In a similar way, Aylin, Fadila and Natascha look back to their school career as failure, which they attribute to their own mistakes and misbehaviour – partly related to the peer groups they have been in at that time; this is important as the female counterpart to the above 'male' behaviour – and again the interview setting has to be taken into account, with Fadila and Natascha being interviewed together, maybe reinforcing their role of 'strong girlies'.

I was with [name] in the same class, and we all were smoking spliffs, and the whole class got pissed, and our teachers knew about that (Fadila – Mobile – 20, female, 423).

They present their life story since the end of compulsory school as a biographical turn, in terms of having gained more insight into the important things in life, having become more mature and responsible for their future – but still maintaining the attitude of 'bad girls/boys'. Most of our interviewees have run through phases of de-motivation, and then – at least partly by support of the case-study projects – re-gained motivation for learning, for discovering possibilities for their further transitions, for engaging actively in their biographical development. They look at demotivation from a different stand-point, and retrospectively reconstruct their transition biographies as structured by 'turning points', a concept developed in life course research (Clausen, 1995; Wethington, 2002), which now can be applied to characterise transitions in a more general way: We want to attribute it to decisive moments or phases in young people's motivational developments, which might evoke considerable changes in their transitions – like switches in biographical developments. By this we point to the process structure of life courses, which can be influenced by learning experiences. The concept firstly refers to internal processes – which can be facilitated but also frustrated – and secondly to transitional decisions respectively the concerning narratives. In this broader understanding, turning points not necessarily have to be talked about explicitly in interviews (they often are brought up as markers for biographical reconstruction), but also can be re-constructed by evaluation (concealed, if for example related to a painful experience).

Experiences with support prior to project entry

When reconstructing de-motivating processes, experiences with institutions or individuals providing or refusing support reveal to be key situations.

In these reconstructions, *experiences with institutions* play an important role – most often, they are factors entailing frustration and de-motivation. This points to a German specificity:

the highly formalised and institutionalised transition system demands a huge motivational investment from young people, which systematically – because of labour market developments – cannot be rewarded. It indirectly also raises a diffuse level of expectations towards its institutions, which (due to structural reasons have to be) are frustrated in most cases. Correspondingly, all respondents are disappointed about the role of the official support system, above all the *Employment Service*. Their expressions range from cynical distance to open anger. There is a common denominator in their negative evaluation, but also differences in their expectations. While some of the young men, like Martin, feel they have a right to be supported, others present themselves as already frustrated, with no more expectations left. They simply apply for the unemployment benefits (if eligible) like Orkan:

I have registered as unemployed for the moment and now I do get the job-seekers allowance, but since three months I did not hear anything from them. I see the money arriving at my bank account, but they don't send me any job offers, nothing (Orkan – Mobile – 21, male, 479).

Apart from the lack of efficiency negative evaluation also relates to not feeling treated as individuals:

It is an administration after all. They are not in the mood for working. Just staring into the file they have on you, going bah, bah, they treat you like a cow (...) (Orkan – Mobile – 21, male, 483).

Some even pretend to feel compassion with the staff – perhaps as a way to demonstrate sovereignty and independence:

OK, it's really stress to work there, there is hundreds of people walking in and out every day, and they simply don't feel like caring for each of them (Markus – Mobile – 21, male, 134) – You feel, they do not like their job. They are not friendly at all (Yildirim – Mobile – 18, male, 91).

Also the *school system* seems to provide more frustrating than empowering experiences: Some respondents missed appropriate support during school time. Their criticism is centred around their impression of not being treated as an individual and teachers neglecting their personal situation. Some of the young women explicitly complain about the way they experienced vocational orientation at school: they felt pressured in 'typically female' careers or at least not supported in another direction and experienced the limited offer of training possibilities for girls with completed secondary school as highly de-motivating:

In secondary school, they only had stage offers – for the girls – in hair-dressing, retail and child-care, or even less, only retail and hair-dressing (Mona – LaSilhouette – 17, female, 173).

And they explicitly name school experiences in which they felt badly treated *as migrants*. Compared to this, the young men interviewed in Stuttgart apparently feel more stigmatised as inhabitants of a badly reputed part of the city than as migrants. Representing the second or third generation, they have established a stable (sub-)cultural male self-consciousness. The role as under-achiever and trouble-maker in school, to which they look back from the matured stand-point of being 'wiser now' is related to peer group dynamics – in the past as well as in

the moment of the (group-)interview. Of course there are also “*exceptions*” in the narratives of young women and men regarding supportive experiences during their school career – but with this topos they refer to helpful and friendly individuals, and not to the institutionalised way of support, although they also had learnt to know such individuals in institutional contexts. Dani remembers one teacher who had become a key person in terms of support:

There was one really very good female teacher in the last three years at school. I am grateful to her until today. Without her, I would not even have finished lower secondary school’ (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 83).

On an informal level *parents* might become important supporters – but far not for all of the interviewees, in contrary: Sevdije’s reconstruction of her last years highlight the responsibility she together with her sisters had for the smaller siblings, while her parents went back to Turkey; Tanja cares for her younger brother (in a common small flat), because her father is too weak; Valerie has no contact to her father although he is living in Germany; Sultan’s mother is not able to care for her daughter, so Sultan has grown up in a youth residence – and is still struggling for contact and acknowledgement by her mother; Reyhan always has to hide her youth life from her strict Muslim father – there are only few parents who are mentioned in the interviewees as supportive. And there is a slight tendency within our sample of female interviewees being more engaged in dealing with (or struggling with) parental relationships, and staying involved in relational bonds, while male interviewees tend to evaluate their parents’ role in finding a job or profession as limited from the start because of outdated or lacking information, small resources, no social capital or time available:

Parents? How should they be able to help us? (Ali – Mobile – 20, male, 196).

Where available, parents and families are experienced as important social networks in daily life – most young people still live at home – but as rather powerless with regard to school-to-work-transitions (for an in-depth exploration of this topic see the analysis on “Families and Transitions”; Stauber et al., 2004). *Peers* are experienced in a similar way – important for coping in everyday life, sometimes useful for information, but not as powerful support.

In a highly contrasting way, interviewees describe their contact to representatives of the case study projects: in *Stuttgart*, as being part of the neighbourhood, *Mobile Youth Work* is experienced as a place of acknowledgement and as a reliable source of relevant support; in *Munich*, the first encounter with *La Silhouette* is remembered as a key situation, which stands at the beginning of a new era of young women’s life. All what has been experienced so far within the project is constructed as a positive contrast to what had been experienced before – it is described as the most recent turning point in their life. This contrasting experience, mainly in terms of support, will now be explored in detail in the following two case studies.

Table 5: Transition pathways

Name, gender	Age	School	Transition Steps						Particular background
'Smooth trajectories'									
Hatice, <i>female</i>	17	HS	Pre-vocational course	improving school qualifications	Apprenticeship in LaSilhouette				Turkish, in Germany since 13, Living with family
Li, <i>female</i>	22	HS	BVJ	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette	Employment as tailor				Immigrated from Vietnam with 13, living with her mother
Tanja, <i>female</i>	26	HS	Apprenticeship (drop out)	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette	Occasional jobs	Further training	Employment in social insurance	Employment in fashion business	From Croatia, immigrated to Germany with 16, Living with her brother
Martin, <i>male</i>	19	HS	Employment service / Mobile youth work	Apprenticeship					Living with family
Ali, <i>male</i>	20	HS	Apprenticeship						Turkish, Living with family, lost contact with project
Birtan, <i>male</i>	22	HS/NQ	BVJ	Unemployment	apprenticeship VYA				Turkish, Living with family
Felicitas, <i>female</i>	18	HS	Apprenticeship	Employment					Turkish origin, living with family
Sevdiye, <i>female</i>	28	HS	Apprenticeship in LaSilhouette	Placements for costume designer	Occasional jobs	unemployment	Employment through temp. work agency	Employment in temp. work agency	Turkish, grown up in Munich, living together with boyfriend, currently starting to pick up dress-making by preparing for the master-course
Trajectories with considerable 'interfering life events'									
Sultan, <i>female</i>	19	HS/NQ	Various changes between Turkey and Germany	BVJ	improving school qualification (drop out)	improving school qualification (dropped out)	Occasional jobs	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette	Turkish, born in Germany, moving constantly between Turkey and Germany, living in Youth Residence
Valerie, <i>female</i>	19	HS	Pregnancy Motherhood	re-integration course	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette				Refugee from Togo, single mother (2 ½ yr. old daughter), living in Youth Residence
Mona, <i>female</i>	16	HS	improve school qualifications (failed)	Placements	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette				From Simbabwe, in psychiatric treatment, living in foster family
Jelena, <i>female</i>	21	HS	improving school qualifications (failed)	BVJ	occasional jobs	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette			Croatian parents, born in Germany, therapy sharing flat, drug problems
Mala, <i>female</i>	20	HS	BVJ	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette	Unemployed since 5 month				Migrated at age 14 from Afghanistan; brother objected against employment in another town
Trajectories structured by 'negative school experiences'									
Martina, <i>female</i>	21	HS	Placement (kindergarden)	Improving school qualification	occasional jobs	computer course	Unemployment		Psychological problems, living with family, German
Dani, <i>female</i>	20	HS	First round of applications	BVJ	Second round of applications	Apprenticeship in La Silhouette	Unemployed for 2 months	Start at the theatre	Only German participant in training project for migrant women
Fadila, <i>female</i>	20	HS	VYA	Employment in VYA					Turkish origin, living with family
Yildirim, <i>male</i>	18	HS/NQ	BVJ	Unemployment	Training scheme VYA	placements	Unemployment	Apprenticeship*	Turkish with German citizenship, Living with family
Ozkan, <i>male</i>	19	HS/NQ	BVJ	Placements	Unemployment	Training scheme	Placements	Unemployment / occasional jobs*	Turkish, Living with family
Jakob, <i>male</i>	18	HS	BVJ	Unemployment	Placement	apprenticeship	Unemployment*		Turkish origin, German national, waiting for acknowledgement as conscientious objector
Markus, <i>male</i>	21	HS/NQ	BVJ	Unemployment	occasional jobs	Legal problems (prison)	Training scheme		African origin, unknown how long in Germany and living conditions, lost contact with project
Ibrahim, <i>male</i>	21	?	BVJ	Placements	Unemployment	Vocational youth assistance	Unemployment	Unskilled employment*	Turkish, living with family
Baris, <i>male</i>	21	?	BVJ	Placements	Unemployment	Vocational youth assistance	Unemployment*		Turkish, living with family
Trajectories structured by 'in-and-out'-movements									
Natascha, <i>female</i>	19	HS	VYA	Placement	Occasional jobs	Unemployment			Croatian, living with family
Reyhan, <i>female</i>	18	HS	improve school qualification	First training place (drop out)	LaSilhouette as interim stage	Second training place	Drop out	(3rd) training at La Silhouette	Turkish, living with family (very authoritarian father)
Orkan, <i>male</i>	23	HS	Unemployment	criminal career / prison	Training scheme VYA	criminal career / prison	Apprenticeship	Unemployment / occasional jobs	Bosnian, living with girl friend and 1 ½ yr. old daughter
Savas, <i>male</i>	20	HS/NQ	BVJ	Apprenticeship (drop out)	legal problems	occasional jobs	Apprenticeship VYA (drop out)	Unemployment / occasional jobs*	Turkish, Living with family
Omer, <i>male</i>	20	HS	BVJ	Unskilled job	Unemployment	Placement	Apprenticeship	Occasional jobs	Turkish origin, living with family

5. Case studies analysis

For the case study analysis, several steps of investigation have been undertaken:

- documents analysis
- interviews with project workers and external experts, especially representatives of funding institutions (City Council) and the Employment Service as the main institutional actors in the German transition system (see sample in annex)
- interviews with young people participating in these projects
- a video, in which participants of project presented themselves ‘being in transition’ (which however could not not be included systematically in this analysis).

In the following, we will present comprehensive case study analysis’ for each of the two projects, integrating and contrasting the views and statements of different interview partners, in order to work out contradictions and correspondences.

5.1 Case Study LaSilhouette, Munich

5.1.1 Description

The project *LaSilhouette* from Munich at the first glance offers standard vocational training in dressmaking for young women mainly with a migration background. At a closer look, *it is much more than training*: it provides a holistic set of support and accompaniment to those who often are not even allowed to start a vocational training because of insecure residence permits. This includes care for a good start in the labour market, facilitated by a network of former trainees, which compensates the respective deficits of young female migrants in regard to their professional life. With these elements, the project also is *much more than a training scheme*, which in Germany often lack the insertion in the labour market. Most important for the Yoyo-project is the high level of empowerment and participation this project offers.

In its organizational structure, the project basically provides a regular 3-year apprenticeship training course and thus is located in the ‘hard sector’ of transition related policies (see Yoyo Working Paper 1). With two groups of 6 trainees, running according to the principle of rotation, the constant size of the training group comprises 12 young women. As in regular apprenticeship the trainees earn a training wage. The project is 100 per cent funded by the City Council of Munich (Department of Social Affairs) under the category ‘profession-related youth-assistance’. Among 12 projects in total it is the only one which exclusively addresses young women and which has an explicit focus on inter-cultural support and inter-cultural learning. The project thus fills a gap, which could not be covered neither by any other of these

projects (view of responsible of funding institution) nor by any course of the employment service (view of representative of employment service).

Acting as a training enterprise since 1987, the project in 1994 has founded an own legal entity called 'Young Women and Profession's Association' in order to emancipate from the organisational roof of the 'Association of Foreigner's Affairs', a male-dominated association of first-generation migrant workers. This emancipation was a necessary step because the association did not support the shift from a mere training organisation for young women to a workshop with high quality standards – in other words the shift from the 'disadvantaged' image to qualified and professional design ('Fashion Atelier'). This shift in image – as might have been the fear (and indeed often is the case) – did not lead to a change of target group in terms of higher selectivity and exclusion of those with weaker starting conditions. On the contrary – the project kept its original target group which obviously benefited from the boost of self-esteem and personal identification resulting from the organisational independence (view of master of training). As a training provider, the project is extremely successful: in 15 years, no participants failed exams, and there have been almost no drop outs.

Due to its public funding, it had been rather difficult for the project to be accepted in the chamber of crafts – the latter regarded the public funding as a kind of distortion of competition (a typical problem of training projects). However, with support e.g. by the representative of the dressmaker's guild this obstacle could be overcome.

Because the project is informally (among young women) so well-known, and formally so much respected, there are often more than 100 applicants for the 6 training places. For those who cannot be accepted, the project is engaged in counselling and finding a placement (see mission statement:14-15). The predominant selection criterion for new participants is the criterion of personal need "because of war, emigration, insufficient school qualification, sexual violence, psychological disease, addiction problems, and homelessness" (annual report 97/98:4). This is confirmed by the representative of the dressmaker's guild:

The project responds to a training demand of young women, who would have been very difficult to be transferred to the firms of the dressmaker's guild (Representative of dressmaker's guild:250).

Apart from vocational training, where it fulfils regular standards, the project provides support in almost any life issues - counselling as regards housing, accompaniment to institutions (the Foreigner's Office, the social security), language courses and assistance with regard to professional school. After the exam, it supports progression in any direction: job search in well-reputed firms, application portfolio, interview preparation etc. An additional half-year is foreseen to accompany each former participant – and in principle as long as she needs it – which reveals to be crucial for labour market insertion. For the former participants the project

offers a professional network, which functions as a market place for job information and again as an important counselling structure in all life issues, from conflicts at the working places to life planning and private issues. This ‘network of former trainees’ has been financed by the European Social Fund over a period of 5 years, but since 1998 has to be coordinated without funding. Some of the former participants engage voluntarily in the ongoing work of the project, e.g. as teachers who support the trainees in several subjects they have at the professional school, by supporting the preparations of fashion shows, by counselling in various questions concerning labour market insertion.

We need the former trainees necessarily. Because with our own capacities we would not manage all this work (Project manager:30).

In return, former participants can use the infrastructure of the project whenever they want.

5.1.2 Analysis

Participation

As a training provider, the project facilitates for its trainees access to the most crucial area of social life: qualified work. But of course this means to accept the rules which exist for vocational training in Germany – although they are smoothed as far as possible. Under these conditions, it provides for participation on a *structural level*. This is expressed by trainees who stress their pride to really produce for real clients (participation in work life) or describe their professional prospects they combine with their training.

Still on the structural level, the young women enjoy participation in terms of workers’ participation which – by law – is not necessarily required in training measures (see National Report WP 1). Especially, the selection of new trainees is organised in a participatory process, in which the project leaders only make a pre-selection of those applicants, who are invited for a short practical stage. It is then up to the other trainees to decide, who will be taken on:

and then we can opt for those who might come to us; and then (the project leaders) really comply with our opinion. They simply say, we have to work together with them, so we have to co-decide ... Also a new master, she is coming for a test phase, and we have to work together with her on some pieces and we have to look on how she is explaining things and how she makes it, and then we have to decide if we come along with her or not (Mona – LaSilhouette – 17, female, (II)212-225).

But the project’s approach of participation starts on a much more fundamental level, where it provides basic experiences for its participants to be important and accepted as an individual. To be acknowledged in their individual needs is extremely important for those we have allocated to the cluster ‘severe life events’ (and who from time to time are ‘different’ in their behaviours because coping with their main life-topic dominates other aspects of their lives), and also to those of the cluster ‘negative school experiences’ who are very sensitive for

adaptation demands, and to whom it is an crucial indicator of participation to make the experience, that pedagogues adapt the project to them (and not force them to adapt to the project).

That you have a say, and that by that you get the feeling: ah, I am also someone special (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 21, female, 92).

“The young women are bringing so much with them” – this expression of the project leader in an informal interview stands for the basis working attitude of LaSilhouette and its basic participatory climate. Of course, despite of rules to avoid this, within the group some inequalities do exist:

We all decide in the project, but of course, those who are faster in raising their voices decide more. But we are deciding a lot, considering the fact that we are trainees (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 21, female, 187-192).

Important in this regard is the experience, that participation is not something superficial, but that project workers are really interested in what participants think; the issue of project participation is therefore described in terms of personal acknowledgement and a feeling of belonging, which is especially important for those, who only recently came to Germany.

They appreciate what I think about something, and that I belong to them. (...)You need this again and again, the feeling of being acknowledged by somebody (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 22, female, (II)200-204).

In sum, the project realizes a broad understanding of participation where all dimensions of participation we have distinguished for European comparison are covered: it respects the subjectivity of transitions, of problem descriptions and of solutions by placing the individual young women in the foreground of all its (support) activities and highly respects the biographic dimension of participation; it realizes participation from the start of every interaction instead of turning into an aim to be achieved later; it foresees on the agency-level far-reaching possibilities of bringing in ideas, setting goals, representing the agency, taking decisions, and also provides young women with means to use them (negotiation skills, experience of group discussions, learning to appreciate and develop a culture of arguing; the latter being especially important for those young women we have associated to the clusters “smooth trajectories”, who are not used to struggle and are in danger not to withstand conflictuous group processes). And it opens access to participation on a structural level – by the means of qualified work, but also by preparing these young women for raising their voices, e.g. towards the Foreigner’s Office, Social Security, the Employment Service, and also with employers. It prepares as far as possible for a self-conscious role as citizen. Its community approach of participation means here to establish local networks of support for these young women, and also information networks about labour market facilities.

Motivation

LaSilhouette exactly starts from where participants stand when entering the project: it tries to pick up the rest of motivation they bring with them (see above), and which sometimes rarely gets visible:

I left the impression with them – they afterwards told me – like: it's all the same to me, take me, take me not, it's the same, but it wasn't the same to me at all! I absolutely wanted to have the place! (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 56).

Factors which facilitate to activate this residual motivation and to develop it further are for example: fashion as one of the favorite topics of young women, a group with others who are in a similar situation, and a highly empowering project leader who does the first steps together with the new participant. From the beginning extrinsic as well as intrinsic elements of motivation are considered: participants start to look at the group as a relevant peer context in which they wish to fulfil expectations as an active member (extrinsic motivation), but also develop motivation to express themselves in their designs, and detect relevance in their work:

In former times, in which I didn't do anything, I thought I only live to breathe in and out, so to speak. And now I notice, that I can do something. And when I sew a skirt for a women, I notice, that I do something for somebody. And also for me, of course, I also learn a lot by doing it (Sultan – LaSilhouette – 19, female, (II) 128-134).

Social factors of motivation like dynamic group processes and productive peer competition emerge from the joint work in the group:

I noticed, that for me it is much easier to learn, when I see: ah, the other does it better, I want to do that the same way she does. (...) this is challenging (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 65).

To work in the area of fashion reveals to be an excellent catalyst of motivation for young women, because it sticks to the informal styling competences they most often have, independently from their formal skills or educational levels. The way the project uses fashion as a medium for training – to produce from the very beginning of training own pieces as well as pieces for clients – picks up the potential of intrinsic motivation linked with fashion and thus leads young women into processes where they can experience their abilities, which get more and more professional. Such experiences are extremely important for those young women we have subsumed under the clusters 'negative school experiences', 'in-and-out' and 'interfering life events', who otherwise would never come at his point of agency, productivity, creativity:

And then I sewed a bag (...) yes, and I managed really well, and I was so fascinated about this bag and about myself and – yes, about being creative (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 21, female, (I)54).

From such empowering experiences the wish to present this work as a part of themselves can develop. The connection of facilitating motivation (as a matter of conceptual decisions) can

be shown with the example of fashion shows: they started as an experiment in the early years of the project,

... and we noticed how enormous its effect was, be it in the preparation and the production, be it in the personal presentation of the models, mainly as regards self-esteem and motivation. So we elaborated and professionalised it in order to arrive where we are now (..) They design their pieces, they produce them, and they present them. It is enormous. You cannot imagine if you haven't once been involved personally. (.) With all emotions, be it high-flying, be it totally depressed, or the fever before the show, it all belongs to it. And there is so much energy, so much ambition in it, you could not offset this with a simple dressmaking piece for a client (Master of training:12 -18).

The project thus has a process-related understanding of motivation as something which actively can be worked on. It uses both ways – the extrinsic and the intrinsic – to promote re-engagement of young women for their transitions, assuming, that also intrinsic motivation is something which can be facilitated by using the appropriate means (e.g. fashion, styling) or setting up the appropriate conditions (e.g. group experiences). In a psychological way to look at motivation it both creates subjective relevance (of goals to be attained) as well as the means to achieve these goals, and so provides for experiences of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997), which can be decisive elements of what we have called turning points in young people's motivational careers.

Participation – motivation

Working on motivation in LaSilhouette at least to one big part means realising participation: To establish an emotional basis is closely linked with participation, because this basis above all is delivered by the group. Atmospheric aspects therefore are highly emphasized by our interviewees, which compound mutual support (Valérie and Mala), solidarity as a learning issue (Jelena), friendship (Reyhan), learning to argue (Hatice) and to be patient (Jelena) at the same time, mutual respect, commitment, honesty, tolerance (2 Euros in a box for those who would not respect this rule!). The girls accept such rules, even if they sometimes experience the search for mutual understanding as a stressor (“too much talking“ and “psychologising”). Another important aspect with regard to the connection of participation and motivation is the kind of support delivered by the project: the young trainees are motivated to belong to the project, also because here they find the support they need as young migrant women. But support is not just something the project has on offer, but is mostly balanced with own contribution and responsibility:

They help you to a certain degree, but you have to make your own contribution. Means, they don't take the thing out of your hand. No matter, how clumsy your problem is (.). They help you to a certain extent. And then you have to show, that you want it or that you can do it, or that you bring up the courage to take it in your own hands (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 300).

This corresponds with one understanding of participation we have elaborated within the trans-national comparison: participation by giving young people influence over the definition of problems and above all providing them with some requirements to deal with these problems. This way of participation is experienced as highly encouraging, above all in deep crisis and by those whose trajectories are structured by ‘interfering life events’, which to the project leader

... often is a starting point to cope with things differently. So I see crisis as of course severe phase, but also as a reference point to develop other attitudes, e.g. in conflicts, and other coping strategies (Project leader:27).

Another link between participation and motivation derives from the level of structural participation the project covers by training for qualified work:

They give you not only a good feeling, but they really show you, what you are made of, and what you are able to make out of it. And these are things, which with the time really build you up, and afterwards, wherever you go, you know your abilities. And I don’t let somebody degrade myself. For that I had difficulties with finding a new job. Because they told me, you could do this work and that, and I said: no! Have I not completed training? Not for this! I prefer to search for two years until I have found something reasonable. And they prepare you for that (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 135).

Dani describes a biographic development of turning from de-motivation and anxiety into a tough young woman (as do Hatice, Sultan, Mala, Mona, Sevdije), which also influences the way how to project their own future (see below).

Again, it is the quality of *personal relationships* between young women and project workers who are experienced as highly motivating and at the same time as participatory as far as the whole person is taken into account. Trust (as one important aspect for these young women to re-develop motivation) is described as a matter of topics to be talked about:

You can come with everything. With everything! (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 585-586), as a matter of space for these topics, and as a matter of how they are dealt with, above all in deep crisis. This exactly is participation in its biographic dimension.

To sum it up, the relation between participation and motivation in LaSilhouette can be found on this very basic biographic level, where it brings young women back into a state where they start to develop confidence, it can be found on the process-related agency-level of participation, where the group sets free its motivating energies (subjective relevancies), and it also can be found on the structural level, where participation in qualified work produces a much higher level of personal engagement, and also the means to attain goals. So, although participation in the project is a value on its own and not explicitly directed towards motivation, it works on all these levels as means to regain motivation.

Learning and biographic progression

Learning objectives within the project are closely related to the transition problems of its participants. On the one hand it is a formally acknowledged training course providing an entrance ticket to qualified work, which otherwise never could have been achieved by the concerned young women (mainly due to the project the trajectories of some of them – like Hatice – can be characterised as ‘smooth’). This includes support for vocational school, language courses and in one case even a course of literacy. While fulfilling these formal demands, the project organises training differently, actively addressing the needs of these young women to (finally) make success experiences (again):

And what I really like is that from the beginning (..) we work for the client. And not like that: oh, you get the easier things, because you have just begun! But here, you get the piece. You are thrown into cold water. But this is positive, because you learn much faster and much more! Compared to other firms (..). And this is something you notice yourself (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 179).

Correspondingly, there are some expectations towards participants to pass the exam, not so much because of project’s statistics (these are excellent, see above) but much more because a successful exam is the way to secure residence rights or enable the young woman for an autonomous life. These expectations are shared by the participants, and at the same time they profit from the fact that formal learning is shaped differently at LaSilhouette:

Of course their job is to bring us through the exam. But you don’t hear from the start until the end: exam, exam, exam. Not at all. It is all much more human and harmonious. I didn’t want to believe it before, but it is really like a second family. You can come with whatever you want, they always help you, and bring you on the right way. They do not allow you to fail. This is their job. But their job of course is also to be there for us (all laughing) (Dani – LaSilhouette – 20, female, 739-747).

Although the project is a training course – and this is the notable difference - social learning stands in the foreground: learning to argue, to form and defend one’s opinion, to accept and tolerate other opinions, to be patient and at the same time active, and also intercultural learning. Social learning not only is a side-effect, but there is space and time reserved for group discussions and clearing of conflicts (weekly meetings). While such issues are relevant for the group they are also important biographic competences for individual transition management like in interviews with future employers, in new working contexts after vocational training, for negotiating with institutions, and in general for an autonomous life.

There is of course a lot of informal and non-formal learning going on in daily life at LaSilhouette, but additionally the project tries to use the potential of informal learning by creating non-formal spaces for learning – e.g. learning weekends to prepare for exams in the rooms of LaSilhouette, where it creates a concentrated learning space, with breaks, common meals etc. It ‘informalises’ formal learning by setting a different, comfortable time-space environment. Such new ways to cope with formal demands are especially relevant for those

young women with ‘negative school experiences’ and ‘in-and-out-trajectories’, who have to re-gain motivation for learning, respectively who have to achieve some continuity, but also to those who would not find a quiet place to concentrate at home. And they are extremely important for those we subsumed under the cluster ‘severe life events’, and who easily due to these life events drop out, are hindered, cannot concentrate etc. The project here creates bufferes for such life events and enables the concerned young women to nevertheless develop some continuity in their transition period.

The project leaves space for peer learning and uses the relevance of peers as learning motivators. Besides the mentioned group dynamics, this could be observed in interactions between trainees and former participants during rehearsals for fashion shows which are directed by the latter. This means learning from realistic role-models, whom they meet as tutors – or whenever they come to visit the project. One of our interviewees remembered the impressive encounter with one of the former trainees coming into the Atelier – experienced, good-looking, everybody embracing her – when she herself was one of the younger participants, and she thought: look at her, one day you will get there, too. Also with regard to learning the basic climate at LaSilhouette is influenced by participation and reciprocity:

And, above all, they (the project leaders) learn from us as well. Hence, not only we from them, from our super bosses (laughs), but also they from us (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 22, female, (II)166),

Which corresponds to one finding in the documents analysis on learning: “Methodical principle: the individual woman is standing in a constant change of roles between learner and teacher – always corresponding to her growing potential. Learning and teaching in a process: together, from one-another, towards one-another” (achievements description: 16).

Biographical reconstructions reveal how learning may facilitate turning points. Sevdiye, former participant, now doing her master course, retrospectively recognises

... only afterwards what they (LaSilhouette) have given to me. After training with the time, I developed further and then at a certain point I got the idea of power-woman, and then I said: now I move out, now it’s time (Sevdiye – LaSilhouette – 26, female, 322-235).

Learning here is referred to in terms of noticeably growing personal strength. It also is described as a different way to look at things, and to evaluate own ability to act:

I have learned that not all has to be so terrible ... Because in the past everything has been terrible, and nothing worked. School has always been terrible and family has always been a disaster. Here I simply have learned that it not necessarily has to be like that forever, and that you can influence things, although you so often think you cannot (Sultan – LaSilhouette – 19, female, 355-362).

In those last quotes the link between learning and motivation becomes visible. ‘Turning points’ in young people’s motivational careers now take shape, when ‘learning’, this beforehand problematic issue, is turned into something very positive – because biographically relevant – and is related to imaginations for a future (which before often not even did exist):

I am looking forward to future, really. And I am curious, because I am interested in what will be in one or two years. (...) I am sure I will make it. Of course with ups and downs, and with problems, and struggling. Sure, a lot of things will happen. But I will make it, I know (Jelena – LaSilhouette – 21, female, 313 – 318).

Obviously, the fact of being linked to a ‘hard’ qualification and can be directly applied to a professional pathway enhances the sustainability of such biographical learning.

I plan to be journeywoman for three years. The first I will pass in the industry to look what’s going on there. Then I will go to a gentlemen’s tailor, in the case of being allowed to do that with my training in dressmaking; and the third I will make wedding and evening dresses, and after these three years I will go to the master school to make the master. And after this, I want to go to the fashion design school to make fashion design. And then I will open my own business. My plans! (Reyhan – LaSilhouette – 18, female, 276).

In sum, the basic learning concept at LaSilhouette is *biographical learning*: to achieve competences to cope with the past (severe life events) and overcome de-motivation and disengagement, and to provide skills which are important to proceed in the German transition system – ‘hard skills’ such as professional skills as well as the whole range of ‘soft skills’, which get increasingly important: skills to present oneself, social skills, and also skills to successfully search for institutional help. It helps young women to develop *biographicity* – as basic competence to integrate new demands and experiences into the repertoire of personal coping (Alheit, 1996; Alheit and Dausien, 2000). Such biographical learning at La Silhouette takes place as a balanced combination of formal and informal learning (see also Chapter 6).

5.2 Case Study ‘Door-Opener’ / Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart

5.2.1 Description

The project Mobile Youth Work / ‘Door-Opener’ is located in the city of Stuttgart, South Germany. Mobile youth work is a well established concept of youth work which was developed in the 1970s. Its main focus is to reach young people who do not use standard youth work offers. The approach is based on four working methods: street work/outreach work, individual counselling, group activities with peer groups (mostly self-organized so-called ‘clubs’) and community work. This means young people get into contact with Mobile Youth Work very easily and can get individual counselling in all areas of juvenile life: school problems, legal conflicts, friendship and partnership issues etc. In Stuttgart, which was one of the first cities to adopt this kind of youth work, it is run by church-bound welfare organisations in 11 neighbourhoods (in this report we refer to the areas ‘Zuffenhausen’ and ‘Hallschlag’) which are organised in an umbrella organisation called ‘Mobile Youth Work Stuttgart’. The service ‘Door-Opener’ was implemented as an annex to youth drop-in centres

covering nearly all neighbourhoods in Stuttgart with an above-average share of young people without vocational qualification and/or unemployment. City council reports speak of about 5,000 people between 16 and 25 years of age who have lower chances on the labour market for various reasons and therefore need special support in their transitions. The project was launched first in 1999 when youth unemployment was a major political issue and the national government set out a Immediate Action Programme on the matter (cf. Walther, 2002; National Report, 2002). Although labour market insertion and education and training issues always had played a role in Mobile Youth Work, because being a key concern of youth life, it had not been the core among the variety of issues youth work had dealt with so far. Another aspect of the project idea was to use Mobile Youth Work as opportunity to access young people more easily than with standard labour market related counselling offers. The idea was developed in a co-operation between the City Council's youth administration and the Employment Service which is responsible for the government's Immediate Action Programme. The neighbourhoods to be included in the projects were chosen according to the number of young people being classified as having a special need for support in their transitions to the labour market – a definition which explicitly held structural reasons responsible for youth transition problems and not the young persons themselves. According to the City Council youth administration about 300 young people were reached in 2001. The 'Door-Openers' shared the premises of the youth drop-in centres. Therefore the way to access young men and women in the neighbourhoods was two-fold. Partly, the young people who were offered this new kind of service already had been 'regulars' at the drop-in centres. Another share of the target group was traced down from the drop-out records of the Employment Service and the Social Service administration. The lists with young people including address details which were to be offered counselling and guidance by the door-openers consisted of people who had formerly got in contact with either one of the two mentioned agencies, but had dropped out of the service for some reason. Due to the changes in the allocation of resources of the Immediate Action the Employment Service's funding was stopped by the end of 2001. Therefore the posts assigned to the different neighbourhood teams were re-structured and all 'Door-Openers' left the project. The new concept which is funded instead of the 'Door-Opener' approach by the City Council alone focuses on vocational guidance for students in the last years of lower secondary education ('Hauptschule'). So far, only a few perceptions of practitioners and local experts can be used to sketch the practical implications of this development. Agencies of Mobile Youth Work say

they partly can no longer keep up the contact to the age group ‘Door-Opener’ had reached due to a loss of knowledge of the local transition system and of professional support networks.

5.2.2 Analysis

Participation

The project features a specific combination of the different aspects of participation we have developed in our trans-national comparison: as process-related working principle, as more outcome-related objective: to develop the motivation of young people to actively shape their transitions and to have their say in the community surrounding them.

First of all, participation is seen as working principle which is at the bottom of the project’s overall rationale. ‘Without the active participation of the people coming to see us, we cannot work’ (Mobile, Zuffenhausen) – statements like this are recurring throughout all of the interviews with project workers, managers and officials. Helping young people to develop an active involvement in their own careers is backed up by the funding agency as one of the goals of the ‘Door-Opener’ approach:

Door-Opener in my opinion has the function of giving young people a go. Only if the young person (...) sees the necessity for himself to do something about his situation, counselling makes sense (Employment service, 91).

Besides the aspects of voluntary commitment which are a feature of every form of youth work, active participation is one of the core principles of the concept of Mobile Youth Work which is an explicit feature of the official work ethics, written down e.g. in the official ‘Guidelines to Mobile Youth Work’ as part of the working contract of each mobile youth worker. Young people can steer their commitment to the project almost completely on their own. Although some choose to take part only in very limited activities like one special event, the majority of participants take part in the project’s activities over a long period of time – nevertheless with individual patterns of particular usage over time. Most of our interviewees joined the project several years ago when they were attending lower secondary school.

While all these biography-related aspects are very prominent in the project workers view, all the participants relate the question of active participation rather to decision-making processes which rather are related to the group activities. This reflects the fact that youth work ‘sells’ itself primarily in terms of leisure while other topics are dealt with ‘by-the-way’. Young people reckon they could bring in own ideas only in a relatively set framework which is not questioned:

If we want to do something we make a plan together, and if the plan works out, fine, but if not, the workers come up and tell you what to do. That’s all right (Martin – Mobile – 18, male, 193)

Some respondents – especially girls – even say, project workers were not strict enough with imposing rules. Yet, they stress that this is their place, and that they are willing to take over responsibility for it:

If we want to start something together, then we will start it as a group. (...) if we don't commit ourselves completely to it, it is not going to happen. That's what we learn here, taking over responsibility (Martin – Mobile – 18, male, 195).

This kind of participation in group activities at a maximum reaches the level 6 on Hart's scale of participation ('adult initiated, shared decisions with youth', see Yoyo Working Paper 3.3, p. 37) which is comparably low. But, taking part in group activities is only one way of participating in the project on a large scale of activities and involvement young people can choose from. Correspondingly, in our interviews we have found a huge range of appropriation processes by young people. The range of uses the interviewees report about lasts from using it as an occasional and informal infrastructure, e.g. to write job applications and get advice and information, to using the drop-in centre as an everyday leisure facility where all kinds of needs can be integrated. While the first of these examples predominantly was found among interviewees belonging to the cluster labelled 'smooth transitions', the more intensive forms were found mostly with young men and women from the 'in-and-out' cluster.

On the biographical level, participation depends on the sensitivity the workers to handle the personal relationship towards the participants. The basic idea of the 'Door-Opener' project is to provide young people who have dropped out of other support structures with an individual counselling offer which would enable a personal and durable relationship between the young person and the professional throughout even protracted transition periods. This structure of offering their service without too much prerequisites on the participants' side is especially useful for the young people we have characterised in the 'in-and-out' cluster. They need a support structure which is reachable at any given time in their transition. But, the open character of the counselling setting allows for very different appropriation of the agency's support offers and thus, the young women we attributed to the 'smooth transitions' cluster at some points simply used the drop-in centre as an infrastructure providing them with access to the Internet or a computer for writing applications.

Trust is seen as the one crucial factor for the success of this agency. Therefore a couple of methods and conceptual frameworks are provided to facilitate the building up of mutual trust between the professional and the young person: without people's agreement no written records are kept, contents of the counselling process are strictly confidential, and decisions are made in a communication process between youth worker and young person, which makes a big difference to the practice of the Employment service. And indeed, our interview partners

clearly define their experience and the personal benefits from their participation in terms of their relationship to the project workers which they describe in terms of a primary social relationship:

If I need someone to talk to I have these two sweet girls here (Aylin – Mobile – 22, female, 31). Often, the family metaphor is used to express different aspects of their perception of the drop-in centre's work.

The youth centre is shit. But, here there is more cohesion, we know each other better. Like big family (Martin – Mobile – 18, male, 43).

Mutual expectations are formulated within a level of reciprocal relationships. The solidity and reliability of these personal relationships makes even criticism and confrontation possible:

When you told them, ok, after leaving school, I just want to do nothing, then they told you, that this was no good, then you would live on the expenses of your parents and that would not be cool (Felicitas – Mobile – 18, female, 236).

The drawback of the character of these relationships can be analysed with regard to Orkan's case, who currently dares not to seek advice from the project again:

[name of worker] always told me, here is my private mobile phone number, you can call me at any time (...) But I feel ashamed a little bit (...) For me, now it's like, I am a father now, I am an adult, I can't come up with another indictment any more (Orkan – Mobile – 22, male, 155).

Motivation

The set of methods applied in mobile youth work allows for very individual ways young people can get access to the project which range on a scale from no commitment to high engagement. The framework set by the project facilitates motivating learning experiences:

That you learn for yourself how to make decisions, to plan and organise something yourself (Martin – Mobile – 18, male, 197).

This experience of setting up something themselves is especially important for young people who are viewed even within their own neighbourhood community as trouble-makers who just hang around. Motivation of service users in the sense of taking up the opportunities the project has to offer therefore is gained through the openness of the setting which does not require much commitment or obligation by the participants, but starts from their everyday life in peer groups and in the streets:

You would come here for the girls' club and so on, just to have a place where you could go when you got bored (Aylin – Mobile – 22, female, 27).

'Counter-experience' is a term often used by the project workers to describe the kind of mechanisms the project applies to break the circles of de-motivation most of the young people have suffered from during their educational and vocational career. This term reflects very well the experiences the young people we interviewed reported about. Being taken seriously, being

accepted as a person were often mentioned as being unique compared to their experiences with other institutions.

Participation – motivation

The motivation gained by these empowering experiences cannot be attributed solely to the participatory nature of the project. But, there are many hints in the biographical narratives of the young respondents that without the trustful relationships to the youth workers they would never have accepted to reflect their personal situation with someone else. These relationships are based on the prerequisite of letting the young people be in complete control of the support they get. This implies that the outcomes of such processes are less predictable than in other settings. But, the project seems to be very successful in keeping this fragile balance between taking up only what the young people are prepared to bring in and setting very small incentives for biographical reflection and development. The overall learning objective from the project managers' side therefore is formulated as supporting and securing a certain biographical space which is not available to young people with only basic schooling:

We as society concede a lot of experimenting to those leaving higher education, but perhaps at 16, I don't want to know exactly what to do for the next three years, but maybe I want to try out working and then go back to training, and see what opportunities will rise then. (...) This is an important background of 'door-opener', career-planning or whatever you call it. Where are the legitimate possibilities for a young person of 18 to say, I don't want to do anything at the moment, I just want to have some small unsteady jobs, and maybe in a year's time I will come back and see (City Council, youth administration officer, 76).

As a consequence, Mobile Youth Work tries to provide a 'safe environment' to enable such experimenting and refuses to clearly define the learning objectives of the project as to surmount individual deficits:

It is for all those who for some reason got stuck in their careers, be it at the beginning when they just have left school, be it at 23 when they say, ok, I have wasted quite a bit of my time, but now I want to see what I can make out of my life (City Council, youth administration, 92).

This seems like the most important asset of the project: to require as little commitment by its participants to be able to provide them with a new chance at whatever point in their biography the motivation needs to be supported by someone.

The basic idea of 'Door-Opener' was to combine the individual counselling process with the methods already present in the drop-in centres. For some young people who took part in the door-opener project, this worked out because they had been visiting the drop-in centres for a long time already. For the other (smaller) share of 'Door-Opener' users, who did not have this background, access to such group activities was not so easy and could only be developed in some single cases. But, also for those young men and women who did not participate in group

activities, the informal character of the offices and the institution as a whole were an important motivational factor:

One could imagine that the Employment Service would organise outreach work themselves, they could say, let's have an 'agency of the lost', (...) but what definitely would not work out would be the context, the local neighbourhood net of colleagues. And the kids who came to see the 'door-openers', even if they never had been in contact with mobile youth work before, they saw, it's ok, there is other young people there, it's about leisure time, as well. It is not all about me and what I should do and what I am unable to do. (...) It makes a big difference if you come to an office which is used as a café by other youths. You get a completely different chance of defining yourself in that situation compared to coming to an office: good afternoon, six p.m. flat, I have an appointment, and good-bye again (Caritas manager, project organisation responsible, 85-87).

In this way, the project succeeds in breaking up one of the major criticism which is raised against most of youth support schemes: that they exclude a huge share of their own target group by requiring young people's own recognition of their need for support and the motivation for training and education. Mobile youth work does not require either of the two, and therefore provides opportunities of getting support for a share of young people who do not participate in other forms of training.

Learning and biographic progression

The open biographical approach applied by the project is backed up by the funding authority:

Our goal with this approach was to make transitions more secure, to avoid ruptures, like for example dropping out of schemes (...) if someone drops out to give him or her assistance to plan his or her way through the transition system" (City Council, youth administration officer, 72).

While this statement clearly focuses on the presumed labour market outcomes of the project, the professionals insist on a holistic biographical view of young people's learning processes:

The origin of the project here was a gang of young people who were getting into trouble with the police very often. And we asked ourselves, what is behind all this? And we recognized immediately, that in the end it (the criminalisable behaviour, A.P.) had its roots in the relationship between the young people wanting to work and the lack of perspectives for themselves. If you feel worth nothing you sooner or later will pass on this feeling to others (Mobile Hallschlag, 15).

Some of our young interviewees present their life story since the end of compulsory school as turning points in terms of having become more mature and caring more about one's future (see 4.). An important finding on the topic of learning though is that respondents most of the time do not refer to the term 'learning' when talking about changes in their lives and attitudes. They frequently make up a balance of things they do differently compared to some years ago, such as what can be interpreted as social competence:

They tell you how to make a phone call, you can't just say 'looking for a job', (...) [name of project worker] tells you 'you have to talk this and that way to them, even if he's nasty with you, you have to find a way' (Fadila – Mobile – 20, female 512).

The respondents make a clear difference between the learning experiences in the Mobile project and other contexts:

Many people tell you, you have to do it that way [lead your life], anyhow, you have got something different in your own mind (Natascha – Mobile – 19, female, 520).

If our interviewees stress their role as under-achiever and trouble-maker in school, this is often related to reports of peer group dynamics. Especially, the young men in Stuttgart often attribute their negative school career with the bad influence their peers have had on them.

In general, peer groups have been an important point of reference for all interviewees. Besides the negative evaluation of their peers' influence, emotional support by peers plays an important role. Non-formal forms of learning are playing a key role in the concept of mobile youth work. Natural settings like meeting points of young people in the neighbourhood or peer groups are used as the basics for enhancing and facilitating informal learning processes. Supporting group dynamics to enhance the development of social competencies is one major part of this concept.

Another aspect of informal learning is mentioned by one of the project managers: some of the young people have completely resigned from getting a job or a training. 'Door-opener' managed to get these people out of their apathy because it is sometimes the only person with whom the young people can talk about the reasons for their frustration:

Where in society do our kids have the opportunity to reflect upon the demands they have to face when they have left school? To reflect together with somebody else. Young people need a place to act out this clash, why do you need an upper secondary certificate to work in a bakery? They need a concrete person to talk about this injustice, and maybe later on they see, ok, this is unjust, but it is like that and I have to look for another opportunity. But, if they only have to face this anonymous demand, they have no chance to cope with it productively. All that comes out is that he or she takes this as a personal offense by society (Caritas manager, project organisation responsible, 171-177).

This learning process comprises the evaluation of the young person's personal situation which is facilitated in this informal setting. There is no institution that confronts young people in an acceptable way with an evaluation of their chances and opportunities, and this is analysed as one cause for frustration and dis-engagement:

What these young people often are lacking is a realistic evaluation of their actual opportunities. In secondary school, as a student, you must the impression that everything is possible. And the shock of reality after school comes in a very abstract way with no relationship to a concrete person, and then they realise they're alone now (Caritas manager, project organisation responsible, 183).

Another aspect of informality is the informalization of control. Youth workers emphasize the difference between the control executed by formal institutions and the informal control executed by mobile youth workers:

It is a huge difference whether you have direct access to young people's life worlds or not. (...) If someone does not appear at the workplace for two days he will get sacked. But, we at the neighbourhood have the opportunity to avoid such a situation. For example, I would usually walk into my office here and ask people: did person xy walk by the window this morning, and when they said, no, he didn't, I walked immediately up to his frontdoor, ringing his door-bell and ask him, hey why did you not go to work? And thus we could avoid that people got sacked too quickly (Mobile Hallschlag, 234).

Recognition of informally acquired skills is very limited in the German transition system. Therefore the main aim of the 'Door-Opener' project was not the official recognition of these skills on the labour market, but rather raising the awareness among young people about their (sometimes hidden) skills and capabilities by providing them with opportunities to experience themselves in various contexts:

Take the example of waiting: some of them are doing a lot of jobs like that, and at the end of the year, or at whatever time, he or she thinks of doing something else. We should think of possibilities of how to analyse all the skills he or she has acquired in this job (City Council, youth administration officer, 84).

To make young people themselves aware of what they gained through informal forms of learning is part of the biographical reflexivity they can gain from their participation. As this project cannot directly influence young people's transitions into the labour market by providing them with a qualification, the project's 'indirect' influence on learning biographies has to be traced back by re-constructing the learning biographies in their wider context. From the follow-up interviews, Martin and Orkan have taken a different development. While Orkan – in spite of his finding a stable job – was suffering from a psychological crisis at the moment of the interview, Martin managed to maintain his apprenticeship post – among other things because of the support he got from the project:

When I had trouble, I came here, they told, maybe you could do it that way or that way, (...) maybe then it would be less trouble for you (Martin – Mobile – 18, male, 177).

Although tangible biographic outcomes of their participation in the project are seldom, some respondents like Fadila stress the motivation boosts they get from it:

If Mobile would not exist, I still would be unemployed. I would have left my affairs unattended if [name of project worker] had not been there. I knew she would always be there for me (Fadila – Mobile – 20, female, 258).

One of the central motivational points about Mobile which is stressed by several interviewees is the feeling that 'someone cares':

If nobody cares actively about you, you really get the impression that nobody gives a shit whether I got something [apprenticeship, job] or not. That is what I experienced at that time [after dropping out of an apprenticeship] (Aylin – Mobile – 22, female, 79).

They relate their own motivation to being seen as a valuable individual which is in sharp contrast to their experiences in other contexts, and sometimes also at home:

Because I got that feeling from my family [that nobody cares] I shat on everything (Aylin – Mobile – 22, female, 87).

The relationship between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation becomes very clear in the personal story of Orkan who was on a criminal rather than a training and employment career. After his second time in prison he is bought out of jail by his parents, then picked up and coached by Mobile Youth Work in cooperation with a vocational youth assistance project in order to

improve his chances at court. He accepts that being in vocational training would improve his chances – though he is quite sure that he does not want to be in and to complete training:

Then an enterprise took me on, they had known about my story ... they were able to deal with it, and then I first made a two-week-stage, they liked me, I liked the enterprise, I started the training. (...) and then it started after the first half a year, that I couldn't be buggered. Thought, now I have to continue until the date at the court is over, and then I dismiss. For the first, I worked, then came (the) date of the court, that was lucky! Seven months over! Seven months, I thought, ok, two months more, then you dismiss. And then the two months also passed, then I said to myself, come on, end of the year there is a bonus, three thousand Marks, take it, and then say good-bye. And then I got the first year exam, then I got the three thousand Marks bonus, then I thought: You cannot do that, now you are for one year there, now you stay a little more, and so it dragged out, then next exams, second year of training, then I entered the third year, now I cannot stop, now I got it until here, I say: yeah, ok. And the longer I was there, the more my interest grew. To make a good qualification, to really be there (Orkan – Mobile – 22, male, 360).

He relates this biographical change clearly with the support he has got from the project:

It is really good that there are people like those from the 'Mobile', because I would say, without them (...) I would not have got it together, and for sure I wouldn't have got an apprenticeship place. I surely would have done bird again (jail). They always encouraged me, and said, you will get it (...) And I say, these people really are great (Orkan – Mobile – 22, male, 377).

These statements can be interpreted as an evidence for the adequacy of modularised training by which individuals can shape their own training process according to subjective user value (which however is a taboo in Germany because undermining the dominant vocational structure of work and training). And they represent the two extremes of general evaluations of the respondents' experience in the Mobile Youth Work project. On the one hand, they clearly see that Mobile cannot cure their weak position on the training and labour market. On the other hand they can get support over a long period of time coming back if necessary.

6. Common evaluation of case studies

Looking at the two quite different case study projects, success of course reveals to be a heterogeneous issue. In this paragraph we start with some remarks case by case, and only then then will try to integrate these findings more and more in an overall evaluation.

6.1 Evaluation of success by young people, project workers and funders

Success in the case of *LaSilhouette* is split – according to the double-structure of the project - between the formal level – e.g. good school marks, holding out a 3 year apprenticeship, passing successfully the exam, getting afterwards a qualified job – and the biographical level – progressing in personal growth, self-esteem and competences. These two levels are stressed by the young women as well as by the project workers and funders, but with different

weightings: in the participants' voices, both levels are mixed, e.g. in expressions concerning future, which – with the help of the project – now had moved closer and opened up. In the project workers' view, success in their work with young women means re-gaining lust for life, personal standing, motivation to engage in the own life, self-esteem. Training serves as a learning field to achieve this – and of course as something indispensable to proceed in the German system, especially for young women in an insecure social and legal situation. Related to the project work, there is an additional success criterion for project workers, referring to provide young migrant women with a stable residence permit, which is granted only with completed training. In the view of the Ciyt Council representative the main success criterion also is personal stabilisation, but much more linked with the achievement of key competencies as punctuality, adequate coping with conflicts etc. While the project workers aim at empowerment and self-consciousness, she has a more adaptive attitude in mind.

In *Stuttgart*, the City Council youth administration as the funder of the project as well as the Employment Service are well aware of the 'openness' as one particularity of the project. Consequently, they define success of the project as 'reaching' young people who had lost contact with official support agencies before. While funders couple this criterion with the hope that institutional gaps and 'black holes' in the support system can be closed to make the transition system more efficient, project workers rather insist on the holistic character of the project by defining success rather in terms of a gain in personal reflexivity of the young persons and to empower them to make deliberate choices in their transitions than in terms of 'smoothening' labour market insertion.

The young people themselves are well aware of the benefits they get from using the service, and contrast this with what they have experienced with other transition institutions. But, they, similarly to the youth workers, underline the claim for support in every respect of their lives, thus confirming that this quality of support is decisive to get access to its addressees.

These different levels of success reflect what these projects can achieve in principle: They, as far as can be evaluated, enable young people for developing sustainable biographic progress, although in this regard the key difference is that the structure of *LaSilhouette, Munich* allows to provide both personal learning and recognised qualifications, while the possibilities of *Mobile Youth Work, Stuttgart* are limited to personal learning and individual coaching in case of application for training or job search, and even this, to a certain extent, as a side-product. There are four main routes to do this biographically orientated work, in which the two projects set their specific focus:

First, they start from a structural view of young people's transition problems caused by structures of segmentation, refusing the individualising deficit-oriented interpretation of disadvantage dominating the German transition system. This is especially important to prevent that risks and ascriptions of failure 'in-and-out'-trajectories are not reinforced. *Second*, they open up space for biographic options – here, especially *LaSilhouette* in Munich has its strength, by offering young women a clear and acknowledged entrance ticket for the labour market thus allowing for relatively 'smooth' trajectories for young women who otherwise would have more difficulties. In Stuttgart (*Mobile Youth Work*), this can be only done by counselling and providing for working experiences, but not as a comparable and reliable element of support. This relative structural weakness however allows that young – across different clusters – appropriate support according to individual need. *Third*, they give strength to structures of relevance and create worlds of meaning. Particularly for young people with 'negative school experiences' this means an opportunity to reorientate. In this regard, *Mobile Youth Work* project enfold its specific strengths: it is very sensitive in acknowledging existing relevance structures to get access to young people, and slightly tries to integrate new issues of relevance. *LaSilhouette* instead much more sets a framework of relevance, in order to provide its participants with new horizons (group solidarity, female strength etc.). *Fourth*, they contribute to young people – across all clusters – improving their coping skills and strategies with regard to transition problems – yet according to different scopes of intervention, both projects are very successful in delivering the respective resources, both using the learning potentials of participation.

Focussing on the individual biographies both projects are (or have been) effective in changing respectively developing structures of the local transition system: *La Silhouette* has created – by means of professional contacts and the former participants – a professional transition network structure, which is not only useful for its own trainees, but also has an impact for other young women in this segment of the labour market. In Stuttgart previous achievements such as the creation of a work experience in the neighbourhood (STAR) or the 'door openers' promoting a local networking of professionals have been stopped on the political level.

6.2 Critique by young people, project workers and funders

Interestingly, what we have identified as the specific strengths of the both projects is reflected by the critique of young people: they clearly pick out the weak points of each project structure: In Stuttgart, the lack of concrete biographical options is clearly pointed out by the young people themselves:

This [talking] was the only thing they could offer to us (Fadila – Mobile – 20, female, 26).

Anyhow, you have to cope with the labour market situation alone, what use is this all? (Orkan – Mobile – 22, male, 331).

If attention is the only thing the youth workers can offer, this surely becomes a contended resource. Therefore, some groups complain about the dominance of others – thus pointing to the general problem, that with limited resources of course it cannot offer a drop-in-centre for all groups in the neighbourhood and be open for their very different relevance structures.

In Munich, participants also clearly point to some inherent problems, related with the framework of relevance, the project provides. Doing this, the project cannot completely escape from the problem of stigmatisation, which is shown by the active stigma-management of Dani, who as one of the very few German participants felt very strange among the group of ‘disadvantaged’ and who – also through the interview – insists on LaSilhouette being a training ‘enterprise’ and not a ‘project’. This is linked with the project’s internal ideology of ‘family’ or sisterhood as one main topic for providing relevance, which not always fits to the individual state, but can be experienced as artificial; the same accounts for the project’s discussion culture, which can be experienced as – beyond all its positive aspects – as stressful and annoying, above all in psychical crisis. But also in LaSilhouette participants clearly identify the main structural problem, consisting in the work overload of project workers:

Sometimes I simply think, that she (the project leader) works herself into the ground (...) that she is sitting there in the evening god knows how long, and also in the weekends, to help to solve all people’s problems and to help everybody, and to show what’s the best solution, and sometimes I think she really would need a little bit more rest (Mona – LaSilhouette – 17, female, 303-305).

Interestingly, this is even recognised by the representative of the City Council welfare administration – but as she is the weakest in the chain, she can only do her job in promoting the project, in order to secure the level of funding. This weak position is underlined by the fact that the City of Munich is not legally obliged to fund such projects. The project workers themselves complain about being always regarded as a well-equipped project, whilst workload has grown extremely, e.g. because of restructuring of official responsibilities, because of more severe residence regulations, because of a labour market which also in Munich has become more confined, especially for vulnerable group. This means: what has been a sufficient level of funding in former years is far from being sufficient today, and due to the same factors the project itself has neither time nor energy to apply for extra funding.

6.3 General evaluation

Interestingly, in both cases strength and weaknesses go neatly along which each other: In Stuttgart, the highly customisable personal relationships and the mutual trust as a basis for

their work is a strength and a weak point at the same time (see for example Orkan). In the case of LaSilhouette, even the representative of the funding authority clearly sees the high engagement of project workers at the same time as the biggest factor of success and as the most vulnerable point:

It is simply the spirit of the project, and the energy of its pedagogues, why the project is so unique. But one has to say, that they always work on the highest level. And there are times, where they fall ill, where I notice, it becomes too much for them. This engagement is unique, I never have experienced such a thing. (City Council, welfare administration officer, 49).

Paradoxically, it is exactly this quality of support, which let us talk about ‘best practice’ projects, which sets the projects constantly under pressure – in the case of Stuttgart by the threat of being instrumentalised within a one-sided understanding of transition policy, in the case of Munich by producing a chronic lack of funding respectively personnel cover.

Further development of projects: perspectives and obstacles

In the case of *Munich*, above all more resources as regards personnel and funding are needed. This refers to one weakness deriving from the total dependency of one public funding authority; this dependency is even higher, as there is no legal obligation to fund a project which is directed to those with unclear or insecure status of residence. Although the funding authority stands behind the project, and although they recognize their own interest:

The City of Munich benefits from their work, because most of these women most probably will stay here, and otherwise would depend on social assistance and this money we could save by training these women. They afterwards have a chance on the labour market, in any case. We need qualified women! (representative of the funding authority: 71-73)

The continuing struggle for survival is the main obstacle for being more successful. Another obstacle linked with this funding situation derives from the fact, that the project workers had founded a new association (see section 3), which is too small to cover eventual deficits, it is in a disadvantageous position compared to bigger organisations with different projects, with access to different funding structures and stronger flows of money.

In 2001 (..) for the first time in the history of the Atelier LaSilhouette we didn’t know if and how we could continue, and were forced to think about closing down in the next two years (..) The expected amount of the deficit highly surmounted the economic capacities (..) only because of our efforts and the extraordinary engagement of the political decision-makers it has been possible to think in the dimension of the next years (Annual report of 2001:3).

At the same time the workload and the dependency on the efforts and identification of key persons (like the charismatic project leader) in the mid- or long-term perspective have also to be seen as a limitation of continuity (and transferability) as this level of personal investment can not be taken for granted in case of change of staff.

In *Stuttgart* discontinuity is a major obstacle already present: network resources which have been built up by the former ‘door-openers’ could not be picked up by the new structure which

is located at schools, and therefore important network facilities broke down with the top-down ordered change of concept. And also in former times, there have been breaks in funding, which are even more counter-productive in a setting, which depends on keeping contact to young people over a long period of time. The inherent obstacle therefore is, that this work needs continuity in personnel and networks, in order to stay in contact with young people and to let them benefit from a broad support structure. For being more successful, the specific quality of this approach needs to be acknowledged by guaranteeing personnel continuity.

Other obstacles result from changes in target groups respectively the topics and problems they bring with them: in *Munich*, there is a notable increase of existential problems of the addressees, which from time to time absorb all energy, namely problems resulting from traumatic experiences related with flight and migration or with the family of origin. In the quality management process demands and working areas emerging from this worsening of problems and from the simultaneity of manifold problems at least are made visible. This synopsis calls for additional funding in a multitude of areas. In *Stuttgart*, Mobile Youth Work defines its target groups according to politically negotiated needs definitions on a neighbourhood base. This means that the main age groups each drop-in centre is aiming at is subject to local constellations of life situations of young people and institutional resources available – and to change. Therefore most drop-in centres have a clear main target group between 14 and 18 years of age. With the additional resources won through the ‘Door-Opener’ funding they could maintain their support offer to young adults beyond that age groups. The additional resources also had lead to an increase in labour market related networking activities, a quality service which cannot be maintained without these resources. Both projects show the dilemma of depending on *local policies*. On the one side, they have considerably more freedom and space to develop their work for and together with the young people concerned. On the other side, they are easily affected by political change and the budget constraints which on the local level are even worse than nationally.

Influences of current policies on case study agencies

Although being highly acknowledged and being well linked to labour market structures with good records of insertion, *La Silhouette*, as indicated by its involvement in the quality management process, is increasingly forced to legitimate its work and to defend its integrated approach. While perfectly meeting professional standards of effective social work this holistic view is not the political trend. Not astonishingly, none of its elements is financed by the labour administration, but by currently the weakest member of the chain of possible funders: the City Council.

In *Stuttgart*, the closing down of the service ‘Door-opener’ can be seen as standing in a wider political trend to conceive transition-related policies in terms of ‘employability’ and ‘activation’. This trend has to do with the administrative and political structure of transition-related policies in Germany. At the moment, the Employment Service as one political actor is reducing its engagement to policies with a narrowly defined relationship to the labour market focusing on bringing people into any jobs while in the past the guiding principle has been ‘training for all’. This goes along with a shifting of responsibilities back to the local level of youth and welfare administrations (see above).

Interestingly, not only youth workers do insist on voluntary participation as indispensable prerequisite for active involvement, but also the interviewed Employment Service officer who in principle agrees to the principles of a workfare approach says that coercion should never be part of a support concept for young people. At the beginning of the project, the Welfare Administration had the intention to punish those young people who refused to collaborate with the ‘Door-Opener’ with a reduction of their social benefits. But, the welfare organisations behind ‘Door-opener’ refused to implement such a concept.

7. Conclusions

According to our analyses, both projects are very competent and sensitive in creating a participatory climate, where – i.e. by informal learning – motivation can be promoted or re-discovered, even if young people have been highly disengaged by demotivating experiences. They therefore provide at a crucial stage of these young people’s transitions the appropriate kind of support, thus preventing young people from totally disengaging, and instead facilitating turning points in their motivational careers.

Both projects negotiate very competently with institutional or systemic demands, taking into account the normalities of the German system – LaSilhouette by setting up a different framework for training, the Stuttgart project by integrating support for professional orientation in their holistic approach –, without losing biographies and their individuality out of sight. Instead, they are characterised by dealing on both levels – systemic/structural and biographic. From a research perspective, it needs to be highlighted that exactly those factors, which are decisive for their success, lead to structural dilemmas: in Munich, it is exactly the far-reaching support provided for individual needs which produces a chronic overload of work and a lack of finance. In Stuttgart, exactly the success in getting access to disengaged young people is provoking the danger of being instrumentalised and by this losing the basis of trust as the inevitable fundamentals for effective support.

7.1 Recommendations on political and policy level

The main political conclusion to be gained from the case study on *Mobile Youth Work*, Stuttgart, is that outreach approaches are a very efficient means to reach young people who have been frustrated by their prior experiences with support structures or who do not have the consciousness of their problems yet. But, as our results show, the success of this approach – as of every counselling approach – in terms of tangible progress in the direction of labour market integration depends to a large share to the quality and quantity of biographic options offered by local and regional labour markets and education and training offers available. Our findings clearly warn against a merely technological appropriation of this kind of service by social policies because the success of the case study agency depends on a fragile combination of conditions; especially relationships between workers and young people which are based on trust. The same accounts to a training provider like *LaSilhouette* in Munich, which cannot be reduced to labour market insertion, because it would not be successful in this regard without the whole range of support and the broad offer of learning experiences in which training is embedded. Evaluation oriented to economic management is no appropriate means for measuring success, because it does not take into account the necessity of such support, linked to more visible or ‘countable’ issues as counselling hours and training elements. As we have worked out, the quality of these projects exactly stems from the more silent or implicit elements, as participatory climate, informal learning, motivating experiences.

Such balances of success factors are especially endangered if the approach is burdened with elements of workfare policies like disincentives coupled to the counselling process or the like. What’s more, if the participative and volunteer character of the *Mobile Youth Work* approach are mitigated in any way, approaches which are highly embedded into young people's life worlds easily can become sophisticated control instruments – without the benefit resulting from the trustful relationships between young service users and professionals this service's success is built upon – or even with the risk to lose this basis for work. And if *LaSilhouette* would be forced to modify a cautiously balanced support structure, those who need exactly this support will fall out with a high risk of social exclusion. Therefore, success standards have to be established which take into account the biographical value of such support structures, which means: paying attention to turning points in young peoples transitions, and valuating every kind of intervention as successful, which – in the shorter or longer run – might prevent young people from disengaging in their transition biography. And in this regard the use of the motivational potential of participation might be promising, if not decisive.

7.2 Comparison and transfer of findings

Both case studies are resulting from and are answering to the general change of transitions, which for their targets groups works out in terms of ‘forced *yo-yo-transitions*’ (see Walther, Stauber et al 2002). For this, they are interesting for comparison with similar contexts of policies dealing with such forced yoyo-trajectories. They can be seen as outstanding inasmuch they have developed a high level of *reflexivity* with regard to the complex interplay of systemic and subjective aspects of social integration central to young people’s transitions.

LaSilhouette from the beginning had adapted to the German normality in which a training certificate is the indispensable entrance ticket not only to qualified work, but also to citizenship for young women whose biographies due to their migration backgrounds consisted already of considerable yo-yo-structures and a high risk of social exclusion. At the same time the project is aware of the limitations of formal training, and tries to replace the resulting frustration potential by a totally different climate of participation and non-formal education. It therefore uses the formal advantages of training and combines them with the potentials of a participatory and solidary learning setting. It therefore provides for a double-sided success, on a biographic level (biographicity) as well as on a formal one, which nevertheless is crucial for biographic progress. This combination of adaption to systemic demands and biographic orientation might be promising also in different national contexts, although this kind of support is a big effort, moreover under limited conditions regarding workforce and funding. This ‘personal factor’ needs to be underlined as a limitation to transfer, or at least requiring special attention to the creation of professional identification and providing sufficient staff.

Mobile Youth Work is an approach which is highly adapted to modern yo-yo transitions. The counselling approach is highly participative due to three core features: *firstly*, its low standard of organisational formalisation results in a low threshold of access for young people and leaves the definition of the issues which are worked upon by the service to them. *Secondly*, the thematic openness of the service takes the interrelatedness and unstructured nature of today's transitions into account. Accordingly, young people are to a large extent in control of when and to what purpose they seek advice and support. This, as our findings have shown, often results in long lasting supportive relationships which enable young people to get the appropriate support for different biographical situations. And *thirdly*, the service does not define success according to labour market integration or other set objectives, but leaves this definition up to a negotiation process between professionals and the young service users. This makes counselling processes extremely reflective – even with the danger of low outcomes in

terms of change of attitude on the young people's side. The outcomes of such processes in such cases are less tangible than in directly labour market targeted support structures, but in the cases we have studied result in a high degree of biographic reflexivity on the side of the benefiting young persons.

To summarise, we can say that the transferable aspect of this counselling approach is that it is supporting young people over a longer period of time to make more informed life choices instead of orienting them to superficial labour market integration. The informal biography-related learning processes enabled and instigated by this arrangement depend to a large degree on the participatory nature of the setting itself.

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Annex: List of expert interviews

[abbreviations used in the text in brackets]:

Case Study 1:

1. The project leader (female)
2. The organisational manager of the project (female)
3. The master for training (female)
4. A representative of the dressmaker's guild (female)
5. The responsible of the funding institution (social department) (female)
6. A careers adviser of the employment service (female)
7. The director of a lower secondary school (male)

Case Study 2:

1. a youth worker (male) and the manager of one outreach or drop-in centre in the Stuttgart-Hallschlag (male) neighbourhood [Mobile Hallschlag]
2. a female youth worker of the drop-in centre at Zuffenhausen, another neighbourhood in Stuttgart [Mobile Zuffenhausen]
3. a (male) representative of the charity organisation who is the formal superior manager of the agencies and who "invented" the project [Caritas manager]
4. a (female) official from the youth administration of the City of Stuttgart who is responsible for the planning of city-wide support structures for youth transitions and who has had major influence on the development of the project [youth administration officer]
5. a counsellor from a short term-job and placement agency ("JobConnections") run by the same charity organisation as the project and one of the major co-operation partners of the latter [JobConnections]
6. the co-ordinator for youth affairs of the Employment Service [E.S. officer]

Nr.	Titel	AutorInnen	Datum
Nr. 1-2007	Youth – Actor of Social Change. Theoretical reflections on young people's agency in comparative perspective. Interim discussion paper for the UP2YOUTH project.	Axel Pohl, Barbara Stauber & Andreas Walther	Oktober 2007
Nr. 1-2006	Lebenslanges Lernen - ein Konzept zum Abbau der Benachteiligung von Jugendlichen?	Axel Pohl	Dezember 2006
Nr. 1-2005	Thematic Study on Policy Measures concerning Disadvantaged Youth. Final report	Andreas Walther & Axel Pohl	Dezember 2005
Nr. 1-2004	Trust, space, time and opportunities Case study report on participation and non-formal education in the support for young people in transitions to work in West-Germany	Axel Pohl & Barbara Stauber	Februar 2004
Nr. 1-2003	Participation and Informal Learning in Young Peoples Transitions to Work. Joint Analysis Report for the YOYO project	Morena Cuconato, Corina Laasch, Gabriele Lenzi & Andreas Walther	April 2003
Nr. 4-2002	Families and Transitions in Germany. National Report for the Project 'Families and Transitions in Europe' for Germany	Jutta Goltz, Barbara Stauber, Andreas Walther & Simone Menz	April 2002
Nr. 3-2002	Ehemalige Sindelfinger HauptschülerInnen im Übergang in die Arbeitswelt. Ergebnisse der Längsschnittuntersuchung zum beruflichen Verbleib von HauptschulabsolventInnen in Sindelfingen	Wolfgang Carl, Axel Pohl & Sabine Schneider	April 2002
Nr. 2-2002	Chancengleichheit von (jungen) Frauen und Männern am Übergang von der Schule zum Beruf bei der Einrichtung von lokalen Netzwerken für Beschäftigung. Endbericht	Gunter Neubauer, Sabine Riescher & Reinhard Winter	März 2002
Nr. 1-2002	Youth Transitions, Youth Policy and Participation. State of the Art Report for the YOYO project	Andreas Walther, Gry Moerch Hejl, Torben Bechmann Jensen With the assistance of Amanda Hayes	März 2002
Nr. 2-2001	Transitions to work, youth policies and 'participation' in Germany. National report for the YOYO project	Andreas Walther, Barbara Stauber, Axel Pohl & Holger Seifert	November 2001
Nr. 1-2001	Abschlußbericht zum deutschen Teil des Projektes INTEMIGRA	Jutta Goltz, Gebhard Stein unter der Mitarbeit von Sarina Ahmed & Friedemann Bär	Oktober 2001
Nr. 2-2000	Beratung sozialer Netzwerke im Dritten Sektor: Beschäftigung für (benachteiligte) Jugendliche in der Jugend- und Sozialarbeit. Abschlussbericht	Anne Schwarz, Barbara Stauber & Andreas Walther	Dezember 2000
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