MANCHESTER
1824
The University of Manchester

Reshaping conceptions of citizenship? German Business sector engagement and refugee integration

DOI:
10.1080/13621025.2021.1873916

Document Version
Accepted author manuscript

Link to publication record in Manchester Research Explorer

Citation for published version (APA):
Müller, T. R. (2021). Reshaping conceptions of citizenship? German Business sector engagement and refugee integration. *Citizenship Studies*, *25*(3), 409-425. https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2021.1873916

Published in:
Citizenship Studies

Citing this paper
Please note that where the full-text provided on Manchester Research Explorer is the Author Accepted Manuscript or Proof version this may differ from the final Published version. If citing, it is advised that you check and use the publisher's definitive version.

General rights
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the Research Explorer are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Takedown policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please refer to the University of Manchester's Takedown Procedures [http://man.ac.uk/04Y6Bo] or contact uml.scholarlycommunications@manchester.ac.uk providing relevant details, so we can investigate your claim.

Download date:22. Mar. 2025

Paper accepted to be published in *Citizenship Studie*s
DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Reshaping conceptions of citizenship? German Business sector engagement and refugee integration

Tanja R. Müller, Global Development Institute, University of Manchester

Abstract: In a global climate where refugees are increasingly seen as a threat to national security, the business sector has become a key actor at the forefront of engagement with refugee populations. A pertinent example is the case of Germany. When German chancellor Angela Merkel opened borders for refugees in the summer of 2015, many German companies regarded her move as a welcome way to overcome labour shortages and future demographic bottle-necks. In turn, business leaders became key actors in the development of integration policies. This paper discusses if business sector engagement with refugee integration in Germany through the *Wir Zusammen* [We Together] initiative has resulted in altered conceptions of citizenship as practiced in everyday encounters. Focusing on business engagement through providing apprenticeships or other work opportunities, the paper demonstrates that the business sector can indeed play an important role in transforming refugee lives more broadly, beyond labour market participation.

Keywords: citizenship – business sector - refugees – integration - Germany

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Introduction

When German chancellor Angela Merkel reacted against the advice of many in her government, allowing refugees stranded at German borders and beyond to enter for a brief period in the summer of 2015, she arguably followed universal conceptions of rights instead of narrow national security concerns. Some – rather incorrectly and cynically I would argue - have critiqued the decision by Merkel as based on a 'headless heart' that not only threw the Schengen area of passport-free travel into chaos, but acted as an incentive for educated and skilled Syrian refugees in particular to come to Germany, thereby depriving Syria of skilled labour in the future (Betts and Collier 2017).

This assertion not only ignores the fact that skilled Syrians have been living in exile for decades due to the oppressive policies of various Syrian governments, governments that have continued to monitor these exiles abroad and through this surveillance prevented sustained diaspora networks, and the contributions of such networks to economic and social development in Syria (Khalifa 2017; Moss 2018). It also overstates the skill status of many refugees, including those from Syria, even if among the latter were a disproportionate high number with vocational skills or a university education. But few of these skills were corresponding to German labour market requirements. In addition, among the refugees who had required skills on paper, actual knowledge and expertise, in addition to German language skills, were often missing. An employer representative explains: 'If you have a Syrian engineer who has studied in Homs for the last five years, what will he have learned realistically under conditions of war? We thus have to do some competence testing, and study certificates are irrelevant here, but that is often hard to understand for refugees, that

their qualification papers do not matter' (interview, manager of a company offering refugee apprenticeships, Berlin, 28 January 2019).

Still, many German companies regarded Merkel's move as one way to overcome labour shortages and future demographic bottle-necks (Bergfeld 2017; Juran and Broer 2017). The latter had long been identified as a key challenge for Germany that could only be addressed by increased recruitment of labour from outside the European Union (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2015). What became, rather misleadingly, referred to as the 'refugee-crisis' (Bojadžijev 2018),[1] could thus serve as an important milestone on the way towards greater acceptance of such recruitment, while at the same time demonstrate the capability of German society to 'welcome' these new citizens into mainstream society.

Whilst Merkel's decision has suffered from a political backlash since, not least visible in the big gains of a right-wing anti-immigration party, the *Alternative for Germany* (AfD), in general elections in September 2017 (Otto and Steinhardt 2017), and increasing strength of the party in regional elections and other political fora, the response of wider German society was always based on two competing conceptions: xenophobia on the one hand, and *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcome) on the other (Benček and Strasheim 2016; Trauner and Turton 2017).

Germany has meanwhile adopted much more restrictive policies vis-à-vis newly arrived refugees, and a new 2016 Integration Act ties benefits more directly to active integration efforts (Rosenhagen 2017). The latter are geared towards employment with active help from the state. The act is the first ever German law aimed specifically at the integration of refugees, and through its focus on employment makes the business sector potentially a key actor or ally.

Business sector engagement can be analysed as related to mutations in citizenship, where rights and entitlements are linked to the requirements of global markets and technologies mediated via the corporate sector (Ong 2006). In such an understanding, neoliberal discourses combine with increasingly restrictive European citizenship laws that require refugees to prove their worthiness and willingness of integration. But business sector engagement can equally be interrogated as a means of contestation of exclusionary nation-state politics and with it as a means to transform citizenship practices. Such contestations have been aptly analysed in relation to bottom-up movements by refugees and migrants and other societal actors, sometimes including the business sector (see for example Castañeda 2013; McNevin 2006; Müller 2016; Nyers 2010; Ticktin 2006). A different strand of literature, taking the example of Syrian refugees in Belgium, demonstrates how these refugees do not see the requirement to work as a means to discipline them and turn them into good citizens, but as a means to restore their dignity as independent social actors who can imagine their own future (Vandevoort and Verschraegen 2019).

Building on this literature, my focus in this paper is specifically on the business sector as an actor in the German context. My aim is twofold: firstly, to interrogate what drives business sector engagement with refugee integration in Germany, and secondly to investigate if this engagement has the potential to alter citizenship practices more widely in making refugees feel and be seen as citizens (regardless of their actual legal status). In that sense, the movement of comparatively large numbers of refugees into Germany during 2015 and 2016 is a pertinent case study for interrogating not only the

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

idea of citizenship as relational practice as advanced by Isin and Nielsen (2008), but equally to interrogate business sector engagement beyond what has been analysed as a key characteristic of contemporary forms of globalisation, namely the intersection of the geography of the state with the global geography of corporate business interests (Sharma 2015). Rather, I aim to investigate how business sector engagement might in fact contest state practices and exclusionary politics that use legal status as a means to control refugee mobility in order to enforce nation state boundaries (Rygiel 2010). As such, the study contributes to debates about the concepts of 'lived citizenship' and 'transnational lived citizenship' (Kallio et al 2020; Kallio and Mitchell 2016), specifically to the under-researched theme of labour market integration as an important component in the enactment of citizenship and the creation of a sense of belonging. Integration is defined here not mainly as the adaptation of dominant behaviours, norms and values (Bock and Macdonald 2019), but as strongly connected to the possibility to realise aspirations in the society one lives in. It is thus intrinsically linked to lived citizenship in everyday encounters and practices including in the sphere of work, while formalised status is no precondition for integration. The focus on the concrete material example of business engagement and labour market integration of refugees as the locus of the enactment of citizenship thus opens new avenues when interrogating relational conceptions of citizenship.
Specifically, I focus on businesses who took part in the *Wir Zusammen* (We Together) integration initiative of the German business sector that existed between February 2016 and June 2019 (see https://www.wir-zusammen.de/). While defining itself as a network that aimed to be the focal point of refugee integration into the labour market, the ideological underpinning of *Wir Zusammen* was much broader, and included to contribute to positive societal change and the fostering of an ethos of solidarity.

A note on terminology is in order here in relation to the two key terms, refugee and integration, as both terms are controversial. I have chosen to use them deliberately as the two key terms in the debate in Germany.
Legally speaking, a refugee is a recognized asylum seeker but not all study participants have that status (yet). In addition, an interesting dynamic happened in Germany during the course of my fieldwork: The usual German word for refugee is *Flüchtling*. But that became politically controversial to say, as this would essentialize refugees and reduce them to this status and create a typology. It thus became replaced by *Geflüchtete(r)*, as this term not only gives no indication of one's legal status (thus is seen as non-discriminatory in that sense) but also stresses the temporal dimension of having had to flee – it thus is less of an essentialist marker but rather a term that refers to a temporal aspect of somebody's life. At some point in the debate it was even suggested to simply use the English term refugee as this was seen as more neutral and without these connotations. Initially, the term *Flüchtling* prevailed and became the Word of the Year of the Society for German Language 2015, to be replaced by *Geflüchtete(r)*; both terms are best translated as refugee.[2]
The term integration needs to be understood in the way it has developed in Germany: It came into being as a goal of official policy towards refugees and migrants after 1978, during the period of a social-democratic federal government, and provided a shift from the previous political consensus that was based on the assumption that non-German residents would either assimilate or return to their country of origin. Integration in contrast supported greater degrees of difference and cultural autonomy, as integration was regarded as possible without assimilation, the latter quasi a surrender of one's previous identity (Beck, 2005; Bock and Macdonald 2019).[3] Thus,

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

in taking this official nomenklatura as a starting point, I hope to uncover how dynamics on the ground may alter or subvert the meanings and practices of what is called refugee integration, and in doing so link such integration to transnational conceptions of lived citizenship and belonging.

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows: After a section on methodology, the subsequent part focuses on business sector motivations for engagement with refugees and experiences with the specific programmes to provide work placements or apprenticeships to refugees within the *Wir Zusammen* initiative. This is followed by a discussion of how refugees themselves have engaged with these schemes, and on their own reflections on if and how the prospect of work has transformed their lives since their arrival in Germany. Two in-depth refugee-stories will be presented, combined with findings from additional interviews. The paper ends with some conclusions on the potential for business sector engagement to transform refugee integration practices, as well as the obstacles to such engagement.

Methodology and Data Collection

Methodologically, the paper is based on interviews with company representatives from businesses that engaged with *Wir Zusammen*, as well as refugee-apprentices or other refugees who have profited from labour-market integration programmes with the ultimate aim to create permanent employment eventually (even if not always in the company that offered these). This choice of methodology was based on the rationale to interrogate the business sector response in relation to the creation of horizontal solidarities in everyday practices, which is best achieved through in-depth face-to-face interviews.

I held initial interviews with company representatives at two gatherings of *Wir Zusammen* in Hamburg and Berlin respectively in 2017. I then contacted 33 companies from the network whose main focus is on providing work placements and/or apprenticeships in writing. Of these, nine agreed to participate, six responded by sending materials about their engagement and/or newspaper clippings that featured some of their refugee-employees but declined to be interviewed or visited, and the rest did not reply or declined after various follow-ups. Refugee participants were identified via the employing business and first approached by the respective liaison person in the business. Interviews were then arranged individually (in most cases) or in small groups, usually with me on my own with the refugees but in one case somebody from the company also present (this did not hinder an open exchange as far as I can tell, as even in that encounter critical views were voiced). Taken together, even though identified as research participants via the respective business where they worked, refugee-interviewees did engage with the interview process openly and critically.

Interviews were open ended and framed by an interview guide that focused on how apprenticeship (or subsequent employment) opportunities had changed participants' lives and outlook in Germany. I took notes during the interviews, which with one exception where the interviewee preferred to speak in English were all conducted in German, and wrote up an extensive interview report immediately afterwards. Interviews usually lasted between 40-60 minutes.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

The choice of methodology, and its reliance on business representatives and refugees to consent to participate, might have introduced a potential bias into the data, but was the only feasible methodology in relation to the wider objective of focusing on motivations and micro-practices. In particular the relatively high number of businesses who declined to be interviewed may suggest a bias towards those for whom civic engagement has a higher priority. Even if that were the case, the company representatives interviewed did provide valuable insights into company motivations for engagement. Also, in the majority of businesses who declined to be interviewed, this was due to time and staff constraints, and in a number of cases those originally in charge of setting up the *Wir Zusammen* engagement had meanwhile been given other responsibilities within their respective companies.

Between May 2017 and February 2020, I interviewed 20 company representatives, one trade union representative and 18 refugees either in internships, apprenticeships or permanent work. Of these, 9 were from Syria, 5 from Afghanistan, two from Eritrea, and one each from Pakistan and Palestine (the latter born in Syria). They were all male – two women who were approached to participate declined, as did a number of other men who had been interviewed and featured in local and national newspapers before. They all gave the same reason: wanting to live a normal life and not be a showcase for integrated refugees (even when assured their participation would be anonymous). Geographically the companies involved covered the city states of Berlin and Hamburg, as well as the states of Bavaria, Baden Württemberg, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse.

All interviews have been anonymised. Company interviewees are described in relation to their role within their respective companies. In cases were geographical location could easily identify the business, these have been removed. Refugee interviewees have been given a codename as they did not want their real name used, but their individual stories form a key part of how the data has been written up for this article - thus to reduce their presence in the text to their role as apprentices or employees seemed inappropriate. In order to demonstrate the multiple facets of everyday practices, I have decided to focus on two individual stories of refugee-interviewees that are paradigmatic for the wider dynamics at work. The project received ethical approval from the University of Manchester Research Ethics Committee.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

‘In Germany people without certificates do not exist’: business engagement beyond simply offering a job

When looking at the motivation of businesses to engage with the post-2015 arrival of refugees and its relation to the official political response, the creation of *Wir Zusammen* offers valuable insights. Its founding goes back to a request by German Chancellor Angela Merkel who invited around 20 German business leaders into the Chancellery in autumn 2015 to discuss how the business sector could help advance integration. ‘This was a rare occasion’ one of those present remembers, ‘refugee integration was the only topic of discussion, while normally business representatives come with their own interests and lobbying objectives’. He continued to say that businesses are part of society, ‘so we had to rally around this request as business leaders, we could not simply say the chancellor has to solve the problem’

(conversation with one of the founding members of *Wir Zusammen*, Berlin, 14 September 2017).

And while business sector engagement with refugee integration also took place outside of the *Wir Zusammen* initiative,[4] its members found it vital 'to demonstrate that the business sector (*die Wirtschaft insgesamt*) visibly supports refugees (interview with a representative of a company who was a founding member of *Wir Zusammen*, Lower Saxony, 30 October 2019).[5] Ultimately, *Wir Zusammen* aimed to transcend the original underpinnings of the *Willkommenskultur,* based on a 2005 immigration law that merged migration and integration policy but referred predominately to highly skilled migrants who were to be welcomed based on demographic and economic needs (Hamann and Karakayali 2016). The refugees who arrived in 2015 were to be welcomed regardless of their skill-status, and business sector engagement was only partly based on a belief in liberal migration regimes and open labour markets. Of equal importance was the impulse of living up to the challenge of welcoming these new arrivals with the specific possibilities the business sector could provide (Various conversations with business representatives at meetings of *Wir Zusammen* in Hamburg, 30 May 2017; and Berlin, 14 September 2017).

This aspect of *Wir Zusammen* has not received much scholarly attention. The main studies that exist on *Wir Zusammen* focus predominately on labour market integration per se (Berger 2017; Rietig 2016), whereas my focus is on wider ideas of conviviality, where business sector engagement can play a key role with relevance beyond the specific case of Germany (see for example Pies and Koslowski 2011).

The companies that joined *Wir Zusammen* range from big multinational companies to small start-ups. The engagement of big multinational companies with the initiative has been important, they can act as *Leuchttürme* (lighthouses) in the words of a representative of a German *Mittelstand* company, but small and medium German businesses have an arguably more important part to play (conversation, Hamburg, 30 May 2017). In many of the latter engagement started due to being personally exposed to the dynamics the year 2015 brought with it. The head of the human resource department of a small company based in Munich explains it that way: He lives outside Munich and commutes into work every day by train via the central station. So every morning he saw more and more new arrivals camping at or around the train station in the long summer of 2015, as did many of his colleagues. 'We immediately thought something needed to be done and quickly devised a strategy how with our particular expertise we could make a positive contribution' (conversation, Hamburg, 30 May 2017).

More generally, many people in leading positions in German *Mittelstand* companies speak about how it were employees who urged the company to get engaged, sometimes working with but often also going against trade union representatives. In particular in small to medium size businesses that started to offer apprenticeships to refugees, shop steward committees (*Betriebsräte*) were not always pleased. After all, as a union representative explained, the union is seen by its members to fight for their, sometimes narrowly conceived, interests. Thus one hears arguments like 'you did not provide my son/daughter with an apprenticeship and now you offer one to refugees' (interview with trade union representative and shop steward, Berlin, 31 January 2019).

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

The 2015 refugee arrivals were unusual in the sense that a comparatively large number were skilled professionals or university students or graduates, thus had skills that made them valuable employees in their countries of origin. This created the expectation, even more so among those who spoke good English (and were not aware that this would not necessarily be a help in Germany), to return to a professional life as soon as possible. Thus the first hurdle they encountered were not only the rules and regulations of German bureaucracy in relation to the registration of refugees, but also the realisation that good knowledge of the German language was a prerequisite for almost every professional career. At the same time, access to German language courses was based on often incomprehensible criteria, and unless one had the funds to pay for language education oneself this often meant long stretches of time in limbo, while entitlements were checked and processed.

Thus, a number of business sector initiatives started with mentoring programmes that focused on language acquisition and the navigation of German bureaucracy more generally, partly to make refugees ready for future employment opportunities (*für den Arbeitsmarkt verwertbar* in the words of one interviewee, 30 October 2019, Lower Saxony), and companies who offered internships, apprenticeships or employment often did accompany these by their own in-house language training provision.

Formally, a specific and certified level of German language proficiency is required to be considered even for an internship.[6] Thus the first hurdle, to acquire the necessary certificate, is much easier to accomplish with the support of a company for whom one might work in the future. The next hurdle is then a professional certificate, as the qualification that refugees, even the most highly qualified from Syria bring with them, are rarely recognised or accredited in Germany. In turn, to obtain a qualified permanent job relies to a huge extent on some sort of formal professional accreditation, as 'in Germany, people without a certificate do not exist' (conversation with representative of the German Federal Employment Agency, Hamburg, 30 May 2017) – or rather, they do exist but have little opportunity in the labour market if they wish to build a professional career (rather than do odd jobs that need little to no qualification).

For many professions where skilled refugees could ease labour shortages, the usual route into the profession is the German apprenticeship system called the dual system (*duales System*). It is based on shop-floor learning as an apprentice combined with continued, partly profession-centred, secondary school education. Thus either one to two days a week an apprentice goes to school and the other days he/she is on the shop-floor, or, alternatively, blocks of school attendance alternate with blocks at work, depending on the profession. An apprenticeship for most professions lasts three years, a time during which salaries are comparatively low.[7] Successful completion offers a good chance to gain permanent employment and further qualification opportunities. In that sense, for anybody wanting a permanent professional perspective in Germany, an apprenticeship is perhaps the most valuable entry point. A company representative put it this way: 'At the outset, most refugees tell you they want to go to university and study, but once you explain the German system to them, and what the offer of an apprenticeship means, they understand this is a great opportunity, and instead of having to pay to study you even get a small salary already while you learn' (interview with representative of a company offering apprenticeships, Berlin, 29 January 2019). Apprenticeships also include an examination at the local Chamber of Commerce

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

related to each specific profession, thus good expertise in the German language, including technical German for the relevant profession, is a prerequisite for completion. For businesses engaged in offering apprenticeships, the entry route for applicants usually is an internship of between three weeks to three months, to work out if the job and the applicant's profile fit, but also if the applicant can fit into the company culture. As an apprenticeship is also a not unsubstantial investment on part of the company in question, in terms of finance but also in terms of additional support refugee-apprentices need on the shop-floor and in dealings with state bureaucracy, one wants to be sure there is a fair chance an applicant will complete the apprenticeship successfully (interview, manager responsible for refugee internships and apprenticeships, Baden Württemberg, 15 March 2019).

Taken together, while many of the businesses who joined *Wir Zusammen* experienced a lack of (skilled) applicants for certain areas of work, for the majority of businesses interviewed for this study, a form of civic responsibility was an important part of their engagement with refugees. This was not only driven by pressure from employees but a more general belief that 'it must be possible to arrive in Germany with a refugee-history and integrate well into society', in the words of a company representative responsible for the company's professional development programmes that include refugee training (interview, Berlin, 29 January 2019). Only in one business interviewed for this project, an almost complete focus on labour needs was the paramount motivation to seek to offer employment to refugees. This was a business where a chronic shortage of staff had existed for some time, and where a comparatively large number of employees were nearing retirement age while former recruitment drives in for example Eastern Europe were only partly successful, thus 'to look for people who are already here [*referring to refugees*] who may seek a professional entry point made sense' (interview with a recruitment manager, Berlin, 24 July 2019).

Among all business representatives interviewed existed a general consensus that this form of integration through work placements, apprenticeships or other work-related forms of qualifications was hard work, and needed a lot of engagement beyond normal workflows in order to succeed. Not only had key criteria that determine the day-to-day procedures of German working life to be enforced, such as punctuality; delivering agreed targets; or abstaining from surfing the internet during vocational training courses (various interviews with business representatives Berlin, 29 January 2019; 5 April 2019; Baden Württemberg 15 March 2019). In particular those who started an internship and/or subsequent apprenticeships, were much older than their German counterparts (who were usually in their late teens or early twenties) in the same cohort, thus in addition to language and cultural issues, they often were at completely different stages in their lives.

Taking on refugees thus required subtlety and sustained engagement beyond simply coaching and supervision of apprentices, and a propensity to take the different forms of stress and everyday problems refugees may face as refugees into account and help alleviate them. In addition to the widely expressed motivation to 'accept the social responsibility that comes with being part of the German corporate sector' while also not denying that such engagement 'strengthens the company image in society at large' (interview, Berlin, 5 November 2019), clear benefits in terms of everyday social encounters became a key aspect for such engagement. In the words of a training leader for apprenticeships: 'To stand at the same machine as people who fled war,

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

poverty or hunger has widened the horizon of fellow apprentices or other work colleagues' (interview, Berlin, 14 September 2017), and can more generally change the culture within a business in multiple positive ways (interviews Berlin, 14 September 2017; see also von Dewitz, 2018; *Der Spiegel*, 2019).

Taken together, while to different degrees labour market needs were part of the rationale for the business sector to proactively engage, the belief in civic values and a drive to show solidarity were as and often more important drivers behind this engagement. Most businesses proactively provided help and support far beyond what would normally be expected in terms of support for one's workforce, ranging from help with bureaucracy, the employment of a specific trainer to make sure the apprenticeship curriculum was really understood, to multiple extra hours of training and mock-examinations before vital exams for example at the Chamber of Commerce.

Providing more than work or the chance to work was thus a key motivation behind most business engagement. But how has this engagement been translated into the everyday lived experiences of refugees themselves, how has it transformed their lives in Germany and fostered what might be called integration or made them feel like citizens? In the following two individual stories are being presented of two research participants with two different trajectories: One in successful full-time employment after a relatively short phase of training, the second at the end of his four year apprenticeship and with a guarantee to be taken over as a full-time member of staff in the company where he learned. Their experiences will then be discussed in the wider context before some conclusions will be presented.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Refugee integration through work

When looking more generally at integration through work as also stipulated in the 2016 Integration Act discussed above, it is important to note that the refugees who arrived post 2013 fall into three different groups: Firstly there are those who believe a return will not be possible within any reasonable timeframe, thus they are determined to rebuild their life in Germany. Secondly, there are those who are undecided, who take opportunities as they come, but lack a clear strategy to engage with what might prove to be a temporary host-country (and there are reports that some in that group have in fact left Germany again to different destinations). Finally, there are those who are determined to return to their country of origin (at least for now, this may change depending on how political developments in the region where they are from will progress), thus their strategies are short-term in different ways.

Taken together, seen from the perspective of refugees, their objectives are greatly determined by the aspirations they have for their overall future, and only for those who wish to stay in Germany in the long-term, the offer of an apprenticeship or other forms of training that will lead to permanent employment is a desired objective.

The story of Marwan

Even for those who might qualify for a job without undergoing an apprenticeship, life in Germany means to, in the words of Marwan, 'start your life completely new, it is really a new life'.[8] Marwan had studied architecture in Syria, but people warned him that it was difficult to find a good job in this field in Germany, in particular as he had

not fully completed his degree. As his main objective when coming to Germany was to find 'a profession for the future', he moved to the IT sector, joined courses in coding in parallel to studying intensive German, and in due course secured a permanent job as early as 2016 (having arrived in Germany at the beginning of 2015).

In many ways he feels 'not so alien' in Berlin, where he lives and works. 'I enter the underground and I hear five different languages, three I can understand, that gives you a good feeling' he says. He has similar problems as native Berliners: his rental agreement runs out at the end of the year, and he dreads having to find a new affordable flat - one of the big social problems in Berlin more generally at the time of writing. But one thing still makes him different: While seen from the outside, he has many friends from all wakes of life, and is highly respected and valued at his workplace as equal, he only has restricted leave to remain that needs to be renewed every three years. Thus, while he would like to eventually pursue a university degree in IT, he feels he does not want to start studying and then potentially be sent back, as he does not want another interrupted university degree.

In many ways, in spite of filling a needed position in the labour market, speaking excellent German and possessing the necessary formal qualifications to prove it - thus one could say being the perfectly integrated refugee - he lives in a state of limbo concerning his future. While the engagement with and willingness of his employer to employ refugees was very important in his trajectory, this has thus far done little to challenge wider dynamics of German policy towards refugees and migrants, whatever the demographic dynamics and labour market needs may be. For Marwan, securing employment was the focal point for his integration. Immediately after his arrival he started to take intensive German lessons, but 'I really learned much more in the working environment every day' he says. The chance of employment was in multiple ways key to arrive where he is now, feeling reasonably comfortable instead of alien with his life in Berlin.

When asked about an eventual return to Syria he says 'it is good to have the possibility in your head to return, but at the moment this would not be possible'. But not having permanent leave to remain or a passport has repercussions for his personal life 'between different worlds' as he himself describes it, and his connections to his family: His papers allow him to travel in the Schengen area but not further. Marwan's parents and two siblings are still in Syria, and they can travel to Lebanon, but his papers do not allow him that journey. Thus a brief reunion they had planned there came to nothing, so his transnational lived citizenship runs against the border of a travel permit that ends at the fringes of Europe. More generally he says: 'I would feel much better if I had permanent leave to remain, as there always remains this feeling of insecurity'.

In that sense, the ambition voiced by all employers I have spoken to, that refugees need to become 'part of normality within our society', and as such have the same possibilities in life, has some way to go. For Marwan it means that 'I continue to live between 0worlds', and while 'I would like to call Berlin my home now, the insecurity about papers creates a bitter taste'.

The story of Abdul

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

'To be honest, I am one of the lucky ones' says Abdul, who is in the final year of an apprenticeship with an employer in Berlin, and is guaranteed a position once he passed all his final exams, which he was on course of doing at the time the interview took place.[9] He came to Germany early, in 2013 already, and, in contrast to Marwan, has permanent leave to remain and can apply for citizenship in a year's time.

He came with a university certificate in tourism from Syria and had hoped to be able to work in this sector, but a friend told him that if he aimed to stay in Germany, he should try to secure an apprenticeship – whereas if he wanted to return, he should simply look for work and earn some money.

Abdul had come to rebuild his life, thus followed the advice to look for an apprenticeship, even though he was already 26 years of age when he started his apprenticeship, thus by far the oldest in his cohort. But he was determined to make a success of it and is now quite proud of what he achieved. He remembers well when he, his mother and his younger brother came to Germany. They were sent to a small place near Bayreuth in Bavaria, his mother and young brother staying together in a family unit, while he was sent to a men's facility 'that was like a prison', and nothing to do, one was not even entitled to learn German. He thus paid privately to start learning German and the worst was that there was no opportunity to work, as this was forbidden. When they were finally sent to live in Berlin, 'at the beginning, every foreigner has a big problem with their letterbox', he says, referring to the various official communications one receives sometimes daily, many pages long, and even German helpers did not understand half of what was being said.

Meanwhile he feels he has fully arrived, and the apprenticeship opportunity was the key to this, as around his work all his other relationships have been built. Now 'I am already a citizen, even if my German passport is not here yet' he says. He wants to stay in Germany, as does his little brother who was in grade three when they arrived and now lives the life of a normal Berlin school-kid, only his mother wants to return to Syria as soon as this is possible. At work Abdul is respected and well-liked. When outside he is sometimes asked 'where are you from' and answers Berlin or Reinickendorf (the part of Berlin where he lives), and is then asked 'but where are you really from' – this follow-up question making less and less sense to him. 'But I am polite and answer, often with a joke', he says, even if such encounters do annoy him. 'After a few years here I started thinking like a German, I don't feel like an Arab any longer or a foreigner'.

More generally, 'the chance of this apprenticeship has allowed me a new life not only economically, but a career' he says. His ambitions do not end here – he still wants to go back to university and 'have the title Dr before my name one day'. Abdul has arrived in Germany as a citizen, emotionally at least, if not yet legally, even if not always in the eyes of his German compatriots.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Integration through work – potentials and pitfalls

The opportunity to work in a meaningful profession as secured by Marwan and Abdul has been key for all participants who took part in this study to develop a sense of belonging. For those who are in addition recognised as refugees, often after years in limbo on their way to Germany, it also means peace and safety. One research

participant from Syria put it this way: 'Before I came here I did not know where I can feel safe; to one day have German citizenship will be a very big miracle in my life, it is not about nationality, it is about safety at last'. This feeling of safety is strongly intertwined with the possibility to have a meaningful career and thus a meaningful future ahead. For those who only have subsidiary status like Marwan, the emotional stress this insecurity brings with it undermines feelings of safety and belonging, even if one the surface and in everyday encounters at his workplace and beyond he lives a normal 'German' life.

While for many professions an apprenticeship is the most promising start for a future career, not all refugees who receive the offer of an apprenticeship are in a position to take it, others start but then leave again soon. An employer describes his experience: 'I had a good apprentice from Eritrea, but after his first pay-check he realized he could not live like this for three years, he needed to pay off debt to people smugglers and also send money to his family back in Eritrea […] what could I tell him? To go to MacDonald's or such places where you find a job easily and few qualifications are needed' (interview, 30 May 2017, Hamburg). The most common reason, once one has permission to work,[10] to forgo an apprenticeship in favour of immediate higher earnings are indeed debt to be repaid and a family to support, often combined with the fact that living in refugee hostels can be challenging. In an informal conversation with a trainee who was offered a more high-profile apprenticeship but declined he said 'I would have loved to really become a specialist and learn a good profession, but I need to get out of the hostel, I need to have my own flat, so I took the short-route to earn money' (conversation, Berlin, 24 July 2019).

Others need time to understand the way the German dual systems works in order to appreciate the offer of an apprenticeship. Another Syrian refugee, who had studied civil engineering for four semesters in Syria, explains how he started working on building sites to earn money 'but you will always remain a simple worker, even if you have a lot of knowledge; what I wanted was a perspective, a job where I can grow, professionally and as a person'. This made him apply for an apprenticeship at a well-respected employer where he had started the first year at the time of the interview (interview, Berlin, 25 October 2019).

More generally, all refugees interviewed had spent time in Turkey or Egypt or other countries mainly in the Middle East before coming to Germany, where they had worked or been involved in businesses. The reason they moved on was connected to the fact that in none of these settings existed the opportunity for a future that would allow them to have a proper professional career or use their talent in a meaningful way. In that sense, labour market integration measures, even if in fields they would not have considered before, as long as they offer a long-term professional perspective, are vital to develop a sense of belonging and having a stake in German society.

Conclusion

The stories of Abdul, Marwan and all other research participants in different ways demonstrate how civic engagement by the German Business sector can indeed not only provide integration through work, but equally transform refugees' sense of lived citizenship in Germany - and in small ways help shape daily cultures of conviviality. One may argue that the people who participated in this research are special cases, as

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

refugees who successfully adjusted to German labour market offerings. But looking at the latest official figures from the German labour agency demonstrates that more than half of all refugees of working age who arrived between 2013 and the end of 2016 are in employment. Of these, a majority work in a skilled profession, while another 44% worked in unskilled jobs (IAB, 2020).

In relation to the two main questions this paper posed, interrogating the motivations of business sector engagement and how this engagement, in particular the opportunity to work or be prepared for a future career, shapes refugees' lived citizenship in Germany, the data collected in the course of this project suggest the following:

Firstly, business sector engagement, while partly focused on and driven by labour market needs (see Rietig 2016), had a strong underlying component of civic responsibility, which shaped experiences and perceptions of refugees in a complex but predominately positive way. All those encountered in the course of this project greatly valued the support they received from the companies they worked for beyond normal employment relations. This in turn resulted in feelings of being in a secure space that offered a longer-term future, and created a positive sense of belonging.

But secondly, that support, and more generally company lobbying in favour of granting rights to refugees who are skilled and/or have employment, if out of utilitarian or civic motives or a combination of both, has not fundamentally changed the political equation. While individual and collective business integration initiatives are important, as long as uncertainty remains over refugees' future right to stay, this has a negative impact on refugees who have only subsidiary status. In that sense, neither labour market integration nor wider civic concerns by the business sector have fundamentally altered exclusionary politics of the German nation state, or only at the margins. Business sector engagement thus in important ways mirrors bottom-up engagement by activist networks or the voluntary sector as analysed in the wider literature: Such engagement has the potential to transform the lives of individual refugees or refugee-groups, and to foster political voice and dignity (McNevin 2006; Müller 2016; Nyers 2010; Ticktin 2006; Vandevoort and Verschraegen 2019). But ultimately it finds itself subject to the wider constraints of a system of governance that relates to refugees as populations to control for the benefit of nation-states (Mavelli 2018), not as bearers of universal rights.

Taken together, it remains to be seen if and how the arrival of 1.2 million refugees between 2013 and 2018 has altered Germany, as debates are ongoing about a proper immigration system that recognises citizenship aspirations of refugees and migrants more broadly and provides a legal framework for those. The business sector has been at the forefront of advocating in favour of such a system. The boss of a small tech-company put it like this: 'Yes, there is a lack of qualified personnel, thus everybody who has the necessary skills is welcome, as far as I am concerned'. In that sense, he believes the overall policy discourse on refugee integration and safe countries of origin misses the point, as everybody who is here and has skills which are needed should be welcomed and allowed to stay (interview, Berlin, 29 January 2019). This statement expresses in exemplary fashion a key building block of a revised understanding of *Willkommenskultur*: A welcome not based on whether one is a 'deserving refugee' or a 'undeserving migrant' (Holmes and Castaneda 2016), but on a symbiosis between labour market opportunities and refugees' own professional aspirations.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

When looking at a recent survey about changing attitudes towards *Willkommenskultur*, this objective of *Wir Zusammen* was only partly achieved: The survey reports that while forms of a *Willkommenskultur* are still present, so is increasing scepticism coupled with heightened expectations that put the onus to integrate squarely on refugees (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2017). The latter sentiment is indirectly also found among many of the volunteers who shaped the public face of the *Willkommenskultur* in the summer of 2015 and its aftermath. Propensity to volunteer was reportedly linked to readiness of refugees to adapt to social and cultural norms in Germany, as well as underpinned by volunteer's own emotional satisfaction with their engagement - often accompanied by direct or indirect expectations of gratitude (Karakayali 2017; 2019).

Business sector engagement is different here and has the real potential to address refugees' own priorities and their future aspirations, as expectations are related to work requirements that are the same for all, refugees and German apprentices alike, and as such a space where horizontal solidarities and conviviality can emerge. In addition, a meaningful profession has been demonstrated to be a key factor for enactments of citizenship, regardless of status, and was often behind the decision to come to Germany. This in turn suggests that in theoretical debates about the concept of lived citizenship and its demarcation, labour market integration can be an important component.

Taken together, this article suggests that integration activities provided by the business sector, here discussed based on the empirical example of Germany, have the potential to advance or fulfil refugees' future aspirations, but are often hindered by official refugee and migration policy that fails to adequately take into account contemporary forms of mobility, belonging, and transnational lived citizenship.

Acknowledgements: This project was made possible through funding from the British Academy (Reference: SRG18R1\181371) that I gratefully acknowledge. I also thank all research participants for sharing their stories and insights. Finally, I thank two anonymous referees for their insightful comments.

About the Author: Tanja R. Müller is Professor of Political Sociology at the Global Development Institute, University of Manchester. She has published on refugee rights and conceptions of citizenship in leading journals and is the Principal Investigator of an ESRC-funded project on Transnational Lived Citizenship among diaspora populations in the Horn of Africa (2020-2023).

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

ENDNOTES

[1] The term refugee crisis is misleading in two important ways: Firstly, the ‘crisis’ does not refer, as one might expect, to the crises that made people flee their country of origin; secondly, it (wrongly) implies the mere presence of these refugees presents a major and unprecedented crisis (for further discussion see Bojadžijev 2018). In addition, actual numbers of refugees who entered Germany in 2015 are often exaggerated in public discourse and media reporting. Taken together, since 1953, 5.8 million people requested asylum in Germany, out of these 4.8 million did so since 1990. Peak years here were 1992 (438.191 people requesting asylum), 2015 (476.649 people) and 2016 (745.545 people). In 2017 this had been reduced to 222.683 people, and 2018 to 185.853 people. Post-2015 asylum applications were dominated by Syrians (around 30% in most years, followed by people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran but also Kosovo and Albania and a variety of other nationalities (Eritrea, Nigeria, Pakistan and the Russian Federation among others). These figures include follow-up applications of those who were rejected in the first instance with the right to appeal. Rejection rates in 2016 stood at almost 38%, in 2017 at almost 57% and in 2018 at 65%. At the time of writing the figures for 2019 were around 63% (all data and additional information like breakdown of figures according to nationality, ethnicity or religion can be found at Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), www.bamf.de).

[2] More generally, the declaratory character of the refugee definition provides additional justification for the use of the term: ‘The refugee definition is declaratory, i.e. a person is a refugee as soon as s/he fulfils the criteria contained in the definition. This would necessarily occur prior to a formal determination of her/his refugee status. Until such determination is made it must be assumed that those who have crossed an international border to escape a risk of serious harm in their country of origin are refugees and should be treated as such.’ (https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/55772/refugee-definition:)

[3] It should be noted here that integration policies were initially not developed with refugees in mind but rather labour migrants who had been recruited on what were perceived as temporary stays to the German labour market, the so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest-workers), who often opted to stay in Germany (for a detailed discussion of the historical dimensions of different refugee and migrant movements into Germany post WWII and how these relate to migration, assimilation and integration policies see Brock and Macdonald 2019; for an example of how these policies related to ‘guest-workers’ see Hunn 2005).

[4] One of the most prominent initiatives here is *Bleiberecht durch Arbeit* (Leave to remain through work) started in Southern Germany, where rejected asylum seekers with subsidiary status who have permanent employment and are well-integrated are still often deported (as the law on subsidiary status in principle allows), even though since January 2020 a new law should make this harder in theory, if not always in practice, see https://www.unternehmer-initiative.com/

[5] At its foundation *Wir Zusammen* aimed to have 1000 members eventually, but this proved over-optimistic. In the end, 234 businesses joined the network (conversation with *Wir Zusammen* spokesperson, Hamburg, 30 May 2017; see also www.wir-zusammen.de).

[6] This is ideally level C1, a quite comprehensive knowledge of German, but refugees who have acquired D2 are sometimes also accepted (for an overview of German language certificates see: http://www.europaeischer-referenzrahmen.de/)

[7] Depending on profession and sector, apprenticeship salaries on average vary from Euros 300 to 900 per month. Traditionally, apprenticeships mainly target German youth from the age of 15 who often still live with their parents, thus older apprentices and those who need to pay for accommodation, can get additional funding for the latter. A number of refugee-apprentices who took part in this research still lived in refugee accommodation paid for by the state.

[8] The following is based on an interview with Marwan in Berlin, 29 January 2019. All names have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.

[9] The following is based on an interview with Abdul in Berlin, 29 January 2019.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

[10] Whether a refugee can actually work is connected to their title of stay: Recognised refugees can work and have the same rights as German employees. If a refugee is still in the asylum application or decision process, or rejected but 'geduldet' (which means they are not sent back for now for a variety of reasons), the immigration office (*Ausländerbehörde*) and the employment office (*Arbeitsagentur*) have to give their OK. There are exceptions for professionals in fields with a shortage but the situation is rather murky and different in different federal entities. In addition, there is in theory a federal law that allows those who have secured an apprenticeship to finish that and work for two years after, even if they were rejected or come from a so-called safe country of origin. *Sicherer Herkunftsstaat* (safe country of origin) is a legal term in German asylum legislation. It refers to countries were state persecution is not the rule – thus is a quite elastic phrase that has e.g. been applied to parts of Afghanistan (for more details see: http://www.bamf.de/EN/Fluechtlingsschutz/Sonderverfahren/SichereHerkunftsstaaten/sichere-herkunftsstaaten-node.html).

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

References:

Beck, Marieluise. 2005. *Integrationspolitik als Gesellschaftspolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Memorandum der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, Marieluise Beck*. Berlin: Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration.

Benček, David and Julia Strasheim. 2016. "Refugees Welcome? A dataset on anti-refugee violence in Germany." *Research & Politics* October-December 2016:1-11.

Berger, Roland. 2017. *Flüchtlinge erfolgreich integrieren*. Consultancy Report.

Bergfeld, Mark. 2017. "Germany's Willkommenskultur: Trade Unions, Refugees and Labour Market Integration." *Global Labour Journal* 18 (1): 80-9.

Bertelsmann Stiftung. 2017. *Willkommenskultur im „Stresstest". Einstellungen in der Bevölkerung 2017 und Entwicklungen und Trends seit 2011/12*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Bertelsmann Stiftung. 2015. *Zuwanderung aus Drittstaaten in Deutschland bis 2050. Szenarien für ein konstantes Erwerbspersonenpotential – unter Berücksichtigung der zukünftigen inländischen Erwerbsbeteiligung und der EU-Binnenmobilität*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Betts, Alexander, and Paul Collier. 2017. *Refuge. Transforming a broken refugee system*. London: Penguin.

Bock, Jan-Jonathan, and Sharon Macdonald. 2019. "Introduction: Making, Experiencing and Managing Difference in a Changing Germany." In *Refugees Welcome? Difference and Diversity in a Changing Germany*, edited by Jan-Jonathan Bock and Sharon Macdonald, 1-38. New York: Berghahn Books.

Bojadžijev, Manuela. 2018. "Migration as Social Seismograph: an Analysis of Germany's 'Refugee Crisis' Controversy." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 31 (1): 335-56.

Castañeda, Heide. 2013. "Medical Aid as Protest: Acts of Citizenship for Unauthorized Im/Migrants and Refugees." Citizenship Studies 17 (2): 227–40.

Der Spiegel (2019): "Integration: Sie haben es geschafft." no. 42, 12.10.2019, pp. 52-54.

Hamann, Ulrike, and Serhat Karakayali. 2016. "Practising Willkommenskultur: Migration and Solidarity in Germany." *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics* 2 (4): 69-86.

Holmes, Seth, and Heide Castañeda. 2016. "Representing the 'European refugee crisis' in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death." *American Ethnologist* 43 (1): 12-24.

Hunn, Karin. 2005. *'Nächstes Jahr kehren wir zurück ...': Die Geschichte der türkischen 'Gastarbeiter' in der Bundesrepublik*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB) (2020). “Fünf Jahre seit der Fluchtmigration 2015: Integration in Arbeitsmarkt und Bildungssystem macht weitere Fortschritte”. *IAB Kurzbericht 4*.

Isin, Engin F, and Greg Nielsen (Eds) 2008. *Acts of Citizenship*. London: Zed Books.

Juran, Sabrina, and Niclas P. Broer, 2017. “A Profile of Germany’s Refugee Population.” *Population and Development Review* 43 (1): 149-57. doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12042.

Kallio, Kirsi Paulina, and Katharyne Mitchel. 2016. “Introduction to the special issues on transnational lived citizenship.” *Global Networks* 16 (3): 259-67.

Kallio, Kirsi Paulina, Wood, Bronwyn Elisabeth, and Jouni Häkli. 2020. “Lived citizenship: conceptualising an emerging field.” *Citizenship Studies* 24 (6): 713-29.

Karakayali, Serhat. 2019. “Solidarity with Refugees: Negotiations of Proximity and Memory.” In *Refugees Welcome? Difference and Diversity in a Changing Germany*, edited by Jan-Jonathan Bock and Sharon Macdonald, 191-213. New York: Berghahn Books.

Karakayali, Serhat. 2017. “Feeling the Scope of Solidarity: The Role of Emotions for Volunteers Supporting Refugees in Germany.” *Social Inclusion* 5 (3): 1-10.

Khalifa, Khaled. 2017. “Der Flüchtling - ein Leben in der Leere.” In *Refugees Worldwide. Literarische Reportagen*, edited by Luisa Donnerberg and Ulrich Schreiber, 108-19. Berlin: Wagenbach.

Mavelli, Luca. 2018. “Citizenship for Sale and the Neoliberal Political Economy of Belonging.” *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (3): 482-93.

McNevin, Anne. 2006. “Political belonging in a neoliberal era: The struggle of the sans-papiers.” *Citizenship Studies* 10 (2): 135-51.

Moss, Dana M. 2018. “The ties that bind: Internet communication technologies, networked authoritarianism, and 'voice' in the Syrian diaspora.” *Globalizations* 15 (2): 265-82.

Müller, Tanja R. 2016. “Acts of citizenship as a politics of resistance? Reflections on realizing concrete rights within the Israeli asylum regime.” *Citizenship Studies* 20 (1): 50-66.

Nyers, Peter. 2010. “No One is Illegal between City and Nation.” *Studies in Social Justice* 4 (2): 127–43.

Ong, Aihwa. 2006. “Mutations in Citizenship.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (499): 499-505.

Otto, Alkis Henri, and Max Friedrich Steinhardt. 2017. “The Relationship between Immigration and the Success of Far-Right Political Parties in Germany.” *ifo DICE Report 15*: 20-3.

Pies, Ingo, and Peter Koslowski. 2011. *Corporate Citizenship and New Governance. The Political Role of Corporations*. Heidelberg: Springe.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION

Rietig, Victoria. 2016. *Moving beyond crisis: Germany's new approaches to integrating refugees into the labour market*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Rosenhagen, Ulrich. 2017. "From stranger to citizen? Germany's refugee dilemma." *Dissent* summer 2017: 134-41.

Rygiel, Kim. 2010. *Globalizing Citizenship*. Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press.

Sharma, Avi. 2015. "Who leads in a G-zero world? Multi-nationals, sustainable development, and corporate social responsibility in a changing global order." *Washington International Law Journal* 24 (3): 589-612.

Ticktin, Miriam. 2006. "Where Ethics and Politics Meet." *American Ethnologist* 33 (1): 33–49.

Trauner, Florian, and Jocelyn Turton 2017. '"Welcome culture': the emergence and transformation of a public debate on migration." *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 46 (1): 33-42.

Vandevoort, Robin, and Gert Verschraegen. 2019. "Citizenship as a gift: how Syrian refugees in Belgium make sense of their social rights." *Citizenship Studies* 23 (1): 43-60.

Von Dewitz, Antje. 2018. "Ja, es lohnt sich. Geflüchtete Menschen sind eine Bereicherung für deutsche Unternehmen. Wer eine Arbeit hat, sollte bleiben dürfen.", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 August 2018, p. 2.

DO NOT QUOTE OR CITE FROM THIS VERSION