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NEGOTIATE

Overcoming job-insecurity in Europe

NEGOTIATE – Negotiating early job-insecurity and labour market exclusion in Europe
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Authors	Marie-Luise Assmann Lisa Steinberg Irene Dingeldey
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Abbreviations

AA	Local Employment Agencies
AfSD	Office for Social Services
ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
BAföG	Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz, Federal Training Promoting Act
Bafza	Federal Office for Family and Civil Society Tasks
BDA	Federal Society of the German Employer Associations
BEST	Management and Guidance for Vocational Education
BIBB	Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training
BIWAQ	Education, economy and work in the neighborhood
BIZ	Vocational Information Center
BMAS	Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs
BMBF	Federal Ministry of Education and Research
BMFSFJ	Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth
BMUB	Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety
BMWi	Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
CESM	Career Entry Support by Mentoring
CSU	Christian Social Union of Germany
DGB	German Trade Union Federation
DIHK	Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce
EAB	Employment Agency Bremen
EBD	Network for European policy in Germany
EC	European Commission
EFRE	European Funds for Regional Development
EMCO	Employment Committee
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FEA	Federal Employment Agency
Govet	German office of International Cooperation in Vocational Training
IAB	Research Institute of the Federal Employment Agency
IAP	Individual Action Plans
IB	The Internationaler Bund
ILO	International Labor Organization
IQ	Integration through Training
JCB	Jobcenter Bremen
JUSTIQ	Encouraging Youth in the Neighbourhood
MLP	Mutual Learning Program
MoU	Memorandums of Understanding
NEETs	People not in education, employment or training
PB	Provider Bremen
PES	Public Employment Agency
RD	Regional Directorates of Federal Employment Agency
ReBUZ	Regional Consulting and Assistance Centres
SCB	Social Code Books
SCEB	Senator for Children and Education Bremen
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Germany
SFLB	Senator for Economics, Labor and Ports Bremen

SME	Small and medium-sized enterprises
UB	unemployment benefits
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VO	Vocational Orientation
YCA	Youth Career Agency
YEI	Youth Employment Initiative
YG	Youth Guarantee
YPCA	Young People and Career Alliances
ZAV	International Placement Service
ZBB	Central Counseling for Vocational Training
ZDH	German Confederation of Skilled Crafts

1. Introduction

Youth unemployment and early job-insecurity have become an important topic on the agenda of the European Union over the last years since the economic crisis. The number of young unemployed and the number of young people not in education, employment or training had reached worrying levels in many EU countries and political solutions were demanded. Therefore the EU launched different policies in order to improve the labour market situation of the young. The European *Youth Guarantee* (YG) is a key policy in this context.

The YG is a new approach for tackling youth unemployment which ensures that all young people under 25 – whether registered with employment services or not – receive a good-quality, concrete offer within 4 months of leaving formal education or becoming unemployed (Council, 2013). Good-quality offers, according to the European Commission, should add value and improve a young person's prospects in the education and labour markets, i.e. a job, apprenticeship, traineeship, or continued education. It should help to integrate young people into the labour market to ensure that they do not fall back into unemployment or inactivity. From the perspective of an outcome-based approach, good quality means that the person does not return to inactivity or unemployment afterwards (EC, 2015b: 5). The offer should thus be made in the form of a package comprising advice and an action plan tailored to the young person's specific needs (BMAS 2014). The Youth Guarantee requires a balance of short-term measures combined with longer-term structural reforms to bring about a systematic improvement in the school-to-work transition and for combatting segmentation (Council, 2013; Bussi and Geyer, 2013; Escuerdo and Lopéz Mourelo, 2015).

The YG is linked to the 'Europe 2020' Strategy by contributing to the objectives that 75 per cent of people aged 20-64 years should be in work, that early school dropout rates should be under ten per cent and that at least twenty million people should be lifted out of poverty and social exclusion (Council, 2013). Thereby, the Youth Guarantee is accompanied by additional EU-initiatives: the *European Alliance for Apprenticeships* (since 2013) and the *Quality Framework for Traineeships* (since 2014) are supposed to be carried out in close partnership with social partners and the relevant stakeholders. To improve the school-to-work transitions, for example joint-up initiatives or partnership approaches amongst education and employment authorities are required. Furthermore, the financing of the Youth Guarantee suggests the combination of national and European funds, such as the *European Social Fund* or the *Youth Employment Initiative (YEI)*¹ (EC, 2015a). In contrast to the Youth Guarantee, YEI is under the investment priority to be directed towards NEETs (Not in Educa-

¹ The purpose of the YEI is to provide extra financial support for the implementation of measures supporting youth employment, notably the Youth Guarantee, in those regions that are most affected by youth unemployment (NUTS 2 level, youth unemployment rate above 25 % in 2012). Out of the 28 EU Member States, 20 Member States have regions that are eligible for YEI support. YEI funding consists of a budget of 3.2 billion, which requires no co-financing at national level. An additional 3.2 billion will originate from the ESF allocations to the Member States for the 2014-2020 programming period for 2014 and 2015. All other member countries must rely exclusively on national funds and general funding by the European Social Fund to implement the Youth Guarantee.

tion, Employment or Training). Moreover, it directly supports individuals and does not aim at reforming structures in the countries.

The guiding ideas of the *European Employment Strategy*, the OECD's *Jobs Strategy* (Casey, 2004) as well as the Youth Guarantee can be seen to be rooted in the normative paradigms of an activating labour market policy (Gilbert and van Voorhis, 2001; OECD, 1990) and a social investment welfare state (Giddens, 1998; Morel et al., 2012). Here, the activation and labour market integration of all people capable to work and the focus on human capital formation with a particular emphasis on children and youth is highlighted (Jenson, 2010). Critics have indicated that enabling policies are closely linked with enforcement (Dingeldey, 2007; Torfing J., 1999). Furthermore, an understanding of social policy to produce an 'added value' could also be meant 'only' to avoid transfer payments for long term unemployed (Nolan B., 2013). Compared to former welfare policies that followed a Keynesian welfare state paradigm, however, the new ideas also include the need for structural reforms concerning the governance of social policy intervention and its administration.

Also Employment policies of member states have been transformed in line with the activating and social investment welfare state paradigm for nearly twenty years. As a result, however, we see different reform trajectories and paths of transformation that often relate to different welfare state types (Bonoli, 2010; Clasen and Clegg, 2011; Dingeldey, 2007; Dingeldey, 2011; Hemerijck, 2013; Berkel van et al., 2011). Furthermore, we must consider that there exists a great variety of different educational and vocational training systems as well as of youth policy (Powell and Solga; Wallace C. and Bendit, 2009). Even labour market responses to the financial crisis have been shown to be diverse (Greve, 2012). We may therefore expect that the implementation of the Youth Guarantee in the member states will influence changes in national policy regimes, depending, however, on the type of youth employment and educational policy already established in the respective country.

Additionally, the outcome-oriented approach of the Youth Guarantee allows that member states can implement programs according to national and local circumstances. As in federal states educational policies are often subject to regional competence and social services are provided by local authorities, we may assume that not only policy arenas on the European and national level but also on the regional and local level are important (Heidenreich and Rice, 2016). Moreover, we have several relevant policy fields like education, vocational training and youth (employment) that are influenced coined by a variety of stakeholders such as public actors, employers, social partners and third sector organisations. Vertical and horizontal coordination therefore seems to be relevant with respect to successful implementation.

These considerations substantiate the following research questions:

1. How was the Youth Guarantee perceived within the national level?
2. How was it implemented at national and sub-national level, taking into account overall vertical and horizontal coordination?
3. How is the implementation strategy to be typologized and has it lead to major changes?

To answer these questions, at first an overview of the national discourse concerning the YG will be given, followed by a paragraph concerning the general implementation of the YG in Germany. Then the YG implementation will be illustrated on the basis of three selected programs that were implemented and financed in the context of the European YG. The analysis of the local level is based on the respective policy coordination in Bremen, a Western German land that still has rather high youth unemployment rates. Finally the German YG implementation strategy will be typologized and policy recommendations will be given.

The German case study formed part of WP8 of the Negotiate Project and follows the guidelines developed to analyse the co-ordination of policy measures and strategies to strengthen young people's negotiating positions in the transition to the labour market. It was delivered in February 2017.

2. Discourse and political process concerning the Youth Guarantee

The discourse of the political actors in Germany with respect to the implementation of the YG addressed this measure as an EU-wide policy and also as a policy relevant on the national level. Especially the general goals and realization of the guarantee were discussed, while the more detailed consideration of topics like the involvement of the different stakeholders in the national context and the promotion of specific measures on the national level were less significant in the discourse. Most of the political statements of the different political parties and the stakeholders (like e.g. press releases, statements in speeches in the Bundestag and parliamentary questions) in Germany were made at the beginning of 2013 when the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI) was launched by the European Council. Debates concerning the YG intensified when the YG was a topic in regular EU summits of the European Council or extra-summits like the “EU Employment Summits”/“Job Summits” 2013, 2014.

Positive reaction to the commitment of the EU

The political commitment of the European Union (EU) in the area of youth unemployment is seen very positively by the different political actors in Germany. They do widely agree on the fact that many of the problems concerning youth unemployment in the member states have to be treated at the European level. Solidarity between the EU countries is recognized as necessary especially to support the Southern European states which face the highest rates of youth unemployment. At the same time the stakeholders in Germany share the view that the situation of young people in the different member states varies considerably and that appropriate solutions have to be found on national and regional level. A wide spectrum of political parties and also the social partners welcomed the idea of implementing a YG when it started to be discussed actively on the national level (Alpers, 28.02.2013; Gehring, 28.02.2013; Brase and Juratovic, 04.06.2013; Bundestagsfraktion FDP, 28.02.2013; DGB-Bundesvorstand, 29.04.2013: 1; Stübgen, 28.06.2013; Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 04.03.2013). The discussions among the political actors about youth unemployment were more focused on the EU- than on the national-level-context.

Additional measures at the European level demanded

With respect to the YG as an EU-wide policy many doubts were expressed whether the guarantee would suffice to solve the prevailing problems of the unemployed youth in Europe (Netzwerk EBD, 28.02.2013). In particular the stakeholders criticized the amount of money spent in connection with the YEI as too small. Especially the fractions of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), The Greens (Bündnis 90/die Grünen) and The Left (die Linke) in the Bundestag emphasized this aspect but also employers' associations like the “Wirtschaftsrat der CDU (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)” (Wirtschaftsrat der CDU e.V., 13.11.2013; Brase, 28.06.2013; Ulrich, 28.01.2016; Baerbock, 08.05.2014). The green, left and social democratic fractions as well as the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) denounced that the YG was not giving a concrete definition of a “good-quality offer of employment, continued education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship”. They were concerned

whether in such a way young people could be prevented from being exploited as cheap and precarious labor force in internships, fixed-term jobs or in temporary employment. Furthermore, they opposed employment measures which constitute bridging measures and measures that are keeping people occupied rather than offering further qualification. Moreover, these groups questioned European austerity policy and made clear that in their point of view investment policies were indispensable to combat youth unemployment in Europe and to create new jobs (DGB-Bundesvorstand, 29.04.2013: 5; Alpers, 28.02.2013; Zimmermann, 08.10.2014; Deutscher Bundestag, 25. 06. 2013: 2f.; Brase and Juratovic, 04.06.2013; Pothmer and Gehring, 05.12.2012). Additional policy measures which were discussed for the European level were the concrete support for small and mid-sized enterprises by beneficial credits. This idea was favored by the CDU/CSU, the Free Democratic Party (FDP), employer and employee associations in Germany (Stübgen, 28.06.2013; Bundestagsfraktion FDP, 05.07.2013).

Germany's contribution to Inner-EU-solidarity

The opinions of political actors in Germany about how the country could contribute to help other member states of the EU to combat youth unemployment do vary widely. The concept of assisting other EU-countries in implementing the praised German dual system, an idea promoted by CDU/CSU, FDP (Stübgen, 28.06.2013; Bundestagsfraktion FDP, 05.07.2013) and some employer associations (DIHK, 10.12.2012; Bayrischer Handwerkstag, 5.12.2012), is questioned e.g. by the SPD which points out that it is not that easy to “transplant” the dual system (Brase, 12.09.2013). While the FDP suggests that young and unemployed people from Europe should have the opportunity to work in Germany and therefore promotes mobility (Bundestagsfraktion FDP, 05.07.2013), the DGB sees here a considerable risk of a “brain-drain” from the Southern European countries (DGB Jugend, 09.07.2014).

Implementing the Youth Guarantee in Germany

The discussion about the implementation of the YG at the national-level was less intensive than the debates on the YG as an EU-wide policy. When the YG was launched, the Federal Government of Germany rejected the necessity of implementing any reforms in the country in context of the YG because it seemed like Germany was already meeting the requirements of the YG and had already taken sufficient measures to reduce youth unemployment (Deutscher Bundestag, 04. 06. 2013: 1). In contrast the opposition pleaded for reforms like structuring and centralizing the measures against youth unemployment (DGB-Bundesvorstand, 29.04.2013: 4; Brase, 12.09.2013), adopting a training guarantee (SPD and Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit) (Brase, 12.09.2013; Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 08.04.2014) also as a social right and establishing a training levy (die Linke) (Deutscher Bundestag, 25. 06. 2013: 3). Youth organizations in Germany demanded a greater involvement of young people in discussions and in decision-making concerning youth unemployment and the YG (DBJR, 29.05.2015; DGB Jugend, 03.07.2013). The idea of embedding the YG itself in German law was not made a subject of discussion.

EU-Bureaucracy seems to block the usage of YG-funds

Between 2014 and 2016 discussion-topics of German political actors were concerned with the implementation of the YG in the different EU-member-states. It was stated by the Federal Government, the SPD, the German Employers' association (BDA) and the DGB that not many member-states had used the money of the YG-funds (afp and dpa, 8.10.2014; Ulrich, 28.01.2016; Soli aktuell, 14.11.2014; BDA, 21. November 2013). The exuberant bureaucracy on EU-level was seen as an explanation. The implementation of the YG was criticized as too slow.

3. Implementation of the Youth Guarantee

The federal government cabinet adopted the YG implementation plan in April 2014 (Deutscher Bundestag, 2014). The good starting position with comparable low youth unemployment figures did not put the government *"in the position to implement programs with short-term effects to decrease numbers"* (Interview BMAS 2016: 2). Therefore, the German government argues that the recommendations from the Council have mainly been implemented in Germany, pursuing the downward trend of youth unemployment in the country by strategic, medium and long-term measures (BMAS, 2014: 15). In the following different issues like focal points of YG measures (2.1), target groups (2.2), innovations and aspects of the YG quality offer (2.3), actors and coordination (2.4), cooperation with other countries (2.5) as well as the funding of the YG in Germany (2.6) will be elaborated.

3.1 Focal points of measures

As mentioned above, the German government points to the already existing labor market policy instruments to implement the Recommendation of the YG. Overall, the implementation plan of the YG lists approximately 60 existing educational and labor market measures concerning young people and adds seven planned ones for the period 2014-2020 (BMAS, 2014: 52–80). It is emphasized that public employment services should follow a more needs-based approach to reach many young people and provide follow-on services to avoid losing them in the integration process. However, it also points out that for reasons of limited resources, it is not possible to provide all services nationwide (BMAS, 2014: 17).

Measures in the YG implementation plan are to be distinguished as early intervention and activation against measures promoting labor market integration. Early intervention and activation includes preventive measures offered usually during secondary education such as vocational guidance and orientation instruments. These instruments have the aim to reduce the risk of unemployment at a later date (BMAS 2014: 12, 26). Vocational orientation talks in schools, self-information opportunities at vocational information centers of the employment agency (BiZs), short-term work placements and internships in specific occupations are some examples for preventive early intervention and activation measures (BMAS, 2014: 27).

Promoting labor market integration consist of guidance and placement services, the support of young people to achieve educational qualifications and vocational training, the promotion of entrepreneurship as well as fostering regional and cross-border mobility. Concrete examples are:

- prevocational education schemes where young people may catch up on their lower secondary school certificate to enter vocational training
- introductory training with the aim to impart and reinforce basic employability skills by paying social insurance contribution subsidies to employers
- Assistance during training to support the start and completion of vocational training

Overall, the above illustrated measures show that *enabling measures* predominantly related to education and training dominate the German YG. Many measures focus on the attainment of school or vocational training certificates. In addition, YG-programs aim at placement in training such as the “Introductory Training” which includes pay and social insurance contributions subsidized for long internships (6-12 months). *Employment assistance* in terms of vocational orientation instruments and counselling services is another very important feature in the German YG. Apart from enabling and employment assistance measures but to a far lesser extent, there also exist ‘*job first*’ measures such as integration subsidy (under section 88 SCB III) which aim at placement in employment. *Labor mobility measures* include travel costs to interviews or relocation expenses to promote regional mobility. Promotion of *cross-country mobility measures* do not primarily aim at young Germans, but rather focus on young people in other European member states likely to come to Germany² (BMAS, 2014: 30–4).

The German government has the objective to implement structural reforms and to improve the cooperation between various local stakeholders and further align provision under Social Code Books such as youth social services and minimum income support schemes (see 3.4). The aim is to centralize support services for young people to strengthen the cooperation at the interface between employment agencies, job centers and youth welfare services. The goal is to combine public employment services, educational authorities (such as schools), social youth services and other relevant institutions to provide career guidance for young people as well as information to entitlements of benefits. One form of cooperation is the establishment of one stop agencies such as *youth career agencies* (see 4.1), however, the concept development and implementation differs according to the Länder (BMAS, 2014: 22–3). Another program, *Youth encouraging in the Neighborhood* (see 4.2), also aims at improving the coordination of assistance offers.

Sanctions and enforcement do play a role in the life of young people, if they are registered with public employment services and receive unemployment benefits. Employment agencies have an obligation to apply *Individual Action Plans (IAP)* with young job or training seekers. The *IAP* contains among others the integration goal, the efforts to be undertaken by the client and the employment agency as well as the designated active labor market measures offered to the client (§15 SCB II; §37 SCB III). In

² The Job of My Life’ (MobiPro-EU) programme, URL: <https://www.thejobofmylife.de/en/home.html>.

Germany, the IAP is a legally binding contract that each benefit claimant and the providing employment office must conclude. ALMP measures are compulsory once agreed to an integration agreement. The IAP can be ended, if young people do not meet their obligations defined in the agreement which may lead to cuts in benefits (Konle-Seidl, 2012: 2–4). Not signing an individual action plan may result in a sanction on benefit payments (BA, 2016b: 37).

3.2 Target groups

Only few YG measures identify a particular age group. As most measures aim at pupils and vocational training seekers, the most targeted age group should be *between 16 and 24 years*. However, cross-border mobility measures (see below) target young people from 18 to 35 from other EU states. The Federal ESF (European Social Fund) Integration Directive aims among others at refugees, asylum seekers and young migrants under 35 years with particular difficulty entering employment or training. The ESF program "Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood" targets people between 12-26 years inclusively. Furthermore, there are some labor market measures by the FEA with explicitly include young people below the age of 25.

As in most Länder education is compulsory for people below the age of 18, the majority of educational and labor market measures is preventive and aim at *pupils, job or training seekers or young unemployed*. Hence, pupils in secondary schools participate in special school subjects that inform about occupations and requirements of the work places. Other measures target "*disadvantaged*" *young people* likely to have difficulty completing secondary school or coping with the transition to vocational training. *People with immigration backgrounds*³ who have a higher share among the young who leave school or training without a certificate are targeted as a particular group, too (BMAS, 2014: 10,32). Furthermore, many measures promote employment opportunities for *young people with disabilities* such as the *Inclusion Initiative* or the *occupational rehabilitation program* where employers may receive subsidies for workplace adaptation (BMAS, 2014: 35).

NEETs (people not in education, employment or training) are another group which receives special attention within labor market and educational measures. NEETs include unemployed individuals and also non-active people who may not fulfil the 'available for work' and 'seeking work' criteria, such as single parents, youths with health conditions and young people with disabilities. It should be noted that within the implementation plan, they show up particularly in the planned measure period from 2014 onwards (BMAS, 2014: 11, 19-20). NEETs do not present a new target group as they have been addressed before. The term, however, has received new attention. Nevertheless, there is no comprehensive approach how young non-registered NEETs may be reached by measures of the YG. The German government assumes that the "vast majority of young people seeking either employment or vocational training will register with them [local employment agencies or job centers] as unem-

³ The Integration through Training (IQ) program aims at improving the labor market integration of people with immigration backgrounds focusing on advice with regard to the law on mutual recognition of qualifications, the intercultural opening of employment services, interconnection of regional players and services (BMAS (2014: 36)).

ployed". Not registered young people are able to access support and assistance through public and non-profit youth welfare service providers" (BMAS, 2014: 17). An example would be *Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood* which explicitly targets NEETs (see 4.2).

3.3 Innovations, legal claim and quality offer

Germany aimed to build upon already developed structures of educational and labor market instruments for young people to implement the YG. Therefore, the YG did not create major changes, however, the topic raised awareness and due to national efforts at European level it is disseminated in political bodies. "There have been periods where the YG as a key element attracted strong national attention and played a significant role for all the single steps in the implementation process" (Interview BMAS 2016: 2). The YG Recommendation has led the government to take a holistic view on youth labor market policy and also gave new impetus. The interviewee uses the German expression "it gave us tail wind" (Interview BMAS 2016: 2).

Germany did not implement the YG as a *legal claim*. The interviewee mentioned a legal claim may be attractive, but in the end it is important to have a long-term and sustainable policy orientation. If there aren't any offers for young people available, a legal claim leads to short-term offers such as job application training. Ministry representatives had also been to Finland to see how the YG is implemented "We have not recognized any noticeable gain in implementing a legal claim", it is rather important to have a needs-based measure "to integrate young people in the long-term" (Interview BMAS 2016: 2).

It is difficult to assess how YG offers in Germany include *the importance of freedom and choice* in leading the life that young people value. The offers are individually negotiated with the young people, however no rights to choose are officially provided. In August 2016, amending law emphasized that in case young people do not have a vocational qualification, PES should make use of the possibilities of apprenticeship placement (§ 3 para. 2 SCB II new⁴). Important to notice is that Germany has a segmented labor and educational system. The hierarchy of school types distributes opportunities by allocating young people into different social and occupational segments at an early age (Allmendinger et al., 2010: 64; Kronauer, 2010: 182). Jobs or apprenticeships are only available with certain educational or vocational certifications. These conditions limit the freedom and choice of young people.

3.4 Actors and coordination

Important actors for the YG program are shown in Figure 1. The key actor responsible for establishing, supervising and coordinating the YG across levels and sectors as well as the point of contact for EC (European Commission) is the *Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs* (BMAS). It is also updating the implementation plan and progress reports. The *Federal Employment Agency* (FEA) with its

⁴ Until now the goal was that unemployed people under 25 need to be placed into a job, job opportunity or qualification measure immediately (§ 3 para. 2 SCB II old).

local employment agencies as well as its network of local job centers has the role of the service provider when establishing the YG (BMAS, 2014: 16).

Public employment promotion service providers work at international (International Placement Service, ZAV), national (Federal Employment Agency, FEA), federal state level (regional directorates of Federal Employment Agency, RD) and local level (local employment agencies, AA). At national level the FEA is responsible for the strategy, coordination and conceptualization of measures for young people. The regional directorates coordinate federal funding programs for young people and issue tenders for procuring measures. At local level, there are 156 local employment agencies with about 600 branch offices as local points of contact for young people (BMAS 2014: 47-48).

Other involved ministries are the *Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy* (BMW_i). It is the responsible actor of the “program for matching traineeships with companies seeking trainees”⁵ to foster entrepreneurship in schools and for business start-ups. The *Federal Ministry of Education and Research* (BMBF) has a coordinating role concerning vocational training issues. It also supports other European countries in developing a dual vocational training system (see 3.5). The *Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth* (BMFSFJ) is responsible for the Child and Youth Services (SCB VIII). It has a cross-cutting consultation function (education, health and labor sector) with other Federal ministries, local and federal authorities (BMAS, 2014: 47–8).

Public and non-profit *youth social welfare providers* at local level are responsible for youth welfare such as benefits and assistance for young people and families. Young people in need for support to compensate for social disadvantages or in need to overcome hard personal circumstances may be offered “suitable socio-educationally supported vocational training and employment opportunities by youth welfare service providers” (BMAS, 2014: 19). *Chambers of trades and crafts* and *chambers of industry and commerce* at local level supervise in-company training and provide career orientation service. They pay regular workplace visits by training advisors and maintain registers of training contracts. *Employers’ and trade union associations* also exist at national and federal state level. They are responsible for regulating the conditions of traineeships (BMAS, 2014: 50).

Furthermore, the *Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training* (BIBB) operates at national level, does research and further develops initial and continuing vocational education and training in Germany. The institute cooperates with social partners and the government. It lies in the portfolio of the BMBF (BMAS, 2014: 13,46).

In consultation with the FEA *industry organizations*⁶, parts of the Federal Government (BMW_i, BMBF, BMAS and Integration Commissioner), the *Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs* have built a voluntary alliance for the *National Pact for Career Training and Skilled*

⁵ ESF-Program „Passgenaue Vermittlung Jugendlicher an ausbildungswillige Unternehmen“ to advise SMEs in training matters and help them match traineeships also to foreign applicants.

⁶ Such as DIHK (Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce), ZDH (German Confederation of Skilled Crafts), BDA (Federal Society of the German Employer Associations)

*Manpower Development (Training Pact)*⁷. As announced in the implementation plan of the YG in December 2014, the Training Pact has been developed towards an *Alliance for Initial and Further Training*⁸ and also includes the unions, which haven't been party to the Training Pact (BMAS, 2015a). *Schools* at local level in the 16 different Länder cooperate with vocational guidance services within the coordination framework agreement of the FEA and the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs⁹. Due to the federal structure the concrete implementation is done at federal respectively local level (regional and local offices FEA, ministries of education and schools). Furthermore, schools also cooperate with partner businesses via the SCHULEWIRTSCHAFT¹⁰ schools and business (BMAS, 2014: 21).

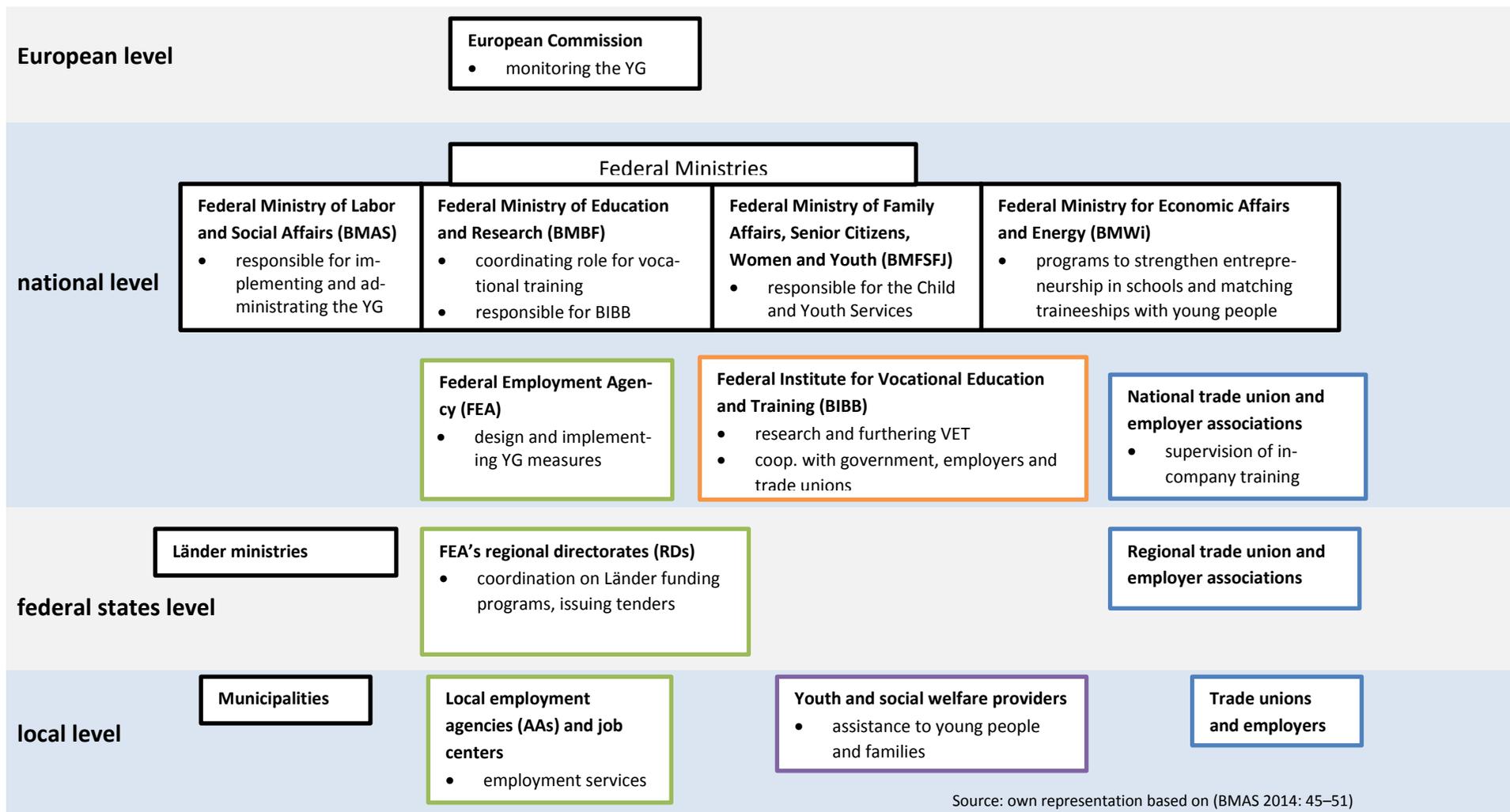
⁷ In German: Nationaler Pakt für Ausbildung und Fachkräftenachwuchs - Ausbildungspakt

⁸ Agreement upon an Alliance for Initial and Continuing Training (2014)

⁹ In German: „Rahmenvereinbarung über die Zusammenarbeit von Schule und Berufsberatung“, 15.10.2004.

¹⁰ SCHULEWIRTSCHAFT provides services such as business orientation days, internships and information material for schools, companies and parents (www.schulewirtschaft.de).

Figure 1: Implementation of the YG - important actors at different levels



Horizontal and vertical coordination

Germany has a federal structure and puts emphasis on the municipal power when it comes to the **vertical coordination** of labor market and educational measures. The government pursues a bottom-up approach. *“It is important that the application of programs and measures are decided and implemented locally. There are so many actors involved. We can only steer these processes to a limited extent”* (Interview BMAS 2016: 3). Because education is a responsibility of the individual Länder, the federal governments also need to be involved. Nonetheless, in *Federal-Länder agreements* [German: Bund-Länder Vereinbarungen], the Federal Government pursues a bilateral path involving the FEA to integrate the *“confusing”* amount of measures regarding the transition from school to work. So far, agreements with seven Länder are completed (as of October 2016), in which financial commitments are also made (Interview BMAS 2016: 3).

When designing and implementing the Youth Guarantee, municipalities are integrated via the local authority associations [German: kommunale Spitzenverbände]. The BMAS also invited social partners, welfare associations or cooperation networks to a meeting where a raw version of the YG implementation plan was presented. Partners were given the opportunity to provide written feedback. The EC also took place in the meeting (Interview BMAS 2016: 2-3).

The EC monitors the national implementation of the YG. The Employment Committee (EMCO) is charged with the multilateral surveillance regarding the European Semester. Germany, however, within the framework of the European Semester, did not receive any recommendations concerning the implementation of the YG. Within the monitoring process the statistical office of the BMAS or the FEA perform the analyses. The reporting to the EC is connected to the evaluation of the programs. The BMAS notes that it gains a new perspective as well as knowledge because programs and measures are sometimes evaluated and monitored differently than at national level. The comparability of data across countries, nevertheless, may create difficulties and problems. The BMAS points out that the reports do not give exact information in how data came up. *“Much can still be developed in this area”* (Interview BMAS 2016: 3).

In the area of **horizontal coordination**, several laws and policy fields may interact and interfere with one another (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). In Germany, labor market policies are regulated within different *Social Code Books* (Sozialgesetzbuch): *SCB II* regulates the minimum income protection system, also known as unemployment benefit II (UB II). It is tax-financed and means-tested. It applies to all people capable to work. *SCB III* regulates unemployment benefit I (UB I) which is paid within the contribution-based system of unemployment insurance and most employment promotion measures. It deals with young people who have already worked on a job with social security liability, or its institutions also support those seeking for vocational training (even if not registered as unemployed). Since 2012, the FEA carries out career guidance and vocational counselling under SCB III. Additionally, *SCB VIII* regulates child and youth welfare, including youth services. In case existing employment promotion initiatives for young people promoted by SCB II and III are not sufficient, SCB VIII may provide measures that offer assistance or aim at guidance and promotion to acquire school-leaving

and formal education qualifications. Furthermore, special local employment and labor market programs for socially disadvantaged youth may be offered (Obermeier and Oschmiansky, 2014).

As illustrated in Figure 2 the approach in SCB VIII (children and youth welfare) is different than in SCB II and III. Youth welfare aims at social integration (not necessarily labour market integration or accomplishing an educational degree) and voluntarily participation in measures. In SCB II and SCB III, the overall aim is integration in vocational training or employment by also using obligations and sanctions (stronger in SCB II) (Obermeier and Oschmiansky, 2014; ZEW et al., 2010: 3–4).

Figure 2: Purposes and aims of SCB II, SCB III and SCB VIII

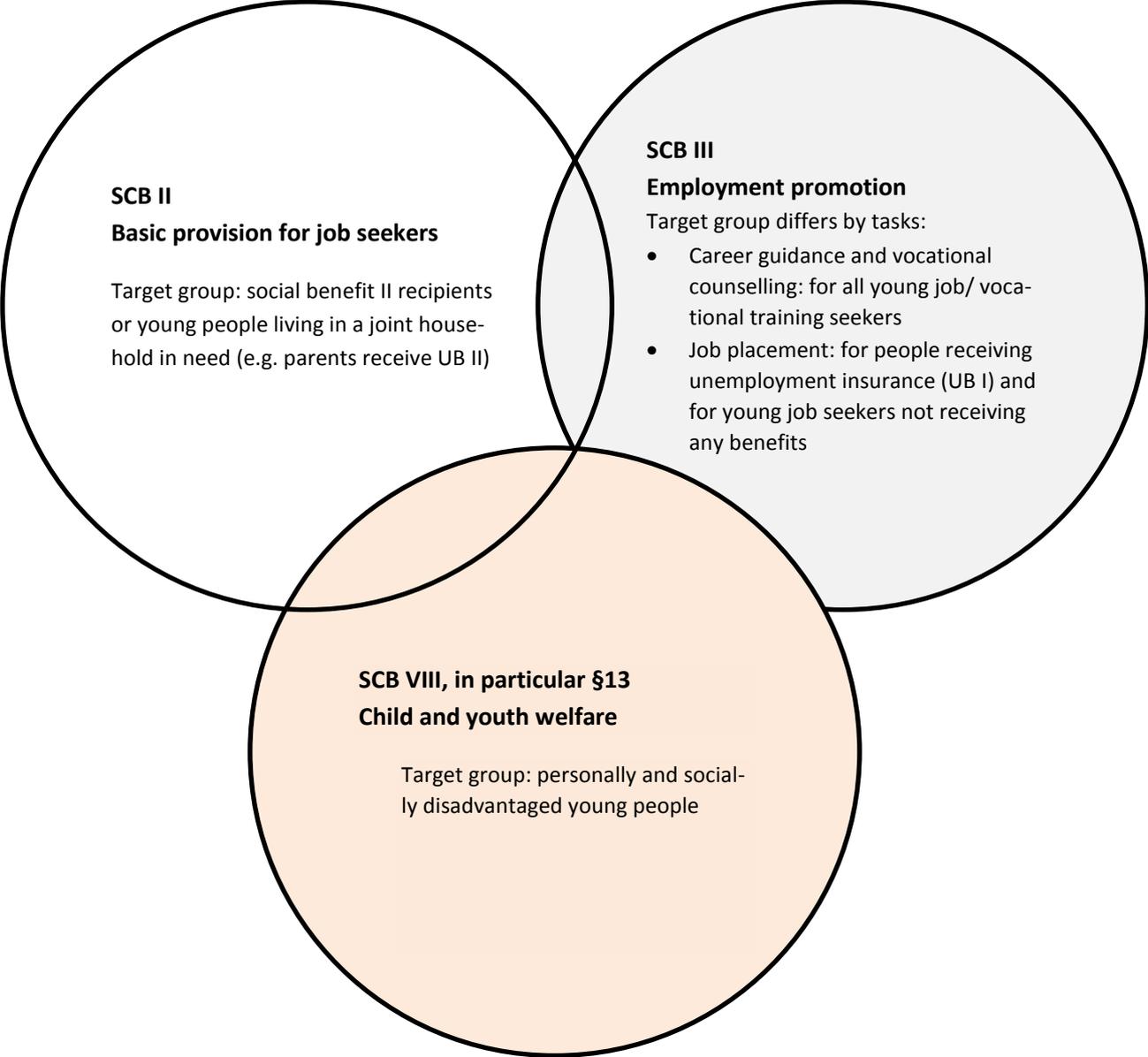
<p>SCB II Basic provision for job seekers Main responsible actors: Job center, local employment agencies</p> <p>Goal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Integration in vocational training or employment - Young people should accomplish a degree in school, vocational training or find employment - Reduction or end of dependency on benefits 	<p>SCB III Employment promotion Main responsible actor: Federal Employment Agency (FEA)</p>	<p>SCB VIII, in particular §13 Child and youth welfare Main responsible actors: Municipalities, Youth Office and social welfare providers</p> <p>Goal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social integration (occupation and life planning) - enable/support young people to accomplish a degree in school, vocational training or to find employment
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One of the interviews illustrates how several policy fields and different actors take part in youth employment policy: In school, the FEA does job counselling and vocational guidance for the students (under SCB III). After school, the adolescent who does not find a job/apprenticeship may take different paths. The individual Länder may offer educational instruments in which young people may improve or catch up their school leaving certificate. The compulsory education also differs in the German Länder (Interview BMAS 2016: 4). If the young person is in a “community in need” (e.g. parents receive unemployment benefit II), the job center (SCB II) is responsible. In case the young person does not depend on the job center, she or he may apply for a vocational training with the support of the FEA in SCB III. The young person, however, may also apply directly or receive support via chambers (Interview BMAS 2016: 4).

Horizontal coordination between SCB II, SCB III and SCB VIII may be very complex. The responsibilities of different institutions are not always regulated systematically but case-specifically (see Figure 3). As Beller mann points out, there may be a lack of clear responsibility of public employment services, youth offices or welfare authorities in case young people are able to work, but are not in a position to take up work due to training, disease or other reasons. Similar interface problems occur when it comes to responsibilities of drug help, debt issues or assistance to the homeless (Beller mann, 2015: 58–9).

The government demands a closer cooperation between SCB II, SCB III and SCB VIII (Interview BMAS 2016: 4). It intends to take forward activities to support the introduction of cooperation and coordination structures such as Youth Career Agencies. In addition, the *“political goal is to connect closer school and the labor market”* so that *“the school may also accompany students after graduation”*. The interviewee illustrates when introducing the Youth Career Agency (YCA) in Hamburg, the school law was changed in this respect (Interview BMAS 2016: 4).

Figure 3: Targets groups and interlinking of SCB II, III, VIII



Labour market policy regarding the young often consist of educational measures such as the attainment of educational or vocational certificates. Therefore, the governmental approach requires good coordination between educational (BMBF), labour market (BMAS), economical ressorts (BMWFi) and the social department (BMSFSJ). The high numbers of measures in the field of educational, vocational training and labour market integration demonstrates the coordination and cooperation challenges ministries face in policy-making.

Overall, when it comes to YG programs, the BMAS with a coordinating as well as supervising function and the FEA as the social welfare provider are the key actors. Nevertheless, many other actors at national, federal state and local level such as other ministries, social partners, youth welfare organizations and schools are involved in the implementation of the measures. For coordination and cooperation issues network governance is frequently used. Recently, efforts have been made to improve the vertical coordination by adopting Federal-Länder agreements. In the field of horizontal coordination, Germany increasingly focuses on the introduction of cooperation and coordination structures such as Youth Career Agencies.

3.5 Cooperation with other countries

The BMBF signed a *Memorandum on Cooperation in Vocational Education and Training in Europe* to support the international cooperation in vocational and educational training (BMBF, 2012). The Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB) has a special task force, the *German office for International Cooperation in Vocational Training (Govet)* to strengthen Germany's role in this field. It is the central contact for international and national stakeholders (BIBB, 2016).

Within the field of employment and education policy, Germany signed with several European countries *Memorandums of Understanding (MoU)*. These memorandums demonstrate the political will to build and share experiences. From the interviewee's perspective, the interest in German labor market programs and the dual vocational system has increased markedly over the past years so that exchanges also take place outside the memorandums (Interview BMAS 2016: 4).

At European level the Mutual Learning Program (MLP) exists under the European Employment Strategy (EC, 2016). Here, the BMAS also organized two events regarding youth unemployment and Youth Guarantee. Nevertheless, this program also offers possibilities to exchange experiences in youth labor market policy (Interview BMAS 2016: 4).

3.6 Finance and Budget

The money for YG-programs comes from various budgets: Unemployment insurance contributions, Federal Government, Länder and local tax revenues as well as Federal Government and Länder ESF funds. Furthermore, the industry contributes to the dual and vocational training scheme. Gross costs to employers for dual education and vocational training without taking into account trainee's productive output is about € 23.8 billion and net cost around € 5.6 billion per year (BMAS, 2014: 41). It is difficult to itemize the funding for young people services especially when services also cover other age groups (Interview BMAS 2016: 4-5). An ILO report noted that Germany is the country with the

highest planned spending of about 20.765 euros per eligible participant. The amount exceeds three times the recommended amount on YG (Escuerdo and Lopéz Mourelo, 2015: 15–6).

The share of ESF funding on ALMPs in Germany at national level is very small. In the funding period from 2007 to 2013, the ESF invested 9.4 billion euros (1.4 billion euros per year), whereas the FEA received 14 billion euros for ALMPs in 2011 only (EC, 2013: 1). The Länder labor market policy, especially at program and project level, however, is mainly financed by ESF (Oschmiansky and Kühn, 2014: 1–2).

ESF programs have different requirements that have to be met compared to measures financed by national budget. Implementing institutions need to collect much data for individual participants. ESF programs have certain procedures that must be abided. A payment request especially at the beginning made by the social welfare provider may take a while. Furthermore, each ESF program may have a different invoicing structure (Interview BMAS 2016: 5; for more information see 4.).

4. Illustrating the YG implementation in Germany based on three programs

To clarify how the YG was implemented in Germany three extensive or innovative ESF-financed programs were selected for further qualitative analysis. In the following sections we will take a closer look at the implementation of the *Youth Career Agencies*, the *Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood-program* and the *Career Entry Support by Mentoring-program*. We use a case study design to understand the realization of YG-programs carried out in the small, northern City-State of Bremen. This consists of only two cities, namely Bremen and Bremerhaven.

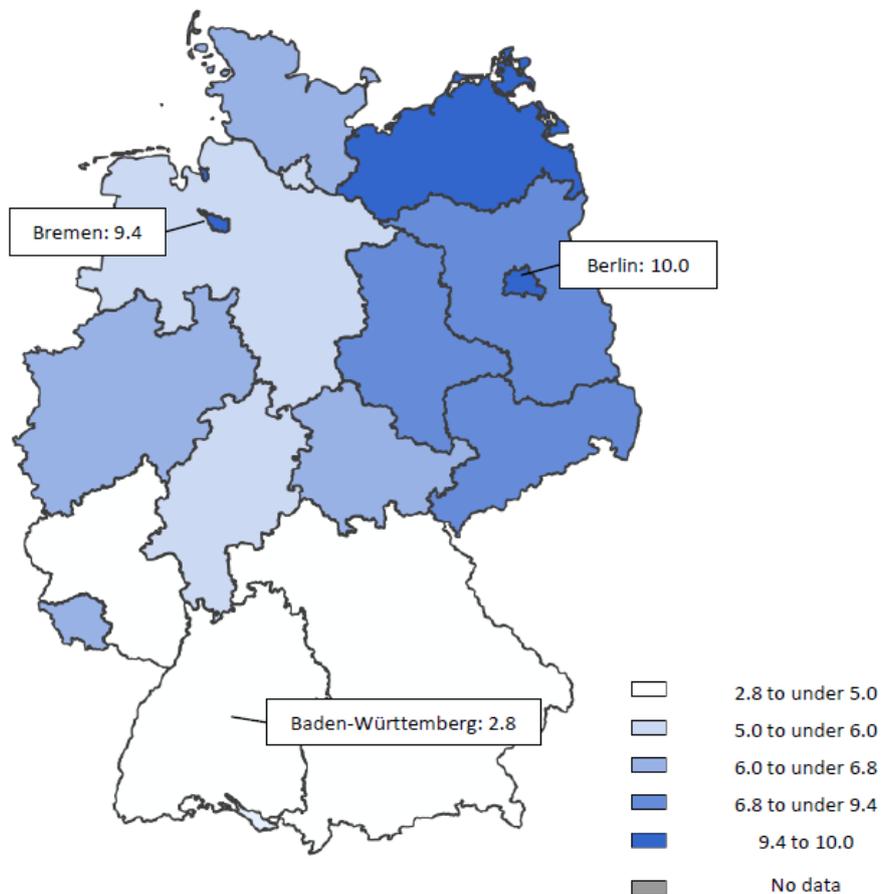
Selection of the city for the case studies

It is particularly attractive to study the case of the Land Bremen in the context of the implementation of the YG because it has one of the highest rates of youth unemployment of the Länder of Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015) and the options for political action in this Land is limited because of the high indebtedness of the public budget (highest per capita debt of a Land in Germany) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016). That is why Bremen can be classified as an extreme case of the Länder in Germany with regard to the challenges concerning youth unemployment.

Special about Bremen is that since 2015 there exists a “training guarantee for young people”, which is a self-commitment of the Bremen senate to guarantee that every person younger than 25 gets the offer of an apprenticeship or a measure which leads to a professional qualification. The concrete aim of the senate is to create 500 new apprenticeship places until 2018 (Der Senator für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Häfen).

Figure 4: Youth unemployment rate in the Länder in Germany 2015

Unemployment rate 15-24 years in percent; year 2015; federal states



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt

Source: (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015)

Selection of programs for the qualitative analysis

It is interesting to look at the establishment of *Youth Career Agencies* in the context of the YG-implementation in Germany as it is overall a structural reform aiming at a better horizontal coordination of different services. It is a new approach in policies combatting youth unemployment which is applied nationwide in various forms. Alas, it is not easy to total the ESF-money spent on the Youth Career Agencies because they are not financed by Federal Government ESF funds but by the Länder ESF funds and other financial sources.

Career Entry Support by Mentoring (CESM) is Germany's biggest ESF program for young people under the coming funding period. From 2015 onwards, the Federal Government provides around one billion euros for the funding period 2014-2020 of which 530 million euros come from the ESF. Therefore the costs of the program are secured until the school year 2018/2019 (Deutscher Bundestag, 12. Januar 2015: 1). 115.000 students in secondary education in 3000 schools shall be supported by the program (BMBF and BMAS).

The second biggest ESF program for young people in Germany is Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood. The ESF invests 115 million Euro in this program. Furthermore, the program is remarkable, because of its specific approach: it focuses on youth social work in disadvantaged areas. In the current funding period it is realized in 178 model municipalities (BMSFSJ, 2016b).

4.1 Youth Career Agency (YCA) in Germany

A very interesting measure in connection with the YG in the German context is the current implementation of the *youth career agencies* (YCA). It is a new *structural and nationwide reform* which is partly ESF-funded. The aim of the reform is to centralize support services for young people at the local level. Youth career agencies seek to combine public employment services, like the employment agencies and the job centres, youth welfare services, educational authorities and other relevant institutions to provide career guidance for young people as well as information about entitlements to benefits. In fact, the idea of the YCA came up before the resolution of the youth guarantee. The project which includes the YCA is called “young people and career alliances” (YPCA) and was already launched in 2010.

4.1.1 Content and objectives – YCA

The general aim launched with the YCA is to strengthen the *cooperation* especially between the *employment agencies*, the *job centres* and the *youth welfare services* all over Germany. The desired areas of cooperation between these actors are mainly transparency, information exchange, harmonization of processes and measures and the installation of one-stop agencies, but it can be decided at local level on which of these areas will be put emphasis. There are many different possibilities for the execution of the cooperation in the four areas. For realizing internal and external *transparency* there are examples of districts where IT-platforms or excel-tools are used (BA, 2014: 25ff.). *Information exchange* is improved for instance by the standardization of documents which are needed in the context of data protection, by holding case conferences and the online-centralization of materials (BA, 2014: 34ff.)¹¹. To promote the *harmonization of processes and measures*: common labor market programs, cooperation agreements, interface concepts and target agreements are signed; youth conferences are held and measures are planned and implemented jointly in the different districts. Also joint case conferences, joint workshops, mutual observation of consultations can be helpful (BA, 2014: 40ff.). The installation of *one-stop agencies* occurs more frequently in cities than in the countryside. While shared premises for the three institutions are generally desirable, in more rural places common consultation hours, a shared IT portal or the promotion of mobility of the young people have proven to be better alternatives. A geographic centralization would mean that the young people would have to travel even longer distances to reach the YPCAs (BA, 2014: 64ff.).

¹¹ There exists also a web-based platform which centralizes interesting information for the YPCAs on the national level. It is called WEBDAV (BA (2014: 36).

4.1.2 Institutions and actors –YCA as part of the YPCA

The initiative for the project YPCA came from the *Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs* (BMAS) while the general concept was developed by the *FEA* (BA 2010:1; BMAS, 2014: 22). This concept determines only broad aims for the YPCAs, like more transparency, better exchange of information, harmonization of processes and measures between the different services and the installation of one-stop agencies, and identifies basic success factors for their implementation (Deutscher Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge e.V., 2016: 2ff.). The openness of the concept is due to the fact that the Federal Government adopts a bottom-up approach here and leaves the structuring of the YPCAs to the local actors (Deutscher Bundestag, 02.12.2014: 3). That's why the form of the YPCAs varies widely between the different districts of the local employment agencies (Borrs, 2016: 3). While the research institute of the FEA, the IAB, counts 218 YCAs in Germany in a recent study (Borrs, 2016: 2), interview partners state that there might be only about five YCAs which comply with the stricter definition of the YCA, meaning that the involved actors are working together "under the same roof" (Interview SFLB 2016: 2).

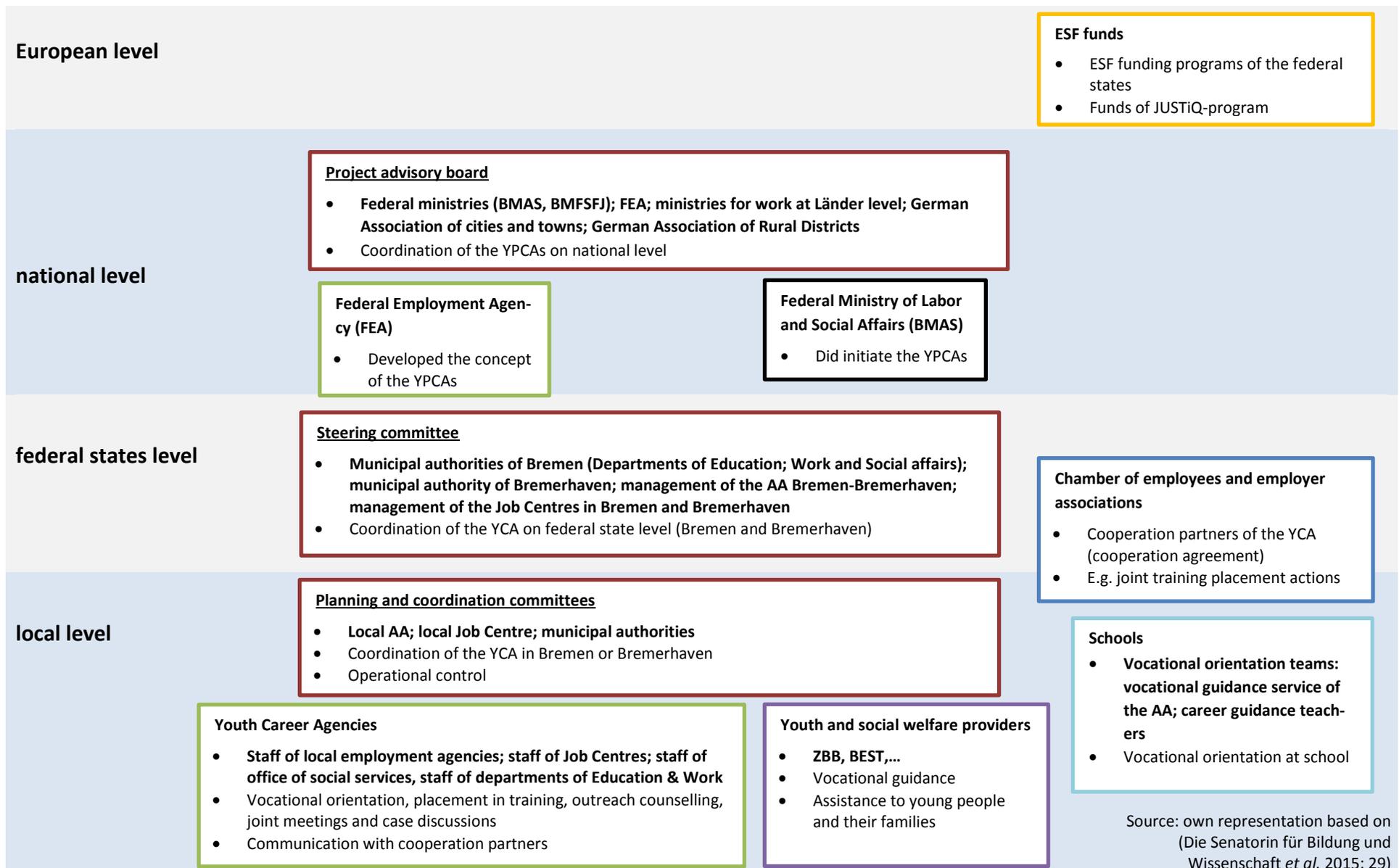
The further implementation of the YPCAs at national level is coordinated by a *project advisory board* consisting of members of the BMAS, BMFSFJ, the FEA, the ministries for work at federal state level, the German Association of Cities and Towns, the German Association of Rural Districts and other institutions (BA, 2014: 12). The concrete implementation of the YPCAs is carried out at local level by the concerned actors on-site: the *employment agency*, the *job centre*, the *municipality* and the *youth welfare services* (BA, 2014: 8f.). The implementation might be coordinated by project steering committees at local level (BA, 2014: 13) and the involvement of other relevant actors, especially of *schools*, is desired (BMAS, 2014: 21).

There is an exchange of best practice models in Germany between different cities and also within the cities. The local actors in Bremen e.g. have visited the YCA in Hamburg as a positive example of a well performing YCA (Interview JCB 2016: 2).

4.1.3 Financing structure - YCA

The realization of the YPCAs and the YCAs is not supported by Federal Government funds but has to be financed with the *budgets of the local employment agencies, job centres and youth welfare services*. However, ESF funding program *Encouraging Youth in the Neighbourhood* (JUSTiQ) of the Federal Government and ESF funding programs of the Länder are applied as well (Deutscher Bundestag, 02.12.2014: 4; ESF-Verwaltungsbehörde Bremen, 07.05.2014). As mentioned above it would be a question of more detailed research to determine the concrete amount of ESF-money spent on YPCA projects in Germany.

Figure 5: Coordination of the YCA in Bremen / Bremerhaven - important actors at different levels



4.1.5 Case study Bremen – YCA

Implementation and coordination at local level

The political support on the national and local level is viewed as an important factor for the successful implementation of the YCA in Bremen. It is seen positively that the FEA pushes the implementation of the YCA and the establishment of one-stop-agencies in this context. The inclusion of the YCA in the coalition agreement is seen as an important sign of political support and “*tailwind*” for the YCA on the national level (Interview JCB 2016: 2). On the local level the establishment of the *training guarantee for young people* plays an important role for the work of the YCA, most of all, because it is a political statement with which the government of Bremen committed itself to support the implementation and the financing of the YCA (Interview SFLB 2016: 2).

In Bremen *a lot of cooperation partners* are involved in the YCA: the departments of education, work and social affairs of the Land Bremen, the municipal authority of Bremerhaven, the employment agency Bremen - Bremerhaven and the job centres in Bremen and Bremerhaven as well as the Office of Social Services and there especially the youth welfare office (Jugendberufsagentur Bremen: 1) Interview SFLB 2016: 1). Other cooperating actors are the chamber of commerce, the chamber of industry and commerce, the chamber of crafts, employer associations and the chamber of employees in Bremen (Pressestelle des Senats, 14.04.2015).

The concept of the YCA in Bremen is a cooperation of the job centres and the employment agencies “*under one roof*”. There are three locations in Bremen, where such an one-stop-YCA has been established between May 2015 and April 2016 (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 6). The YCAs in Bremen are still in a development phase which is officially lasting from 2015 until 2018. The all in all contract duration for the YCA in Bremen is currently limited to a term of six years (CDU, 2015: 3).

Special about the YCA in Bremen is the engagement of new staff in the working area of “*outreach-counselling*”, namely four employees and two of them in Bremen (Die Senatorin für Bildung und Wissenschaft et al., 10.03.2015: 21). There *is no special concept* in order to motivate young *NEETs* to come to the YCA, but there exist several supporting measures in Bremen, which do address them. Also the outreach-counselling of the YCA aims to address *NEETs*. There are still some discussions going on about what outreach-counselling means in the context of the YCA, and how far the concept differs from the concept of outreach-social work. At present the task of the outreach-counselling-personal is to get actively in contact with the young people (directly or after the suggestion of the parents), to meet them personally and to get them in touch with the suitable counselling offices. But in fact a minority of young people in Bremen can be addressed by outreach-counselling (Interview SFLB 2016: 3).

Measures focusing on special target groups do exist in Bremen. A measure especially for *women* with children is e.g. a part-time vocational training in a specific class. Other measures address single parents (Interview JCB 2016: 3).

Vertical coordination

The YCA in Bremen got an amount of *1 million Euro* as a start-up assistance for the first three years out of ESF-funds in the context of the “Beschäftigungspolitisches Aktionsprogramm” (2014: 67ff.). A part of these funds is used for the payment of the four employees working in the “outreach-counselling” (Die Senatorin für Bildung und Wissenschaft et al., 10.03.2015: 21)). Other supporting measures, in which young people can be placed by the YCA, are partly funded by the EU through ESF-funds. During the first three years of the implementation of the YCA 2.85 million Euro from the ESF are reserved for these kind of measures (ESF-Verwaltungsbehörde Bremen, 07.05.2014: 29; 44). *The costs* of the YCA in Bremen and Bremerhaven are *financed by the local partners* but since the YCA is not a new institution, but a cooperation of several already existing institutions, the financial extra burden for the partners is manageable (Interview JCB 2016: 2). Despite the fact that the support of the EU is very welcome on the local level, local partners of the YCA report in this context that institutions try to avoid the application for EU-funds (ESF and EFRE), because the documentation for the funds is very extensive and complicated. “*Who is able to avoid it, avoids it.*” (Interview SFLB 2016: 3).

The coordination of the YCA in Bremen and Bremerhaven is conducted by a *steering committee* on the federal state level and on the municipality level by *two planning and coordination committees*. At the beginning, in 2015, the YCA-project was coordinated by the education department of the Land Bremen and then in 2016 the *labor department of the Land Bremen* superseded the education department in the coordination of the project. The background for this was that the development of the project went slowly because the education department had to work on several tasks in parallel at the same time (Interview SFLB 2016: 1).

In one of the interviews the vertical coordination of the FEA is criticized to be very hierarchically structured. In some questions the employment agency in Bremen has to wait for the consent of the FEA in Nürnberg, which hinders the implementation of the YCA on local level. But in some cases the structure of the employment agency seems to be helpful, too, because the political game can be played indirectly. For example, when the actors on local level cooperate just slowly, sometimes topics can be addressed on the Federal level in Nürnberg to accelerate the political process (Interview SFLB 2016: 1).

Horizontal coordination

The cooperation of the local actors in the YCA was recorded in an *administrative agreement* on YCAs and a *cooperation agreement* on 14th April 2015 (Pressestelle des Senats, 14.04.2015: 5). The employees of the YCA in the city of Bremen have started to participate in joint meetings, workshops and working groups. They made manuals and directories together (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 9), organized information days for young people and their parents (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 10) and are currently working on joint measures and a joint coordination of these measures (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 12). Furthermore, seven joint bigger training placement actions have taken place in cooperation with the chambers since the

start of the work of the YCAs (CDU, 2015: 8f.). There exists also a close cooperation between the schools and the vocational guidance which is now part of the YCA: there are consultation hours of the vocational guidance services of the employment agency at the schools (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 10) and also career guidance teachers, who are extra-paid for this task and who act as contact persons for the vocational guidance services at the schools (this is one person at each school in most of the cases) (Die Senatorin für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 12.05.2016: 1f.).

The cooperation on horizontal level is accepted as the key for the functioning of the YCA by the local actors. From the point of view of one of the interviewees it was helpful to begin the process of the implementation of the YCA with a state analysis which showed that the different actors were not cooperating systematically until that moment and that some of the young persons were dropping out of the system because of it (Interview SFLB 2016: 2). This helped the partners of the YCA to understand that the structural changes could help to avoid “loosing young people” between the systems, to work faster and more coordinated e.g. concerning measures. Right now the YCA allows to identify the duplication of measures as well as gaps. Especially working groups were helpful to promote mutual understanding between the actors involved. Positive about the situation in Bremen is that the same people are representing the same political actors in various constellations, which makes it easier to cooperate. Even before the start of the YCA, the network between the relevant political actors was well established. The shared aim of the actors, to help the young people to get a vocational qualification, helps a lot and is accepted by the actors and seen positively (Interview JCB 2016: 1). The cooperation helps the partners of the YCA to see the whole context of the work with young people and enhances thinking on a longer-term (Interview JCB 2016: 1).

But there are also *major differences between the partners* in the YCA on the local level: all participating actors have their own orders, which may differ and even be opposed to each other. For example the SCB II uses a ‘carrot and stick’ logic where also sanctions are used, while the SCB VIII pursues a more holistic approach. These logics are sometimes competing (Interview JCB 2016: 1). What is special e.g. about the employment agency is that it is working a lot with key figures like placement rates, which is also criticized, as a high placement rate is not necessarily a sign of the positive development of the labor market situation of young people. “A person that comes three times: three months here, then being unemployed and then working three months – this person has been ‘placed’ three times. A top quota. But for the society and the city that is not good in the long run” (Interview SFLB 2016: 1). Another topic are the sanctions the job centres are using while such measures are not accepted by the actors of the youth welfare, e.g. because sometimes young people are “getting lost” because of the application of such sanctions. In the YCA it is not possible to guarantee young people a freedom of sanctions, because they are part of SCB II. But the aim of the work in the YCA is to establish relations on basis of trust – which means that they have to avoid sanctions and to try to find alternatives. In this situation the different partners in the YCA need to widen their horizons (Interview SFLB 2016: 3; Interview JCB 2016: 2).

Another problem is that in some occasions the *YCA has been viewed as a competitor* of actors which are already established in the assistance system for young people in Bremen, like the BIZ. With the

implementation of the YCA the BIZ is going to be a part of the YCA. Therefore the employment agency fears to be perceived less and in a less positive way by the young people (Interview SFLB 2016: 2). Furthermore, the actors of youth welfare mirror the work of the outreach-counselling by the staff of the YCA critically and do not want them to visit youth leisure centers.

Something new in the context of the YCA is that in the near future (the process started in August 2016) the contact between *schools* and the employment agency or the YCA is through *vocational orientation teams* based on the model of the VO-teams in Hamburg. Thus the connection between school and labor market is supposed to get closer. These VO-teams are going to consist of the vocational counsellors of the employment agency, staff member of youth welfare services and the newly introduced vocational orientation staff at the schools. The latter are teachers who get a reduction of teaching hours in order to take charge of the vocational orientation at the concerning school. They are the center of the VO-team at the schools (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2).

4.1.6 Outcomes of the program – YCA

Evaluation and discourse at national level

A full evaluation of the YCAs in Germany does not yet exist. It is clear that there are many YPCAs (about 200) and only a small number of YCAs “under one roof” (about five) like it is the case in Bremen, Hamburg or Berlin e.g. (Borrs, 2016: 2). Until the moment there is one recent study of the IAB with a nationwide focus concerning YPCAs (see below) and there are some qualitative case studies that discuss the outcomes of YCAs or YPCAs in some region or cities of Germany (Panitzsch-Wiebe, 2016).

The study of the IAB found out that in the districts of the employment agency which do have established a YPCA a higher number of young people is finding a training place than in districts which did not, at least in cities and in West Germany. Furthermore, the study shows that the number of young people registered with the employment agency whose whereabouts and fate remain unknown is lower in these districts (Borrs, 2016: 4). But a causal relationship is not easy to prove here, because the employment agencies in these districts might be particularly active and that’s maybe why they have already established a YPCA and that could also be the reason for the better rates of entry in these districts (Borrs, 2016: 6).

In the context of the possible outcomes of the YCA the *political debate on the program* is very interesting to monitor, especially because of still pending evaluations. Actually, the concept of the YCA is currently polarizing the public debate concerning youth unemployment policies in Germany. The public discussion about youth career agencies started at the end of 2013 when the YCAs were made part of the coalition agreement between CDU/CSU and SPD on the national level (CDU/CSU and SPD, 17.12.2013: 66). Generally, the different political actors including the parliamentary opposition supported the objective of the implementation of YCAs that “no young person should be lost”. They responded very positively to the idea of a closer cooperation between the employment agencies, the job centres and the youth welfare services (Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 1; DGB Abteilung Ar-

beitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 21). But some of the opposition parties, like the Greens and the Left Party, as well as the unions and the youth welfare services also express doubts and criticism about this initiative.

It is questioned whether the approach of the YCA which is focusing on the individual level and on the young person him- or herself (individual counselling and training) is really the right way to combat youth unemployment in Germany. The *general shortage of apprenticeships and training places* is mentioned by the actors as a fundamental problem in this context. This structural problem cannot be solved by the YCAs alone (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 5f.; Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 3).

Another central point of discussion is the elementary *difference between the aims and logics of action of the employment agencies and the job centres on the one hand and the youth welfare services on the other hand*¹². A strong involvement of the youth welfare services in the implementation process of the YCAs is demanded by the critical actors and it is disapproved that youth welfare is legally subordinated to labor market laws (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 2,18; Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 02.04.2014; Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 24.06.2014: 2). Especially the *use of sanctions* by the job centres is seen as counterproductive in the work with young people (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 4, 17; Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 2), while it is favored to address young people positively and directly. The importance of outreach work is emphasized and an adaption of the premises and measures of the YCAs to the needs and preferences of young people (Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 24.06.2014: 4f.).

The opposition parties and the unions also state that *the concept of the YCAs* presented by the Federal Government is *not concrete enough* (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 1f.; Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 1; Deutscher Bundestag, 02.12.2014: 1), e.g. concerning the identification of particular target groups and proposals of how to address them (Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 2). The actors complain that the Federal Government does not support the YCA-projects financially and leaves the local actors alone in this respect (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 8; Deutscher Bundestag, 02.12.2014: 1; Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 24.06.2014: 5). Furthermore, *data protection* is seen as a critical topic in connection with the increasing information exchange between the employment agencies, the job centres, the youth welfare services and other actors in the YCAs (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik, 2014: 5; Deutscher Bundestag, 25.03.2014: 1; Deutscher Bundestag, 02.12.2014: 2).

¹² The employment agencies and job centers attempt to bring young people into work or training as quickly as possible with a demanding approach that promotes the personal responsibility of the young people. In contrast the youth welfare organizations try contribute to the social integration of the young people based on the principles of trust and voluntariness (DGB Abteilung Arbeitsmarktpolitik (2014: 4).

Evaluation at local level

Since November 2016 all the relevant actors have moved together in the third location of the YCA in the city centre of Bremen (Doventorsteinweg), which is another important step for the implementation of the YCA (Jobcenter Bremen, 2016). According to administrative data in 2015 1336 young school leavers gave the YCAs in Bremen and Bremerhaven the permission to process their data and thereby 101 young people could be identified whose whereabouts were unknown at that time and who were in danger to “drop out” of the system (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 10f). Data for 2016 is still not available. The YCA is already functioning as a contact point between different programs and measures. Interviewees report that with the YCA it is possible to get an overview of the large number of programs available (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2).

But all in all, it seems to be *too early to evaluate the outcomes* of the implementation of the YCA in Bremen (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 4). Between 2013 and 2015 the number of young people who wanted a training place and who did not find one has not declined (253 in 2015). In 2015 there were more young people whose whereabouts were unknown in comparison to 2013 (1656 in 2015) (CDU, 2015: 4). This might be due to the fact that the reporting of data has improved, because of the YCA (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016). In general, the official data of the employment agency concerning free training places and the number of young people without training places are not completely reliable (Bündnis 90 Die Grünen et al., 24.05.16; Die Linke, 28. November 2016). This is another improvement to be addressed by the YCA in the future (Die Senatorin für Kinder und Bildung, 19.08.2016: 12f).

One of the current challenges is to get into contact with young people as long as they are still in school and another to meet their data protection concerns. Therefore, visits of the YCA in the schools are needed (Interview SFLB 2016: 3). Moreover, in the near future, a marketing concept for the YCA in Bremen is going to be created: It is intended to create a proper design. The entrance areas of the different branches of the YCA in Bremen and Bremerhaven shall reflect a welcoming culture (Interview SFLB 2016: 3). Hopefully, more and more young people will hear about and come to the YCAs in Bremen and Bremerhaven.

In the point of view of the local actors, politics should force the implementation of the YCA and the cooperation of the different actors continuously, because otherwise there would be a danger that the actors continue to follow their well-known target sets without cooperating well (Interview SFLB 2016: 2). On the other hand, local experts state that political pressure for fast results can hinder the process of implementation of structural changes at the YCA. The implementation process needs time to make an impact and it needs patience to allow developments to take place (Interview JCB 2016: 2f.). *“With the YCA we have a problem: we are quite few people and it is a really really big scheme. And we make progress, but not always as fast as we would like to make it.”* (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2).

4.2 Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood- JUSTiQ

Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood, overall, aims at young people's transition from school to work/vocational training, however, primary focuses on the social circumstances of young people at this phase. The pilot program is concentrated in disadvantaged areas where the situation for young people is difficult (educational and income poverty). Indicators may be high numbers of young people with migrant backgrounds, recipients of unemployment benefit and the number of registered unemployed people (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 4). The program is the second largest ESF program that is targeting young people facing the transition from school to work in Germany (BMAS, 2016).

Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood is a follow-up program of the *Youth Empowerment Initiative*¹³ and *Education, economy and work in the neighborhood (BIWAQ)*¹⁴ of the ESF 2007-2013 period. The *Youth Empowerment Initiative* also aimed at young people who need support and assistance. The program targets young people with difficult family circumstances, with addiction problems or young people facing legal problems as these conditions may lead to lack of orientation or school respectively training drop-outs (BMSFSJ, 2016b). The BIWAQ program aims at improving qualification and work prospects of those living in disadvantaged neighborhoods and supports the strengthening of local economies (BMUB, 2016).

4.2.1 Content and objectives – JUSTiQ

A special feature of this project is that apart from the support of disadvantaged young people at the individual level, the program also includes a structural component to improve insufficient coordination of assistance offers between youth welfare (SCB VIII), employment promotion as well as income support regulated in SCB II and SCB III (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 5). The funding guideline of JUSTiQ presents the following program objectives: Firstly, it aims at the preparation of young people with special needs by § 13 SCB VIII to (re-)enter employment (pre-)vocational or educational measures. Secondly, it seeks to create efficient and effective structures of cooperation between public youth welfare organizations, independent agencies in the field of youth social work, employment services, job centers, vocational schools, neighborhood management and economic actors. Thirdly, it aims at improving the residential environment and coexistence of residents by promoting micro projects (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 5).

Municipalities can choose from four models regarding local needs. The four modules include:

1. Case management

This module covers intensive social individual work over a period of 12 to 18 months. The first step consists in the identifying of competences to determine the initial situation and potential of young people which is followed by a promotion plan (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 6–7).

¹³ In German: "Initiative JUGEND STÄRKEN"

¹⁴ In German: „Bildung, Wirtschaft, Arbeit im Quartier (BIWAQ)“

2. Outreach youth social work

Outreach social work aims at young people who are not reached by support and assistance services, either because they are not registered with e.g. employment agencies or do not approach for services on their own. Social workers have the task to develop low-threshold approaches such as street work, mobile counselling or neighborhood management (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 7).

3. Low-threshold counselling/clearing

Short-term individual socio-pedagogical support measures are considered as low-threshold counselling/clearing. Counselling centers are first contact points where the need for support and the contact person is identified. Short-term advice, support for writing letters of application are considered as simple support provisions that may be offered by counselling centers (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 7).

4. Micro-projects

Micro-projects should serve as a complementary to individual case support in modules 1-3. These projects aim at motivation building, the development of trust of the participants and at the same time upgrading and valorizing the living environment and public space. Examples are town fairs in the district, development of a community garden or carpools in rural areas. Young people are able to get involved in the development of these projects (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 8).

Case management (module 1) is the core instrument and obligatory to implement. In addition, one other module needs to be implemented. Furthermore, there should be an electronic case file available of young people taking part in the measure (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 9).

4.2.2 Institutions and actors - JUSTiQ

In cooperation, *the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth* (BMFSFJ) and *Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety* (BMUB) manage the ESF-program. The municipalities have a decisive role by coordinating and controlling the measures. It is intended that the municipalities cooperate with job centers, employment agencies as well as non-state actors such as businesses, and neighborhood management to strengthen local structures in disadvantaged regions (BMAS, 2014: 20).

A new feature in the JUSTiQ-program compared to the preceding program *Youth Empowerment Initiative* is that a *Coordination Unit* at local level has the responsibility to coordinate and manage the program. A reasoning is that the evaluation report of the former program came to the conclusion that the management of the transitional system/ area is a municipal task across different legal systems (BMSFSJ, 2013: 78–9). The municipality or youth welfare organisations/ social welfare providers may be involved with the direct implementation of JUSTiQ. Nevertheless, the Coordination Unit is responsible for the overall managing and administration (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 10). There is the need to integrate the Coordination Unit in the administrative structure to the executive level (district administrators, mayor, department heads, youth welfare committees) as well as to the operative

level (special services, municipal bodies) (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 10). In Germany 185 municipalities applied for JUSTiQ-program (status February 2015) (BMUB, 2015).

4.2.3 Financing structure - JUSTiQ

The funding of the program covers the period from 01.01.2015 to 31.12.2018 with about 115 million euros ESF funds (Kooperationsverbund Jugendsozialarbeit, 2015: 34). Funding is provided in grant form. Basis of assessment is the total eligible expenditure. The maximum grant is 50 % in more developed regions, among them Bremen¹⁵ (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 11). Nevertheless, it is possible to reduce the municipality's own contribution to 20 per cent by provision of personnel or substitutions of cash payments by third parties. The ESF grant cannot exceed 150.000€ in one funding year. Only, if the module micro projects is applied the ESF grant may be increased to 200.000€ a year (BMSFSJ and BMUB, 2015: 12).

4.2.4 Case study Bremen - JUSTiQ

Implementation and coordination of JUSTiQ at local level

In Bremen, JUSTiQ composes eight projects, among them four micro projects. Four assisted areas (South, North, East, and West) have been identified. Most programs focus on young people between 18 and 24 from disadvantaged areas. The target group in this program faces multiple difficulties and is likely or already excluded from the system, meaning, young people are not registered with public authorities. These young people do not receive unemployment benefit either because they are not eligible for benefits in case the parental income exceeds a certain amount, the young people may be sanctioned and not listed anymore by the job center or the young person does not want to go to the job center and be assisted by it (Senatorin für Soziales, 2014: 53). Young people may have dropped-out of school, have been to prison or grew up under difficult social conditions (Interview PB 1 2016: 1). These projects follow a low-threshold counselling approach and provide services such as counselling, street work and migration services. The programs include the modules "case management" and "low-threshold counselling/clearing". The micro projects implemented have a shorter time period (01.04.15 - 31.12.15) and may be restarted each year if they are successful. These are practical projects such as exhibitions, climbing actions or music events (BMSFSJ, 2016a). Table 1 summarizes the projects.

The program started in April 2015 and due to changes in personnel and the establishment of *Youth Career Agencies* in Bremen, it should be noted that coordination structures are still in the developing process. Since about March 2016, there is a new team in the Office of Social Services, at the interface between the *Youth Employment Agency* and the social welfare providers (Interview AfSD 2016: 1).

¹⁵ 60% for the transitional region Lüneburg and 80 % for the other transitional regions new Länder without Berlin and Leipzig (BMSFSJ and BMUB 2015: 11).

Vertical coordination of JUSTiQ

The *Senator for Social and Women's Affairs, Youth, Integration and Sport* as well as the *Office of Social Services* planned and conceptualized the program. The *Office of Social Services* submitted the Expression of Interest (Senatorin für Soziales, 2014). The BMFSFJ voted positively and requested a proposal. After the Federation awarded Bremen for the project, the *Office of Social Services* became the coordinator of the program. The *Federal Office for Family and Civil Society Tasks, Bafza*,¹⁶ is responsible for the administration of JUSTiQ at the national level. When it comes to the implementation of the program the most important actors are the *social welfare providers* at local level (Interview AfSD 2016: 1), mostly non-profit organizations.

The *Office of Social Services* works with the *Federal Office for Family and Civil Society Tasks (Bafza)* at national level regarding administrative issues and stays in touch with the social welfare providers at local level (Interview AfSD 2016: 1). The social welfare providers initially were not very enthusiastic about the modification that the municipality is responsible for the overall managing and administration of JUSTiQ (see 4.2.2, Interview AfSD 2016: 3, Interview PB 1 2016: 2). From their perspective the refinancing structure is more inconvenient than before as it results in less money for management work.

In Bremen, JUSTiQ will receive 1.519 million euros from 01.04.2015 until 31.12.2018. 50 percent of this amount will be provided by the ESF. The additional funding of another 50 percent is from the *Senator for Social and Women's Affairs, Youth, Integration and Sport* at federal state level (Interview AfSD 2016: 3; Senatorin für Soziales, 2014: 69). As already indicated in 2.5, compared to programs financed by regular budget funds, the reporting and accounting in the JUSTiQ program may be more complex and comprehensive (Interview AfSD 2016: 3, Interview PB 1 2016: 3). It is necessary to collect more data for individual participants. In addition, the implementing institutions may have to show their whole money flow (payroll journal is not sufficient) to prove that the personnel got exactly what they were entitled to. The EU introduces these rules because other implementing institutions may have cashed up incorrectly or defrauded. In the view of the social welfare provider, however, this is a "disaster": high administrative effort and consideration with data protection (Interview PB 1 2016: 3). Furthermore, it may be the case that social welfare providers need to pay in advance when implementing ESF-projects. They submit documents for review to the coordination unit at the *Office of Social Services*. Subsequently, the *coordination unit* passes the documents to the national level (Bafza) for verification and the national level corresponds with the EU level. Then, the payment may be processed to the social welfare providers. Thus, only large social welfare providers or other organizations which have the resources to pay in advance may apply and implement ESF-funded projects. Smaller organizations are therefore excluded (Interview AfSD 2016: 3).

Further administrative challenges regarding vertical coordination include that online application forms and electronic instruments were not made available in time. JUSTiQ was supposed to follow

¹⁶ In German: Bundesamt für Familie und zivilgesellschaftliche Aufgaben (Bafza).

the preceding program *Empowerment of Youth Initiative* (end 2013) smoothly. However, the possibility to apply for the program via an online portal was only provided in 2014. This posed the threat that already established coordination structures would collapse. Some projects received continued funding via regular budget to e.g. maintain contact points for young people (Interview AfSD 2016: 2). With the beginning of JUSTiQ, the electronic file that needs to be filled out for each participant was not provided so that staff needed to keep records of young people and redo it when the file is available (Interview AfSD 2016: 2). These delays in vertical coordination complicate the implementation of JUSTiQ at local level.

As the accounting and reporting structures above exemplify, coordination structures and meetings take place *between national, federal state and local level* as well as between *European and national level*. Social welfare providers as well as the Coordination Unit are in contact with each other or with Bafza. So far, there has also been a meeting with Bafza, the social welfare providers and young people to talk about how the young people experience the program (Interview AfSD 2016: 3). Direct cooperation between the Coordination Unit or the social welfare providers with actors at European level does not take place. The EU correspondence is mainly the task of actors at national level such as Bafza.

Horizontal coordination of JUSTiQ

In Bremen, the implementation of JUSTiQ involves several different actors, policy fields and the coordination between SCB II, III and VIII (see 3.4). At federal state level, senators regarding youth welfare and - due to the fact that the program is connected to the German program *Social City*¹⁷ - senators in the field of infrastructure and urban planning take part in the implementation of JUSTiQ. Apart from The *Senator for Social and Women's Affairs, Youth, Integration and Sport* and the *Office of Social Services*, the *Department of Social Urban Development* and the *Senator for Construction, Environment and Traffic* were also involved in the planning and the identification of the disadvantaged districts in Bremen (Interview AfSD 2016: 1).

At local level, the implementing institution cooperates with many partners as it has primarily a guiding or pilot function for the young people: For example, a social welfare provider has a youth café which serves as a contact point for young people for counselling services. The implementing institution cooperates closely with the *Office of Social Services*, *street workers (SCB VIII)*, the *job center team U25 (SCB II)*, *job counsellors of the FEA (SCB III)*, *ReBUZ* which offers a school related guidance and counselling system (ReBUZ, 2016), *school social workers*, *police officers*, other *youth institutions*, the *neighborhood management* and businesses. If young people have drug problems or are homeless, the social welfare providers contact the relevant counselling services (Interview PB 1 2016: 2). This cooperation requires a good overview and a strong network of institutions, services and programs in the field of youth programs and projects. To be up to date, it is also necessary to get in contact with these partners to confirm the offered measures still exist and inform about new ones (In-

¹⁷ Social City or in German „Soziale Stadt“ is a federal program that provides funding for projects in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

interview PB 1 2016: 3). In addition, the social welfare providers regularly meet and exchange ideas and experiences. *Working groups* and *informal meetings* with case managers, the Coordination Unit, neighborhood management and job counsellors take place (Interview PB 1 2016: 3).

Furthermore, the YCA also sends young persons who are facing a high amount of personal problems that stop them from pursuing their professional careers to JUSTiQ. The contact point provides a location where social workers, pedagogues and young people can meet. Communication and exchange take place on a voluntarily basis. *"The young person can show up here no matter what. We may talk about problems he or she is facing, but we can also support her or him to update the CV"* (Interview PB 1 2016: 3). The social welfare providers offer a tailored case management and thereby use the biographical method. The social welfare providers try to take a closer look at the situation of the young person: *"How does the young person see its everyday life, what does he or she think about the present or absent school-leaving qualification"* (Interview PB 1 2016: 1). After one or two meetings, the social worker tries to develop a realistic perspective with the young person. Important aspects when counselling *"are to show realistic career paths with a certain school-leaving certification or to give a comprehensive overview on which occupational fields exist"*. The approach is not to do everything for the young person. The project staff wants to *"be a reliable partner and not a buddy"* (Interview PB 1 2016: 1).

The implementing institution may, if possible, also combine regular budget and the ESF-funded JUSTiQ program to provide guiding and counselling services for people living close but not in JUSTiQ's target area (Interview PB 1 2016: 3). Young people not living in the program's target area are not considered in the evaluation and only a small deviation from the target figures is permitted. Sometimes target figures and regulations complicate the work by social workers or as the interviewees express it: *"What does program staff do when young people would like to participate in JUSTiQ, but live in the wrong street"* (Interview AfSD 2016: 2)? The combination of two programs is an option; however, not every implementing institution has the opportunity to do so.

Outcomes of JUSTiQ

The following outcomes are preliminary and refer to the local level. The leaving of the person in charge of the application of JUSTiQ led to delays in project implementation as the relevant position was filled after the beginning of the program. At the same time Bremen decided to establish *Youth Career Agencies* and the establishment of coordination and cooperation structures across legal systems was focused there to avoid duplication. Nevertheless, the JUSTiQ-Coordination unit was situated at the same organization unit as the YCA to create efficient and effective structures of cooperation between public youth welfare organizations, independent agencies in the field of youth social work, employment services, job centers, vocational schools, neighborhood management and economic actors. It also needs to be taken into consideration that JUSTiQ is not a program for the whole city, but for certain regions and districts (AfSD, 2016: 8).

In the period from 2015 to 2018, JUSTiQ in Bremen aims at 770 entries to the program. After project participation, 420 young people should have a job or take part in an educational or vocational program. Until the end of December 2015, there have been 108 project entries and 9 young people entered a vocational or educational program. Although these figures appear to be small, this may be normal at the beginning of the program. It is expected that the final number will be above the target values (AfSD, 2016: 10–1). Nevertheless, it is difficult to analyze the quality of target figures in youth social work. *“Is it good quality if 30 young people received guidance or is it good quality to counsel 10 persons intensively and helped them”* (Interview PB 1 2016: 4)?

The program reflects that the primary aim of youth welfare is not to integrate young people in training or employment, but rather to support “disadvantaged young people” on their way to occupational integration. In general, it is difficult to foresee if youth social work in the field of occupational integration (§13 SCB VIII) has been strengthened lately and will gain more focus in the future. On the one hand, Bremen’s budget may limit these developments and § 13 SCB VIII is not a legal claim. On the other hand, a specialist advice team on youth welfare for occupational integration has just been established. So, there have been more developments to reinforce activities in this area than in the past. The team is new *“and we still need to gain our experiences”* and are in *“the process of being built up”*. Therefore, *“we cannot foresee the developments”* (Interview AfSD 2016: 3).

4.3 Career Entry Support by Mentoring (CESM)

The *Career Entry Support by Mentoring (CESM)* is the *biggest program in Germany* financed in the next funding period of the ESF from 2014 to 2020 (BMAS, 2014: 29). The measure is applied *nation-wide* in about 3000 schools where approximately 113.000 students will participate in the program (BMBF, 2016: 89). It provides support in the transition from school to training for school students who are likely to have difficulties with completing the secondary school or the special needs school and with coping with the transition to vocational training (BA, 2011: 5f.). Mentors are giving personal assistance to these students. The objective of the measure is to increase both the number of school leavers with school leaving qualifications and that of school leavers entering the dual education and vocational training scheme (BMAS, 2014: 28). The CESM program already existed in Germany before the resolution of the *Youth Guarantee*: it started in 2009 as a pilot project, was stabilized as a support measure in 2012 and complemented by a very similar program also called CESM, a special program as part of the *Education chains (Bildungsketten)* initiative launched in 2010 (BMBF, 2014: 76). But with the new ESF-funding period the further financing of the two CESM-programs was ensured and even extended (BMBF, 2016: 89).

4.3.1 Content and objectives – CESM

The main tasks of the mentors are to support the young people in obtaining a *school leaving certificate*, to support them with career guidance in their career choice, to help them to *find vocational training*, to support them in the transition period between school and vocational training and to help stabilizing the vocational training contract of the young people (BA, 2011: 14ff.).

4.3.2 Institutions and actors – CESM

The new ESF-program CESM combines the two existing German CESM-programs under the framework of the *Education chains* initiative. The responsibility for the initiative lies with the *BMBF and the BMAS* while the general implementation and coordination of the CESM is task of the *FEA and the Education Ministries of the Länder (BMAS, 2014: 53,82)*. The implementation process is accompanied scientifically by the *Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training* on the national level (BMBF, 2016: 89). Moreover, there exists the so-called *Education chains* service office which organizes conferences and coordinates some of the measures for young people (like the *Berufswahlpass* e.g.). Federal Government and Länder representatives meet continuously in working groups and in general meetings three to four times a year (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 1).

The development of concrete concepts of the CESM-implementation happens on the level of the Länder of Germany. The concepts therefore differ a lot from Land to Land. Relevant actors for the local implementation of the CESM are the *schools, the social welfare providers of CESM and the local employment agencies* (here especially the vocational guidance services). Cooperation does also exist in several cases with employers and vocational schools (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: VI).

4.3.3 Financing structure – CESM

From 2015 onwards, the Federal Government provides around *one billion Euro* for the CSA program of which *500 million Euro come from the ESF, the BMAS and the FEA* (BMBF, 2016: 89; BMBF and BMAS). The financing of the CESM program is secured until the school year 2018/2019 (Die Bundesregierung).

4.3.4 Case study Bremen - CESM

Twenty schools have the possibility to participate in the ESF-financed part of the CESM-program in Bremen and Bremerhaven. 164 places in these schools are financed in the program until the end of 2018 (BMBF and BMAS). The program is carried out by different social welfare providers in the respective schools (e.g. IB and Grone Schulen).

Implementation and coordination at local level

In Bremen, the implementation of the CESM-program is not coordinated by a special committee or the like because the mentoring is one of many support measures for young people that are - as a whole - coordinated by the YCA (see above; a cooperation between the employment agency Bremen, the Jobcenter Bremen, the Senator for Economics, Labor and Ports Bremen, the Senator for Children and Education Bremen and the Senator for Social Services, Youth, Women, Integration and Sports Bremen). The central actors for the implementation of CESM are the *Employment Agency Bremen-Bremerhaven* and the *education department of the Land Bremen* (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 1).

At local level actors in different policy fields have to cooperate to realize the CESM-program. The *mentors*, who have a pedagogical qualification (an instructor's license or a socio-educational qualifi-

cation (BMBF and BMAS)), *have an important linking function*. They have to cooperate with the school staff (especially the headmasters, -mistresses) (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 62) and the staff of the local employment agencies (here especially the employees of the vocational guidance services). The cooperation with the schools is very important for the mentors because the school is the place where they work and where they get in contact with the young people (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010: 97; Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: IX). Other important contacts for the mentors are the parents of the mentees, local employers, other providers of career guidance and the job center (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 74f.). Additional to the professional mentors, we also see a lot of honorary mentors in Bremen (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 1).

NEETs and ex-students who had already left school some years before are not really addressed by the CESM-program (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 74), but there are many other measures, especially measures of the ReBUZ which are designed for young NEETs. Another possibility to reach them is the outreach-counselling of the YCA, but also for the YCA it is difficult to inform young people of possible support and assistance if they are not registered. And even if the young people are registered there is still the problem of data protection (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 3).

There are signs that *young women benefit less* of the CESM-program than young men according to national evaluations (BMAS, 2015b: XIX). On the local level there was mentioned that there were also many girls participating in the CESM-program, but generally they were less likely to be chosen as candidates for the program in the schools. Girls compared to boys are not displaying behavioral problems, have better school grades and less frequently aspire dual vocational training (Interview PB 2 2016: 3).

Vertical coordination

In the everyday work of the local actors in Bremen and Bremerhaven there is *no direct contact to actors at the EU-level* (Interview PB 2 2016: 2; Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2) and the actors do not really notice a difference between the new CESM-program financed by the ESF in and the former CESM-program (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016:2). As the funds used for the CESM-program are Federal-ESF-funds, the communication with the EU-level is taking place at the Federal level (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2).

In Bremen there are aspirations to assure the long-term establishment of the career support by mentoring measure and its' expansion in a *Federal-Länder agreement*. In the long run the aim of the local actors is to have the mentors exhaustively in all the schools in Bremen. For the funding of the CESM-program the Land Bremen will continue to depend on the financial support of the Federal Government, because it is not able to contribute financially to the extension of the measure. The negotiations should be finished in the mid of 2017 (Interview PB 2 2016: 3).

The *employment agency Bremen-Bremerhaven* decides about the contracts for the CESM-program in Bremen. They choose the companies that execute the mentoring program in Bremen, while the award of the contracts is made by the *Regional Shopping Center of the Employment Agency*, the con-

tracting authority of the employment agency (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 1). The decision about the award of contracts for the CESM-program in Bremen (and elsewhere in Germany because the criteria for the contracts are standardized on the Federal level) depends to about 50 percent on the price of the offer and to about 50 percent on its' quality and the experience of the company etc. (SCEB/EAB 2016: 3). Therefore, expensive social welfare providers have no chance in the competition and as the personnel costs make up the lions' share of the overall costs, the *companies can't pay their staff well* if they want to be competitive. Aggravating this situation, the contracts for the mentors are always temporary for two years or so (ibid.). This leads to the high fluctuation of the mentors which is a big problem for the success of the CESM-program because the mentoring program is the most effective for young people if they have the continuous support of the same mentor (BMAS, 2015b: XXI). Also the *companies have temporary contracts* for five years with the employment agency. This short-term nature of projects is a problem, but it makes it also easier to have some kind of quality management and to separate from companies that do a bad job with the execution of a program (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 3). The wage level of the mentors may differ among the Länder as the contracts are decided at Länder level (ibid.).

The *Education Department* is in charge of the vocational orientation at the schools and also for extra-curricular vocational orientation. It selects the schools and decides how many pupils are going to participate in the program at each school. *Not all the schools can participate* in the program despite the fact that there are also pupils at these schools who would like to participate in the program. Social indices of the different districts of the city help the education department to choose the schools which need the CESM-program the most. Other criteria for the selection are whether there are already other measures provided at the school and whether the school has strong partners on the employers' side. The department is also in close contact with the program *Education chains* on national level (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 1).

The CESM-program is seen very positively by the actors on the local level but it is not always easy for them to implement it because *"Federal programs fall from heaven like manna. They are nice to have but one is not really prepared to be surprised by manna and that is what happens at the schools, too. They receive the news: you are going to get a career entry mentor. That's nice at first. But the school doesn't know where to take the room for the mentor from or that such a room is necessary or what to do..."* (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2). The coordination of the program in Bremen was not perfect at the beginning when the new CESM-program (as a part of *Education Chains*) started. The schools were surprised when the project started and mentors arrived at the schools because they had not been informed well and there were some irritations about the different CESM-programs and the different social welfare providers cooperating with the schools.

Horizontal coordination

In Bremen the *teachers at the schools* choose the pupils, who are going to participate in the CESM-program. Typically, the teachers suggest the "problematic cases" for the program. But from the point of view of the social welfare providers the program is neither for the best nor for the worst pupils

(Interview PB 2 2016: 1). The mentees need to have a motivation to participate in the program and to do a vocational training and they are only finally chosen if there is a realistic chance that they can absolve a vocational training at least with the support of the mentors. First evaluations on the national level have shown these problems also in other Länder: *if the pupils are "too difficult" they are not selected* for the program, because the probability of placing them in training positions is seen as very low and the places in the CESM program are limited. So there seems to be a latent disincentive in the program (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 65; Deutscher Bundestag, 2010: 97).

The *local employment agencies* have to cooperate with *the schools* in some tasks. They are responsible for promoting the CESM program at the schools and together with the schools they inform parents and pupils about the offers of the program (BA, 2011: 8f.). The processes of communication between the schools and the employment agency are varying a lot from school to school. In some rare cases there have been problems at the schools, because it was difficult to provide a room for the mentors there (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2). There is contact between the employment agency and the social welfare providers that are carrying out the *CESM*. At the beginning of the contract there is an orientation talk with the company and then an orientation talk at the corresponding school with the headmaster or –mistress, the company and the vocational counsellor of the employment agency. Later on, there is regular contact between the mentors and the employment agency concerning the individual cases of the mentees (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 2).

The mentors are involved in presenting the CESM-program at the schools, they get in contact with the pupils and try to develop a relationship to their mentees (Interview PB 2 2016: 1). There are between 7 and 10 pupils in the program in every participating school and each mentor supports 20 mentees (Interview PB 2 2016: 1). Every week the meetings between mentors and mentees do take place in the school during the lessons. There is a fixed attendance time of the mentors at the schools, but there is also the possibility to make extra appointments. If the pupils have pressing problems and need urgent aid, they can contact their mentors flexibly (Interview PB 2 2016: 1). The mentors cooperate with many other actors on the local level in order to help their mentees: they have contact to the education department and work together with support centers like ReBUZ and ZBB and in some cases with the youth welfare office, the social welfare office, social workers in the districts, family carers and caregivers in general. Important contacts are the social workers and teachers in the schools as well as the vocational counsellors U25 of the employment agency which work at the schools, too. The communication with the vocational counsellors is very continuous and the mentors write reports about the situation and the progress of their mentees. Another relevant contact for the mentors is the YCA (Interview PB 2 2016: 2).

4.3.5 Outcomes of the program – CESM

National evaluations and the interviews on the local level in Bremen have shown, that the *CESM-program is seen very positively* by the different actors involved (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 72). At first sight evaluations suggest that the program has a negative effect on the short term, because the participating pupils are less likely to continue school-based education and more likely to stop their

vocational trainings (BMAS, 2015b: XXIf.). But it appears that the *positive effects of the program develop only on the long term* and the pupils are more likely to start a vocational training when they participate in the program (BMAS, 2015b: XX).

But for the success of the program there are certain conditions to be fulfilled: The mentees have better chances to complete secondary school in the program if the contact to their mentor is very regular, if students are participating in more than one support measure (BMAS, 2015b: XXI). Another important success factor for the work of the mentors is the continuity of their work. When mentors change during the support period of a mentee the outcomes of the program deteriorate (BMAS, 2015b: XXI). The *personal relationship between mentor and mentee is essential* for the success of the program (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010: 97).

A problem in this context is that the content and quality of the program differ with the concrete working conditions for the mentors on-site. The conditions differ widely across Germany, because the corresponding standards are not set very concretely at the national level and the financial possibilities of the Länder and the respective schools are very diverse. Hence, some of the mentors are working at several schools simultaneously while others are working at one school only, which makes it easier for them to maintain regular contact with their mentees (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 66f.). Moreover, some of the mentors do not have a room where they can meet their mentees and some lack work materials like computers and printers (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 61). In addition, the differences between the social welfare providers of CESM are big (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010: 97) and in many cases the contracts of the CESM mentors are temporary and low-paid which leads to a high fluctuation of mentors (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 63).

Moreover, nation-wide evaluations and the interviews with the experts on local level indicate that it is very important that the mentees participate voluntarily in the program (Interview PB 2 2016: 1; (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 65) and that the mentors have another role than e.g. the teachers and that they don't test or assess the mentees (Deutscher Bundestag, 2010: 3). The *special logic of the youth social work* seems to be *decisive here*. From the point of view of the social welfare providers on the local level the most important tasks of the mentors are to help the pupils to find out what they want and to support them in developing realistic aims, which motivate them to keep the ball. The work of the mentors is most of all mental support: activation, animation, motivation and encouragement of the young people, who need to gain self-confidence and to perceive their self-efficacy in many cases (Interview PB 2 2016: 1).

Difficulties concerning cooperation occur between the different social welfare providers of career guidance because of the *competitive situation* (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 74) and between the mentors and the job centers because they *follow different logics of action* (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 74).

Local level

The interviews on the local level have shown that the quality of the mentoring differs from school to school because of the infrastructure there and also from mentor to mentor because of personal commitment. There is no evaluation of the CESM-program in Bremen based on the opinion of the young people themselves because there is no money for it (Interview SCEB/EAB 2016: 3).

An obstacle in the CESM-program in Bremen is the ESF-registration form which pupils have to fill out to participate in the program. It includes very sensible questions like e.g. *“Does somebody work at your home or are you getting money from the job center?”*; *“Are you member of an ethnic minority?”* or *“Are you disabled?”* (Interview PB 2 2016: 3). Furthermore, the data of the potential participant is written on the form, while it is said that the form is anonymous and for statistic uses only. Even the teachers discussed about the registration form and many parents refused to fill it out (Interview PB 2 2016: 3). Another bureaucratic problem is that a lot of the mentors’ time is needed for the documentation of their work (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 71f.).

5. Typologizing the YG implementation strategy in Germany

In the following, it will be discussed how German policies to implement the YG can be typologized according to different aspects (Table 2), namely the addressed target groups, support and social security of young people as well as the vertical and horizontal coordination of German policies for youth. Lastly, it will be addressed if there have been any youth policy or labor market improvements for young people and the possible link to the implementation of the YG.

Policy approach

When implementing the YG, Germany builds upon already developed structures of educational and labor market programs for young people (see 3.1). Before and after the implementation of the YG for young people an enabling policy approach dominates. Among the enabling policy orientation employment assistance (counselling, vocational orientation measures) plays a significant role. These services already start in school. Work-first approach measures that particularly aim at integrating the young quickly into jobs via e.g. subsidies are not frequently used and can be considered as weak. Measures concerning the creation of public employment strongly decreased and have been abolished in the last years (BA, 2015) (see 3.1). Therefore, Germany has an enabling and employment assistance focus in labour market and educational measures for the young. Important to notice is that the policy emphasis is assessed and not the outcome. Despite the focus on enabling, young people may also not achieve educational or vocational training qualifications (although participating in these measures).

Target group

Especially employment assistance measures often aim at a wider target group, including pupils generally. Measures aiming more specifically at labor market integration or vocational training target specified “disadvantaged” groups, such as people with low educational attainment, young unemployed or young people with migration background. There also exist programs for young parents; however, these are not as well developed. In contrast to registered NEETs, only a few programs target non-registered NEETs (see 3.2). Since the implementation of the YG, there has been an increasing awareness regarding this target group. NEETs have been addressed before; however, the term is new. The future will show, if the focus on NEETs will grow also in correspondence with EU monitoring. Overall, there has not been much change regarding the target group of measures after the YG Recommendation. Most programs are preventive and aim at young people likely to have difficulty completing secondary school or coping with the transition to vocational training.

Support and social security

Support and social security for young unemployed below the age of 25 are primarily realized via family. The state follows a subsidiarity approach (Sachweh et al., 2007). Therefore, unemployment benefits and transfers during educational attainment are publicly funded in case the family is not able to support. The minimum income protection and unemployment benefit system is still more comprehensive than in other e.g. Southern European countries. There have been no major changes before and after 2013.

Young people receive unemployment benefit I (unemployment insurance) in case they have a work record (minimum 1 year). Unemployment benefit II is tax financed and means-tested against parental income until the young unemployed is 25¹⁸. In addition, people below the age of 25 receiving UB II usually have to live with their parents. UB II regulations and potential sanctions are more severe for young people than for older ones, if they do not fulfil obligations of the Individual Action Plan. Similar regulations exist for young people in education. Public funding according to the Federal training Promotion Act (Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz, BAföG) is also means-tested against parents’ income. Furthermore, parents receive child benefit from birth until the age of 18. In case children are undergoing education/ training parents receive child allowance until children are 25. This is paid regardless to the parents’ income and has been raised in the last years¹⁹ (Familienkasse, 2015).

Vertical and horizontal governance and forms of coordination

It is important to note that Germany has a federal system and therefore follows a decentral approach when implementing policies. Länder-governments exercise power at the national level via the Feder-

¹⁸ Since 2005, a two tier system exists for the unemployed: Unemployment benefit I (UB I) is part of the social insurance system, financed by contributions from employers and employees. Benefits therefore depend on the individual employment record and former income. Unemployment benefit II (UB II) is a tax financed means-tested benefit that provides a flat-rate benefit for all persons “capable to work”.

¹⁹ In 2012 184€ and 2016 190€ per month for the first child (sozialpolitik-aktuell.de (2016)).

al Council (German: Bundesrat). The Federal Council represents the 16 Länder in Germany. Nevertheless, legal and administrative functions are also exercised by the Länder. The governance of policies differs across policy fields (Sturm, 2009; Sturm, 2013). The competence of educational policy is mainly with Länder. The Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (in German: Kultusministerkonferenz) coordinates the educational policy between the 16 Länder. School systems, however, show considerable differences among the states (Edelstein, 2013).

The dual vocational training system, on the contrary, is stronger regulated by the central government. The content of the vocational training within the different professions is determined in the vocational training regulations (in German: Ausbildungsordnungen) which are approved by the responsible ministry in agreement with the BMBF (2005) under consideration and the advice of the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training and social partners (BIBB, 2015). School-based professional training, in turn, falls within the competence of the Länder.

Child and youth policy is developed and funded on national and local level. Importantly, it is the municipalities' obligation to establish a *Youth Office* and promote youth social welfare in municipal self-responsibility (§69 SCB VIII). The federal state level is responsible to support, promote and complement youth social services (jugend.rlp.de, 2016).

Regarding horizontal coordination, the connection between family and labor market as well as educational policy can be considered as strong. Policies form connections between parents and adolescents/ young adults. As already mentioned above (see support and social security), unemployment benefits and benefits for young people in education are means-tested against parental income. Regarding health insurance, children aged 18 and under are co-insured with their parents. If the children are unemployed or have the status seeking for vocational training, they may continue to be insured as family members until they are 23. The registration with PES is obligatory and can be seen as a mechanism that young people register with PES. If the children are undergoing education/ training in schools, they are covered by family insurance until they are 25. In addition, labour market and educational policies are closely linked. Youth unemployment measures often consist of educational measures (aiming at training or educational certification) or schooling is integrated in vocational training.

Coordination between employment policy (SCB II, III) aiming at integration in vocational training or employment, and youth welfare policy (SCB VIII) with the goal of social integration may interact and interfere with one another. The responsibility is not always clear and young people have several authorities to go to. The coordination may be therefore considered as medium. Within this context efforts have been made to improve cooperation and coordination structures, as for example the introduction of Youth Career Agencies (YCA's). These efforts have taken place before the implementation of the YG. Nevertheless, the YG raised awareness and may have had a supporting effect for its further development (see also 3.4 and 4.1).

Forms of coordination regarding employment, educational or youth welfare policy may be characterized by a mixture of hierarchy, new public management and network governance. This mixture has not changed after the implementation of the YG. Hierarchical elements can be found in every policy field. In some cases the Federal level is the main responsible or gives the guiding principles and sometimes laws are subordinated to other laws. New public management procedures shall aim at efficient governance and introduce tendering practices or controlling tasks. Network governance is a common form in German policy coordination (e.g. *Alliance for Initial and Further Training*, see 3.4) Furthermore, several ministries, social partners and other non-governmental organizations have been invited to consultations regarding the YG implementation plan.

Outcomes

The youth unemployment and NEET rate have improved since the implementation of the YG. This development, however, is not essentially connected to the YG. The downward trend already began in 2009 (BA, 2016a). Regarding the stratification of the educational system (hierarchy of school types) no major changes happened. “Disadvantaged” young are more likely to enter lower secondary school types or have more difficulties in achieving an educational or vocational qualification. Some Länder started to introduce only comprehensive schools. Furthermore, young people are more often in forms of flexible employment or low-paid work compared to older age cohorts (Amlinger et al., 2016). In 2015, Germany introduced a minimum wage. Apprentices and people below the age of 18 are excluded from it to avoid financial incentives for not participating in education.

Overall, the YG raised awareness to the situation of young people facing the transition to work or vocational training. Furthermore, it strengthened already established initiatives and undertakings especially in the field of creating one stop institutions regarding cooperation and coordination structures of different policy fields. Furthermore, Germany and its dual vocational system received strong attention by other countries as a model to implement. International and European cooperation was reinforced (see 3.5).

6. Policy Recommendations

Suggestions for policies on EU-level

Youth unemployment policy in Europe should focus on a *sustainable integration* of young people in education or labor. Therefore the focus on the quality of measures and jobs should be strong.

- *Development needs time!* This is true not only for the personal development of young people on an individual level, but also for projects and measures in the context of fighting against youth unemployment:
 - Highly effective measures like “career entry support by mentoring” for example develop their *effects only on the long-term*, but they are more successful than many other measures because they help young people to gain true self-confidence and to develop realistic aims, which are a lasting motivation for them.
 - Programs on the local level need *time to be built up*, which shows the case of the implementation of a complex cooperation like the “Youth Career Agency” in Bremen for example. If fundamental changes are wanted, political actors need time to implement them.
 - The exclusive orientation towards fast decreasing unemployment rates and quick job placement (which is e.g. incorporated in evaluation mechanisms of the German employment agency) is counterproductive in this context. *Qualitative and long-term aspects of labor market integration and of the applied measures should be evaluated* and taken into account to a greater degree.
- *Removing bureaucratic obstacles is still necessary.* Too detailed forms or high documentation requirements can be barriers to the application for EU-funds and also to the participation of young people in useful measures financed by the EU:
 - Despite the fact that the support of the EU is very welcome on the local level, local political actors avoid the application for EU-funds in some cases because the *documentation for the funds is very extensive and complicated*. “Who is able to avoid it, avoids it” (Interview SFLB 2016: 3). High administrative efforts especially for the work documentation were criticized in the context of JUSTiQ and in the context of CESM, too (Kowalczyk et al., 28.11.2014: 71f.) (interview PB 1: 3).
 - An obstacle for the participation of the pupils in the CESM-program in Bremen was e.g. the *ESF-registration form* which pupils have to fill out to participate in the program because it includes very sensible questions and asks for personal data (Interview PB 2 2016: 3).

Suggestions for policies on national level

- The Federal Government should set *concrete standards and clear criteria* for the implementation of programs and measures to combat youth unemployment (e.g. concerning the definition of the YCA). A bottom-up approach is helpful, especially in countries with a federal structure, but if freedom of decision for local actors is too big, they are in danger of continuing with “business as usual”.
- It is important to focus even more on *young people with multiple obstacles* to integrate them into the labor market. Their problems are complex and it is necessary to develop measures, learning environments and support structures which are adapted especially to their needs.
- *Reliable funding* is the basis of sustainable projects, which shows the case of the “Encouraging Youth in the Neighborhood”-program in Bremen. It is important to gain a long-term perspective for programs and measures and to not “*grope from one ESF program to another*” (interview PB 1: 4). Possibilities should be created in order to perpetuate well- functioning projects or programs.
- It is helpful to *build closer cooperation with businesses* and companies which have the time and resources to integrate young disadvantaged people. Cooperation at the local level and the direct contact between politics and the entrepreneurs is the condition for creating new training places. A positive example is the organizing of joint training placement actions of the YCA and the chambers in Bremen.
- The *CESM-program* as an example of an effective measure should be perpetuated. The number of participating schools and offered places *should be extended*. Another suggestion is to think about kind of a “*CESM-Light*”-measure, which makes it possible for the mentors to support the pupils also for shorter periods of time (Interview PB 2 2016: 3).

Annex

Table 1 JUSTiQ programs in Bremen

Program name Implementing In- stitution <i>Time period</i>	Target group	Modules and Content 1. Case Management; 2. Outreach; 3. Low-threshold counselling; 4. Micro-projects
JUSTiQ - West <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.18</i>	Young people - between 18 and 27 years - from disadvantaged dis- tricts - seeking for training or employment; not enrolled in education (except: adult school)	Modules: 1 and 3 Aim: support young people in difficult circumstances in their transition to vocational training, further school education or employment by providing - vocational guidance, compiling of application papers, preparing for job interviews - support contacting authorities, firms, social and health institutions
JUSTiQ - East <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.18</i>	Young people - between 18 and 27 years - from disadvantaged areas in the East - not reached by existing offers of the educational or labour market system	Modules: 1 and 3 The project targets youth in geographically dispersed areas (such as location in the program <i>social city</i>) by mobile working - local youth centers offer open consultation
JUSTiQ – North <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.18</i>	Young people - between 16 and 27 years - without any career per- spectives - emphasis also on young women	Modules: 1 and 3 Providing contact point café for counselling services in area with high migration share (90 per cent) - Cooperation and networking with local youth centres, street workers, youth migration services, jobs employ- ment office and local actors of youth welfare - transition assistance: preparing application docu- ments and contacting to further offers concerning dual education system, work, school or occupational inte- gration and employment measures
JUSTiQ – South <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.18</i>	Young people - between 18 and 27 years - without any career per- spectives	Modules: 1 and 3 The project targets geographically dispersed areas in the South - build up network structures in two funding areas - provision of contact points for counselling - collaboration with mother’s center and girl’s club - street work and youth migration service (JMD ²⁰)

²⁰ Youth Migration Service (in German Jugendmigrationsdienst, JMD) supports the integration process of young people at between 12 and 27 years with migration background. It is funded by the BMFSFJ. There exist about 456 Youth Migration Services in Germany (JMD (2016)).

Micro projects		
Museum kids in the district <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.16</i>	Young people - interested in museums and projects in public cultural spaces	Module 4 A pedagogical assistant accompanies young people to cooperating museums or other organizations. - development of exhibition concepts on biographies and work
“Climbing wall/ tree climbing” and “colour” <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.16</i>	Young people - between 18 and 24 and sometimes children - young people with migration background - not reached sufficiently by existing measures - facing transition from school to work	Module 4 - offering climbing actions and adventure-based learning activities micro project “colour” aims at construction and maintenance of components
Breming East 2015 <i>01.04.15 - 31.12.16</i>	Young people - between 18 and 24 - face the transition from school to work - not reached sufficiently by existing measures	Module 4 - to involve young interested people in the planning, organization and implementation of youth events (partys, soccer tournaments, music events...)

Source: own representation and (BMSFSJ, 2016a)

Table 2 Typologising (employment) policies for youth
(broadly based on Bonoli 2010; Dingeldey 2011 and Graaf/Sirovátka 2012)

	before 2013			2016			Change influenced by		Comment
	strong	medium	weak	Strong	medium	weak	YG	other	
POLICY OBJECTIVES									
Work first approach			X			X			
Flexible forms of employment as 'bridge'		X			X				
Pricing young workers into jobs:		X			X				
age-related (minimum) wages		X			X				
Occupation			X			X			
job subsidies			X			X			
public employment			X			X			
Other									
social security/financial incentives									
- familialised support (parents plus/without child allowances etc.)	X		X	X		X			
- individual social transfers		X			X				
- transfers during educational attainment			X			X			
- in-work or /in-education-benefits									
- sanctions for non-compliance	X			X					
- other									
employment assistance	X			X					
short term measures such as: placement services, counselling									
Upskilling/enabling	X			X					
Encouraging training/ formation of human capital as long term measure	X			X					
- within general school-system	X			X					
- within vocational training system	X			X					
- as further training		X			X				
in general and/or as particular part of employment policy	X			X					
pathways back to education		X			X				
Other									
Target groups									
- according to educational level	X			X					
- NEETs		(X)			X		X		
- People with migration background		X			X				
- young parents		X			X				
- women									
- Other									

Governance 'hard' or 'soft' forms of coordination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ employment/educational guarantee as social right (binding) ○ involvement of social partners/ other non-state actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - designing youth guarantee - implementing youth guarantee as mandatory (law) /informal/ no involvement 	X	(X)		X					
OUTCOMES									
Improvement of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ youth unemployment ○ NEET rate ○ Educational attainment (stratification) by gender/migration/early parenthood ○ Segmentation of labour market <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - distribution of flexible forms of employment - low wage employment - according to sector/profession - according to age and gender 		X X		X X		X X			

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Interviews with experts

- Representatives of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs – interview BMAS 7.10.2016
- Representative of Senator for Economics, Labor and Ports Bremen – interview SFLB 27.09.16
- Representative of Jobcenter Bremen –interview JCB 17.10.16
- Representatives of the Office of Social Services in Bremen – interview AfSD 13.09.16
- Social welfare provider representative of JUSTiQ in Bremen – interview PB 1 26.09.16
- Social welfare provider representatives of CESM in Bremen – interview PB 2 14.10.16
- Representative of the Senator for Children and Education Bremen and employment agency Bremen – interview SCEB/EAB 24.10.16