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HANDBOOK ON REFUGEES AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Reflections based on the Open Learning Initiative Programme, Vienna

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Introduction

This handbook is concerned with the role of higher education institutions in integrating and responding to needs of people who find themselves in forced mobility, and in particular in the case of displaced populations, in host societies. The objective is to pursue an inclusive goal for social cohesion while accepting, governing and affecting pro-humanistic social change. To help us think of this question, the following discussion offers a reflection both at an epistemological and empirical level on experiences and challenges raised during the implementation of the Open Learning Initiative (OLIve) at the University of Vienna.

As a starting point, we consider OLIve a "communicative space" and we revive back the abstract notion of "space" to rethink the idea of constructing real physical and symbolic territorialities through knowledge. The provision of educational settings and the teaching of skills related to scientific research is here seen as an important step to be taken by displaced populations to adapt to and activate the host society also adapt to their needs within the current context of anti-migration and anti-globalist practices. Without the space of education and, more specifically, of the space where education is thought of (Higher/tertiary education institutions), the self-renewal of life, in which the process of change is included, cannot be easily achieved. Without knowledge and, further, without knowledge of the knowledge, it is impossible to initiate a discussion about society´s limitations to solve conflicts regarding individuals often portrayed as "dangerous" and therefore "unwanted" by media, parts of the political spectrum and possibly public opinion at large. Besides, improving the process of theorization on the refugee reality and acknowledging and supporting agency of this population are two intertwined processes, which are the aim of communicative spaces such as this.

Higher education settings provide specific skills necessary to demystify and question common sense spread by media chaos, populism and power in the form of authorities and the market and which generate prejudices translated into politics of exclusion. It is through the tools of scientific knowledge that the forced migration "crisis" can be mapped and understood, better informing policies and further helping society towards self-renewal and change. The University space, which already seeks to accomplish its traditional goals of research and transmission of knowledge, now seeks to bridge society with its "third mission", by communicating scientific thought aiming at negotiating social control, social cohesion and social change.

This handbook is written for those who are committed to the principle that universities have a broader mission and an active role to play at the service of social wellbeing. From a contingent space of interaction where thought is generated, territorialities can be constructed and reinforced beyond the University space. It is only through knowledge that society is able to construct, reconstruct and change itself in a continuous process of negotiation among a range of subjectivities. If refugees are interested in and are invited to entering academia or in building knowledge in other formats, their voices can make a difference both in the process of knowledge construction and further in social change. In a context where certain territories are denied or seen as a luxury for specific populations, we need now more than ever to provide communicative spaces where interests, passions, thought and visions are encouraged and explored, working as a catalyst for the production of new territorialities, or organized and integrated safe places that they can feel they belong to actively.

Forced migrants are for host societies and receiving universities a source of knowledge and meaning for change and for social order characterized by openness and underpinned by humanitarian values of solidarity and respect. Following Berger and Luckmann, who observed and exemplified with their considerations on the existence of "sub-universes of meaning" and its relation to the social base, our ultimate intention is to help raise forms of awareness among current refugees and non-refugees and help activate knowledge creation through a dialectical process between the contingent body of knowledge refugees carry with them and processes of social cohesion. The question of social cohesion, often contested or conflated with assimilation or limited forms of integration, should be understood in this discussion as a process where material, legal and symbolic conditions to exercise forms of citizenship and engage in practices of identity and belonging are enjoyed in largely adequate if not equitable conditions of social togetherness. Refugee populations are both receivers and producers of knowledge which is a reflex of their own intellectual curiosity and pursuit but also of the needs of a whole social order.

With the establishment of sub-universes of meaning a variety of perspectives on the total society emerges, each viewing the latter from the angle of one sub-universe. (…). Each perspective, with whatever appendages of theories or even *Weltanschauungen*, will be related to the concrete social interests of the group that holds it. This does not mean, however, that the various perspectives, let alone the theories or *Weltanschauungen*, are nothing but mechanical reflections of the social interests. Especially on the theoretical level it is quite possible for knowledge to attain a great deal of detachment from the biographical and social interests of the knower. Thus, there may be tangible

social reasons why Jews have become preoccupied with certain scientific enterprises, but it is impossible to predict scientific positions in terms of their being held by Jews or non-Jews. In other words, the scientific universe of meaning is capable of attaining a good deal of autonomy as against its own social base. (…)

What is more, a body of knowledge, once it is raised to the level of a relatively autonomous sub-universe of meaning, has the capacity to act back upon the collectivity that has produced it. For instance, Jews may become social scientists because they have special problems in society as Jews. But once they have been initiated into the social-scientific universe of discourse, they may not only look upon society from an angle that is no longer distinctively Jewish, but even their social activities as Jews may change as a result of their newly acquired social-scientific perspectives. The extent of such detachment of knowledge from its existential origins depends upon a considerable number of historical variables (such as the urgency of the social interests involved, the degree of theoretical refinement of the knowledge in question, the social relevance or irrelevance of the latter, and others). The important principle for our general considerations is that the relationship between knowledge and its social base is a dialectical one, that is, knowledge is a social product and knowledge is a factor in social change.

Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 103-104

1 Refugees, Higher Education and Society

What is the research status on the relation between refugees and higher education? Since our aim here is to explore the role of higher education for refugees against the background of social order, we need not only address specific-related questions on higher education, but also regard the refugee regime and its contemporary social context, in order to make sense of our main claim: higher education is not only a tool for refugees' own survival in integration strategies, it is the actual necessary means of social control and cohesion in a context of refugee crisis and securitization policies. It is, in other words, an informal means of protection and control that could be considered part of a complex refugee regime of protection, where both home and host societies can benefit from knowledge building as refugees are part of it.

1.1 History and Governance of Forced Migration

It is necessary to contextualize forced migration, because the problem of people displacement is not new in history: according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), "throughout history, people have had to abandon their homes and seek safety elsewhere to escape persecution, armed conflict or political violence. This has happened in every region of the world." (UNHCR, 2000:1).

The distinctions, however, which can be made between early periods and the post-war time are possible when we consider the societal relief given to these displaced people linked to "the actions of governmental, international, and intergovernmental organizations and causes of departure" (Elie, 2014:27). Also, it was only in the middle of the 20th century that international, universal standards for the protection of refugees, and not only localized ones, were established (UNHCR, 2000). According to Elie (2014:27), the refugee figure changes when we analyze "new modern technology facilitating travel and communication, the new scale and destructiveness of warfare, the expansion of a world capitalist economy, the emergence of modern race thinking and the triumph of national sovereignty" (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

In the case of refugees, media landscape and symbolic interaction, mainly in the 1950s, enacted laws, and institutions in general, including the Academia, to emerge and help solving the instability created by the flow of people in categories such as refugees. It is important to notice that refugees, in the 20th century, are differentiated from more general terms such as migrants. "We say

'refugees' when we mean people fleeing war or persecution across international borders. And we say 'migrants' when we mean people moving for reasons not included in the legal definition of a refugee" (UNHCR, 2016) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Refugees mattered because of sovereignty and power relations across national boundaries. To deal with this 'problem', "the turning-point came in 1950–51, with the establishment of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the adoption of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR, 2000:2). The Convention of 1951 legislatively contributed to defining what is a refugee: "someone outside his or her own country and unable to return as a result of a well-founded fear of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a social group" (UNHCR, 2000: 2). As a policy, situated in a globalized and mediatized context, it also reflected on each State's obligations impinging directly on their own policy systems and economies. (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Thinking also beyond the administrative and legal definitions is necessary, since "History has largely remained estranged from or unappealing to policy circles which ´rarely show interest in migrations of the past´ and tend to reinvent the wheel continuously" (Elie, 2014). We cannot understand the complex conditions under which a refugee participates in a broader sense if we continue insisting on ahistorical, mediatized, and administrative, legal definitions that narrow academic knowledge (see Caestecker, 2011) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

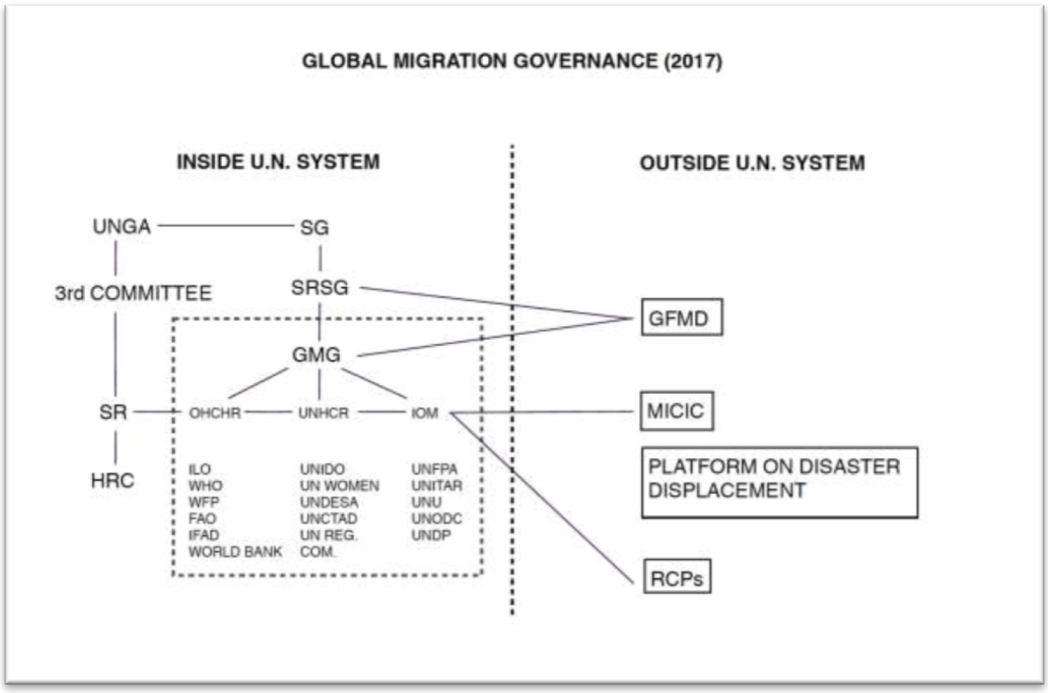
It is still difficult to find considerations in academic studies of refugees and forced migrants that subjects are not only helpless and mute victims of wars represented by the media and by "administrative" concepts provided by legal frameworks. Or worse, perhaps, that refugees are *either* helpless victims *or* a dangerous desease: refugees are also "specific persons" (Elie, 2014) and not detached from the making of History that characterizes the modern and contemporary era (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The reductivism of the refugee figure has been, however, criticized by scholars who help on building a refugee and forced migration history "from below" (Elie, 2014), that is, instead of only emphasizing the necessary gaze of humanity towards the refugee figure, help restoring the humanity they carry with them, considering their voices, their interests that range from simple survival actions to contributing to labor force and intellectual work. We know many influential

scholars were refugees and their theorizations influence approaches to reality and action until nowadays. The history of refugees "from below" is necessary to a more complex analysis of the refugee role in society and history. This is indeed a gap in the theoretical considerations of the field of forced migration and refugees (see Elie, 2014:23-35; Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The importance of refugee movements is also evident in the governance system of refugees that was created and is being constantly modified as a human protection response to the needs of displaced populations, considering their journeys from home to host countries. Betts (2010, p. 12) states that "it is no longer possible to speak of a compartmentalized refugee regime; rather, there is now a "refugee regime complex", in which the refugee regime overlaps with a range of other regimes within which States engage in forms of institutionalized cooperation that have a direct and an indirect impact upon refugee protection." According to Betts (2010, p. 17), "the global refugee regime represents the set of norms, rules, principles, and decision-making procedures that regulate States' responses to refugee protection." (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The purpose of the regime is to ensure that refugees receive access to protection. A refugee is defined in international law as a person who "owing to a well-founded fear of persecution on the grounds of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality". Such persons are, therefore, in need of what is referred to as "international protection". Given that their own State is unable or unwilling to ensure their access to their rights, they need to seek them from another State or the wider international community. Refugee protection is related to: first, a set of civil, political, economic, and social rights and, second, long-term reintegration within a State (durable solutions), whether in a country of origin (repatriation), the interim host State (local integration), or another State (resettlement) (Betts, 2010, p. 18).



Source: Betts and Kainz (2017, p. 15)

The refugee regime is an aspect of the global migration governance. As a sketch for the global migration governance architecture, Betts and Kainz (2017, p. 15) designed the following scheme where we can see one of the main elements of the refugee regime complex, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR has the responsibility, according to Betts (2010, p. 12) "for overseeing States´ implementation" of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees which "defines who is a refugee and sets out the rights to which they are entitled".

Increasing globalization and interdependence, wrote Betts (2010, pp. 12-13), led to a "rapid institutional proliferation within and beyond the United Nations (UN) system. (…) Outside the area of human mobility, international institutions have developed in the area of human rights, humanitarianism, security, development, and peace-building, for example. Many of these new institutions have implications for refugee protection. In particular, some of them overlap with the refugee regime in the sense that they may have authority over related issues. Some of these overlaps – such as the sources of complementary protection provided by the human rights regime – complement and reinforce the refugee regime. Others – such as the humanitarian regime's approach to in-country protection or the travel regime's restriction on access to asylum – potentially contradict and may even undermine aspects of the refugee regime. In this context, it no longer makes sense to speak of the "refugee regime". Instead, there is what may be described as a "refugee regime complex", in which different institutions overlap, exist in parallel to one another and are

nested within one another in ways that shape States' responses towards refugees" (Betts, 2010, pp. 12-13; in Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). The complexity of this interaction can be seen on Betts´ (2010) figure.

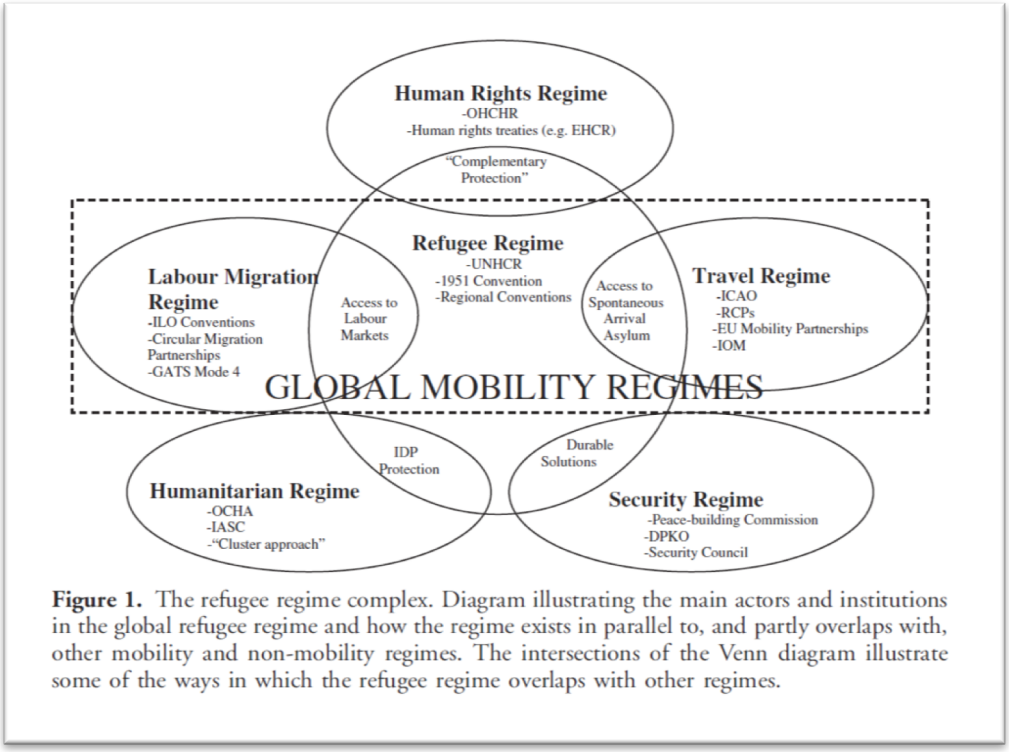


Figure 1. The refugee regime complex. Diagram illustrating the main actors and institutions in the global refugee regime and how the regime exists in parallel to, and partly overlaps with, other mobility and non-mobility regimes. The intersections of the Venn diagram illustrate some of the ways in which the refugee regime overlaps with other regimes.

Source: Betts (2010, p. 22)

1.2 Education, Refugees, and Social Order

Alongside these actors and institutions, educational institutions and actors also play an important role in regulating and controlling society and could be part of the refugee regime complex described by Betts. Education is, for Ross, a means of social control categorized in the modes of social suggestion. For Ross, social suggestion transmitted through traditions, examples, conventions help shape individuals´ sentiments and conduct in almost every situation. This transmission, clearly, cannot take place without human symbolic interaction.

Mead described "how tacit processes of communication that took place in social interactions, resulted in an almost unconscious, self-regulating of behavior by those involved" (Innes, 2003:18). The process of interaction and communication that unveils the self has implications to the capacity of control a society might have, following Mead. For him, social control will depend "upon the degree to which each of the individuals in society are able to assume the attitudes of the others who are involved with them in common endeavor" (Mead, 275:1925). "If we can bring people together so that they can enter into

each other´s lives, they will inevitably have a common object, which will control their common conduct" (Mead, 276:1925; Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The interactionist analysis biased towards Mead, "has always emphasized the social and communicative roots of the self, revealing how individuals acquire the capacity for self-reflexivity through their symbolic interactions with others" (Sandstrom, 2008). According to Sandstrom, Mead and other interactionists used to refer to the relationship between the self and communication, "noting that while the self emerges and develops through communication with others, it also directs a person's communications with others and informs his or her interpretations of their communicative responses." (Sandstrom, 2008) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Refugees, at the same time that are restricted by language and by the social control derived from imbalanced power relations, though, might use these same apparatuses for self-reflection and to respond to them in order to modify them. An authentic process of symbolic interaction with others, then, serves not only to give back the agency of refugees through communication process, but also informs other actors (NGOs, government and society at large) how to reorganize based on feedback responses derived from interaction. That means the refugee figure needs to be inserted into the continual process of institutionalization in society, avoiding, however, the nullification of their past and voices through a reification of the western orderly situation of things and ideas (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

John Dewey (1930:2) wrote that "life is a self-renewing process through action upon the environment", and "with the renewal of physical existence goes, in the case of human beings, the re-creation of beliefs, ideals, hopes, happiness, misery, and practices". He believed that Education, in its broadest sense, is the means for the social continuity of life. The relationship of Education and Communication for him was evidenced through the necessity of teaching and learning for the continued existence of a society. "Society", he wrote, "not only continues to exist by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication" (Dewey 1930 in Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

In the past, at universities, many refugee scholars helped to understand reality and influence education and communicative spaces as universities until these days: Paul Lazarsfeld in Sociology; Karl Polanyi in Economics; Hannah Arendt in Political Science, just to cite a few from the list made by Lewis Coser (1984). European refugees who arrived between 1933 and the end of the World War

II in America had major impacts on scholarship and culture in that country and worldwide (Coser, 1984). Today, in the global academe, mobility of researchers and exchange of knowledge throughout the world is part of our reality on the continual construction and reconstruction of knowledge. Refugees willing to be part of this process should be protected and supported. Not only as a matter of policies, but as a matter of respecting the right of all human beings to education and, more specifically, protecting the right of minorities to construct and voice their own body of knowledge, capable of reaching back the societies they are helping to build.

The range and complexity of motivations in entering higher education among refugees is vast, as is of the general population. Some desire to engage in science, and hope for a betterment of their progress through university education. Some, with academic background, may engage more readily with research, intellectual and theoretical work, others will aim for the professional strands of education. Some will engage with academic enquiry "which has no motive beyond the desire to understand the world better" (Russel, 1926/2010:197). It is necessary to explore the motivations, skills and capacity of programme participants to engage in the whole range of what the university may offer, including the possibility to theorize about their own realities. Including, therefore, refugees in a theorization process is essential in enabling them as knowledge production agents to construe and control the process itself actively. Because, next to the 'how to' which vocational or certain forms of academic enquiry might provide, it is urgent, we argue, to provide the tools for the 'why', as these are the roles of theory: understanding the world and, with this understanding, predict and manage the future.

In an era of big data, however, where some even say it is the "end of theory", we need to always be aware of new processes of divisions that big data helps to intensify. Big data and the "algorithmic turn" bring new promises of progress, while many believe they do "more to isolate, analyze and discriminate against individuals and deepens the existing divisions in our societies" (Završnik, 2018, p. xv), screening the individual in a system of constant surveillance that carries biased codes within it. The informal controls of social relations, including those coming from educational settings, confronted by this system of digital constant surveillance, are considered by some "under siege" (Chriss, 2019). Started, according to Chriss (2019, p. 20), with the already announced "family decline" that passed some of this original functions to the educational system, as Chriss remembers Sumner´s (1909) thesis, but the school was not able to substitute the family entirely as a system of informal control.

Following the destruction of informal means of social control, Chriss writes that Habermas (1987) "continued this thesis with the idea of the "colonization of the lifeworld"": "steering media from the system (power, money, and legal-bureaucratic rationalities and procedures) were inexorably penetrating the lifeworld, thereby distorting communicative action among its citizens and disempowering their ability informally to decide things for themselves" Chriss (2019, p. 20). Also penetrating this lifeworld is the Big Data logics, where the role of theorists is being attacked by those who believe that decision-making and governance can be entirely automated, erasing subjectivity from the process based on a deluge of data. "Such views camouflage big data as an "objective" and "pure" knowledge, and neglects the fact that statistics have always been political and served specific political ends (Desrosières, 2002). Statistics are produced by humans and for humans" (Završnik, 2018, p. 5). The erasure of subjectivity from this process helps also dehumanizing subjects such as refugees, who become in this type of knowledge only analysts or numbers for analysis and not subjects with voices. Education, then, colonized or distorted by this logic, will continue serving the neoliberal logics that destroys the possibilities of innovation and social change that refugees carry with them because of their stories, strengthening a number of assumptions (Stevenson and Baker, 2018) that Higher Education in western settings hold in spite of the human needs that education might incorporate in order to become an effective tool of informal social control.

1.3 The Right to Education and Challenges

The right to education for refugees is formalized in the Article 22 of the 1951 Convention on refugee status, in the resolution 64/290 (July 2010) of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations General Assembly, and also in the draft resolution to the Human Rights Council on the right to education for refugees, migrants and asylum seekers (June 2011) (Dryden-Peterson, 2011a:8). Historically, there has been a focus on primary education for refugees as a form of basic education to be afforded according to values of human rights globally. This is certainly crucial if a human being is to be empowered to achieve their potential. Even these basic provisions are not always satisfied. Higher/tertiary education, a crucial step in the lives of many adult refugees, is historically unsupported or as a secondary priority (Dryden-Peterson, 2011a, 2011b). This is reflected in the fact that overall university systems cannot deal flexibly with the discrepancy between formal documentation and recognized documentation and the realities of a refugee status. Furthermore, social and public policies in host countries are not always

in apposition to respond adequately to, or, in some cases are willingly creating, the conflict people of refugee status are faced with between taking up a degree programme or maintaining basic state living support for their families. "UNHCR supports higher education for refugees predominantly through the DAFI Programme (the German acronym for the Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative), which provides scholarships for study at colleges and universities in host countries. Created in 1992, the DAFI programme has funded approximately 5,000 students from 70 countries of origin in 71 host countries. Demand for these scholarships far outstrips the number of scholarships available: UNHCR generally receives between 10 and 30 applications for each available scholarship. In some countries, acceptance rates for DAFI scholarships are 2%" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011a:52) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Higher education for refugees, as Dryden-Peterson (2011a:52) wrote, "remains low on the agenda for most donors, perceived as a "luxury" for an elite few, especially in contexts where access to primary and secondary education is not universal." Higher education for refugees, though, defends the author, is not a luxury. It is important both for individuals and for society in terms of rebuilding lives and fostering leadership in both protracted settings and post-conflict reconstruction". But the lack of investments on higher education, according to the author, may cause consequences both for individuals and societies in a long-perspective (2011b). The lack of research also reflects the reality: "while there has been some research on refugee youths' experience in secondary schooling there is little research on their experiences within the tertiary system" (Joyce, Earnest, De mori et al., 2010:83) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Dryden-Peterson (2011b:14-15), summarizes three reasons of "why the provision of higher education for refugees, in particular, is critical to the overall goals of the global education movement, particularly its commitment to equity": 1) Higher education, as the primary and secondary, is an instrument of protection considering the refugee context. Education serves as an instrument to conquer peace and dismantle terrorism, keeping youth out of military service; 2) Related to that, the author defends that higher education helps to rebuild refugees´ lives, responding to their desire in attending university and getting from it economic benefits as a result of education. Not only that, the author recognizes in refugees a real human thirst for knowledge that goes beyond a focus on mere economic survival; 3) Higher education can be considered as a tool of national reconstruction, meeting not only individual needs for the refugees but "the development of the human and social capital necessary for future reconstruction and economic development in countries

or regions of origin". In practice, "educational institutions are the settings in which many of the hopes of refugee youth materialize, and can perform an important role in orientating them to the culture of the host country". The educational structures "also provide an opportunity to enhance the social and emotional health of refugee youth" (Joyce, Earnest, De Mori et al. 2010:83). (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Further than that, what we emphasize here is that Higher Education, other than providing safety about the future for a population who has been through chaotic and uncertain displacement and integration processes, it provides people with scientific means to construct reality through knowledge. Refugees, we claim, should become part of this construction actively and *legitimately*. This is the reason why access to and inclusion in Higher Education is important. A society which denies or hampers refugees accessing Higher Education is a society that deligitimises and diminishes the importance of refugees' knowledge for the construction of reality.

Stevenson and Baker (2018, p. 3) show us, based on the UNHCR three modes of action to balance refugees' access to higher education[1], that providing higher education for refugees is "everyone´s business". The first mode of action is "for host countries of refugee camps to plan for and include refuges in their national education systems"; second, there must be "an increase in funding from donor governments to support stronger linking of humanitarian and development planning"; third, should also get involved "private businesses and individuals" (Stevenson and Baker, 2018, p. 3).

Higher Education, ultimately, should become "everyone´s business", and moreover, because, here for us, it is about questions of self governance and governance in the societal and political processes of designing the future. Much progress was made to create responses to a refugee regime of protection to this old phenomenon of people displacement throughout history. The nowadays refugee regime is comprised as in Betts´ picture. Challenged by the emergence of the post-truth environment´s new community of practices, this regime calls for broadening of the scope, with the importance of new innovations between allies and refugees, in order to counter hostile environments created by the post-truth body of suspected knowledge, creating speech acts and contaminating media and public opinion (see Crawford, 2018). It seems that now the refugee protection regime needs to engage at the knowledge-creation level, to ensure that the values of humanity

[1] "The UNHCR estimates that only 1% of refugees now have access to tertiary education, compared with a global picture of 34% of people in 2016 and 36% in 2017" (Stevenson and Baker, 2018, p. 3).

will not be destroyed by "tribalist" beliefs, as Crawford (2018) highlights. For that matter, it becomes essential to make higher education access for refugees and allies a reality.

Research already shows that education is considered a luxury for refugees, concentrating poorly on children´s education. The new environment presents the need for more, though. It is only interacting at the level of Higher Education that true construction of knowledge and influence of authority knowledge can be reached and created. Refugees and allies (Crawford, 2018) need now to achieve the formal institutional boundaries of education, especially at its higher structures, to reeducate unsatisfactory and unfree forms of social order about the threats to human values. New communities of practices, constituted by both allies and refugees need to create their own body of knowledge, where creativity and innovation needs to penetrate the fabric of social order and fight the falsehoods of the post-truth environment.

Education, as a particular means of social control, that is, a means to improve social governance and the self-regulation of societies, can influence from bottom to top the behavior of the social order, creating new social attitudes, redefining the boundaries of social control and broadening the complexity of the refugee regime protection. In an age of epistemological insecurities, refugees need access to the tools of science, given specially during higher education, to be able to counter-act with a new or renewed body of knowledge. While formal access is still difficult and new policies deriving from either xenophobic rhetoric or misguided sense of control make it even more difficult, access programmes made by allies (researchers, teachers, activists, volunteers) can overcome the lack of information and motivation for the continuation of studies at a higher level.

Following Adler, Crawford (2018), makes it relevant for communities of practice to create new knowledge for social progress. Crawford´s take on Adler has much to do with our reference to a constructivist turn on refugees´ educational policies where sub-universes of meaning might interact with the social base of the present society. But this is only possible by bringing refugees, with their knowledge repository, and their interests of research, to the center of the old university with its old western assumptions (Stevenson and Baker, 2018). Programmes such as OLIve, also categorised as "third mission" programmes, aim to reduce this gap and assist refugees' visibility as subjects within western-based higher educational systems. Those, we find, are also in need of new theorizations. We claim that the institutionalization of not only international students, but particularly of refugees, within the sets of formal tertiary institutions is a means to broaden knowledge of reality and reaffirm

the human values of the social order, by making it possible for refugees themselves to address and research reality through their lens, increasing the space where their voices can and might be heard and influencing old communities of practices to broaden their scope, providing new paths for creativity and innovation, especially when it comes to democratic social organization and control.

2 Setting up a Communicative Space for Refugees at the University

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2.1 Overview of the Programme

The organization of programmes, such as the Open Learning Initiative (OLIve) intends to bring refugees to the University based on this contextual and theoretical background we have explained in Chapter 1 and more to be developed at this chapter. The organization of a communicative space at the University to spread information for refugees aspiring higher education, relies on a set of considerations that should be taken into account.

There is no possibility of constructing communicative spaces for refugees that intend to feed back into those already institutionalized ones without creating initiatives for interaction and communication. Formal education plays a fundamental role in societies where the complexity of their processes can only be known through reflection over other reflections already made on these processes, discussing knowledge in general, concepts, theories, paradigms of thought that govern the way of thinking in western societies and which also drive and construct social reality. If refugees are denied this opportunity, they are also denied the chance to participate and act consciously within a society. (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

OLIve at the University of Vienna is a programme designed for individuals with refugee or asylum-seeking status in Austria or another country of the European Economic Area (EEA) who have an interest in pursuing higher education in Europe. It is funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Commission and run by the Media Governance and Industries Research Lab at the Department of Communication of the University of Vienna, in cooperation with the CEU – Central European University, Budapest, the programme leaders, and the University of East London.

The structure of the programme held on Saturdays (Weekend Programme – OLIve WP) is generally defined by

1) A common introductory assembly to address issues, provide welcoming context, help organize the day, provide a sense of community and allow participants to reconnect with each other and the programme.

2) Academic English, as one of the global languages, and German, as national and regional, language courses. The language courses were offered in multiple groups of various levels;

3) a mid-morning break, where refreshments are offered;

4) academic lectures, in a "traditional" format, provided by the University of Vienna faculty. These were followed by seminar structured discussions with tutors about the topic at hand in two languages: national (German) and English;

6) a lunch break, where refreshments and light lunch snacks are provided; during the lunch break OLIve staff and participants had the opportunity to interact informally;

7) advocacy and creative skills workshops and tutorials (academic presentation techniques, academic writing and thinking, curriculum clinics, creative skills classes as photo and radio workshops, and journalistic writing workshop).

OLIve aims to

1) prepare students in the academic strand for further study;

2) assist students incorporate socially and economically into Austrian and possibly other European societies;

3) provide a communicative space for refugee and asylum seeking people in the academic environment;

4) contribute to expanding the conventional boundaries of the University;

5) open the University of Vienna to students with non-traditional backgrounds. (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

OLIve was held in a traditional University of more than 600 years of existence. Participants used the same space regular students use, had same access to library and also institutional provision of Internet access to use the resources of the library online and also for their private use.

As the participants came from different backgrounds, non-western settings, they usually had to be confronted with the western Higher Education assumptions and barriers. Stevenson and Baker (2018, p. 92) describe barriers in four areas: "refugee students´ familiarity with the ways that Western educational systems work; deficit assumptions about refugee students´ aspirations for Higher Education; refugee students´ familiarity and experience with academic language and literacies (particularly practices, expectations and conventions relating to assessment); and students´ transitions and educational journeys". According to the authors, "these assumptions – born out of obsolete beliefs about who our students are in the contemporary Higher Education academy – work together to create exclusionary conditions for `non-traditional´ students (…)" (Stevenson and Baker, 2018, p. 92).

These assumptions and barriers recognized in western Higher Educational settings need to be continuously countered through the creation of communicative spaces inside these very educational settings. It is necessary that the mutual education between refugees and their background and the traditional settings and people of the University take place on an interactional basis. OLIve was thought of as a space where this could be realised in multiple levels (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b):

1) interaction with University professors and regular students who volunteered to participate in lectures designed for the programme, but at the same time, were immersed in the university's traditional environment;

2) while being in this shared environment between "traditional" and "non-traditional" participants´ backgrounds, we hoped to make access easy starting at the interactional level, forging a space like the OLIve structure, where experiences and worldviews could be known and shared; the problem of familiarity with language and academic protocols had a straight-forward answer to us: the provision of language courses and tutorials in academic thinking and writing, aiming to make their interests meet as much as possible the interests of a University like the University of Vienna. And, for this matter, there was the need to also explain the structure of the University and its protocols of access;

3) the aspirations refugees carried with them were also confronted with the new journey they had ahead of them. This included people who participated at the programme thinking that they wanted to pursue higher education, but they actually found out they were interested in other activities and also students who wanted to pursue and continue studying at the level of higher education but saw their aspirations hampered by exclusionary politics which contaminated the government, media and educational environments. These struggles were attenuated by the associations between our team and the participants in many ways.

2.2 Addressing Topics for Discussion and Language Issues

During the academic lectures provided by the programme to the participants, for example, a variety of subjects were addressed by lecturers, in order to promote discussion during and after the lectures in groups - conducted in two languages. Since the OLIve programme was designed by the Communication Department of the University of Vienna, most of the lecture topics were related to communication and media. Many participants, however, not all coming from social sciences, also pointed out that more subject diversity was desirable. The heterogeneity of backgrounds of the people participating in the programme would have made it practically impossible at that moment to organize an event where all areas of interests would be considered and all of them would be satisfied. Even so, discussion groups revealed that many were capable of formulating their opinions and interacting with tutors based on questions made for reflection about the topic of the lecture and on the basis of some academic reading. Most relevant, however, were not the topics themselves, but the ways in which the questions were articulated, in order to encourage debate. We noticed that when questions, independently of the topic, were made based on any relation to the experiences students had with their primary and secondary territorialities (country of origin and transnational space), attention and debate tended to rise and more people were involved in talking. (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). This strategy aims not only at building familiarity, but also at increasing the sentiment of belonging and see that it is possible to be heard and make yourself heard even within traditional settings. In particular, we experienced that participants sensed their experiences are valid. Upon reflection, the success of incorporating personal experience into an academic seminar discussion depends on both sides of interaction: the institutional, which must be open to meet these students interests and promote incentives to make them develop these interests inside the traditional settings. OLIve serves, therefore, as a

space to create knowledge on the necessary needs that the traditional settings have to address in order to include refugees.

The relevance of topics addressed during lectures to students' own experiences was essential for generating links with their past. Therefore, it was not the topics of the lecture which were mainly the problem, but a question about the ways in which we could create diversity from a topic seemingly disconnected with their realities by posing the right questions. The ability to address the right questions for that matter were ultimately linked to the team´s skills, performance and creativity during the discussion sessions. On the other side, participants´ abilities were restrained mostly by language issues, despite the programme discussions on lectures being organized into English and German groups. This problem resides potentially on the different levels of English and/or German that each participant had to be able to communicate with lecturers and tutors. For that matter, the OLIve programme, concomitantly provided English and German classes in order to encourage the improvement of the language dimension of the course. As some reported on written feedback forms, these experiences helped them better their language levels (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The role of language in limiting their voices and their reality is obvious. Among OLIve students a considerable amount had stated problems of understanding and interacting in German and also problems to communicate in English, putting the language challenge on the very first place among other challenges and uncertainties. The "discontent" and "unhappiness" (Gavin, Neubert and Reich, 2010) derived from the double contingency of language (language makes life possible by the time it also limits it) on the basis of the learning process, however, reflects the hard reality of refugees concerning the construction of communicative spaces both on the transnational institutionalized arena and on the host country and its cultural system, including educational settings (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).At the same time, the challenge to understand and be made understood was also rested with the community of workers on OLIve: staff, faculty and volunteers have mostly used not their native language to communicate on a continuous basis. The community involved in OLIve has been heterogenous and international from over ten countries.

2.3 Introducing Academic Tools for Thinking

Besides the lectures and discussions in small groups to instigate further thinking, the OLIve programme also provided two strands of workshops and

also 'academic writing and thinking' sessions. These academic sessions aimed to make the groups which subscribed to it acquainted with the academic way of thinking to support writing and communication abilities inside the university´s institutionalized structures. According to the students, being within an academic environment was one of the most motivational factors. The sessions discussed the interest fields of research of each participant and how we could retrieve specific topics of personal interest from each one of them. From the diversity of topics we managed the other sessions discussing general issues that all of them could find in their present or future research areas, no matter if these areas were in the hard sciences or social sciences. In order to bridge these two academic cultures and interests we provided them with broad themes such as:

- how to transform specific interests into a topic of research and how to narrow it down to make the research possible;
- how to organize your research according to the sources available in our library: primary, secondary and tertiary sources;
- how to manage to survive the university´s hierarchy (supervisor-student relationship, staffs, department´s specific norms, committees etc.) and
- how the problems of their research should be solved according to its relevance to the community and its contributions to the field of research and society (Media Governance and Industries Research Lab 2017b).

Talking about the academic environment in such broad terms made it possible to engage students from different areas of expertise, interest and skills in the discussions, with each one considering their own interests. We confirmed on this experience what Dryden-Peterson (2011b) described as a real human thirst for knowledge among refugees, with many of them interested in continuing their life in the academic realm, becoming potential researchers and teachers (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The academic writing and thinking special tutorials revealed difficulties from the participants to understand and learn about the library system, since it was given access to all of them to the library´s online and physical systems with individualized credentials to search within it for sources as any other regular students from the University of Vienna would do. What really came across from our experience as observers-participants-agents (Gavin, Neubert and Reich, 2010) is that there were hard times in explaining the university, with its complex structure and library resources for research and construction of knowledge. The explanations of what differentiates science and society in general was not as easy to communicate as when we addressed its complementary relation to society. Scientific research focused on solving

problems identified in the "real-world" seemed to be better understood and engaging, while talking about science itself and its protocols like systematic thinking, methods of inquiry, academic sources of knowledge, amounted in much more silence. This, in many ways, may suggest the possible future use and meaning of the University that people with refugee background will help construct (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

2.4 Observing, Participating, and Acting

Even though engaging in some aspects of discussions and silencing in other aspects, we understood that the specific communicative space we were creating was not only aimed at a blind self-sustainability, because it was intended to make students aware of what is ahead of them out of that space and the ways in which the University´s institutionalized communicative space works. As stated by Wicks & Reason (2009:245), communicative action is "the process by which participants test for themselves the comprehensibility, accuracy, sincerity, and moral appropriateness". Therefore, the insistence in explaining traditional requirements for our participants was maintained at a certain level and students were testing themselves whether further formal education is something they would like to pursue and the limitations they would find ahead. The Open Learning Initiative became also, then, a place to discuss how the University is at the same time a closed system with its own institutionalized routines that should be observed in order to participate and actively operate within. These cultural and legal limitations had to be addressed in order to bridge our communicative space with other ones, as the University of Vienna or others in Europe. Beyond that, getting to know the limitations of is a condition for changing them and being capable of integrating in Austrian society actively (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Therefore, observers-participants-agents could see the ways in which their roles are also restrained: 1) observation is restrained, especially because not everyone is willing to interact and communicate (being intimidated, shy, incapable of overcoming language barriers, and also social barriers as gender obstacles) limiting the programme´s team observation and making communication precarious; 2) participation is restrained as a consequence of limited observations, regarding the fact that not all observers engage in interaction, keeping roles as isolated distant-observers or self-observers; 3) action is restrained, finally, because the one who acts without interacting and sharing interests in common is usually not engaged in the activities and how

he can learn from them. The behaviors derived from these barriers in this communicative space were mostly treated in a comprehensive way, without explicit hierarchical punitive measures. The consequences designed for 'normal' classes as a matter of fulfilling the requirements for courses were avoided as much as possible concerning the diversity and different backgrounds of the students. In other words, recognizing that we were dealing with a group with their specific needs, and that a communication space would only emerge out of the use of informality and respect for differences. The approach to behaviors different from those expected in common and "homogeneous" classrooms could work not as an enforcement measure, but, we felt, would worsen the sense of disconnection and frustration to the learning and even 'integration' process (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Although the programme´s cycles ended successfully with most students graduating and receiving their certificates, the communicative space generated emerged, as expected by the team, based on some challenges faced by participants and team members that had to be managed in order to keep the programme going. Besides the language problem, the team members registered many patterns of other challenges while dealing with students with diverse origins and backgrounds. The first pattern of challenges to be observed was finding a proper balance between applying academic rigid protocols to make the reality of the institution in Austria visible, and, at the same time, taking care of not overdoing it and blocking the students to express what they really felt and wanted to say. According to Wicks & Reason (2009:249) one of the main challenges when opening up a communicative space is to help people feel free and able to contribute while providing them with the challenges. "This can be particularly challenging where some people bring experiences of being disempowered". (Wicks & Reason, 2009:249).

Overall, we tried to consider:

- the scientific conformity necessary which we need to master as a skill and which defines specialist from non-specialists;
- academic cultures that may need to be challenged to recognize value and acknowledge skills in non-formal education or forms of interaction (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b);
- the levels of heterogeneity in background and aspiration;
- the levels of familiarity, openness and knowledge in the teams and university community.

Recognizing this difference influences the approach that we should have paedagogically (Lenette, 2016). Neubert explains that education is a "reality co-constructed by observers/agents/participants in cultural practices, routines, and institutions." The learning activity that takes place in education is supposed to be, then, "a cooperative and constructive process engaged in and conducted first of all by the learners themselves" (Neubert 2003:6). Learning begins when learners use and expand their constructive agencies to solve problems and create meanings in the concrete situations they find themselves in. Accordingly, the role of the teacher in constructivist education changes to that of a – also- facilitator or assistant to the learning processes of their students. This implies rather indirect forms of stimulating, informing, and coordinating in the context of, e.g., cooperative problem-solving processes. (Neubert 2003:6). (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

2.5 Challenges to Academic Self-Reflection

The trauma background approach, in spite of being one of the causes of helping even silencing refugees´ voices, was not totally rejected and the academic rigidity had to be worked on a better way to make a communicative space really possible. The interactions between team members and participants could only construct a communicative space, if we really recognized in participants their differences in relation to a broad 'us' (non acute refugees) and, from this difference, improve and construct the communicative space of the programme. Knowing their background, displacement causes and their psychological dimension is part of this process. However, the key is finding the balance in order to approach each other and communicate not on the basis of a label. We also knew that a complete trauma-oriented approach could put the team in the same position as many humanitarian and media approaches, and would go against the intention to make the University space 'free from.' We wanted our communicative space to be a source of change in society and their institutions, especially of the ways in which we should approach refugee status people to make them part of a new community (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

As a place where self-reflection was enabled and society itself and its problems became a central issue on the agenda of themes being discussed with the participants during lectures and workshops, the university (and the programme) worked at the same time as an institution, where those reflections were registered and transformed into knowledge available to the

society. The communicative space, however, is not only about the capacity of the University and the programme to register the participants and team members voices and reflect upon them. It has a secondary intention where these participants become real actors in society to transform the reality upon which they reflected and are inserted within. Differentiating between observing, participating and acting is something that our communicative space suggested and that, theoretically, had been done by the interactive constructivism, especially referring to education (Reich 2007):

With regard to the learner (student and teacher), s/he must be seen as an active constructor of her own learning experiences (agent). In order to learn, s/he must communicate with others in the contexts of a culture, i.e. s/he partakes in a community of learning (participant). Observation is a necessary condition for doing so and for reflecting on this doing (observer). Each of these perspectives must provide sufficiently deep insights to avoid naïve and superficial perspectives in education. This calls for additional reflections on communication, learning, and teaching (Reich 2007:19).

We should consider, besides the importance of reflective learning, this might be challenging in the case of refugees in Higher Education. "Indeed", write Stevenson and Baker (2018, p. 88), "´reflection` is considered to be one of the essential principles underlying good teaching practice as the iterative reflective practice of self-examination can be seen as `both a structure to aid critical thinking and improve existing understanding and a method for promoting autonomous and deep learning enquiry`". However, the authors also say that there are barriers to this self-reflection on their own experiences, and this "includes overcoming the feeling of low self-worth, anxiety and fear, and a lack of confidence (…). In addition, many students, not only refugees, do not value either personal knowledge or their own role in the construction of expert knowledge" (Stevenson and Baker, 2018, p. 88). Understanding this is crucial if we aim to to find ways to develop interests and see value in the practice of self-reflexivity. During OLIve, we see, that, depending on the degree to how close the topic related to participants' experience, increased participation was observed: participants knew they could be heard and they expressed, maybe for the first time, in front of a public a reflection on trauma including their hopes but not only in terms of trauma: their reflections told us repeatedly that what the valued most has been to be treated like equals.

2.6 Incorporating Contingencies and Building a Communicative Space

As participants of an institution and programme, both OLIve students and teachers, were able to learn though observation, interaction and communication, because both were regarded as active constructors of their own learning experiences. The agency in their learning experiences depended both on observation and participation, but also on the precariousness of these levels. That means that there are limits in learning and, at some point, risks are necessarily being taken so that interaction and communication become possible. The ability of the observer to reflect on these limits create the knowledge necessary to improve next steps in constructing knowledge. As active members of the same communicative space we had to constantly reflect on the contingency of the other in order to reeducate our own selves of possible and impossible actions to be performed and keep the space of learning open to the unexpectable. As Reich (2007:22) wrote: "one of the preconditions of becoming an educator/teacher is precisely the ability to bear the precariousness—the contingencies and ambiguities—of learning and to resist the temptation of all too readily taking refuge only in stable orientations." (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The success of the programme, therefore, lies partly on the ability to maintain the contingencies and ambiguities of learning alive and the communicative space possible. The unexpected aspect of the interactions coming from agents taught tutors and volunteers that the University is capable of creating a different communicative space, where a second-order discussion on aspects of life itself is able to be performed considering that the observers of the refugee reality were not only tutors, volunteers and experts, but the students themselves. 'We' and 'they' were participants and agents at the same time, and the communicative space is a result of interaction of these roles, not only pure observation. Universities, as institutions, can be seen as central places for creating these communicative spaces because of the specific abilities and comprehensiveness it has to deal with diversity. Practically, universities can act "quickly and independently in many ways" :

They can cut red tape relating to the admissions process, open study places for refugee students, and provide counselling and other services to traumatized students and their families. Since most students will lack appropriate credentials, universities can, through testing and other means, determine appropriate placement for students. In many cases, language and cultural training will be required. (Wit & Altbach, 2016:10)

The OLIve experience showed that this is true in some aspects. The opening up of a communicative place to study and accommodate the group of students all Saturdays would be difficult to imagine in a different inflexible institution where many protocols and bureaucratic structure prevents access to it like OLIve provided (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Space here is characterized as a notion, not as a concept, following Raffestin (1993). It is something anterior to the territory. When we say "communicative spaces" we are closely dealing with what some geographers call "territorialities" and the vital components of everyday life. Therefore, symbolic and material communicative spaces here, for us, mean nothing less than constructed realities through interaction and communication, artificialities that make life as it is. These spaces are symbolic or concretely appropriated by actors who "territorialize" them (Raffestin 1993:143). We decided, however, to not go on with the term "territoriality" in this specific case here because we wanted to emphasize the precariousness of this process of "appropriating" the space through communication but not yet formalizing an organized territoriality, due to refugees' lack of voice and agency in this process (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Referring to young refugees and absence of their own voices in discourse Wernesjö (2014:13) stated: "In this form of representation, they become marginalised; their voices are not heard, their identities are reduced to stereotypes, and with a pathologisation and focus on vulnerability they are reduced to victims that are seen as lacking agency". Forced migrants and refugees are central in the European political debate in the recent years, however, they are not allowed to tell their own stories, they are just talked about. One of the OLIve students said (male, 34, Syrian): "The charity (approach) is disrespectful, we are not children to be decided for us. We want to be addressed as equals, we want to be asked about our own opinions and be included in the discussions." Another student (female, 28, Somalia) shared: "This is very unusual for a woman to present in front of a group of males and to look them in the eyes. However, the experience of being the centre of attention was very empowering" (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

In order to influence the global governance system of forced migration, we propose, through our experience, the inclusion of higher education institutions in it in order to provide space for communication that differs from the space already created by the set of the other institutions, including state and media. Higher education, however, needs more investments when it comes to accommodate refugees' specific needs, as research shows (Joyce, A.; Earnest,

J.; De Mori, G. et al. 2010a) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). Not only investments, but a definition of communicative space in the terms described by Aspfors & Valle (2017:2), based on other authors, where concepts like "unforced consensus", "negotiation", "informality", "respect", "participation", "agency", "voices" and "organization" are all addressed:

"According to Kemmis and McTaggart (2005, 296), communicative spaces are about the "intersubjective agreement, mutual understanding of a situation, and unforced consensus about what to do." Communicative spaces thus refer to thoughtful interaction and communication, in which experiences are encouraged to be mutually shared, acknowledged and considered, as well as explored, reflected on and negotiated. Furthermore, communicative spaces rely on authenticity, informality, respect and trust, and are nurtured when participants are present and prepared to listen, in order to promote perspective-taking and learning from one another (Bodorkós and Pataki 2009; Kemmis 2006). The participants are empowered to influence, improve and transform the circumstances and conditions under which they function, and together they can engage in researching and improving their practices. <…> Communicative spaces are consequently a discursive arena where voices can be heard, but also an organized physical arena of space and time where people are enabled to meet in order to engage in discourse (Bevan 2013)" (Aspfors & Valle 2017:2).

2.7 Communicative Spaces and Institutionalized Social Practices

The reality of the constructive relationship between symbolic and material interactional communicative spaces, on the one hand, and the institutional set that conveys a global governance system of forced migration, on the other, is here taken in consideration based on a constructivist perspective as we´ve shown. Communicative spaces, in their symbolic and material dimensions, therefore, cannot be separated from the forms of institutionalized social reality they construct continuously, otherwise we would be remaining ignorant to the agency of refugees in this constructive process. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 72), influenced by social interactionism and phenomenology, "institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution". Besides the typification of habitualized actions, the origins of institutions are also linked to historicity and control. Historicity, because "reciprocal typifications of actions are built up in the course of a

shared history"; therefore, institutions "cannot be created instantaneously", being necessarily the product of history. Control, because institutions, "by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 72).

Distinguishing the communicative spaces from the institutionalized social reality it creates is here just an operation to retrieve from a constructivist systematic approach and bring to the centre of the discussion the dimension of what is being communicated and who are the actors involved in this process. The reality of a global governance system of forced migration, then, is not just defined by governmental and transnational actors, but also by the refugees themselves and their communicative practices. However, the creation of the UNHCR and the 1951 Convention regarding refugee status remain as a core to the global governance systems, and nowadays there are "wider structures of global forced migration governance (that) have altered beyond recognition". According to Betts (2014:68), "rather than speaking of a "refugee regime", there is today arguably a "refugee regime complex" within which a range of different institutions, at different levels of governance, and across different issue areas, shape and define how states and other actors can and do respond to forced displacement" (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The problem, however, resides on the imbalance between the controls that emerge from these practices over communication capabilities, winding up in an unbalanced relationship of types of actors and the institutions they contribute to create. From what critical studies in refugees and forced migration imply, however, we could say that the complex refugee regime and its governance is not constructed mainly because of the refugee type, but by a series of different actors with many interests, including those who focus on anti-immigration discourses and even those with the intention to help, as humanitarian discourses. Identifying who are the actors and the content of what they say and believe in turns out to be of great importance to understand the complex reality of the refugee and the possibilities and limits of their communicative spaces (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Regarding the limits of the power of the refugee voice in creating their own reality, we may recur to critical analysts in the field of refugee and forced migration studies who are interested in a refugee and forced migration history "from below" (Elie, 2014:30; Sigona, 2014). The refugee figure surges as

ahistorical individuals to other types of actors responsible in co-constructing their reality. The refugee "has largely remained estranged from or unappealing to policy circles which ´rarely show interest in migrations of the past´ and tend to reinvent the wheel continuously" (Elie 2014). We cannot understand the complex reality of under and in which a refugee is situated if we continue insisting to examine people under ahistorical, mediatized, and administrative, legal definitions that narrow the knowledge about their reality (Caestecker 2011 in Elie 2014) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Humanitarian, media and academic discourses, however, tend to privilege a "one-dimensional representation of the refugee" translated, most of the times, into "feminized and infantilized images of "pure" victimhood and vulnerability" (Sigona 2014:370) as if the flow of people seeking safety was a novel and non-diversified phenomenon. By not considering the refugee and their history, non-diversified representations will be common and limit the communicative space of the refugee type with the interaction of ill-informed institutions, systems of beliefs and policies. This, in turn, leads to a process of "silencing refugees", erasing the aspect of their agency, even forgetting to address one's own human characteristics influenced by gender, sexual orientation, age, different abilities, social class, race, and ethnicity (Sigona 2014:370). According to Sigona (2014:372), "research shows how Western humanitarian organizations frequently resort to a vocabulary of trauma and vulnerability to describe the condition of refugees and others who have survived conflict and persecution". In histories of the twentieth century, as Gatrell (2015:283) concludes, refugees were seen "as subjects of external intervention rather than actors in their own right". If we reconstruct histories, however, from "the prism of population displacements", familiar historical events such as "war, revolution and state-building take on fresh meanings", because these populations, no matter how they were labeled through history, participated in such transformations (Gatrell 2015:283) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

The little amount of knowledge behind the refugee type is related to the bad outcome of the process of labelling refugees which, in turn, is intrinsically intertwined with the bureaucratic institutionalized regulatory practices before it represented by other actors as NGOs, governments and transnational agencies and their discourses. Zetter (2007) showed in his original paper on labelling refugees (cf. Zetter, 1991), for example, "why well-meaning assistance, and in particular the bureaucratic processes of managing the distribution of that assistance, had such disempowering and controlling consequences" and also "why refugee dependency (both imposed and learned) went hand in hand with autonomy and expressions of ingratitude

which challenged the humanitarian precepts of altruism and charity." Labelling limits the forced migrant space and their "mobility" through this space to create social relations (Witteborn, 2011) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). The labelling process continues to exist besides the new refugee regime and its governance where changes in the bureaucratic structure reinforce the labelling in other forms:

"In the past, the concept of labelling focused on how humanitarian agencies formed, reformed and politicized the refugee label. Now, in revealing the multiplicity of labels for refugees, the concept of labelling points to government agency. In the past, the objective of humanitarian labelling was the inclusion of refugees, although the consequences were often destructive. By contrast, state action mobilizes bureaucratic labelling to legitimize the exclusion and marginalization of refugees. In the past the concern of labelling was to explore the distributional consequences of different categories (i.e. 'labels') of need—food, water, shelter, medical assistance. Now the concept of labelling demonstrates why the fractioning of the label 'refugee' conceals the political agenda of restricting access to refugee status in the seemingly necessary apolitical bureaucratic processes. In the past the political discourse on refugees focused on rights and entitlements. Now, the analysis of labelling as public policy practice shows how this discourse is preoccupied by notions of identity and belonging embedded in debates about citizenship and the 'other' in an era of global migration. In the past the label 'refugee' shed light on the often disturbing impact of altruism and charity presented as humanitarian assistance. Now labelling reveals a process of citizen co-optation in a wider, and possibly more pernicious, political project." (Zetter, 2007:189-190)

If we have typification of habitualized actions, historicity and control as the theoretical background to the origins of an institution as we saw above, what characterizes, on the other hand, the process of changing institutions? Is it possible? Further, is it predictable, plannable, manageable? Following Berger and Luckmann´s theory of the social construction of reality, can we say that providing auto-reflexive communicative spaces like OLIve to refugees is key to interfere in the construction of institutionalized realities where minorities cannot make their universes of interaction and meaning act significantly in the changing of the objective reality to their own benefit? Or is it just mere charity with unpredictable outcomes? We argue, through the observation of the OLIve initiative at the University of Vienna, that specific auto-reflexive and goal-oriented communicative spaces have the ability to redirect social interaction by the provision of knowledge about social knowledge, providing tools to act consciously on a reality that cannot let be changed only by the sedimentation

of unforeseeable forces through indefinite time, putting in risk the freedom of people protected under the institution of law, as refugees and forced migrants fleeing from war or political persecution. In what sense, then, an apparently insulated tertiary educational initiative can be thought as part of the social de/re/construction of reality? What is it that in OLIve case allows us to infer that the provision of such communicative space makes a difference in the process of changing the construction and reproduction of the social?

2.8 Institutional Theory: Organizations and Institutions

Institutional theory was enriched by the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966), who set the philosophical basis of the social constructivist paradigm of knowledge. "They argue that it is through linguistic processes that common definitions of reality are constituted, accepted, and legitimated. Institutions, as constituted by reciprocal typification of habitualized action, are essentially cognitive constructions that control social action independent of any form of sanction" (Lawrence and Shadnam, 2008). Consequently, organizational theory, also concerned about control processes, was also informed by the institutional approach of Berger and Luckmann. It becomes reasonable to understand any human organization as systems of exchange with their institutional environment, and this is why we can think of our case, the Open Learning Initiative (OLIve), as an organization situated in the middle of a complex set of institutionalized forms (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). The organizations

are influenced by normative pressures, sometimes arising from external sources such as the state, other times arising from within the organization itself. Under some conditions, these pressures lead the organization to be guided by legitimated elements, from standard operating procedures to professional certification and state requirement, which often have the effect of directing attention away from task performance. Adoption of these legitimated elements, leading to isomorphism with the institutional environment, increases the probability of survival" (Zucker, 1987, p. 443).

Additionally, Mayer and Rowan (1977, p. 341) argued that "the formal structures of many organizations in postindustrial society (Bell 1973) dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities". According to the authors, "many of the positions, policies, programmes, and procedures of modern organizations are

enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents, by knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws". These elements "are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations." (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 343) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Following the social constructivism of Berger and Luckmann, Mayer and Rowan explained that the parallelism of organizations and institutional environment is due to the fact that that organizations structurally reflect socially constructed reality. The organization becomes, then, a source for imitating prescribed institutionalized behavior, or myths, but it does not mean that organizations cannot be, at the same time, a source of change acting upon the institutional environment. According to Meyer and Rowan, "organizations do often adapt to their institutional contexts, but they often play active roles in shaping those contexts (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975; Parsons 1956; Perrow 1970; Thompson 1967). Many organizations actively seek charters from collective authorities and manage to institutionalize their goals and structures in the rules of such authorities." (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 346) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b). Organizations, therefore, can mold the institutional environment by creating demands, new rules of appropriateness, standards and new desires who might influence public opinion and culture. As examples:

"School administrators who create new curricula or training programs attempt to validate them as legitimate innovations in educational theory and governmental requirements. If they are successful, the new procedures can be perpetuated as authoritatively required or at least satisfactory. New departments within business enterprises, such as personnel, advertising, or research and development departments, attempt to professionalize by creating rules of practice and personnel certification that are enforced by the schools, prestige systems, and the laws. Organizations under attack in competitive environments – small farms, passenger railways, or Rolls Royce – attempt to establish themselves as central to the cultural traditions of their societies in order to receive official protection." (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 346)

Innovation and distancing from the institutional environment, however, tend to diminish the survival capabilities of organizations. Mayer and Rowan explain that "organizations fail when they deviate from the prescriptions of institutionalizing myths: quite apart from technical efficiency, organizations which innovate in important structural ways bear considerable costs in

legitimacy" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 352-353). Another source of conflict is inconsistency among institutionalized elements: "institutional environments are often pluralistic (Udy, 1970), and societies promulgate sharply inconsistent myths. As a result, organizations in search of external support and stability incorporate all sorts of incompatible structural elements. (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 356) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

A way-out to innovate and maintain efficiency without having to necessarily lose legitimacy is by employing two interrelated devices: decoupling and the logic of confidence (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 356). Structures and activities can be decoupled in order to protect the organizational from delegitimization. Thus, "institutionalized organizations protect their formal structures from evaluation on the basis of technical performance: inspection, evaluation, and control of activities are minimized, and coordination, interdependence, and mutual adjustments among structural units are handled informally" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 357). The internal lack of control and coordination does not make these decoupled organizations anarchies: "what legitimates institutionalized organizations, enabling them to appear useful in spite of the lack of technical validation, is the confidence and good faith of their internal participants and their external constituents" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 357) (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Decoupling and confidence and good faith seemed to be elements to solve inconsistency in OLIve case, specifically regarding formal structure requirements. Informality and trustful partners enabled that the organization met its objectives. When OLIve started, the sense that what we were doing was atypical, not categorized, not socially accepted, not isomorphic with the environment, and even clandestine, took us all over. The insistence on the organizational survival, in spite of these feelings, was an outcome of specific external and internal sources, for example: 1) external: financial provision by the European Commision; 2) Internal: activities being managed by a highly internationalized team where all could relate to the refugee world under the larger category of "migrants", or just people seeking greater opportunities in a different country simply because they have the right to do so. This leads us to think how it would be otherwise: what if the team was not internationalized and only comprised of Austrian citizens, would the outcome be different? What are the other reasons of our organizational insistence, besides the problems? The team is formed in its majority by researchers on MA and PhD level. These researchers carry with them the value of research as necessary for the continuation and renewal of society; also, the leaders of the organization carry with them the value of the "third mission" of the University, that has been discussed worldwide as a tendency to make the University itself survive its

crisis of fragmentation of non-communicable knowledge and knowledge incapable of interacting and changing society (see https://thirdmission.univie.ac.at/en/). (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Innovations, such as like OLIve, find the cost of not being totally socially accepted because of institutionalized myths that concur to new ideas. Despite of that, the feelings that animate the continuation of the project also have an institutional background. Unfortunately, the emergence of local extremism and changing political behavior – hatred towards migrants and populist right-wing parties – are also organizing themselves to protect their own interpretation of the environmental institutions. In the era of fake news, it is clear that the struggle over the construction of social reality is more alive than ever and knowledge and communication are at the center of this dispute (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Berger and Luckmann stressed that institutions "by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible" (1966:72). Taking for granted a particular normativity of behaviour in certain situations and contexts is a by-product of the institutionalization process. The problem is that missing the "many other directions that would theoretically be possible" makes the actor blind to the possibility of changing institutions, in which theorization is an important stage of change when the innovator and participant actors specify organizational problems and justify possible solutions (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

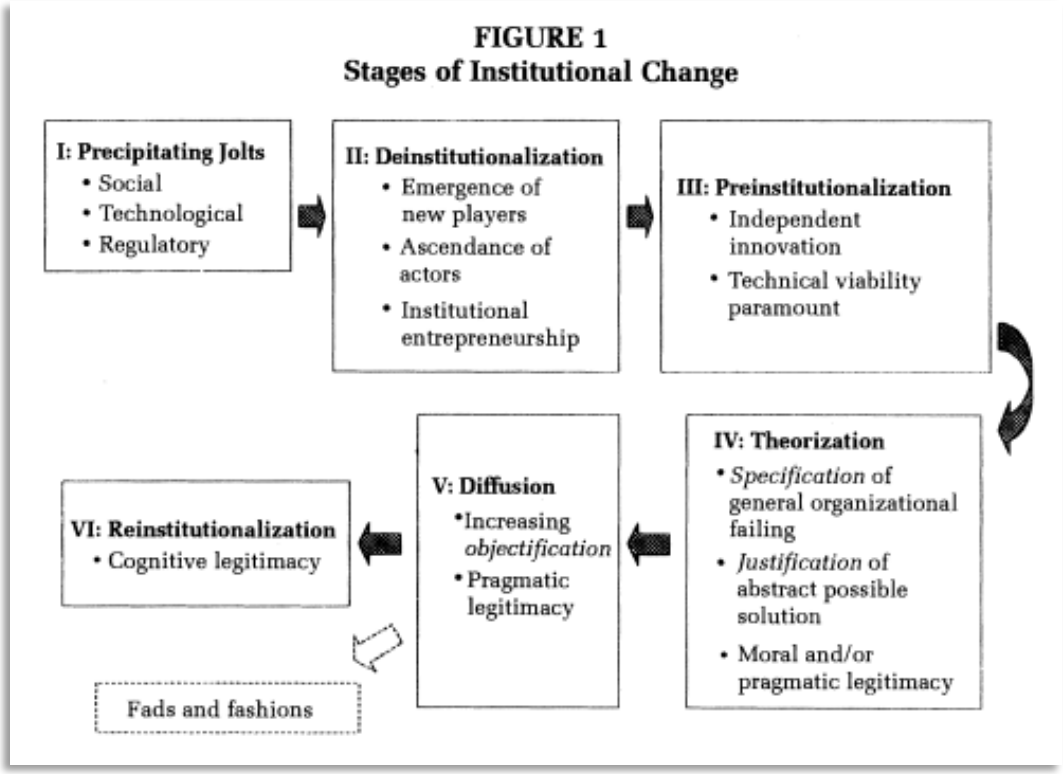
2.9 Theorizing for Institutional Change

We see OLIve as an innovation that´s part of a social need to which established institutions are struggling to adapt: the integration of the forced migrant and refugee to the host society. The contact with the migrant, specifically the refugee, make symbolic host systems interact with symbolic home systems. The refugees´ needs impose a critical point to institutions which have to decide on what to do. Surely, if the "predefined patterns of conduct" that these institutions expect to see reproducing are being challenged by refugees needs, it is a sign that they need to be re-theorized in order to promote integration and finally a solution to crisis. Denying to discuss the possibilities of theorization of old institutions is neglecting that they are able to change (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

Besides many institutional resistances to change, as rules imposing higher needs for language skills, the University of Vienna showed it is permeable to change when accepted OLIve as a "third mission" programme inside its organizational structures. We believe that refugees programmes in University are already a sign of how refugees are shaping communicative spaces in institutions, which are becoming more permeable to the presence of different participants and their worldviews. This gives way to change in institutions and consequently reacquiring control over societal crises. New institutions, consequently, need to accept and expect new ways to behave (Sarikakis, Belinskaya, Korbiel & Mantovaneli, 2018a; 2018b).

A broader process of how refugees and forced migrants are shaping communicative spaces in institutions is confirmed in a still incipient history of refugee and forced migration, which needs urgently to be constructed if we expect the theorizing process to have a future legitimation. Citing Strang and Meyer (1993), Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings (2002, p. 60) remind us that "for new practices to become widely adopted, they have to be 'theorized'" as it is represented in stage IV of their figure below:

Theorization is the development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect. Such theoretical accounts simplify and distill the properties of new practices and explain the outcomes they produce. In effect, theorization is the process whereby localized deviations from prevailing conventions become abstracted (Abbott, 1988) and thus made available in simplified form for wider adoption. (Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings, 2002, p. 60)



Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings, 2002

This is important to recognize because no knowledge construction about refugees can be performed with ill-informed institutions, specially the media that propagates ahistorical portraits about who refugees are. This is where access to educational systems are essential, because refugees themselves need to enter the life-worlds of the occidental society by means other than the media. University is part of the modern educational system that is entirely supposed to give human beings access to knowledge construction and participation in society. OLIve is a space where we, current, previous or otherwise refugees, may try to become theorists ourselves.

Therefore, European society and its continuation after a refugee crisis will be defined by the degree of access to Education and opportunities for Communication we provide to all, including refugees. For sure, giving access to bureaucratic information in order to enable refugees interact with basic institutions is not enough. Entering the world of the 'other' is the recognition that Education and Communication is exactly the same local citizens may enjoy. Otherwise the sense of justice is not stable. This is a recall that institutions need to keep on absorbing complexity from the environment and reorganizing it, if they are to give vulnerable populations and non traditional students something more than a label.

We see the OLIve case as part of a broad social reality that still is in need of institutional legitimation. OLIve is part of the outcome generated by the needs of the forced movement of people around the world that has a long history. It is just another innovation in a world of institutions programmed to behave in a certain way. In the history of institutional innovations regarding refugees and forced migration we can cite a recent one that was the recognition of refugee status by special Law. This normative innovation represents already an institutional change, but it is not enough, for sure. It requires that other institutional sets, especially the local ones, adopt to change as well. And if we are immersed in a world of institutions where the educational ones are supposed to be central in the process of self-renewal of society, we need them to co-theorize and define new patterns of behavior to be adopted in order to solve the insisting crisis and regain control by respecting democracy, human rights, and history. If the Educational system, in the broad sense, as Dewey proposed, including the informal ones that are propagated through families and media, is not able to respond to the complexity of the needs at hand, then the outcome cannot be known. That is where social control plays an important role, because it makes unaware individuals capable of self-reflection and, therefore, of depicting taken-for-granted sets and theorizing about it. It is common to relate social control from institutions to society, but not from society to institutions, because it is expected that everyone acts conforming to institutional patterns. Social control, on the other hand, may force institutions to reorganize their control patterns and change it "from below" or in an "upward" direction. Social control here is also what provides the critical feedback to institutional injustices and the claim to change it. Those who participate in small innovative associations, like OLIve, activists, social movements, and even those who are expected to adhere to certain behavior are all capable of theorizing and criticizing. That means that social control is a continuous process of construction, reconstruction, and deconstruction, where creativity and theorization are always possible. That is, it includes change in it.

Institutional change may become plannable and predictable exactly because it has to go through a theorization stage. And the role of theorization, among others, is the ability to control and predict human behavior. In the OLIve case, each participant, both team members and refugees, can be considered an emergent "theorist" in potential.

3 Readiness and Challenges of the Experience: Thoughts from OLIve´s Lecturers

This last section presents the experiences of a group of lecturers who participated in OLIve. All of them were invited to give formal lectures, choosing a specific topic of their specialties for discussion and interaction with the participants.

3.1 Why the OLIve Experience Needs to be Mainstreamed

Melita H. Sunjic[2]

It may sound counter-intuitive, but it is a fact that the most educated among the refugees who suffer the deepest fall in social status in Europe, at least the first generation.

Most refugee projects in Europe are focusing on social needs and – justifiably - concentrate on the most vulnerable and least educated refugees. In all EU Member States, public institutions as well as NGOs are routinely taking care of the least educated refugees and asylum-seekers offering literacy classes, basic school education or vocational training. As a result, refugees who were manual labourers at home will eventually find jobs that are close to or above their previous occupation.

By contrast, those who were students or held university diplomas do not find educational support readily. They find themselves left alone in a new country, a new cultural and language environment and with many stressful social and economic problems to deal with. Most of them will never manage to reconnect to academia but join the ranks of blue-collar workers. This is not only a personal tragedy for the affected individuals, it is also a tremendous waste of human capital for the countries of asylum. Even UNHCR has repeatedly expressed its

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concerns that only 1% or the global refugee population has access to higher education as opposed to 36% of the general population in the world[3].

From numerous discussions with individual refugees (from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, West Africa, Nigeria and Eritrea) over the past five years the author knows that young, well-educated refugees are desperate to re-enter the academic world but fail due to numerous practical obstacles. Nonetheless, this brain waste remains largely ignored in European refugee policy. OLIve was one of the few initiatives addressing this academic dilemma. The University of Vienna, the Central European University in Budapest and University of East London were pioneering this initiative.

OLIve offered two levels of academic programmes free of charge:

- OLIve-WP (Weekend Programme) is a 12-weekend non-degree course aimed at easing participants back into academic work after a traumatic experience.
- OLIve-UP (University Preparatory Programme) is an intensive 10-month course preparing students for BA and MA programmes at European universities.

For students, participation in OLIve has been uplifting in more ways than one. It heightened their morale and self-confidence. It gives them a place where they can meet peers as equals and are not labelled exclusively as "refugees". It offers them a learning environment other than crammed refugee accommodation centres. Many participants said that already having a university e-mail account boosted their self-esteem. Most importantly, OLIve has given young intellectuals hope that they can rebuild their lives. The lasting impact depends very much on their personal qualifications and motivations, but at all three universities some OLIve students managed to enrol irregular university studies.

The OLIve project worked in both directions affecting on the social fabric of the university itself. Over a humanitarian cause it brought together segments of academia that do not typically work together. There was never a lack of volunteers. Those who taught refugees soon discovered that they themselves were learning a great deal and honing their own paedagogic skills. All students were highly stressed, if not traumatised. They originated from a wide range of

[3] See UNHCR press release of 12/09/2017; http://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2017/9/59b6a3ec4/unhcr-report-highlights-education-crisis-refugee-children.html.

countries, including Afghanistan, Albania, Bolivia, DR Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe. Untypically for universities, classes were heterogenous in their disciplines of study and their command of the languages of tuition. The students had but one thing in common: They were highly motivated.

The current model of OLIve emerged from a necessity to responded quickly to an emergency, but it is not sustainable. A very rough estimate put the number of unpaid work hours in the vicinity of 1,000 per course cycle per university. Even if estimated conservatively, with 15 courses in 2018, this equals some 130,000 work hours that have been contributed in by volunteers by the end of the academic year in June 2018. Volunteers spent work days and weekends helping refugees without earning money or academic credits for their commitment.

At the institutional level, close exchanges with asylum-seeker and refugee students helps universities understand the impediments refugee students face when wanting to pursue tertiary education. Hopefully this will encourage the participating universities to adapt their standard operating procedures and to mainstream the preparation of asylum-seekers and refugees for university studies. The supporting staff deserves both financial remuneration and academic credits for their efforts.

The hope remains that the example of OLIve will inspire other universities to follow suit. For centuries, universities in Europe have respected and promoted the traditions of internationalism, and societal responsibility. Here is a case in point to bring this tradition to the realities of the 21st century.

3.2 OLIve—a formative teaching experience

Violetta Zentai[4]

After the long summer of 2015, when many of us had been engaged in various solidarity acts for the refugees in Hungary, nothing was more obvious than joining a group who ventured to mobilize the resources of the CEU for assisting refugees who sought to continue their education. The community and space that we have established and soon named Open Learning Initiative (OLIve) has become part of our academic work which is unique in many respects but also part of our broader university undertakings. Together with my colleagues, including faculty, staff and students, we are planning and delivering courses and tutorials in OLIve like we do for many other CEU students in different degree programs at the CEU. The OLIve students are even more diverse than other CEU student groups. They not only come from all parts of the world but possess various levels and types of schooling. We believe that this diversity is one of the most pressing challenges that the OLIve program has to face. In addition to this, we have conceived OLIve in reaction to the current political environment in Central Europe which takes a disgracefully pioneering role in generating fear and anxiety in connection with refugees.

But whatever hospitality or animosity the external environment enacts, the OLIve program has invited us to spontaneously and then more conscientiously work on the concept and methods of academic care which combines excellence and shared humanity. Care which is directed to those whom we believe are vulnerable and marginalized but resourceful and knowledgeable simultaneously. Care which incorporates attention to potentially specific needs but embodies generalized pedagogical sensitivity and openness to the learning subjects' desires, capacities, and choices that are partly pre-conditioned and partly shaped in the very process of learning. Care which accommodates to the diverse and often non-standard needs and opportunities of the refugee students. Care which does not take for granted that an open-minded international graduate school does have all knowledge that one needs in order to teach adult people who often have more complex knowledge about certain parts of the world than their teachers.

All these qualities of academic care cannot be cultivated unless university policies and procedures for student recruitment, admission, registration, and

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OLIve, Central European University

learning and career support show flexibility, capacities to adaptation, and refined understanding of fairness. We have identified and reconfigured some of these procedures so that the OLIve programs can make the best use of the CEU resources to respond to the educational needs of the refugee students. All this has resulted in gradual progress until the summer of 2018 when yet another attack on the Hungarian government forced the CEU to temporarily restrict rather than enlarge its hosting capacities for refugees.

We had already been into the active operation of our OLIve program in 2016 when the opportunity had arisen to find like-minded higher education partners in Europe, such as University of Vienna and University College London, and dedicated faculty groups in both institutions. I wish we had more occasions for engaging with the pedagogical, institution transforming, and wider political thinking that shape our programs at the three locations. But few encounters were enough to learn some of the most impressive capacities of our Viennese colleagues. They crafted a curriculum and institutional design in a blink of an eye to launch an OLIve initiative at a major state university with hierarchical structures and cater for a much larger local refugee community than the one we have addressed in Budapest. We acknowledged the efficiency of a small group of women in the Institute for Communication Studies at University of Vienna in convincing university leaders, recruiting volunteers, reaching out civil society actors, and finding the refugees who are eager to learn, among them high number of women. It was instructive to visit the Vienna program at a regular weekend session with some OLIve Budapest students in February 2018. We understood that a reasonably friendly political environment generates differently pressing challenges for refugees who have to learn a language different than the one of their former studies and different than English, the most common communication tool for people crossing boundaries. Studying in German requires perseverance by adult people among the refugees which the OLIve program in Vienna assists in a reassuring manner. Classroom talks and discussions are building on sensitive and creative shifts from one language to another and thus capacitating every student on board. These students, if admitted to formal higher education training, will become utmost prepared to help internationalizing the spirit, the scope, and the curricula of various Austrian universities.

It has been instructive and reassuring to learn that the core pedagogical, moral, and academic challenges are partly the same for our OLIve programs, whereas the obstacles to lace refugee education in wider university structures generate diverging tasks. We all seek to reconsider the mission of universities in general and to expand the notion of learning and teaching in our home institutions. We

strive to upgrade our capacities for academic care and adult education for ensuring equal citizenship and dignified learning path for refugees in Europe.

3.3 OLIve – Learning in Diversity

Petra Herczeg[5]

"The real world is not binary – except insofar as it is divided into those who insist that it is and those who know that it is not. For it is in the very range, complexity, and diversity of our multifarious and manifold identities, and in the many connections we make through them and across them, and in the varied conversations we sustain as a result of them, that we each affirm and should all celebrate the common humanity which is the most precious thing we share" (Cannadine 2013, 9f):

Cannadine brings it to the point that what unites us is humanity and being human. And in this context we are dealing with diversity, knowledge and different experiences. This also applies to the sphere of refugees and their higher education. Public discussions often give the impression that refugees always have obligations to fulfill and that the social capital they bring with them is hardly taken into account.

Refugees and displaced students have less or no chances to get any access to universities. Higher education is a human right (Universal Declaration of Human Rights Art 26.2) and universities have the social responsibility to enable refugees to participate.

Challenges for the universities

Recognition of academic qualifications and language competences

One of the big problems is the recognition of academic qualifications of refugees without having suitable documents. The European Guidelines for the recognition of the qualifications of refugees without documentation (cf. University for Refugees) are a first step towards enabling a procedure for the reintegration of refugees into the academic world. Other problems are the different levels of academic education and the differing language competences. All this results in a variety of requirements for the university and

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the responsible colleagues to develop a programme that meets these diverse needs.

For me it was a big challenge to consider how to implement certain contents for the heterogeneous group of students with different needs and expectations. For me the most important access to the students is the language, or rather the reflection on languages. Hence, on the one hand I have tried to convey how important it is to speak and pass on one's language and, on the other hand, what perspectives arise for multilingualism. The entanglement of these two perspectives leads to both a scientific as well as an experience-oriented discussion and exchange of different views. Every student has an opinion on this topic, has experienced for himself how easy or how difficult it is to learn other languages and to consider the importance of his own mother tongue in his social environment.

Intercultural relations and communication are only possible if the other is accepted in his or her being. The benefit and gratification for me is to come into contact with people from different cultural backgrounds and exchange different scientific experiences with them. One effect of globalization is that we have to learn to work with people from different cultures. My impression of the participants was that they have been very interested in sharing their experiences and learning to understand the similarities and differences. I learned a lot from the students, for example how they try to use different languages, what they think about successful intercultural communication, and how we can find ways to work together. Reflection on languages also opens up possibilities of a university discourse on the extent how multilingualism is also a knowledge resource for universities.

Better together

It is necessary to integrate refugees into the university architecture. These students have acquired different skills and knowledge in their home universities. At first they should get insights into the Austrian university system. In a further step consideration should be given to the question which introductory lectures could be generally relevant for students in order to integrate them into everyday university life. At faculty level various modules should be offered to cover the variety of the university's offerings, from natural sciences to social sciences. In the social sciences networked modules in communication science, sociology, political science and cultural and social anthropology could be offered. In the existing range of lectures it should be possible to identify courses that offer refugees overarching insights into the theories and methods of the social sciences.

The content of the lessons then could be discussed together with tutors. In addition, there are a number of research projects that deal with the situation of refugees at different levels. Here too students could participate in two ways as research subjects and researchers. The different language skills of the students could also be used to conduct interviews or to analyze the communicative exchange between refugees in social networks. For example, the exchanged messages could be analyzed. The inclusion of others, of refugees, in the university architecture requires an understanding of university that means to construct spaces which are not conceivable as areas, but as places of intellectual exchange.

Finally, not only "culture provides the rules for playing the game of life" (McDaniel et al. 2010, 11), it is also the communication with the other to learn more about the other. The understanding of the other means to be ready to gain new experiences, and these experiences are also important for the own research. OLIve was a project that gave me the possibility to get to know interesting people and having intellectual exchange with students.

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3.4 Olive: Access to Education and Challenges

Prem Kumar Rajaram[6]

The Open Learning Initiative (OLIve) was established in 2016 in Central European University, Budapest, as a means of responding to a situation where the Hungarian state had begun a process of withdrawing monetary and other forms of assistance for asylum-seekers and people with refugee status. OLIve programmes were set up soon enough at the University of Vienna and the University of East London.

The situation in Hungary was perhaps the most extreme with the state enacting between 2015 and 2018 overtly hostile policies and discourses towards migrants. These included the closure of asylum reception centres, the removal of all targeted welfare assistance, the circulation of what was effectively state-sponsored hate-speech in the form of pamphlets and billboards, and punitive taxation on activities that were seen to support the 'integration' of migrants (this included providing education). The UK government's cultivation of a 'hostile environment' towards migrants, and the Austrian government's tying of welfare payment to German language skills both point to the general European tendency to cultivate unsympathetic and even belligerent attitudes towards people with refugee status and working-class migrants.

In this context, OLIve's provision of education assistance towards refugees and asylum seekers meant that it was effectively engaged in questions about the boundaries and limits of social and political community, of responsibility towards those deemed 'others' and, fundamentally, about the role of the university in the public sphere. Rather than engaging with refugees in diverse ways and creating bespoke social inclusion policies, European states have relied on punitive measures that make it difficult for refugees to achieve security in their new lives, or they have relied on standardised measures of inclusion - language acquisition or the measurement of the equivalence of education qualifications to European ones.

OLIve centres on increasing the possibility for people with refugee status to access university. The challenge, simply put, is how to elaborate and put in place paedagogic and administrative practices that foster the inclusion of

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people who are marginalised. Opening the university to refugees who encounter policies and discourses of 'othering' requires an approach that moves beyond simply creating pathways such as recognition of qualifications or increased scholarships. Such actions, while valuable to a number of people, tend to replicate relations of inequality in society. Rather than simply creating pathways for access, the challenge – more specifically put - is for universities to construct engaged and active responses to the problem of marginalisation and to the boundarying of the university and of knowledge. How may universities reach out to and actively foster the inclusion of people with refugee status who often have complicated and not well-documented previous education experience? How may they cultivate paedagogic and administrative practices that recognise and respond to social conditions of exclusion?

The nub of the matter is that universities have no particular reason to do more than they are doing. Universities in many countries provide resources to ensure access. This important – but the policies remain passive, they do not seek out people who have been marginalised and create bespoke structures to include them. They do not question paedagogic practices, including curricula, and administrative practices that inevitably reflect and reproduce the dominant cultures and class.

This relative lack of engagement, even passivity, occurs in part because of the university's increased professionalisation and even neoliberalisation, where they create programmes and practices to provide human resources to the market and a specific cultural sensibility important to the state. This has occured over time, and to different degrees in Europe. A return to the roots of the university, which focuses on the role of the university as a public institution influencing access to and the production of meaningful knowledge, can lead to a more engaged response to refugees.

A second reason for this relative lack of engagement is the overall 'integration' climate in Europe where the onus is on the migrant to prove his or her inclusion or worthiness to be included. University access that centres on migrants qualifications being assessed to determine their equivalence to European ones, is a defensive procedure that seeks to secure the status quo. Rather than engaged and innovative policies that assess learning and bringing marginalised groups into university programmes, the onus is on establishing systems that seek first and foremost to defend the status quo.

The challenge that universities should strive to face up to is how to establish access to universities that don't reinforce the defensive structures of integration policies in Europe. Responding to this challenge is to hark to the

role of the university in cultivating knowledge and questioning the boundaries of knowledge. The streamlining and professionalisation of the university is of the same origin as integration policies. The narrowing of the university to being effectively a resource provider for the market and the state reinforces its relations of privilege and inequality.

Questioning the relations of privilege and inequality in society is at best a long-term aim; universities can still undertake specific and relatively modest steps that can engage with the question of access for refugees as marginalised in more innovative ways. OLIve has tried to pioneer some of these approaches, and have identified the need for some others. They include:

(1) Implementing a system that prioritises recognising and valuing the previous learning of people with refugee status. OLIve programmes in Hungary have adapted procedures to academically assess levels of learning and knowledge, allowing students who do not have complete qualifications or no evidence of their qualifications to enter a bespoke university preparatory programme. This challenges the focus on assessing the equivalence of qualifications to a European standard.

(2) Implementing paedagogic practices that take into account the different social and historical experiences of people with refugee status. The OLIve experience has shown that people with refugee status experience recent trauma that can impact on their learning experiences. University programmes are not well adapted to respond to this - standardised examination and assessment work for a culturally specific type of student. In order for people with refugee status to enter into and succeed in university, a more diverse set of tools need to be implemented in the classroom.

(3) Implementing university administrative structures that can take into account the special situation of people with refugee status. Data about students and the way they are handled is important. We have noted cases when universities in Hungary and the UK have sought to clarify status, requiring in one case more information than is legally required. This is partly due to the atmosphere created, where hostile environments and the threat of punitive action against institutions that inadvertently help refugees lead to conservative and anxious reactions. University administrative structures require rethinking to take into account the social and political facts of refugee lives, as well as the pressures caused by government created hostile environments.

OLIve programmes have identified a number of challenges in the relationship of refugees to higher education. While the core issues of these require long-term political change, universities can still undertake relatively small but

effective steps to ensure that refugees have access to higher education in ways that take into account and add value to their educational and other experience.

3.5 Cultural diversities in a learning community: A Vienna OLIve branch experience

Anthony Löwstedt[7]

When you look into a typical OLIve Vienna lecture hall, you see 10-30 students facing a teacher and you quickly realize there are more differences than in other university classrooms. Many of the students come from Oriental or African countries, the teachers are mainly Western and European. There are frequent language and translation difficulties. The students often come from recent experiences of being exposed to extreme risk and danger, the teachers generally from stable existences.

Officially, at least 2,242 migrants drowned in the Mediterranean alone during 2018, six people every day. This was a good year compared to previous ones. In 2017, more than 3,100 died, in 2016 over 5,100. Thousands trying to get to Europe died similarly in the Atlantic, the Sahara, and elsewhere. And many of these people were fleeing dangerous situations in their countries of origin, especially wars, oppression, exploitation, disease, and climate change.

Vienna's OLIve students have come to what the Economist magazine has determined as the city with the highest living standards in the world. But their problems have not necessarily ended here. They still often face hostility, injustice, and ignorance as well as patronizing attitudes.

In many ways, the contrast between teacher and students could not be starker. Too different? Not enough in common? Many in the new Western political

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elites would say so. These days, shared humanity is often not considered sufficient in order to make up a community.

But in this case, there is much more that connects the teacher to the students. In fact, this is an ideal learning community. It is because we are more different that we have more to learn from each other. Not only that, an increase in diversity in work and study environments has been proven to make participants more intelligent.[8] Finally, it is an ideal learning community because the hierarchical relationship between professor and students is loosened, blurred, and sometimes even cancelled because these roles change in this kind of classroom.

The relationship is not necessarily one of givers versus takers, of providers versus learners. We professors have so much to learn from our students, and especially from these students. We do not get paid in money for these lectures; instead we get paid in much more valuable currencies: knowledge, inspiration, generosity, friendship, and more.Twice so far, my wife and I have even been invited to delicious and sumptuous meals by OLIve students of mine: our first ever Turkish Eid feast and first ever Somali home cooking.

Variety, the saying goes, is the spice of life. But it can also be more than that: it can be the flavour of, nutrition for, perhaps even meaning of life. Biodiversity, for example, is the bio-ethically preferable engine for evolutionary change, preferable to Darwinian selection/elimination.

Variety or diversity, however, is not everything. There must also be equalities for a community to work, and for it to be successful. Otherwise, societies that are more hierarchically structured would be better than more egalitarian ones, simply because they are more diverse: they have more class or caste diversity.

But caste or class diversity, that is, social inequality, is exactly what prevents other kinds of diversity. It is when flexibility, mobility, exchange and permeability are present that new communities, new relationships, and new and improved understandings emerge. And these are generators of knowledge, cultural diversity, all kinds of enrichment, justice, peace, and progress.

[8] Phillips, K. W. (2014, October 1). 'How diversity makes us smarter', Scientific American. Retrieved from https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-diversity-makes-us smarter/?WT.mc_id=SA_FB_ARTC_ OSNP

3.6 The application process – coping with obstacles and chances. Reflections from the perspective of an emergency shelter for Asylum Seekers

Birgit Wolf & Renate Lechner[9]

Access to education is a human right as well as an important factor during the period of post-migration. Preserving the dignity of refugees and asylum seekers and respecting them as agents of their own life is essential. Many residents in refugee shelters are witnesses or direct victims of violence and suffer multiple losses. The experiences of war, armed conflicts and escape, the loss of family members from murder can cause post-traumatic stress disorder (PTPS) (Knaevelsrud 2015, Knaevelsrud et al. 2012). According to Wirtgen (2009), residing in refugee shelters constitutes one of the post-migration stressors, as people live there without prospects for the future, in shared accommodation with primitive sanitary facilities, in-kind benefits and food packages. This situation largely applies to various basic refugee accommodations in Austria. Further post-migration stressors are limited access to work, education and studies, inactivity, helplessness, social marginalization and lack of participation (Knaevelrud 2015: 16). In Austria, asylum seekers have no access to the labour market, and even access to education is an obstacle, constituting further post-migration stressors.

The programmes OLIve and OLIve-up provide a chance to gain back dignity and agency, by offering an overview of the Austrian higher education system. Moreover, it potentially fights back post-migration stressors and therefore can function as a valuable means of inclusion during post-migration phase. In this contribution, we want to reflect on (some implications of) the application process, which we observed partly as demanding for the social workers as well as for the potential participants. We understand the occurring obstacles and observations as indicative and typical of the situation for asylum seekers and their specific situation in a refugee shelter or for third country citizens in the Austrian higher education system and society.

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Renate Lechner, PhD researcher, volunteer in an emergency shelter for asylum seekers in Vienna from 2016-2017. For reasons of anonymity for her research participants, she used a pseudonym for this contribution.

Challenges in the refugee camp

Generally, the organisation of accommodation in form of refugee camps by NGOs or the private sector can differ considerably. In the worst case, support is restricted to nutrition, hygiene and/or only a place to sleep, in the best case, there is a team for social care work. In the refugee camp where we were situated, the priority of social care was based on health issues, the asylum process, support in all questions concerning compulsory school and kindergarten attendance and if possible, access to German courses and basic education. As the staff for social care worked under the condition of a caring key of 1:75-150, comprehensive individual assistance for every resident was difficult or impossible. Due to organisational and structural obstacles to provide enough places in refugee shelters, volatile numbers and strong fluctuation of residents, the in-depth data collection of education details of each individual resident was not possible. Thus, many inclusive or participative offers could and can only be implemented with the help of volunteers and the civil society engagement.

German and English proficiency

'Language' or rather the requirement of language proficiency (in German and English) prove to be a problem for many asylum seekers and refugees (and other third-country nationals) in order to access academic institutions in Austria. The OLIve programmes address this problem by offering courses in (academic) German and English. Nonetheless, it is problematic that German and/or English proficiencies are already a prerequisite for accessing the OLIve programme since the forms need to be completed in English or German. Consequently, people who do not know English or German on the required level, might have difficulties or fail to complete the forms, although they would have the required academic profile and wish to pursue an academic education. Again, this relates to the general problem of a fairly monolingual (higher) education system in Austria, which seems to be reproduced by the application procedure.

Access to information and resources

Another fact is, that residents of refugee camps mostly lack a written CV and the social care staff depends on the help of volunteers to prepare a professional CV with them. Since a CV (as well as a motivation letter) mainly depend on respective socio-cultural conventions, it requires a lot of knowledge, familiarity or guidance in order to meet the required expectations. Furthermore, information about specific projects supporting refugees mostly depends on the dissemination by counselling and shelter organisations as well

as the support of volunteers. As social workers and volunteers, we appreciated the good cooperation with the OLIve team, their flexibility and fast support very much. In our mediatory and supporting role between the applicants and the OLIve team, we were able to navigate on behalf of the applicants and were happy if we were able to solve problems and gather relevant information before the deadline. Conversely, we had the impression that this kind of support and guidance through the application procedure functions as an inclusive or exclusive access criteria. People without these specific knowledge and resources, such as access to internet, computers, scanner and people supporting them, have far more difficulties to apply for (and participate) this programme and ultimately might not pursue their academic education.

Due to their post-migration situation described above, even the formal task to to complete a form, write a CV (which requires the reflection of their current and previous life as well as their potentially non-linear biography) and a motivation letter can be rather stressful for asylum seekers/refugees. Moreover, the majority of asylum seekers have difficulties with getting their academic certificates and diplomas or do not have money for the validation. In this regard, we want to emphasise the positive aspect that the OLIve form included a paragraph expressing that it is no problem if some information or documents could not be provided.

Overall, we think that both OLIve programmes represent valuable opportunities for asylum seekers and refugees and provide an important overview, assistance and guidance with regard to the complex university system. On a more general level, we hope that access to such promising programmes will be made possible for a wider range, including refugees who are not provided with assistance and those who live outside of sheltered housing.

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3.7 OLIve Experience in the UK

Aura Lounasmaa[10]

When starting the OLIve course at the University of East London, I was rather new to UK academic institutions and still learning how the hierarchies, formal procedures and systems operated. The OLIve weekend and OLIve Up courses were also something that had never been tried in most universities and hence no procedures or best practices existed. I had to quickly learn immigration law in the UK and how it impacts higher education institutions; institutional procedures for introducing and validating new programmes; health and safety and other facilities management policies; the Universities internal funding systems; external metrics around university rankings and impact measures; media relations; and dozens of more skills, tasks and roles I did not expect when accepting the role. Three main issues have come to the fore while trying to navigate these systems and create meaningful opportunities for refugee students, who do not fit the existing structures and expectations around being a student: 1) The spreading of border control issues and politics into educational settings 2) Universities' internal bureaucracy and 3) neo-liberalisation of universities. I will discuss these three points briefly in relation to the OLIve courses, and offer some insights on what measures we have so far found helpful.

The Magna Charta Universitatum, signed by more than 800 universities, states that in order to 'fulfil its vocation [a university] transcends geographical and political frontiers' and that it must 'ensure that its' students freedoms are safeguarded'. Evidence suggests, that Brexit, as well as the rise of populist political discourse across Europe and the US, is part of a wider cultural backlash against policies of tolerance and diversity introduced in Western societies since the 1970s (Inglehart and Norris, 2016). Brexit follows from earlier exclusionary political developments, such as Theresa May's call for hostile environment and several immigration acts in the UK, which amount to what Yuval-Davis et al. (2017) call everyday bordering, whereby the state has shifted the responsibility of border control from the border agencies to public and private actors, such as universities. In practice, this means that a university is liable for large fines and possible loss of license to operate if they are found to provide education to those who do not have the legal right to study in the UK.

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Universities have evolved from their early incarnations as cradles of knowledge production into large bureaucratic machines. A programme validation requires a lengthy internal procedure with three sets of validation documents at different stages of the process, and a consultation with an external examiner. This procedure also comes with a cost, which needs to be justified to the universities finance team. In addition universities are asked to produce internal and external metrics and impact studies on programmes, student success, widening participation, research impact and various other metrics. Success is often measured in terms of an imagined, white, British student, whose grades are expected to follow a pattern of attendance and who, at completion of his degree will be able to compete for graduate jobs with equal chance with his peers. Refugee students' experience is difficult to place within these metrics. Right from understanding how to get started in their studies to defining what success looks like the students on the OLIve courses fall between the measures of impact. In the UK there is a move, inspired by South African students (New Text, 2016), to decolonise the universities and dismantle these racial and class assumptions which largely govern the bureaucratic systems. This process cannot happen without looking at the assumption of profit-making which these systems uphold.

In the UK universities have become private enterprises who need to raise profits through student fees. Fee-paying students shop for best universities and courses using external metrics regarding student retention and salary after graduation (OFS, 2018). Universities draft customer charters for their students, and teaching staff are increasingly under pressure to maximise student numbers rather than understand student diversity. The will exists with academics and administrative teams to support students from different backgrounds, including refugees, but the spaces for doing so are diminishing.

These individual passions to bring the focus of universities back to their educational and knowledge producing mission is where we have found solutions to creating a programme like OLIve, which doesn't fit. As many of our students were not allowed to enrol as students without participating in border control, no students were enrolled formally. As visitor access to the library, to IT systems, to buildings and even to many events and support services exists already, these were possible to arrange with informal agreements with all the staff across the university who were keen to support these projects. Constant engagement with external organisations, such as civil society partners, national media, student organisations and other bodies also help keep the focus on the need for a programme such as OLIve and create further internal incentives for universities to extend their provision to those who are currently left outside of the system. Some of the metrics universities are measured on, such as

widening participation, can also be successfully employed to construct a narrative that convinces management bodies of the rationale for this engagement.

In the current climate, a university may be simultaneously acting as a humanitarian institution, a neoliberal space aiming to maximise profits and as a border guard acting on behalf of the state to monitor and control those without full citizenship rights. In this changing policy environment, institutions are challenging the cultural backlash and trying to make university education available to students regardless of their background, through programmes such as OLIve. These programmes are invaluable for the students who succeed against the odds and against the numerous barriers put before them. For the institutions, and the individual actors within them, the goal of supporting these extraordinary students must be accompanied by the wider political goal of challenging the hostile environment and neoliberalisation in and out of the classrooms, so that not only the extraordinary, but also the ordinary students get the chance to succeed. This will help us continue widening access to refugee students, but will also improve the experience and outcomes of university education to all those who are currently trying to succeed against the impossible standards set for success with a narrow demographic in sight.

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3.8 Die gesellschaftliche Logik von Kommunikation

Thomas A. Bauer[11]

Als ich gebeten wurde, im Rahmen des Olive Programmes eine Vorlesung zu halten, habe ich sehr gerne zugesagt. Einmal, weil ich stolz war, dass an unserem Department of Communication ein solches third-mission program mit dieser empathischen Intention der Aufmerksamkeit realisiert wurde. Da wollte ich dabei sein. Zum andern, weil ich die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen wollte, Menschen, die sich aufgrund von gegenwärtigen Krisen und Katastrophen auf die Suche um neue Lebensräume und neue Lebensbedingungen machen müssen, Mut zu machen und die Idee mitzugeben, dass solche Umstände nach all dem, was schon verarbeitet werden musste, nicht nur Herausforderung, sondern auch unerwartete Chancen der Emanzipation in sich haben, wenn man sich seiner habituellen Kompetenzen bewusst ist und daran denkt eingeübte Einstellungen intelligent umzustellen. (Soziale) Intelligenz in diesem Zusammenhang meint die bewusst gesteuerte Balance des Umgangs (vgl. Piaget 1966) mit den neuen Umwelten, die natürlich, sozial, kulturell und symbolisch konfiguriert sind. Da geht es um Integration zwischen den Anforderungen der Assimilation (sich in neue Umwelten einzufinden) und den Möglichkeiten der Akkommodation (sich in neue Umwelten einzubringen).

Die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer an dem Olive Programm kommen aus verschiedenen kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Lebenszusammenhängen, verletzt und gedanklich besetzt mit Erfahrungen, die an allem, möglicherweise auch an sich selbst zweifeln lassen, und sind nun dabei für sich und für die Ihren Horizonte der Hoffnung auszumachen. Unter wieder fremden kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Voraussetzungen. Wenn man, wie dies die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer des Olive Programms ja tun, diesen Horizont mit Bildern und Vorstellungen persönlicher Bildung und sozialer Karriere auszumalen beschäftigt ist, dann sind – im Rahmen dieses Programms aus dem Fundus der Sozialwissenschaft geschöpft – zwei Schlüsselbegriffe zu überdenken: Kommunikation und Bildung.

Mit dieser Zielsetzung habe ich dann im Rahmen meines Beitrags versucht die beiden Begriffe von innen (wie sie sich deuten) und von außen (wie man sie deutet) zu beleuchten. Ich habe meine Vorlesung verstanden als eine Einführung in das kommunikationswissenschaftliche Denken, als Skizze der Interdependenz von Kommunikation und Bildung und in diesem Sinne als

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Impuls für die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer, für jeden der möglichen Wege, die sie im Rahmen ihrer weiteren Ausbildung einschlagen werden, das Potenzial des Faktors Kommunikation bewusst und bedacht zu erkennen und die Chancen und Herausforderungen der (persönlichen wie beruflichen) Bildung als solche ihrer kommunikativen Kompetenz zu wahrzunehmen.

Gerade im Blick auf die unterschiedlichen Kulturen der sozialen und gesellschaftlichen Praxis war es mir wichtig auf das paradigmatische Potenzial von Kommunikation zu verweisen: ein Konzentrat, das die unterschiedlichsten Vorstellungsschemata einer gelungenen gesellschaftlichen Kultur in ein integratives Modell fasst: Verstehen als dialogisch-dialektisches Muster der (eigenen) Identität über den Weg der (ohnedies nicht hintergehbaren) Wahr-Nehmung eines (irgendwie) Anderen. Versteht man eine solche Begegnung als Kommunikation, dann nützt man eine Beschreibungsmetapher, die beides sein kann: (Sich selbst) Verstehen auf Basis der Ähnlichkeit oder Verähnlichung, und: (Sich selbst) Verstehen auf Basis des Unterschieds und der Unterscheidung. Der Unterschied ist (mag sein) natürlich, die Unterscheidung ist kultürlich. Dieser Zugang ermöglicht es, Kommunikation nicht nur als normatives Modell der Vergemeinschaftung (Konsensmodell), sondern auch als solches der Unterscheidung (Differenzmodell) zu deuten (vgl. Bauer 2014).

Hinter diesem Gedankengang lag eine metatheoretische Absicht, die ich den Köpfen der Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmern wachrufen wollte: Ihr Schicksal ist mitbestimmt von einer in der (politischen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturell-sozialen) Praxis zunehmend komplexer werdenden Welt. Es ist aber nicht eine aus sich uns für sich selbst existierende Welt, die komplexer wird, sondern , weil die Welt ist, wie wir sie denken, ist es unser Denken (Wollen, Begehren, Wahrnehmen, Beabsichtigen), das die Komplexität der Welt steigert. Es geht um den Widerstreit der Kosmologien (Werte, Ziele, Normen Ordnungen), von denen es (zum Glück) deshalb mehr als eine gibt, weil sie eben nicht natürlich definiert (begrenzt) sind, sondern kulturell entworfen. Die Annahme, dass jede praktische oder faktische Realität (nur) ein möglicher Entwurf von Relevanz (wie wir die Realität deuten) und Kontingenz (was möglich ist zu denken, auch wenn es nicht notwendig ist) (vlg. Luhmann 1974), gibt uns den Freiraum (und ist zugleich der Impuls des sozialen, kulturellen, medialen Wandels), die soziale Praxis (politisch, wirtschaftlich, gesellschaftlich, kulturell) anders zu wahr zu nehmen und anders wahr zu machen als wir es tun oder meinen tun zu müssen. Das ist die meta-theoretische Anregung aus der Gedankenküche des (hermeneutischen) Konstruktivismus (Vgl. Gadamer 1972 , Schmidt 2003), von dem ich dachte, dass er für die Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer des Olive-Programms eine wertvolle Anregung und eine Einübung in den emanzipatorischen Habitus des Denkens wäre.

Da dieses Programm bemüht ist Einsicht zu geben in die Verschränkung von beruflicher Orientierung und der möglichen Entscheidung für eine fachwissenschaftliche Grundierung entsprechender Bildungspfade, wollte ich auch das soziale Modell von Wissen und Bildung für eventuell zu wählende Kommunikations- und Medienberufe nicht unerwähnt lassen. Vielleicht auch in den Herkunftsländern der Olive-Programm-Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer, sicher aber in den westlichen Gesellschaften ist die Arbeits- und Berufswelt generell in strukturellem Umbruch. Denkt man dabei auch an die Einschnitte durch Digitalisierung, dann könnte man diese vielleicht sogar als ontologische Brüche der gesellschaftlichen Selbstbeschreibung auffassen (vgl. Bauer 2017). Medien- und Kommunikationsberufe machen da keine Ausnahme, sie repräsentieren aber vermutlich stärker als andere Branchen das Faktum, dass dieser Umbruch sich in einem gesellschaftlichen Klima ereignet, der im Spiegel des gesamtgesellschaftlichen Wandels nicht nur strukturelle, sondern vor allem kulturelle Neuorientierungen gesellschaftlicher Kommunikation positioniert. Im Wandel (vor allem) der (intellektuellen) Berufe spiegelt sich der Wertewandel ebenso wie der soziale Wandel im Sinne der Umstellung eingeübter sozialer Beziehungen und Einstellungen. Solange solche Berufe wie gesellschaftlich autorisierte oder gar spirituelle Berufungen verstanden wurden, war es selbstverständlich, das beruflich gebundene Wissen für sakrosankt und daher für ein Gut (Gabe) zu halten, das vor allen anderen Techniken der Aneignung zuerst und vornehmlich durch Begabung erworben wird. Berufe sind (oder waren bisher) in der Tradition dieses Denkens Dispositive gesellschaftlicher Kompetenzverteilung. Als solche sind sie eng verbunden mit den Wissens- und Wertemustern der Gesellschaft. Berufe sind (oder waren bisher) Organisationszentren der Generierung praktischer Erfahrung, der Kumulation praktischen Wissens und der Technik von Entscheidungen. In ihnen thematisiert und formalisiert die gebildete und organisierte Gesellschaft die Praxeologie des Alltags. So hat die Gesellschaft gelernt, sie als Instanzen elaborierter und elaborativer Kompetenz zu werten, als Bedeutungsmuster und zugleich als Deutungsschemata gesellschaftlich verordneten Erfolgs. Dieses Gebäude sinkt nun offensichtlich in sich zusammen, die Architektur hat ausgedient, vor allem auch, weil das architektonische Dekor mitunter als Werk der Selbstgefälligkeit entlarvt wurde: der moralische Anstrich der öffentlichen Dienste (Priester, Lehrer, Politiker, Journalisten) hält den Bewegungen des Gebäudes (Flexibilisierung der ökonomischen und elaborativen Strukturen) nicht mehr stand, die Schwächen des Gerüsts werden sichtbar, Reparaturarbeiten versagen, die Baustelle ist eröffnet.

Der Wandel der Arbeit ist ebenfalls nicht nur strukturell (ökonomisch) zu sehen. Er hat erhebliche kulturelle Implikationen. Arbeit ist im Rahmen des Berufes der elaborative Aufwand (Zeit, Wissen, Erfahrung, Anstrengung), der einzubringen ist, und der Gebrauch von Technik, um Artefakte zu produzieren. Mit Arbeit beschreiben arbeitende Menschen ihre Auffassung von Leistung und Leistungsforderung, nicht unbedingt ihre Kompetenz. Beruf und Arbeit decken sich schon lange nicht mehr. Noch weniger aber decken sich (Berufs-) Ausbildung, Beruf und Arbeit. Die Systemisierung und Ökonomisierung der gesellschaftlichen Lebensorganisation haben diese drei Kategorien entähnlicht. Im Hinblick auf viele Berufswünsche junger Menschen wissen weder diese jungen Menschen selbst, noch deren Eltern oder Lehrer und leider oft schon gar nicht die Berufsberater, auf welche Kategorie sie sich zur Beantwortung solcher Fragen beziehen sollen: auf die Arbeit als Erwerbsquelle, auf das Berufsbild als Quelle gesellschaftlicher Bedeutung oder auf die Ausbildung als Quelle der Kompetenz. Meist vermischen sich im Stress der Umstellung auf einen neuen Lebensabschnitt diese drei Kategorien, weil man für diese nun schon disparaten Kategorien einen gemeinsamen Nenner sucht, der meist in dem Geld gefunden wird, das man „dann" (weil man gebildet ist?, weil man Arbeit leistet?, weil man eine Stellung einnimmt?) verdient.

Generell sind im Hinblick auf die Frage nach den Möglichkeiten oder Notwendigkeiten der Professionalisierung (formale und inhaltliche Qualifikation) von Kommunikations- und Medienberufen jene Entwicklungen und Veränderungen in Betracht zu ziehen, die gesellschaftliche, gesellschaftspolitische, wirtschaftliche und kommunikationskulturelle Relevanz (als Problem oder als Lösung) besitzen. Ausbildungsprogramme sind auf die Zukunft der Arbeitsthemen, der Arbeitsorganisation wie auch auf die persönliche Zukunft der Auszubildenden gerichtet. Daher müssen sie sich auf eine differenzierte Analyse der gegenwärtigen Diskurse einlassen, um weder die Lebenszeit junger Menschen, noch die Ressourcen der Gesellschaft zu vergeuden. Im Falle der Medien- und Kommunikationsberufe wird eine adäquate Ausrichtung auf spezifische Berufsfelder immer schwieriger und unmöglicher. Der strukturelle Wandel der Medien fordert die Umstellung beruflicher Kompetenzbilder, viele medienbetonte

Arbeitszusammenhänge werden z.B. durch „den" journalistischen Beruf nicht mehr abgedeckt, dessen Professionalisierungswerte treffen auf versunkene oder versinkende Welten. Umgekehrt stellt sich „das" journalistische Berufbild immer mehr als zu enger Rahmen oder zu schmaler Ausschnitt der Arbeitsrealitäten dar. Ausbildungsprogramme reagieren daher mit gewissem Recht darauf mit Curricula, die arbeitsinhaltbezogene Fertigkeiten, eingerahmt in generalisierte soziale und organisatorische Kompetenz, zu vermitteln

versuchen. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die Frage: Sind kreative Kompetenzen, wie sie in der Kommunikationsbrache vielfältig gefordert werden, beruflich formalisierbar? Macht das Sinn unter den gegebenen Bedingungen des anhaltenden und akzelerierten Wandels von Medien und Gesellschaft?

Sinn macht es dort, wo ein Studium (formale Ausbildung) als Beruf und der später arbeitsbestimmte und formalisierte Beruf als Studium verstanden wird. In diesem Sinne ist Lernen das paradigmatische Programm von Arbeit, Beruf, Berufung oder (auch) Job. Daraus folgt, dass Lernen als Technik der Generierung von Erfahrungen eine der Arbeitskompetenz inhärente Ressource von Nachhaltigkeit ist, die vor allem in der Kommunikationsbranche nicht wie das notwendige Übel des Nach-Denkens in die zweite Reihe gerückt werden sollte.

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Concluding thoughts

Dealing with the question of the inclusion of refugees in education is necessarily considering the precarious reality in which observers, participants, and agents interact. Specially in a scenario where higher education is not on the plans of governments and donors, initiatives such as OLIve show that open communicative spaces are necessary in order to put the three perspectives – observers, participants, and agents – to be analyzed and critically assessed, not only to make the University a center of behavioral analysis of "the other", but to make all participants, including teachers, tutors and voluntaries, aware of the possibilities and limits of learning vis-à-vis the contingencies of the other and of the real. This enables a comprehensible communicative space to emerge where the meaning of voice is linked to the mutual relationship of observers, participants, and agents interacting on both sides of the learning process.

Recognizing the agency of refugees and how it impacts our understanding of the world we are in, is also recognizing that refugees are not noises to the system of integration in societies. They are actively part of it, constructing and reconstructing history, policies, an entire migration governance system and ways to understand the world and reality inside institutions. The OLIve programme shows, finally, that the University is also capable of changing itself and the way professors teach, by overcoming the rigidity of its structure and protocols of science, and putting into perspective the participant and agent dimensions of the distant observer.

On the other hand, our communicative space was not a place constructed to help enforce the narrative of the "refugee-as-hero": "Universities are using the stories of `heroic´ refugees as a marketing device, presenting stories of `remarkable´ refugees who have `overcome the odds´ to gain a degree but doing so in ways which frame the university as having played a key role in this success" (Stevenson and Baker, 2018, p. 33). The communicative space is a space that cherish interaction as a basis for change and is also a place to voice. It is supposed to create a safe environment where all may regain their self-esteem and feel that they can belong, tell their stories, share their points-of-view and eventually create knowledge capable of changing traditional structures. Showing that this is possible, however, does not imply that the University´s responsibilities in making their structures and policies more flexible for a different group is not taken into consideration. The responsibility for an individual´s success depends on the ability of the institution to provide

the necessary means for it as well, adapting to displaced populations needs. We cannot increase this awareness in an era of hostile alt-right politics against migrants without taking the initiative to change institutional barriers from below, though. And this needs to start from the emergence of new players who want to act as allies to the refugee populations. We need actors also from the traditional backgrounds with the interest and capacity to help this process of change.

Moreover, perhaps as an indispensable footnote, we would like to note that it is necessary to make distinctions between international students and students with forced displacement background as Stevenson and Baker (2018) reminded us. While international students have the chance to plan a lot before coming into a new country, they are more privileged in this process of transition. Forced migrants face interruption in their aspirations because of unexpected causes, as war. Therefore, educational politics for refugees should address the specificities of refugees needs and do not treat them in the same categories.

The constructivist approach for refugees, in this case, can be considered appropriate because: 1) it recognizes the contingencies in knowledge and in the participant, or, in other words, the precariousness of dealing with a different group of people; 2) it changes the theory of the observer, considering pragmatist influences and the role of interaction (see University of Cologne´s interactive constructivism), as it considers the observer also a participant and agent of constructions and reconstructions of spaces; 3) it allows participants to get to know possibilities and limitations while performing their roles in the University and society.

The University alone, however, cannot do everything needed for the creation of better communicative spaces for refugees in societies. Refugees themselves can be taught how to behave as observers-participants-actors, but also the society surrounding them needs to be educated on how the openness and tolerance can be achieved by engaging in participation and action; and that means that for better participation and action, institutions like the media need to provide broader means to observe the refugee in order to promote democratic interaction with them. The main message is that we cannot keep refugees out of the historical and social construction of reality if we want to make this happen. And, finally, what is the risk a society is taking and assuming when it wants to prevent forced migrants to know scientifically or to be part of educational settings? What are the consequences to social control and social cohesion?

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