



**Universität
Zürich** UZH



Conference Transcript

History of Vocational Education and Training (VET): Cases, Concepts and Challenges

International Research Conference

University of Zurich in cooperation with the University of
Potsdam

September 8th and 9th 2014

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On the Genesis of Technical Vocational Education in the Kingdom of Saxony during the period of the Second German Empire (1871-1918)

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Abstract: A thorough look on former developments can help to reveal how close the structural problems of these times were in respect to those of today. A case of particular interest can be found in the Kingdom of Saxony during the period of the Second German Empire. To achieve a deeper understanding of what has happened; one needs at least to have an impression of the wider societal circumstances, both economic and political. As vocational education often happens either in the institutional context of schools or in an informal context within an enterprise (with gives an institutional frame in its own right to the vocational learning processes), and, not to forget, sometimes both of them, the history of these institutions requires equal attention. On this ground, it will be possible to draw some conclusions for our times.

Keywords: Saxony, Second German Empire, vocational education in industry and handicraft

Vocational education and its societal context in the Kingdom of Saxony

The Kingdom of Saxony was characterised by two nicknames in its German context. The first was 'Land der Handelsschulen' (country of trading schools. At the turn of the century there were 45 of them in Saxony; Zieger 1900, 3). The second, and by far more common one was 'Rotes Königreich' (Red Kingdom), which qualified the political profile of the country. Both nicknames, however, had their roots in the advanced industrialisation of the country. For there was a broad proletariat, there was a correspondingly strong hotbed for left-wing political radicalism. The social status of the labour force in the end of the 19th century was just as weak as it was in other German countries and European nations. The other nickname shows that the implementation of the system of vocational education ended up successfully.

At the foundation of the Second Empire in 1871, the Kingdom of Saxony was a comparatively highly industrialised state, relying on flourishing small and medium-sized companies. Its economic activities were based primarily in the textile industry and in the production of machinery, while its traditional strengths in mining kept on going. Additionally, large production plants were established in particular in the urban areas.

Later on, during the times of high industrialisation and until the outbreak of WW I, the branches of electronic technologies, car manufacturing, optical, fine mechanical, and



chemical industries boosted economic growth. A great many of saxonian products were sought and bought, not only within the Kingdom, but also on national and international markets. Therefore, a strong demand on the labour market let the population grow quickly.

The political and economic developments, briefly sketched out in this section, justify the period chosen for this investigation. The beginning is more or less symbolic: The political action in the field of vocational education, as taken on from 1871, was widely prepared by legislation under the influence of the membership in the coalition of the Norddeutscher Bund (Federation of States in Northern Germany).

The end of the period, 1918, is more obvious: the exigencies of the war production altered the production structures in Saxony. This impact apparently was so strong that, by the end of the war, it was impossible to go back to business as usual. Furthermore, with the Reichsschulkonferenz (National Conference on Schooling Issues) in 1920, new policies were pursued in Germany, which changed vocational education in a way that merits further research of its own.

Sources and literature analysed

Looking back to these developments it is rather surprising that there is just a very small number of publications dealing with questions of vocational education of that time in the Kingdom of Saxony. The dynamism of the industrialisation and the Saxon economy in general, the dynamism and resoluteness of the Saxons to establish a schooling system for vocational purposes is impressing. Certainly, it is Prussia, which is the leading force in the Empire, not only in a political sense. And there are of course other regions of strong industrial development outside of Prussia and the Ruhrgebiet, too. Maybe, Prussia attracted the principal effort of historical research, because of its mere size and because of the simple fact, that legislation and policies in the Empire followed largely the legislation and policies in Prussia.

There are, however, quite a many publications on the developments in vocational education in the Kingdoms of Baden and Wuerttemberg, although Saxony's economic success was not any lesser. Maybe the striking prominence of Ferdinand Steinbeis (†1893) took all the fascination of the historians. His success in propagating the importance of vocational education is outstanding, and it did in fact influence many more governments within the Empire (see the volume edited by Bonz et al. 1994). There clearly is no comparable personality in the Kingdom of Saxony.

Against this background, this contribution needs to be considered as one of the very first steps on historical research on vocational education in this region. For this reason, a great deal of the research was carried out in the archives of the State and those of the cities and the universities of Leipzig, Dresden and Chemnitz. The results will be published in detail in German language (Bank et al. forthcoming).

The historical developments in technical vocational education

The process of industrialisation changed the world of work in Saxony with an elementary power: In 1895 58 % of the labour force in Saxony was employed in the different industries (average in the Empire 39 %; Kaemmel 2006, 133). New and



different qualifications were required, new vocations emerged, with new requirements to the vocational education of the apprentices and the workers.

Workplace learning between craftsmanship and industrial vocational education

Naturally enough, the rapid industrialisation did produce its effects on structural change in handicraft, too. Industry and trade were liberalised in 1861, regulations concerning apprenticeship eliminated (Gewerbefreiheit, in *Gewerbeordnung des Norddeutschen Bundes: Industrial Code of the Federation of States in Northern Germany*). The traditional apprenticeship rooted in the power of the former guilds. Consequently, apprenticeship in handicraft was weakened at the beginning of the period of investigation.

The leaders of industry, however, failed to recognise the importance of an apprenticeship, specifically designed for their purposes, because many journeymen left the handicraft sector for a better pay in industry. For this reason, the apprentices from industry were subject to the regulations in apprenticeship in handicraft, which successively had been re-introduced by a state that was in the need for allies against the political force of socialist parties. Beginning in 1878 with the amendment of the 'Reichsgewerbeordnung' (Industrial Code of the Empire) the standards to apprenticeship had been re-defined and the guilds re-established together with the Chambers. The active co-operation in the re-regulation process and, above all, by organising the examinations, the craftsmen and their representing institutions were awarded with the power of definition of what was to be a 'good' apprenticeship (Meyser 1998, 171).

The offer of qualified labour was insufficient to meet the needs of the new industrial firms. Thus, a new variant of the systemic didactical locus arose: It was the workplace learning at the industrial plant. But only in 1908, the pressure of the expansion of industrialised production structures became so strong, and the privileges of craftsmanship became counter-productive in a measure that provoked a reaction. This was the founding year of the DATSCH ('Deutscher Ausschuss für Technisches Schulwesen': German Committee on Technical Schooling). They propagated the implementation of learning workshops on the model of those at production schools (Produktionsschulen). In Saxony this happened to be implemented very quickly. The larger production plants chose to establish learning workshops, the smaller learning corners (Lehrecken). Quite contrarily, Werkschulen (firm-owned schools), were stopped by too many obstacles in the Kingdom. In the SME-structured economy, there were natural organisational and financial hindrances, not to mention quarrelling ministries and systematic political obstruction driven by the meanwhile well-established schools of further education (Fortbildungsschule).

Schooling institutions for technical vocational education: The Fortbildungsschule

In Saxony did not exist a single approach for schooling in vocational contexts. Some existing types of schools were changed in their curricular approach, and changed their character from a general to a technical and vocational schooling institution. This started with Sonntagschulen (non-religious Sunday Schools) and led in the end to their transformation into Fortbildungsschulen (schools of further education). There were two types of Fortbildungsschule, the first being of general purpose as a kind of



continuation of the Volksschule (compulsory general school, grades 1-8). The second was a vocational variant of the former, it achieved its formal acknowledgement by the King in 1880. Both versions existed in parallel until the end of the Kingdom.

Particularly in the larger urban areas, under liberal leadership local citizens founded entirely new schools. This was, for example the case of the 'Gewerbschule' in Chemnitz, founded in 1836 after a royal permission of 1832. This school, assumed the vocational education in industrial professions on behalf of the Industrieverein (Industrial Association). Although new, this institution relied on the very popular Sonntagsschule, and on the Zeichenschule (School for technical drawing), already founded in the 18th century.

Lessons learnt

During the time of the Second German Empire, in production contexts, industry rivalled handicraft in three ways: as part of the second economic sector, on the labour market, and, from the early 20th century in organising workplace learning as part of apprenticeship. It had proved that the regulations designed for apprenticeship in handicraft did not meet the demands of apprenticeship in industry. Today, when working on curricular design of new professions and vocations, it should be clear that each sector needs specifically defined regulations. This is perhaps most obvious in the case of the sector of service.

Second, one could see that the idea of Werksschule had to be postponed until the rise of the communist regime, which produced the political context to implement Kombinatsschulen (schools of the combines). Financial and political obstacles were too strong in the beginning of the 20th century.

Third, the failure of establishing the model of Werkschule shows how systemic obstacles can easily stop innovation. In this case, the lack of political leadership was the reason why the shortage of resources and co-ordination was not overcome.

The outcome of greatest interest is probably the fact, that most of the schools with vocational tasks, just like most of the curricular reforms, have been initiated by the owners of the SMEs themselves, often against the conservative opposition of the Kingdom. By taking over the initiative and not waiting until the state taking the action in founding vocational schools, they proved their attitude of both entrepreneurship and citizenship.

They were wise enough to recognise the need for a well-educated staff that was not only trained to function but educated to understand and control what they were doing. They acknowledged that organisation development is interdependent with personnel development, an insight which has gone lost at least partially and needs to be claimed anew (Bank 2004, 7 f.). The more, at this very moment many countries – some industrialised, some under development – try in vain establishing dual vocational education systems. In all these cases companies do not participate actively in apprenticeship nor its curricular design. The history of the Saxon companies reveals the meaning of the key character of assuming responsibility for establishing a well-functioning system of vocational education. A system, that is aiming at *bildung* and not only on qualification or competence, for only in this case



the former apprentices will generally be able to take over the control of their action in a developing economy and in a dynamic society.

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On the Genealogy of the Subject of Industrial Work

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Abstract: Drawing on Foucault's work on the genealogy of power/knowledge relationship, this paper examines the genesis of the subject of industrial work at the turn of the 20th century. It focuses on techniques of vocational education and selection. First, the basic orders of knowledge from psychology and industrial science / scientific management will be reconstructed. In a second step, the findings will be examined and discussed relating to specific plant-based practice.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, applied psychology, industrial work, discipline, VET

Introduction/Subject

Up to industrialisation hardly any economic and technical development has ever brought about a comparably radical change to the sphere of labour and employment. At the turn of the 20th century, the so called second industrial revolution has directly affected the notion of work and work organisation as well as the (self-)concept of the working subject. In Switzerland, for example, agriculture remained the dominant economic sector until 1870. Whereas the number of employees in industry was significantly lower than that in craft, the situation changed considerably at the turn of the century (Siegenthaler 1985; Gruner 1987 169; Im Hof/Ducrey/Marchal 2004, 687f.). These restructuring processes influenced concepts and practices of VET, too. Thus, according to the historiography of vocational education it is this phase where the emergence and differentiation of national VET-systems has to be located (e.g. Greinert 2004, 1999).

In transition from the workshop to the factory floor the working subject became the object of a new type of discipline that finds expression, for example, in a rigid time regime or in distinctive architectural settings. Industrial techniques of discipline are shaped by the changing production methods (serial production) and work organisation (division of labour) and were directly in line with economic calculations. But, secondly, these techniques were also structured by an increasingly interventionist economic and social policy of the national state. A third factor, legitimating state intervention as well as promoting entrepreneurial innovation, comes from science, particularly from occupational psychology which was just that time emerging as an important application field of psychology. The exploration of this scientific discourse is the main issue of this paper. For that purpose, attention has to be directed to the organisation of work and training as well as selection procedures with respect to employees and trainees, whereby two Swiss enterprises, the Sulzer metal and machine working company in Winterthur and the Bally shoe company in Schönenwerd will serve as examples.



A key role, functioning as hinge between the industrial management view and the psy perspective, was played by the concept of “aptitude” (*Eignung*). It embodies the idea of allocating unambiguously and efficiently humans to specific jobs – or vice versa. The term entails – as far as personal abilities and qualities are considered to be measurable – a high degree of legitimacy. It suggested to assign professional and economic positions and thus social opportunities on the basis of objective criteria. Contemporary efforts to establish vocational guidance on a scientific basis indicate at the same time the remaining tension between vocational guidance in the strict sense, aptitude testing and job placement, or in other words, between the promise of a career according to personal choices and preferences on the one hand and economic necessities depending on conjunctural fluctuations on the other hand.

Methodology

The paper explores scholarly as well as practice-oriented publications from contemporary experimental and applied psychology (industrial psychology, testing psychology, vocational guidance etc.) aligned to Foucault’s genealogy of power and discipline and the corresponding modes of subjectification. Within this, the “examination” (Prüfung) represents a key concept (Foucault 1994).

Results

The dispositif of the “examination” (including test and experiment) and corresponding practices of selection and training are crucial for the formation of the subject of industrial work in the early 20th century. Here, the discourse is strongly shaped by the emerging science-oriented psychology with its experimental methods. On the other hand, the psy science permanently widened its scope of application on various spheres of everyday life. Under the name “applied psychology” it sought to explain and optimise virtually all “cultural phenomena” (Spreng 1929). The laboratory and its apparatus gained iconic status, epitomising exactness and objectivity (cf. Baker 2012). Similarly, the modern shop floor was complemented by separate test and selection departments, personnel offices and apprentice workshops which guaranteed a systematic training. The rationality and effectiveness of these facilities materialised in visible products, like figures, charts and tables, reports and statistics.

Innovations in the sphere of industry, science and engineering and its social impact (key words: urbanisation, alienation, proletarianisation etc.) were accompanied by critical reflexes. Many contemporaries saw a close link between modernisation on the one hand and fragmentation, the loss of traditions and values on the other hand. Again, an analogy to the sphere of science and technological development can be drawn. The analytical approach of experimental psychology to the human mind came under criticism, particularly since in many aspects it could not fulfil its promise. This was due to the complexity of its subject and became evident, for example, in the field of human intelligence or fatigue. Hence, the so called human factor, but also the relevance of social or other contextual factors gained significance as well as a more holistic concept of personality.

Furthermore, the Swiss example reveals that the older paternalistic model and a corresponding form of discipline, principally based on mutual loyalty and responsibility, still was of major importance for the definition of the relationship



between employer and employee, respectively master and apprentice, at least where a skilled workforce had to be retained. As a result, the discourse considered in this paper, which relied on scientific rationality, was imposed on that traditional norms and values and thus led to a hybrid type of discipline (cf. Reckwitz 2010), embodied in various in-company services such as welfare and care services, leisure and recreation facilities, courses etc.

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Le débat sur le modèle allemand de formation professionnelle, 1862-1940

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Abstract: Since the middle of the 19th century, debates on vocational training in France have centred on foreign models and in particular on the German model. In 1864 and 1909 missionaries were sent to the principal German states and Austria in order to study the structure, the philosophy and the efficiency of their industrial and commercial professional teaching. In 1919 the Astier law establishing VET in France followed the German model in creating compulsory professional courses for apprentices under the age of 18. But it was not an easy task to transfer this structure from Germany, a country where urban artisanship (Handwerk) remained the main beneficiaries, to France, a centralized state hostile to each intermediary corps and that had suppressed the guilds in 1791. This contribution proposes to highlight the French debates on the basis of the reports published after the study journeys of 1864 and 1909 and to see to what extent the perception of German technical teaching in the French official reports and surveys matches the reality. At least, we try to see if the compulsory professional courses created in the 1920s and 1930s followed the German model.

Keywords: France, Germany, VET model, Fortbildungsschulen.

Introduction

Depuis le début du XIXe siècle, les gouvernements français se tournent vers l'étranger quand il s'agit d'organiser leur enseignement professionnel. À compter de la monarchie de Juillet le regard se porta plus volontiers vers les États germaniques. Après 1870, le modèle allemand de formation professionnelle devint une véritable obsession des dirigeants français. Mais quelle vision avaient-ils précisément de l'enseignement technique allemand ? Afin de la cerner, cette contribution se propose d'étudier les rapports d'enquête de deux voyages d'études, le premier de 1864, un voyage officiellement instauré par les pouvoirs publics, le second en 1909, un voyage initié par la Chambre de commerce de Paris. Enfin, pour essayer de déterminer le résultat d'une tentative d'imitation de ce modèle, on tentera d'appréhender la réalité du transfert des Fortbildungsschulen allemandes en cours professionnels obligatoires après la promulgation de la loi Astier en 1919.



Le voyage d'enquête de 1864

L'Exposition universelle de Londres de 1862 provoqua une prise de conscience du retard de l'économie française sur l'économie anglaise. Ce retard fut largement imputé au déficit de la formation professionnelle. Une commission de l'enseignement professionnel fut instaurée en 1863. À l'issue de ses débats, elle organisa deux voyages d'enquête, le premier en Angleterre et le second en Allemagne.

Le voyage vers l'Allemagne se rendit en Prusse, en Hanovre, à Berlin, en Bavière, en Autriche, en Wurtemberg et en Bade, ainsi qu'en Suisse. Le rapport rédigé au retour de cette mission détaille l'organisation de l'enseignement dans ces divers États. Néanmoins, il se contenta de décrire l'existant sans véritablement faire de proposition en signalant simplement les forces de l'enseignement allemand. On peut donc considérer qu'à cette époque, il n'était pas encore véritablement question de « modèle allemand ».

Le voyage d'enquête de la Chambre de commerce de Paris en 1909

Le voyage d'enquête de la Chambre de commerce de Paris de 1909 se situe dans un contexte bien différent. Depuis 1880, l'État français a construit un premier réseau d'écoles d'enseignement technique. Celles-ci sont néanmoins critiquées à la fois par le patronat et par les syndicats ouvriers qui leur reprochent de former un personnel non adapté à la réalité du terrain. Ce sont les patrons du luxe qui sont à l'origine du voyage d'enquête de 1909 qui visite l'Allemagne, l'Autriche, la Hongrie, la Suisse et la Belgique. Les enquêteurs sont sensibles à l'organisation des Fortbildungsschulen sous la tutelle des chambres des métiers et des organisations artisanales. Ils sont en revanche hostiles au système de formation professionnelle hongrois reposant sur l'école à plein temps.

Dans les faits, les enquêteurs de la Chambre de commerce retiennent ce qui correspond à leur propre vision de l'enseignement technique. Ils récoltent en Allemagne des munitions qu'ils comptent exploiter dans leur lutte contre l'État. En effet, ils mettent en avant l'implication prioritaire des forces économiques et la discrétion des pouvoirs publics dans l'organisation de la formation professionnelle. La structuration des cours allemands constitue pour eux un véritable « modèle » à suivre, mais dans les faits ce modèle est instrumentalisé au profit d'une politique déterminée. Ils ne relèvent que ce qui va leur sens.

Cours professionnels obligatoires vs Fortbildungsschulen

La loi Astier du 25 juillet 1919 met de l'ordre dans la réglementation sur l'enseignement technique et n'innove que dans un seul domaine, à savoir la création des cours professionnels obligatoires. À partir de 1920, la Direction de l'enseignement technique met en œuvre un véritable plan de développement de ces cours. À l'exemple de la ville de Nancy, on constate cependant que la municipalité n'a pas attendu l'initiative ministérielle pour agir. Dès 1905, des cours de ce type sont créés à la fois par la ville, la chambre de commerce et les acteurs économiques. Pour la création de ces cours, la référence allemande, et notamment l'observation du Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen voisin, a été déterminante. En 1920, le terrain est donc



favorable à leur expansion. L'instauration de la taxe d'apprentissage en 1925 leur assure aussi une base financière solide.

Mais l'exemple nancéien ne doit pas faire illusion. En 1940, une statistique démontre que la très grande majorité des jeunes à former échappe à tout type de formation. En dépit du volontarisme de l'État, la greffe n'a pas pris. La raison ne doit sans doute pas être cherchée dans l'organisation des cours mais dans la culture sociale et économique de la France. Avec la suppression des corporations en 1791 et la méfiance viscérale des pouvoirs politiques centraux à l'égard de toute forme de corps intermédiaire, il était impossible de voir se constituer un corps social équivalent au Handwerk allemand, d'autant plus que l'État s'est limité à transplanter un élément de formation alternance sans toucher à l'organisation traditionnelle de l'enseignement technique.

On touche ici à l'une des limites de la circulation des modèles. En partant d'une vision partielle du modèle allemand et en tentant de n'en imposer que ce qui correspondait aux structures françaises, on courrait inévitablement le risque de l'échec.

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The development of statistics in the VET domain in Switzerland: Issues and difficulties between 1880 and 1930

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Abstract: The Swiss VET system has been developing into its current institutional structures since the end of the XIX century. Few decades earlier, from 1850 on, Switzerland witnessed the development of its official statistics. However, experts and politicians had to wait until 1935 for a first complete and updated set of national data concerning the VET domain. The analysis of this delay shows that the development of statistics in the VET domain had to overcome several difficulties: not only technical problems in data collection due to the youth of the statistics discipline, but also problems raised by an unstable and evolving domain, requiring the redefinition of certain statistical categories in order to describe it adequately. For instance, the category of “apprentice”, with its ambiguous identity of between worker and learner, caused great problems to the data collection of the time. Only the implementation of the first federal law of 1930 offered a stable framework for the development of VET statistics.

Keywords: Swiss VET system, history, statistics, apprenticeship

Introduction

The reconstruction of the development of statistics in the Swiss VET domain is not an easy exercise, since it requires the reconstruction of two histories: firstly, the history of Swiss official statistics, which developed in the second half of the XIX century with the first federal census of 1850 and the foundation of the Swiss Federal Statistical Office in 1860; and secondly, the history of the development of the VET system, the bases of which were set up during the same period. It is in fact towards the end of the XIX century that politicians, persons in charge of public education and professional organisations denounced the profound crisis of traditional apprenticeship and requested state intervention to reorganize and relaunch the initiation of young people into professions. These requests led to the foundation of the first vocational schools and to the adoption of the first legal measures to regulate and to relaunch apprenticeship.

For this reason, this paper will focus on this double historical reconstruction pointing out not only the development and the improvement of statistical surveys concerning VET, but also the problems raised by an unstable and evolving domain requiring the definition of new statistical categories in order to describe it adequately.



The difficult beginnings of statistics in the VET domain

Throughout the XIX century, the development of VET statistics had to confront a number of difficulties, the reasons for which can be summarized on three different levels (cf. Bonoli 2014).

Firstly, these difficulties originated in the youth of the discipline and are not specific to the VET domain. They stem from the lack of appropriate structures and qualified employees for the systematic collection of data, but also from the limited interest of the political class, and consequently from the limited funding granted for statistical inquiries (cf. Busset 1995, Jost 1995).

Secondly, the strong federalism which characterized the organization of the Swiss state at that time raised considerable problems in the collection of data and their comparability. These problems are evident in the attempts to establish a national statistical survey of public education. These attempts had in fact to contend with large differences among the 25 cantonal educational systems and with considerable reticence on the part of cantonal administrations regarding collaboration with national data collection (cf. Busset 1995, Kinkelin 1873, Grob 1883).

Thirdly, statistics in the VET domain had to tackle the “anarchy”, as it was described at that time (Cf. Osterwalder 2008, p. 53), of the VET domain, an evolving domain without clearly stabilized structures.

This anarchy was a consequence of the progressive disappearance of the medieval guilds and their traditional apprenticeship, a training model which, from the beginning of the XIX century, was gradually losing its role as the main way to initiate young people into work activities. Reactions to this crisis developed throughout the XIX century, with the foundation of the first vocational schools, the organization of evening or Sunday vocational classes and with the first attempts to relaunch apprenticeships through better regulations (cf. Gonon 1998, Bonoli 2012). But all these initiatives remained in this period extremely disorganized and caused great difficulties for any attempts to describe them in a synthetic manner.

This situation of anarchy created two specific problems for the development of VET statistics. On the one hand, vocational teaching in vocational schools or vocational classes was extremely heterogeneous, not only in respect of the 25 cantons but also within the cantons: with large variations between programs, duration of teaching, conditions of admission, etc. (cf. Grob 1883).

On the other hand, it was also extremely difficult to survey the situation of apprentices: it was not yet clear whether they should be considered workers or learners; no common definition of “apprenticeship” was yet established; there was no state supervision; the written contract was not yet generalized and even the establishing of the exact number of apprentices was a complicated undertaking, since they were scattered all over the country.

Above all these difficulties, a more general problem emerges when comparing the situation then with that of today: the absence of a unitary concept of “VET”. In fact, the first data collection on issues that today would be attributed to the VET domain



kept separated vocational teaching in vocational schools and apprenticeships. It can be said that only in 1930, with the first federal law on VET, does the expression “VET” (Formation professionnelle, Berufsbildung, Formazione professionale) appear as a means to officially designate a domain of public education, including both models of teaching.

The first data on VET

The first statistical descriptions of public education at a cantonal level appeared from the second half of the XIX century, for example in *The Journal of Swiss Statistics*, founded in 1865. The first attempts to offer a general statistical description of public education throughout the whole country appeared in 1873, published by Hermann Kinkelin, but it was only ten years later, in 1883, that the work of Caspar Grob, *Statistik über das Unterrichtswesen in der Schweiz im Jahr 1881*, offered data concerning vocational schools.

In over 1800 pages, Grob presented data on general education and vocational education. However, this second domain remained difficult to describe. Some vocational schools, such as trade, industry or artisan schools, founded around the middle of the century, could be easily described, thanks to their stable organization. But the panorama of VET at that time also included a large number of schools with vocational teaching, describing which was more complicated. These schools were commonly called “complementary schools” (Fortbildungsschulen, Ecoles complémentaires) and their goals were above all to “refresh” knowledge acquired at primary school and to better prepare young people for “practical life” (C. Grob, 1883, IV, pp. IV-V), offering general as well as vocational teaching. These schools multiplied in the second half of the century, but they remained, according to Grob, “in such an indefinite situation, that is only possible to describe their attempts, their efforts and their continuing transformations”, so that “the data concerning these organisations, which are not yet stabilized, are scarce and vague, and could not be treated in the same way as the data regarding primary schools” (ibid.). Grob’s words directly reflect the difficulties that the evolving situation of VET engendered for any attempts to develop general statistics of the domain.

Nevertheless, these 1800 pages offered the first complete attempt to describe not only general education but also the situation of vocational schools. The collected data reveal that compulsory schools were attended in 1881 by more than 90% of young people in the age group between 6 and 14 years. Complementary schools were attended by almost 8.4% of the age group between 12 and 14 years. Thereafter, vocational schools, such as trade, artisan or industry schools, accounted for 2.8% of young people between 15 and 18 years: almost the same percentage, 2.4 %, continued their schooling in a gymnasium.

Even with the problems mentioned above, Grob’s work would remain an important reference for the following years. Its organization and its data would be taken and updated from 1891 on in the *Swiss Statistical Yearbook*, and an extract from it would be attached to the *Message of the Federal Council concerning the Industrial Inquiry*

of 1883, the Message in which the Swiss government would defend for the first time the idea of financial aid from the Confederation to vocational schools¹.

Missing: the apprentices

Unfortunately for our perspective, Grob's work makes no reference to apprentices. Until the turn of the century, apprenticeship was generally considered a special way to be at work rather than in education, and therefore did not appear in the statistics regarding education. The first data concerning apprentices can be found in surveys on the world of work, where they were considered as a subclass of workers. In this respect, it is not surprising that, when the Federal Census of 1900 presented for the first time data concerning the number of apprentices throughout the whole country, these were categorised as a specific class of the labor force (cf. Fig. 1). Even if these data must be regarded with caution, since the definition of apprenticeship was not uniform everywhere in the country, they give us for the first time an idea of the importance of this type of education at that time: the number of apprentices in 1900 was 52.867, representing almost 20% of the age group 15-18.

	Zahl der Tätigen		Nombre des personnes actives
1. In eigenem Geschäfte	425,460	1. Personnes travaillant à leur propre compte	425,460
2. Direktoren, Leiter, technisches, kaufmännisches Bureau- und Ladenpersonal . . .	134,224	2. Directeurs, gérants, personnel technique, personnel commercial de bureau et de vente .	134,224
3. Eigentliche Berufsarbeiter der betreff. Berufsart	618,226	3. Ouvriers professionnels dans une entreprise de leur métier	618,226
4. Andere Berufsarbeiter im Dienste der betreff. Berufsart	41,513	4. Ouvriers professionnels d'un autre métier dans une entreprise collective	41,513
5. Hilfsarbeiter und Geschäftsgesinde . . .	188,731	5. Aides-ouvriers et personnel subalterne . .	188,731
6. Lehrlinge	52,867	6. Apprentis	52,867
7. In unbestimmbarem Verhältnisse	9,331	7. Conditions indéterminées	9,331
Gesamtzahl aller Tätigen	1,470,352	Nombre total	1,470,352

Figure 1: Zahl der Tätigen/ Nombre des personnes actives, *Federal Census of 1900 (SBDI 1907)*

The situation of statistical data concerning apprentices improved only with the adoption of the first federal law in the VET domain. This law had direct effects on VET statistics: on the one hand, it officially defined the domain of “vocational education and training”, as covering apprenticeship as well as vocational schools; on the other hand, it required cantons to keep statistics on apprenticeship and to transmit these to the Confederation.

Thanks to this law, VET statistics were eventually able to offer general and yearly updated data concerning the whole domain. In fact, from 1935 on, the Swiss Statistical Yearbook would publish every year not only data concerning vocational schools, which had already been included since 1891, but also annualized data concerning apprentices.

¹ Cf. Conseil Fédéral 1883, Annexe III, p. 724.



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Skills and inequality: Partisan politics and the political economy of education and training reforms in Western welfare states

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Abstract: This contribution explores the political and historical origins of skill formation regimes in the post-war period. By studying the cases of the UK, Sweden and Germany, the paper argues that partisan politics and different varieties of capitalism have played a crucial role in shaping different development paths in this critical juncture of historical development. VET survived in coordinated markets economies, while it eroded in liberal contexts. Partisan politics shaped the specific institutional design of VET, i.e. workplace-based or school-centred. The paper also shows briefly that different forms of post-secondary education have important implications for contemporary patterns of social inequality.

Keywords: partisan politics, varieties of capitalism, Sweden, Germany, UK, inequality

Introduction: The puzzle

The starting point and motivation for this contribution is the observation that in the immediate postwar period, advanced industrial democracies and particularly Western European countries shared a similar institutional setup of education and training systems, but that countries started to develop along very different paths quite soon thereafter (Ansell 2010: 164). Contrary to common expectations, we can see large historical similarities between the Swedish, German, and British education systems (Heidenheimer 1981: 296, 298): all had an elitist higher education sector and a segregated secondary school system, enforcing a strict distinction and hierarchy between academic and nonacademic types of secondary schooling. With regard to vocational education and training, the institutional legacy of firm-based, mostly voluntarist or self-governed apprenticeship training was strong in Germany and the United Kingdom but less so in Sweden, although even there, firm-based apprenticeships remained rather popular in the 1950s and 1960s (Lundahl 1997: 93; Nilsson 2011: 27).

Today, however, the education systems of the three countries look very different. The British education system is characterized by a bias in favor of academic higher education, similar to the US system with its focus on college education. Vocational education and training is considered to be more important in Britain than it is in the United States, but the UK system is largely voluntarist and employer-dominated in



character, which contributes to its perception as an unpopular choice for low-skilled youths who did not make it into higher education (Ryan/Unwin 2001). In Germany, by contrast, vocational education and training remains a popular alternative to universities. There is a well-developed dual apprenticeship system that combines practical education on the job with theoretical learning in vocational schools, whereas academic higher education remains underdeveloped in terms of levels of enrollment, and spending in this area is below the OECD average (Powell/Solga 2011). Higher education in Sweden has expanded rapidly in recent decades and is open to a large share of the younger population. Vocational education remains important, but attempts to expand the involvement of employers in training have mostly failed, so VET is usually provided only in secondary schools. Thus despite the fact that all three countries started from a very similar position in the immediate postwar period, they have developed in very different directions. How can we explain this development?

Partisan politics and varieties of capitalism

The core argument of this contribution is that partisan politics help explain the political dynamics of education reforms in different countries. Institutional choices of the past, in turn, shape contemporary patterns of social inequality. To elaborate further, the cross-country differences in the balance of power between social democrats, Christian democrats, and conservatives help to explain the different choices in the institutional design of education and training systems in the postwar period. In Western Europe, this period was marked by the strong expansion of educational opportunities at the postsecondary level, that is, after the completion of compulsory schooling. Because this sector of education systems was institutionally underdeveloped, there was a lot of room for different paths of development. The main feasible policy options were to expand either academic higher education or non-tertiary postsecondary education (vocational education and training). Partisan politics influenced both the speed and intensity of educational expansion, as well as its direction. In contrast to traditional partisan theory, however, I emphasize that the partisan struggle over policy choices needs to be put in context, in particular by taking into account the importance of socioeconomic institutions and organized labor market interests. In coordinated market economies (Hall/Soskice 2001), nonmarket forms of coordination among economic actors via strong associations and corporatist institutions facilitate the formation of cross-class coalitions that support the maintenance of VET. Departing from the traditional varieties of capitalism perspective (Hall/Soskice 2001) as well, I argue that these cross-class coalitions still have a partisan nature, depending on which partisan force dominates the political arena.

The social democratic model of a statist skill formation regime is discussed first, with Sweden studied more closely as a concrete example of this variety. A powerful alliance between the Social Democrats and rural interests was formed in this country in the 1930s (Anderson 2009: 216-217), which laid the foundation for the universal welfare state model to be established and then expanded and built up in the postwar period. Labor and business ended a period of intense industrial conflict by agreeing



to settle disputes peacefully in the historic Saltsjöbaden Agreement of 1938. These coalitional patterns continued to hold well into the postwar period and are thus tremendously important with respect to the enactment of educational reforms (Nilsson 2011). The education reforms of the 1950s and 1960s, in particular the gradual introduction of the comprehensive secondary school, were promoted by a universalist coalition between rural interests and the urban working class (Husén 1965), whose declared goal was the full-scale comprehensivization of the whole education system, from primary to postsecondary and higher education. A crucial step in this process was to fully integrate vocational education and training into the general secondary education system, which happened in the early 1970s (Lundahl 1997) and set the system on a path towards a school-based vocational education and training system. This integration was pushed by a coalition of Social Democrats and unions, though employers reluctantly supported the reform as well (ibid.: 95). In the long term, the leadership of the Social Democrats and unions in promoting school-based VET led to the marginalization of the role of employers in vocational training.

I focus next on the United Kingdom (more specifically England), as an example of a liberal skill formation regime. In contrast to other countries of the Anglo-Saxon world, such as the United States, the British education system until the postwar period was on a development path quite similar to Germany and Sweden, but its postwar record of partisan government and economic governance is less clear-cut. Before Thatcher, Britain's economic governance regime resembled an uneasy and conflicting mix of Keynesianism and liberal voluntarism. Unlike the United States, the UK had a well-established apprenticeship training system (Gospel 1994). The 1964 Industrial Training Act even established a kind of corporatist institutional framework in the form of Industrial Training Boards, albeit with a much lower degree of statutory commitment than in the case of Germany, and the institutional legacy of voluntarism lingered on (King 1997). Even more ambitious attempts at corporatist steering, set up by the Labour governments in the 1970s in the form of the Manpower Services Commission, likewise failed to shore up employers' commitment to training and to prevent craft unions from abusing the system as an instrument to limit access to skilled labor. Thus various governments were unable to establish a collective training regime because the institutional setup of the economy effectively prevented nonmarket forms of coordination from becoming institutionalized (Finegold and Soskice 1988; Ryan 2000). The decline of the traditional apprenticeship system, furthered by Thatcher's government policies to use training as an instrument of labor market policy instead of skill formation, contributed to a polarization of skills on the labor market. Both the Conservative and New Labour governments tried to resuscitate apprenticeship training in the 1990s, but to no avail. By abolishing the traditional apprenticeship system and replacing it with a voluntarist, employer-dominated "quasi-market" of government-subsidized training, the Thatcher government had effectively and deliberately destroyed any foundation for cross-class compromise.



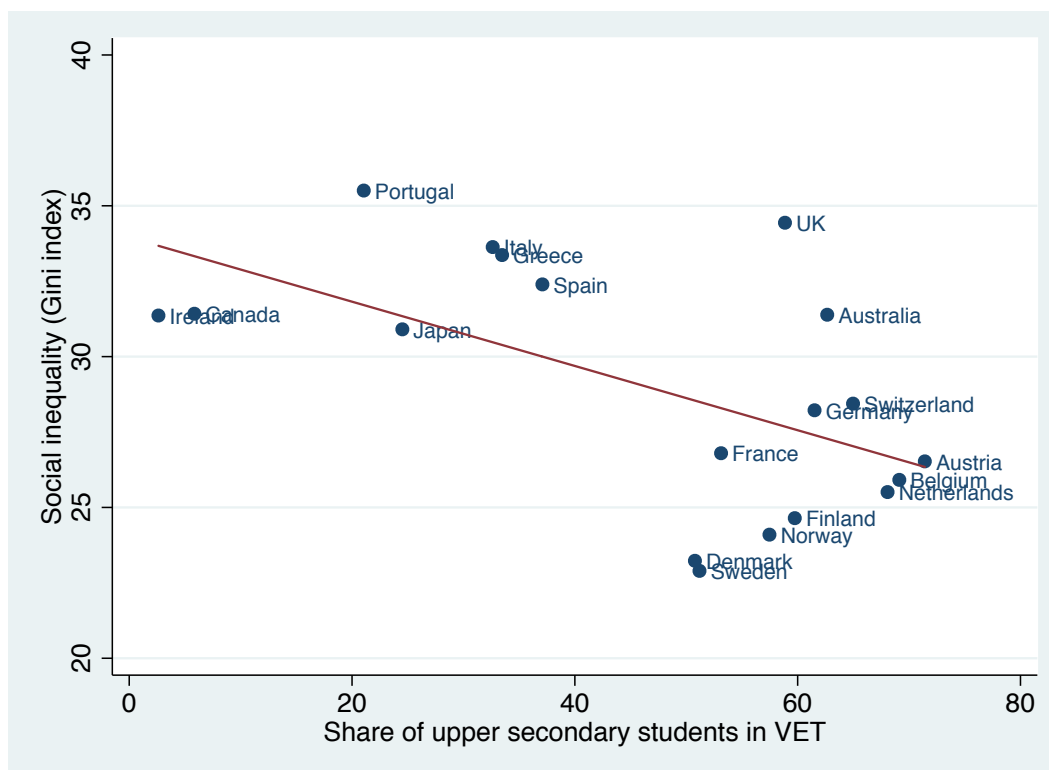
Lastly, I describe the collective skill formation regime, with Germany as a prime example. Collective skill formation regimes differ from the other two types of systems because employers, unions, and the state are all highly and jointly committed to the promotion of skill formation at the intermediate level (i.e., through apprenticeship training) (Busemeyer/Trampusch 2012: 14). In the other systems, either the market or the state dominates in matters of skill formation, whereas in collective skill regimes, market and state actors, including unions, cooperate with each other in forming cross-class coalitions.

A crucial supporting factor for these cross-class coalitions that has been severely underestimated so far is the role of Christian democratic parties in government. In contrast to both liberalism and conservatism, Christian democratic ideology promotes a “politics of mediation” (Van Kersbergen 1999: 356), or the deliberate promotion of cross-class compromise. Christian Democrats also cherish the subsidiarity principle, delegating as much autonomy to societal actors, in particular associations, as possible. Christian Democrats were the dominant political force in German government from 1949 until the advent of the Brandt government in 1969. Christian Democrats occupied an effective veto position in education policy, blocking moves away from the traditional, elitist, and segregated education model. The opening up of access to higher education did not happen until the 1970s – later than in other countries – during the time that the Social Democrats were in government. Christian Democrats did support the promotion and expansion of firm-based apprenticeship, however. The dual apprenticeship training system had a long tradition and history, but it was not yet fully institutionalized in the postwar period and remained for the most part a system of private interest governance driven and maintained by employer initiative (Thelen 2004: 249). The critical piece of legislation was the 1969 Federal Law on Vocational Education and Training (Berufsbildungsgesetz – BBiG), which created a statutory framework for apprenticeship training and ensured the participation of unions and other stakeholders. This law was in fact supported and passed by a formal grand coalition government of Social and Christian Democrats in power from 1966 until 1969. The institutionalization of a well-developed firm-based training system had huge implications for the future development of the education and training system (Busemeyer 2009). Most importantly, it depressed the demand for academic higher education (see Ansell 2010: 191) both among young people and their parents and among employers, who adjusted their production strategies accordingly. In contrast to liberal Conservatives, however, Christian Democrats did not adopt a voluntarist approach to training. Subsidiarity implies delegating quasi-public obligations, such as the education and training of young people, to associations, but this delegation of authority has a price: economic actors are expected to deliver their part of the deal, namely to provide a sufficient amount of training places for young people. In sum, the political origins of collective skill regimes in the postwar period lie in cross-class coalitions dominated by Christian democratic government, in combination with high levels of economic coordination.

VET and socio-economic inequality

Whether and in what form VET has survived as a viable alternative to academic education has strong implications for patterns of socioeconomic inequality. The reason why VET is so important with regard to inequality is that it opens up access routes to high-quality training and well-paid employment for individuals in the lower half of the academic skills distribution who have little chance of being admitted to tertiary academic education. The decline of VET in liberal skill regimes, often accompanied by an increase in private education spending, has contributed to a polarization of skills and income on the labor market in the contemporary period. In contrast, countries with well-established VET systems have significantly lower levels of socioeconomic inequality (cf. figure 1; Estévez-Abe et al. 2001). However, this association between VET and socio-economic inequality is stronger for school-based VET systems, since these systems promote educational mobility from VET to higher education. In contrast, dual apprenticeship training may contribute less to lowering inequality, but it ensures lower levels of youth unemployment. In effect, the empirical evidence suggests a trade-off between low levels of youth employment and higher levels of social mobility: VET systems that promote social and educational mobility (i.e. Scandinavian countries) may crowd out employers in the provision of workplace-based training. Employer involvement may be crucial in order to ensure smooth transitions between VET and employment, but it does not necessarily contribute to lowering levels of social inequality.

Figure 1: The association between VET and socio-economic inequality





Note: Social inequality measure from Solt 2009; share of upper secondary students from OECD Education Statistics Database, average values ca. 1998-2008.

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Explaining diverging VET systems and approaches in the post-war construction sector: the examples of Britain and Germany

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Abstract: The paper seeks to explain the sharp divergence in the two systems of vocational education and training (VET) in Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) through the social relations and wage systems on which each was constructed, denoting the very different nature of labour. In the British case, construction labour was increasingly in the post-war years regarded as a commodity, a form of property, or what Biernacki (1975) termed ‘embodied labour’, paid according to its output, whose reproduction was not regarded either by the employers or the state as their own responsibility, despite the 1964 Industrial Training Act. In contrast in the FRG, labour was employed as ‘labour power’, for its capacity rather than its output, whose development was inevitably a shared responsibility of the state and the social partners, as embodied in the 1969 regulations. For the VET systems, this meant that in FRG different qualification levels, each associated with a particular quality of VET, were recognised through the wage, whilst in Britain the increasingly unregulated wage was indifferent to skill and qualification and hence divorced from VET. The nature of VET essentially rests on the wage relations in place.

Keywords: Apprenticeship, Berufsbildung, construction, wage relations

Introduction

After the Second World War the British Government sent a delegation of the Trades Union Congress to Germany in order to advise German colleagues concerning the industrial relations system to be established in the western zones of occupation. The British Military Government denied the German trade unions a single union (Einheitsgewerkschaft) which they intended to set up under Hans Böckler and as a compromise they were allowed to organise themselves according to sixteen industrial sectors (Industriegewerkschaft Bau-Steine-Erden (IG BSE - for the construction sector), each with social partner arrangements, the edifice on which the VET system was constructed (Janssen and Stuttard 2010). In Britain, in contrast, the trade unions remained divided into a myriad of trades, local and national, and split according to their general, craft or industrial character, though for construction the umbrella organisation, the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives (NFBTO), had long existed – as had its social partner, the National Federation of Building Trade Employers (NFBTE).



The sharp contrast between the VET systems constructed on these very different edifices in the FRG and Britain is evident from observations made by a joint team of employers and trade unions from FRG, who visited Britain in 1964 on behalf of the OECD to examine the VET system (OECD 1964). The delegation expressed surprise at the lack of state intervention in Britain, at training being left to all intents and purposes with employers and unions, and at the adherence to traditional time-served, craft-based apprenticeship:

Both sides of industry are frequently unable to free themselves of the traditional notion that special skills can only be gained through experience. It is often hard to convince them that systematic teaching and learning methods can considerably shorten the time required to instil certain forms of knowledge. In this respect, it will be observed that the termination of apprenticeship in Britain is not determined by the successful passing of an examination but solely on the basis of duration of training. (15)

The conclusion drawn from the OECD visit, that management-labour relations and the training systems of FRG and Britain were 'too far apart', is nevertheless perhaps surprising (OECD 1964: 15). This was in exactly the same year as the Industrial Training Act was passed in Britain, establishing tripartite Industrial Training Boards to give trade unions a fuller role in training policy, creating an obligation to train on the part of the employers through the institution of a levy-grant system and representing 'the first attempt to formulate a modern industrial manpower policy' (Perry 1976: xix) across all sectors. Through the example of the construction sector, the paper shows how essential differences between the VET systems of FRG and Britain were maintained through the starkly contrasting wage systems.

VET in Britain and Germany

After the Second World War both Britain and Germany were faced with the needs of reconstruction on a colossal scale and, Germany in particular, with a desperate shortage of labour. A stage of improvisation was followed by a period of innovation. The traditional reproduction of skills could hardly respond to these new challenges and training had to be adjusted to the changes of the construction industry. This was a protracted process, which did not produce any major institutional changes until the 1960s when the new VET system in FRG was constructed around the negotiated and delimited notion of Beruf whilst that in Britain was founded on the traditional apprentice trades.

Britain

Construction VET in Britain after the war, as with collective bargaining, was marked by the absence of state intervention and a reliance on an ever-declining system of apprenticeship, whose status was determined through separate collective agreements. It remained, as a result, confined to traditional trades, with no provision for the many new occupations emerging, including concreting, formwork, scaffolding and machine operations. Despite a major 1965 survey of construction skills (Jeanes 1966), which revealed the wide range of building occupations accompanying changes in the building labour process, and despite the setting up of the statutory



Construction Industry Training Board (CITB) through the levy-grant system, construction VET remained concentrated on the old trades. Why was this so?

Two aspects of wage relations in construction explain this traditional approach to VET: the increasing use of Payment by Results (PBR) and the associated emergence of the 'lump'. Up to 1945, the construction industry was regarded as a 'great example of a time-work industry', with a uniform rate for the whole country and a fixed differential (80%) between craftsmen and labourers (Cole 1918: 11-13; NBPI 1968). With over a million new houses estimated to be needed, the post-war government intervened on the side of the employers to press for PBR, which was reluctantly accepted in 1947 by the NFBTO in return for a wage increase and a guaranteed basic rate (Allen 1952: 259). Despite this setback, up to the 1970s under Beveridge policies a 'social wage' package continued to develop in the industry, including annual paid holidays, administered through a process of stamps and premised on a guaranteed working week, which implied a regular system of employment throughout the year and that employees could no longer be dismissed because of bad weather, the breakdown of plant, non-arrival of materials, etc. (Allen 1952). Additional wage components, constituting 10% of the wage cost, were coupled with the post-war extension of the national insurance system and with the restricted introduction of industry-based pension and sick pay schemes (UMIST 1973). The effect of the acceptance of PBR and the spread of the 'lump' was, however, devastating, causing huge problems on sites as, for instance, non-unionised workers, still classified in collective agreements as 'labourers' as opposed to 'craft workers', might earn more than unionised workers working under agreed rates (Hilton 1968).

The bonus subsequently became an ever-increasing proportion of the wage, up to 100%, wage differentials widened and by the 1960s a serious wage drift had developed (Handy 1971). At the same time, direct employment was more and more substituted for labour-only subcontracting or 'lump' labour, whether for groundworks, brickwork, carpentry, finishing, etc., leaving only a few workers directly employed in each firm to fetch and carry for subcontractors or set the pace of work and only reinforcing the trade-based division of labour. Key characteristics of the unregulated wage form are its relative indifference to skill and wide differentials, given that employment is essentially for a given task, irrespective of the potential range of abilities embodied in the worker carrying it out, so epitomising Biernacki's (1995) notion of 'embodied' labour as opposed to labour power. As a result, whilst in 1966 at the beginning of the CITB the number of apprentices in the industry was 112,000, by 1985 the number of CITB youth training entrants stood at 16,400, a fall directly correlating with the decline in direct employment.

The most notable characteristic of labour in the British construction industry remained its continued strong trade basis, with large areas unrecognised as 'skilled', including groundwork, concreting, paving, machine operation and cladding, to all intents and purposes regarded and paid as labourer's work. This increasingly large area of building activity in Britain unrecognised for training purposes contributed to the low proportion of qualified construction workers, as did the fact that qualifications were not linked directly either to the wage structure or to VET. The vast majority of trainees were (and continue to be) found in traditional trades, – bricklaying, carpentry and joinery, painting and decorating, plastering, plumbing and electrical work – which



remained synonymous with contractual divisions, especially those defined through labour-only subcontracting, and hence covered an ever narrower range of activities. At the same time, areas of abstract knowledge, such as mathematics, were significantly reduced in the curriculum (Steedman 1992). The VET system came to be marked by a separation of theoretical and practical knowledge and a general lack of underpinning skills essential to transferability, whether to higher progression to technical levels or for easy adaptation to new methods.

Germany

In Germany during the 20 years up to the First World War, the prime issues of industrial disputes were working time and wages, with the construction unions, as in Britain, relentlessly campaigning against piece rates, “Akkordarbeit” (Janssen 2013). After the war, this time-based wage system formed one pillar of VET in the FRG and was further developed through social components which meant that direct wages constituted a decreasing part of the total labour cost (50% by 1990) and the wage became: ‘both the price attributed to a given task and the cost of maintaining a collectively guaranteed social status’ (Campinos-Dubernet and Grando 1992: 28). With the introduction of an annual arrangement of payment for working hours, the ‘social wage’ included winter and weather compensation, a 13th month salary, sickness, pension, holidays, vocational training, travel and special payments (Janssen 1992). This anchoring of the wage system facilitated the construction of the other pillar of VET, the ‘dual’ system, combining components in schools and training centres with training in companies, a system which was consolidated in the constitutions of the Federal States of Germany in 1950 and finally established by the Berufsbildungsgesetz (Vocational Training Act) of 1969. The Act deliberately distanced VET (‘Berufsbildung’) from apprenticeship (‘Lehre’), through the status of Auszubildender (trainee) as distinct from Lehrling (apprentice). ‘Berufsbildung’ was conceived as a sector of tertiary education, side by side with University education, so that manual and non-manual occupations were attributed equal status, and the main objectives were to combine general and vocational education and to develop and update national curricula through the social partners under state control. In 1970 the Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BiBB) was set up under the Minister for Education and Research as the central institution for research and administration of VET.

Under these auspices the social partners of the construction industry restructured VET through a special curriculum, which linked the various occupations in a common first year and a gradual specialisation in the following two years, called Stufenausbildung (graded training). The curriculum was divided into three locations - school, training centre, and workplace, shifting from learning in the school to the training centre and finally to the workplace of a company. Examinations by tripartite bodies at the end of the second and third year attributed two levels of qualification, associated with respective rates on the collectively agreed wage scale. The cost of VET was covered by a levy raised from the employers of the construction industry as a percentage of the wage bill, which included modest wages for the trainees. All construction activity was initially covered by 15 occupations, each encompassing a wide range of skills and grouped into three areas for VET purposes (building, civil engineering, and finishing), with the collectively agreed wage divided into seven grades and providing the key means for skills to be socially recognised; if new skill areas with appropriate VET were recognised, this was reflected in the wage (Clarke



and Wall 1996). At the same time, the focus was on education and on imparting transferable skills, integrating theoretical and practical work-based elements and consisting of more general educational elements, such as languages - geared essentially to the developing the potential abilities, or in Biernacki's (1995) terms 'power', of labour.

Results

The VET systems in Britain and FRG epitomise different concepts of labour in the production process and show clearly the dependence on wage relations. Though the labour regimes of these states had been diverging considerably following the Bismarck reforms beginning in the 1880s, this divergence did not become really apparent until the second half of the twentieth century. From the 1950s, developments in the FRG increasingly departed from those in Britain, with payment based on hours worked and qualifications rather than on output, only a minimum use of PBR (monitored by the Works Councils), an increasingly important 'social wage' going together with a high level of social security, the elimination of regional and trade differentials, and the overcoming of the seasonal character of construction. In Britain, any chance of convergence vanished with the emergence of neo-liberalism and the priority of competition as the prime agent of industrial innovation. As politicians of all parties still today do not cease to declare, VET in Britain has to remain 'employer led' whilst in Germany it is a matter of social partner negotiation and agreement centrally organised under governmental control.

Since the 1970s, however, the construction industry has transformed itself beyond recognition as qualifications are required at all levels and the proportion of professional and administrative staff has risen. The whole construction process is divided in a most complex and variable form whilst employment relations are dominantly short-term and unregulated, increasingly mediated by agencies. In Britain 'skill' shortages give rise to a continual outcry in the media, whilst also in Germany 'qualifications' are a constant concern as fewer and fewer employers take on trainees. There is no doubt that the regimes of the 1960s and 1970s are becoming outdated. If we compare VET provision in post-war Britain and Germany in hindsight, one particular aspect seems crucial for the development of qualification. VET as the link between general education and employment has shifted away from employment and 'learning by doing', largely characteristic of apprenticeship, is no longer an option. As a result the workplace is more and more peripheral as a place for VET and, with increasing demand for abstract and mental qualifications, the classroom in the school is indispensable. From this point of view, Germany seems better equipped to take steps in the right direction. Britain has the great disadvantages of lacking any public institutional infrastructure for research, organisation and supervision as a precondition for restructuring VET, an unregulated and casual construction labour market and a wage system geared to output. But as we are witnessing a stage of globalisation of the construction industry, the next stage ought to be approached perhaps at a transnational level whilst mindful of the wage relations in place.

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Hybrid Qualifications in Germany – is there a historical link between the 1970s and the present? – A critical perspective in the face of current VET issues

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Abstract: In the area of VET there is growing pressure that VET should not only produce portable skills for the labour market, but also enable individuals to progress to Higher Education (HE). The functionality of VET qualifications and underlying pathways is therefore embedded within a more general debate on flexibility and permeability within education systems. This includes the notion of “hybrid qualifications” (HQ) and also “diversification” of VET. Both issues, in political and pedagogical terms, are obviously rather underrepresented in the German VET context while Switzerland or Austria, e.g., have either undertaken reforms in this area or are able to build on more or less traditional imprints in their respective VET systems.

Since HQ are a tool to serve official government policy by “bringing” more young people into HE against the background of Lifelong Learning policy and in the face of the notion of permeability and progression, this kind of “tertiarisation” also has implications for the future status of conventional VET pathways, such as the dual system of apprenticeship training in Germany. Here, in the 1970s, HQ already had emerged as a new concept of integrating VET and HE, and they were based on a “critical” vocational education theory, which was an adverse concept to VET in the apprenticeship system and therefore to a traditional “occupation-based” understanding of skill formation. It becomes clear that our topic therefore has not just a pedagogical and political relevance for the present time, but also a historical dimension in the context of current VET modernisation issues. The paper will focus on a critical historical argument looking into the links between the modernisation decades of the late 1960s and 1970s and the present time and the respective implications for the VET system.

Keywords: VET, Higher Education, progression, hybrid qualifications

Major aspects of the paper

In Germany, the concept of “hybridity” or “hybrid” or “double qualifications” respectively (HQ in the following) means – at least in a narrower sense of the word – the acquisition of both a vocational qualification and one which leads into higher education (HE in the following), and is usually associated with the educational reform in the late 1960s and especially the 1970s. Inspired by the Social Democrats, one of



the educational objectives emanating from the policy discourse was to integrate both in organisational and curricular terms, VET and general education, which meant to assign parity of esteem to culturally and pedagogically different educational pathways. The term “Doppelqualifikationen” (double qualifications) was used particularly within the scope of this ambitious reform period and it marks certainly one of the most fundamental debates in the area of vocational education theory in Germany, since it was linked to political objectives such as “equality of opportunities”, “emancipation”, “democratization” and, above all, a more state-orientated and school-based type of vocational learning (Blankertz 1972; Zabeck 2013, 663 ff.). The term itself was initially introduced by the Bund-Länder Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion (BLK) in 1974. Subsequently, the expression “Doppelqualifikation” became an important component of the educational debate in Germany (Bojanowski 1996, 533 f.).

The background for this new concept was the rise of the “critical vocational theory movement” and, in its wake, fundamental criticism of both the traditional school system and the system of initial VET, i.e. the dual system of apprenticeship training (Deissinger 2010) and its underlying “Berufsorientierung” (vocational or occupational concept). One of the features that strike the eye when we look at the German architecture of the VET system and its links to other sub-systems, is the fact that in Germany apprenticeship training still is a major non-academic option for school-leavers to start their working lives with. This implies that school-based training is not one of the well-known features of the German VET system. In this context, hybrid qualifications, too, have a rather inferior status since the dual system is more or less exclusively linked to delivering portable labour market relevant qualifications. Moreover, the strong focus on the apprenticeship model implies a huge dependence of the VET system on economic parameters and the labour market situation. As vocational full-time schools mostly offer formal school qualifications which only exist outside the dual system schools are in fact not prepared to develop a strong “qualification function”. This is a particularly serious problem in a situation where the supply of training places fails to meet the demand and employers seem to lose interest in the apprenticeship system (as seen in the last 15 years). On the other hand, the system framework determined by a strong and tradition-based “apprenticeship culture” not typical for most countries in and outside Europe (cf. e.g. Harris/Deissinger 2003) provides a range of interesting opportunities for full-time VET to function as a “second chance pathway” for those school-leavers that have to choose the non-academic track in the school system and therefore have to take a detour to proceed to HE.

Against this background, VET policy for some years has focussed on trying to strengthen the work-related features of school-based VET in order to open up pathways and opportunities for young people outside the dual system without giving up the qualification route into HE. As a matter of fact, this policy has not at all weakened the “second chance pathway” structure since it proved more or less unsuccessful against the preponderance of the dual system (Deissinger/Heine/Ott 2011) – which currently seems to recover from a slackening training market typical for the 1990s and the first decade of our century (Ulrich 2011). This is especially true for Baden-Württemberg where the implementation of “practice firms” in “Vocational



Colleges” (Berufskollegs) was meant to lead to more portability of vocational qualifications (Deissinger 2007).

While Switzerland or Austria, e.g., have either undertaken reforms in the area of HQ or are able to build on more or less traditional imprints in their respective VET system when it comes to progression to HE, Germany here has rather weak features. With respect to the aspect of employability of graduates coming from school-based pathways that offer HQ, the contrast with Austria is quite remarkable while Switzerland has established an HQ linked with the apprenticeship system. As a result of a Leonardo research project on HQ (2009-2011; see Deissinger et al. 2013), it becomes clear that Germany has to be looked at as a unique example for a clear functional divide between vocational training (i.e. the dual system) and school-based VET pathways leading into HE. As to the identification of best-practice approaches for HQ, there are a number of empirical facts that the Austrian system of VET typifies a well-working HQ model. It is the full-time VET system in Austria which is commonly described as quite successful and functional compared to the German one (Deissinger 2012). One reason for this appraisal is that it is as strong in terms of intakes as its “competitor”, the dual apprenticeship system (Aff 2006, p. 19). Austria is one of the countries in Europe which offer educational pathways that produce HQ within a still strongly differentiated educational system.

In contrast, full-time vocational schools in Germany that offer HQ normally only qualify for entrance into a polytechnic and are held in low esteem, also compared to those which offer “A Levels” to students, such as the “Commercial High Schools” (Wirtschaftsgymnasien). From a German perspective, the analysis of the Austrian VET system and its educational pathways is valuable for many reasons. In contrast to the German education system, the attractiveness and success of Austrian vocational full-time schools clearly stand out. Austria demonstrates that offering a fully applicable HQ, even within a strongly differentiated education system, gives benefit to all educational pathways. It seems to be relevant to point out that Austrian vocational qualifications outside the dual system are portable on the labour market, i.e. widely acknowledged and valued by companies, which renders (even) the lower vocational full-time pathway (BMS) the quality of a real and viable (and mostly even better) alternative to the apprenticeship system, although occupational areas in full-time VET are generally less specific than, e.g., those in the craft sector, where apprenticeships are still quite widely used as pathways of initial skill formation and companies have a major interest and say.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, one of the crucial beliefs and intentions of the majority of “emancipatory” politicians and scholars was to link practical vocational qualifications with HE entrance entitlements. In Germany today, some vocational pathways in the full-time school system in fact lead to entitlements for studying at a university or a polytechnic (university of applied science). This is especially the case for “Vocational High Schools” (Berufliche Gymnasien) and for the already-mentioned “Vocational Colleges” (Berufskollegs). However, vocational qualifications, such as the “assistant” (Assistent), that come close to a strong notion of HQ, are not sought after on the labour market. The issue whether there are parallels between current German VET policy and structural developments in the “emancipatory” or “critical” period some fifty years ago therefore have to be viewed in a specific context and from various perspectives respectively.



It is obvious that the problems of the German VET system currently seem to be completely different, and it becomes clear that the strong focus on the dual system and employer-based vocational training, which the educational experts of the late 1960s and 1970s meant to depart from, has even become stronger. Moreover, Germany's well-working vocational training system also gets its strength and overall legitimation from the fact that the focus of educational policy in general has never completely shifted towards "tertiarisation", although academic aspirations within the German society undoubtedly have become more visible and stronger today. When comparing the periods of the late 1960s and 1970s with the present situation, both these aspects and the fact that German VET policy is more concerned with the training market or the problem of integrating weaker learners into the well-established dual system, make it clear that progression to HE has to be associated with other political moves - especially with the opening of barriers to HE for vocationally trained people, such as master craftsmen or master industrial workers. With this move, VET policy, in line with the traditional functional attributes given to apprenticeships as such, again values the "vocational pathway" as such higher than the objective of artificially "integrating" general and vocational education.

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There Is No Outside to the System: Paternalism and Protest in Swiss VET, 1890–1980

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Abstract: In the German-speaking world, historical research on vocational education and training has largely ignored the voice of apprentices. This lack of attention can be attributed to historiography's particular interest in the corporatist organisation of vocational education policy. Our paper focuses on forms and functions how apprentices articulated their needs and aspirations between 1890 and 1980. We assume that the specific organisational form of the Swiss vocational education system consistently affected their behaviour. On the one hand, the paternalistic setting of corporatism impeded the autonomous articulation of interests by apprentices themselves. Because of public attention and the clear allocation of responsibilities, the system was, on the other hand, in fact able to address and solve acute problems.

Keywords: Apprenticeship, paternalism, protest, corporatism

Introduction

Swiss apprentices seldom spoke for themselves in the 20th century. Typically, state officials, members of trade unions, occupational associations, or charitable and religious organisations did the talking for them. Changes in the Swiss vocational education system were only sporadically accompanied by perceptible protest on the part of apprentices. Indeed, no sustained apprentice movement ever arose that made a permanent imprint in cultural memory.

To the limited extent that it took place, the autonomous voice of apprentices was based on diverse institutional conditions and related to a range of different problems. Frequently, developments in neighbouring countries were important points of reference. For this reason, the situation in Switzerland has to be considered against the backdrop of changes that were taking place in other Western European nations. As it was the case in Germany and Austria, the interests of apprentices were rapidly integrated into Switzerland's corporatist governance structure. By contrast, Great Britain witnessed contentious strikes by apprentices throughout the 20th century (see Ryan 2004).

From a methodological perspective, our project is crucially informed by social movement theory (Rucht/Neidhardt 2007). It is an open question as to what extent Swiss apprentices have ever constituted a movement. In this regard, we seek to identify, among other things, the forms and functions of their protests. In addition, our work is guided by recent research on the social significance of corporatism (for a critical overview see Czada 2004). In addition to newspaper articles and



contemporary accounts, important sources for our work include apprentice, youth, and workplace journals, films, and leaflets, as well as materials from union archives and documentary work on social movements. The Swiss Social Archives in Zurich contain extensive materials of this kind.

Corporatism and Apprenticeship

Since the last decades of the 19th century, the articulation of interests in Swiss vocational education has been characterised less by protest from below and more by effective negotiation of conflicts between collective actors (Berner, Gonon & Ritter 2011; Gonon 2010). Even before 1900, there were public voices of criticism in response to exploitation in training companies. In the 1890s protective regulations have been passed in several cantons in the French-speaking parts of Switzerland, and such measures were also adopted in the German-speaking part of Switzerland after 1900. Concerns about the mistreatment of apprentices were shared by unions, individual legislators, and occupational associations (see Berner & Ritter 2011).

However, the paternalism that was manifest in the occupational associations had a darker side as well. Blacklists circulated among the largest firms with the names of those apprentices who had been absent for a few days or who had committed other minor or major misdoings. In this way, these firms collectively decided not to re-employ such young people. At the same time, owners of smaller operations banded together in apprenticeship patronage boards (Lehrlingspatronaten), which arose in many cities and cantons. The patronage boards assumed responsibility for apprentice placement and organised material and non-material support.

No Strike!

New opportunities for apprentices to voice their interests emerged around the turn of the century with the founding of new youth organisations (Jungburschenschaften) and the creation of apprentice and young worker sections within the unions. Yet despite own journals for disseminating their ideas, the unions' powers of agitation in the field of apprenticeship remained rather weak and, for the time being, were limited to the acquisition of new members. In fact, problems were recorded in the minutes of the apprentice section of the unions, but their practice was to try to resolve them within the union bureaucracy. As a result, the issue of bad conditions in training companies did not become a matter of public indignation, and the paternalistic approach to apprentices also extended to the unions. Going out on strike was not a real option for the apprentice groups inside the unions, and they were kept on a short leash.

By contrast, the youth organisations (Jungburschenschaften) proved to be much more radical. Under the leadership of Fritz Brupbacher (see Lang 1983) and Willy Münzenberg (see Gross 1967; McMeekin 2003), they engaged in provocative actions against bourgeois institutions and served as messengers during work stoppages, such as the Zurich general strike of 1912. However, the apprenticeship system itself and the poor working conditions for factory youth remained a neglected issue for the Jungburschen. While they did voice sporadic criticism and disclosed abuses, they showed no drive to advocate more intensively for the interests of apprentices (see Petersen 2001, p. 253ff.), not least because the Jungburschenschaft had



increasingly become a meeting place for future adult revolutionaries (see Peterson 2001).

This neglect of apprenticeship issues correlates with the fact that none of the militant labour demands that culminated in the 1918 national strike related explicitly to vocational apprenticeship (Gautschi 1968, p. 283f.). Consequently, there were also no strikes on the part of apprentices during this period in Switzerland, and the potential for change that resided in youth protest was successfully coopted. Some of the apprentices were involved in the national strike, but they did not participate as an independent group representing their own interests and needs.

The Boom and Bust of Paternalism

In the boom years during and especially after the Second World War, journalistic accounts were published that ostensibly portrayed the “authentic” views of apprentices. In specialised apprentice journals, however, the voices of apprentices were rarely heard. Rather, in the context of a prominent campaign against trash literature (Schmutz- und Schundbewegung) (Linsmayer 2007, p. 17ff.), new educational programmes were proposed and the interests of apprentices were reformulated in a paternalistic way. In youth newspapers, which were not specifically addressed to apprentices, questions and issues related to vocational education and training were frequently addressed.

The Swiss Metal and Watchmakers' Union, during the 20th century one of the large Swiss unions, published its own journal for apprentices engaged in the metalworking trades. Unlike the earlier papers for union youth, this journal explicitly targeted apprentices, and was somewhat more restrained in representing the interests of the union itself. The journal was designed to highlight the union's engagement in vocational education and training and thereby legitimise its work.

In its tone and content, the paper oscillated between paternal gestures and a schoolmasterly attitude. In both cases, the apprentices were regarded as addressees rather than co-creators. In a similar vein, the editors called upon the older generation to take seriously the needs of the youth. This was not only the union's position, but also pointed to a more widespread paternalistic culture, as particularly demonstrated by a journal, first published about ten years later, that was targeted at all Swiss apprentices. The editorial staff repeatedly expressed the wish that apprentices should actively participate in the publication of the paper. However, the apprentices were reluctant to do so and rejected the framework set up for them, which in any case reflected a rather narrow range of acceptable positions.

Emancipation within the System

The attempt at emancipation from these paternalistic conditions was manifested in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Then, for the first time, independent forms of expression by apprentices surfaced that were not connected or only loosely connected with traditional spokesmen for the apprentices. Of course, the unions, established parties and the churches continued to support their own separate sections for youth just as they had before, but they encountered increasing competition from a diverse range of autonomous apprentice groups. The largest of



these, “Hydra”, operated in Basel (see Griesshammer 2008). In Zurich and in Zug, apprentice unions and groups came up, and student groups with the capacity to protest were formed at a few vocational schools. It is notable that – as in earlier decades – it was apprentices from the printing industry that were especially involved in such agitation. Similar rebellions were manifested during the same period in the surrounding German-speaking nations (see Andresen 2011; Templin 2011).

The independently produced apprentice and vocational school newspapers published polemics criticising conditions in the training companies and also in the vocational schools. They were incensed about a few particular events: while Hydra legitimised its activities as a result of indignation about the unjustified firing of two apprentices in the Basel area, in the printing industry, attention focused on the threatened introduction of performance-based wages. A 1971 strike at a vocational school in the Italian speaking part of Switzerland was often referred to, and inspired various actions.

However, apprentice strikes were not the rule but only the exception. The Hydra protagonists actually emigrated to start the agricultural commune “Longo Mai” in Southern France (see Schwab 2013 p. 19f.) Increasingly, there was public pressure to address the needs of apprentices articulated during this period, and solutions were proposed. Swiss corporatism undermined the autonomous articulation of interests, yet also guaranteed a clear division of responsibilities.

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Bildung, Bürger, Arbeitskraft. Zum Verhältnis von allgemeiner und beruflicher Bildung im deutsch-französischen Vergleich

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Abstract: Aim of this paper is to outline a research prospect on a comparative study on the relationship between political development and vocational training in France and Germany. Both countries have in common that the state plays a major role in terms of controlling and financing initial vocational education, which distinguishes them from the indifference of other states with respect to the qualification of their workmen. The French state adopted this role later than the German and not without German influence. It was only after the German National Socialist empires threat of war that the French state, which was economically rather liberal, was able to engage with the economy and the vocational preparation of the workmanship. During war economy under German occupation in 1940-1944, these interventions were systematized and extended, the number of vocational schools was multiplied. The command economy of the Fifth Republic continued its expansion. Today, vocational schools are the lowest level of a steeply hierarchical school system with the assignment to collect the third of the academically weakest youngsters after the end of compulsory education.

Anfänge staatlich kontrollierter Arbeiterbildung in Frankreich

Die Schulentwicklungen verliefen zwar in Deutschland und Frankreich unterschiedlich, aber nicht unabhängig von den deutsch-französischen Beziehungen. Die napoleonischen Kriege lösten bekanntlich die preußischen Reformen (Stein-Hardenberg, Humboldt) und in den Ländern des Rheinbundes u.a. die Gründung von polytechnischen Hochschulen nach französischem Vorbild aus (Karlsruhe, München, Wien u.a.). Der Krieg 1870/71 zog in Frankreich die Durchsetzung von allgemeiner Schulpflicht und Lehrerbildung nach sich. Der Erste Weltkrieg veranlasste die ersten französischen Gesetze zu einer staatlich kontrollierten Berufsschulung der Arbeiterschaft (sie blieben weitgehend unwirksam). Diese Zusammenhänge sind bekannt. Dass erst die Kriegswirtschaft des Zweiten Weltkriegs unter deutscher Besatzung zum take-off staatlicher Berufsschulen in Frankreich führte, und wie, ist dagegen noch kaum erforscht (Anfang bei Charlot/Figeat 1985). Dazu kann ich also nur eine Ausgangsthese und ein Untersuchungsfeld skizzieren, keine gesicherten Ergebnisse berichten. Die Erforschung des Vichy-Regimes erweitert sich erst gegenwärtig mit einer verbesserten Zugänglichkeit der Quellen. Seit den 1980er Jahren werden die französischen Archive aus der Besatzungszeit nach und nach geöffnet; seit 2002 gibt es eine CNRS-Arbeitsgruppe zur Wirtschafts- und



Unternehmensgeschichte unter Vichy, seit 2006 sind die monatlichen Lageberichte der deutschen Besatzungsmacht und der französischen Präfekten aus dieser Zeit ediert, etc.. So vermehren sich derzeit Studien zur französischen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der 1940er Jahre. Sie lassen den starken Einfluss erkennen, den die deutsche Besatzungszeit auf die Entwicklung der staatlichen Planwirtschaft in Frankreich gehabt hat (Mouré 2007). Zahlreiche deutsche Institutionen wurden damals in Frankreich implantiert. Vom Personalausweis (mit Judenstempel) über die Meldepflicht und Erfassung der Bevölkerung (zur Zwangsrekrutierung und Deportation) bis zum Sozial-, Arbeits- und Betriebsrecht mit Gewerkschaftsverbot, Arisierung jüdischer Unternehmen, Führerprinzip, Betriebsgemeinschaft, Meisterbrevet und Mindestlohn, von der Normierung der Industrieproduktion nach deutschen Industrienormen über die Bindung der Tariflöhne an Ausbildungsniveaus bis zur Einführung der Buchhaltung und Wirtschaftsprüfung nach deutschen Standards und zum Aufbau großer Statistik-Ämter sollte die französische Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft mit deutschen Vorschriften durchdrungen und entsprechenden Rationalisierungsprozessen unterworfen werden (Desprairies 2012; Herbert 1996). Frankreich war zur Belieferung der deutschen Kriegswirtschaft verpflichtet. 1944 ging die Hälfte der französischen Industrieproduktion nach Deutschland (Mouré 2007). Außerdem mussten exorbitante Besatzungskosten und eine große Zahl von Zwangsarbeitern, die nach deutscher Forderung Facharbeiter sein sollten, abgeliefert werden. Dass die Zahl der Berufsschulen in der kurzen Zeit 1940-44 von 300 auf fast 900 wuchs, wird man in diesem Kontext untersuchen müssen. Woher die Lehrer kamen, was und wie hier gelehrt wurde, ist noch nicht erforscht. (Darstellungen der Vielfalt älterer Formen von Arbeiter(selbst)bildung in Gewerkschaften, Genossenschaften, Arbeiterparteien, Unternehmen, kirchlichen und kommunalen Einrichtungen in Charlot/Figeat 1985, Verdier 1989, Brucy/Laot/Lescure 2009).

Nach der Libération wurden die Gewerkschaftsverbote und die antisemitischen Gesetze für ungültig erklärt, aber die anderen oben erwähnten 'deutschen' Einrichtungen beibehalten und unter republikanischen Vorzeichen weiter entwickelt. Die Kriegswirtschaft, die immer Planwirtschaft ist, wurde in Frankreich zur Phase des Übergangs von einem weitgehend wirtschaftsliberalen Staat (Kaelble 1991) zu dem starken Interventionsstaat der V. Republik. Dieser versteht Schulpolitik als Investitionspolitik (Prost 2013). 1947 entstand noch im Regierungsauftrag der schulpolitische Plan Langevin-Wallon. Weil er die Gesamtschule für alle vorschlug, die 1975 eingeführt wurde, wird er bis heute als heiliger Text der Schulgeschichte zitiert. Seine zentrale Forderung (auf Ideen des Kommunismus, der Frühsozialisten und der Pädagogik der französischen Revolution zurückgehend, vgl. Harten 1990, 1997) war aber die Umstellung aller Schulen auf polytechnischen, mit naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Experimenten und praktischer Arbeit verbundenen Unterricht. Also Modernisierung nicht durch „klassisches Gymnasium für alle“ sondern durch eine arbeitsweltbezogene allgemeine und praktische Bildung für alle mit einem Schwerpunkt auf den MINT-Fächern. Das fand Zustimmung bei der Linken aber kein Gehör in den Spitzen der neuen-alten Schulverwaltung (Tanguy 2013; Prost 2013). Diese plante nicht die Versöhnung von Kopf- und Handarbeit sondern Schulexpansion unter Sicherung von Rangunterschieden. Solche Unterschiede wurden in den folgenden Jahrzehnten stetig ausdifferenziert. Heute sind die Schulen der Sekundarstufe II in die drei verschiedenwertigen Typen allgemeine, technologische und berufliche lycées unterteilt, die jeweils intern zusätzliche



Prestigeabstufungen zwischen mehreren Zweigen aufweisen. Die Schülerschaft wird etwa zu gleichen Teilen auf die drei Typen verteilt. Die Besten machen sich im Elitezweig der allgemeinbildenden lycées auf den Weg in die grandes écoles, Elitehochschulen zur Berufsvorbereitung auf alle Führungsposten in Wirtschaft und Staat. Wer dagegen in der Mittelstufe schulisch gescheitert ist, wird von der Klassenkonferenz aus den angeseheneren Schultypen ausgeschlossen und von der Verwaltung einem Schulplatz in einem lycée professionnel zugewiesen, der seinen Ausbildungswünschen entsprechen kann, aber nicht muss. Mit diesem autoritären Zuweisungsverfahren wird das lycée professionnel offiziell als ein Lernort gelabelt, den niemand freiwillig wählen würde.

Berufsschüler mit und ohne Dienstwagen

Die Ausbildung im lycée professionnel unterscheidet sich von der deutschen dualen Berufs-Lehre durch ihren engeren Zuschnitt (Verdier/Le Bianic 2000). Die meisten ihrer Abschlüsse eröffnen keine Möglichkeit weiterer Qualifikation (Bernard/Masy/Troger 2013; Revue française de pédagogie 2012, 2013). Erst die Abschlüsse der allgemeinen und technologischen lycées sind auf Fortsetzungen bis auf Techniker-, Meister- oder Ingenieur- Niveau angelegt. Etwas stärker noch als in Deutschland legt in Frankreich der jeweilige Schulabschluss den beruflichen Status für das gesamte Arbeitsleben fest. Für Berufs-schulabsolventen ist das in der Regel qualifizierte oder auch unqualifizierte Arbeit in den am stärksten von Nachfrageschwankungen betroffenen Segmenten des Arbeitsmarkts. In Frankreich trifft die Relegation in den untersten Schultyp als Quittung für schlechte Zeugnisse aber nicht wie in Deutschland 10-jährige Kinder, die sich in der Hauptschule bei anspruchsrduziertem Unterricht an ihren niedrigen Status gewöhnen können, sondern 16-jährige Adoleszente, denen das collège bis zum Ende der Pflichtschulzeit prinzipiell gleichen Unterricht und gleiche Chancen für alle vermittelt hat, - wenn auch mit der Dauerbotschaft, dass sie dem guten Angebot und seinen Ansprüchen nicht genügen. Der spätere Zeitpunkt der Relegation scheint potentiell konfliktträchtiger zu sein.

Zur Erzeugung relativ hoher Spannungsniveaus in vielen Schulen trägt auch das überlieferte französische Ideal unpersönlich-distanzierter Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehungen bei, das ursprünglich gerade zur Konfliktprävention oder Konfliktlösung dienen sollte, nämlich zur Vermeidung von Günstlingswirtschaft, als Garantie der Neutralität des Unterrichts und der Objektivität der Leistungsauslese. Unpersönlichkeit und Distanz in den Lehrer-Schüler-Beziehungen sollen zwar heute pädagogisch abgedefert werden. Beispielsweise wird Junglehrern in der Ausbildung derzeit empfohlen, die Schüler zum Stundenbeginn zu begrüßen. Doch sorgen die Organisation der Schullaufbahnen mit zahlreichen Schulwechselln, Klassenwechselln, Lehrerwechselln, die Schulpolitik mit der Einrichtung möglichst großer Schulen, die im Sekundarbereich im Landesdurchschnitt 1060 Schüler zählen und in Einzelfällen bis zu 2500 Schüler umfassen können, und weitere Vorgaben, für eine institutionelle Voreinrichtung von Anonymität, die durch gute Absichten einzelner Lehrpersonen nicht überwunden werden kann. Sie zieht viel Unruhe in den Schulen und aus französischer Sicht einen hohen Bedarf an Überwachung und Disziplinierung der Schülerschaften nach sich (Ein- und Ausgangskontrollen, Aufsichtspersonal, Sicherheits-beauftragte, Strafsysteme, hohe Zahlen von Schulverweisen, u.a.). Der



Konfliktpegel und die ordnungspolizeiliche Ummantelung des Schulbetriebs werden meßbar schwächer nach oben, je näher man den Eliteschulen und dem Dienstwagen kommt, stärker nach unten in die Richtung der Arbeiterschulen. Am stärksten sind sie in den Vorstadt-collèges und in den großstädtischen Berufsschulen.

Doch gehört die Schule direkt nach Armee und Polizei zu den drei staatlichen Institutionen, denen die große Mehrheit der Franzosen in Umfragen am meisten Vertrauen ausspricht. Man mag an das Doppelgesicht der Republik denken, das die Französische Revolution zum Ausdruck gebracht hat: Befreiung des Volkes von ungerechter Herrschaft besonders durch die befreiende Kraft der Vernunft, die allen Bürgern in den Schulen der Zukunft vermittelt werden würde, und anschließende terreur, welche den Feinden der Vernunft mit der Guillotine drohte. Heute hat der französische Staat ein Schulsystem für alle eingerichtet, das zweifellos viele der besten Schulen der Welt aufzuweisen hat. Sie tragen sehr viel zu seiner Legitimität in den Augen fast aller Bürger bei. Zugleich ist die Republik mit eigenen Inlands-Truppen für die Wiederherstellung und Wahrung der inneren Ordnung gerüstet, die für die Eingrenzung von Arbeitskämpfen, Demonstrationen und Terrorismus zuständig sind. Die gutmütigen Aufsehertrüppchen in den Schulen (überwiegend teilzeitarbeitende Studenten) haben mit ihnen nur die Betonung von Außenkontrolle gemeinsam. Die Schüler lernen, dass sie in einem fürsorglichen und wachsamem Staat leben.

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Path Dependency – The Concept of Stability and Change related to the Development of the Swiss VET System

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Abstract: There is a growing literature about path dependency, now also in the field of Education and VET. This concept is linked to the historical institutionalism, which itself is based in the political sciences and welfare studies. The educational perspective about the development of the VET System however is traditionally more or less focused on descriptive accounts or discourses, which are seen influential for the genesis and development of educational organisations. In this contribution these two different strands are put together. The papers' focus is on the critical (or crucial) juncture which led to the Swiss VET System, still recognizable today. The path dependency approach is applied to the evolution of the Swiss VET System by including the founding ideas and discourses.

Keywords: Path dependency, actors, gradual change, Swiss VET

Introduction

Switzerland is quite a specific case related to VET. Meanwhile most countries rely on a school-based system in order to provide the skills for industry and commerce, the Swiss VET system developed out of a debate on furthering small and medium enterprises on the one hand and on social policy measures on the other hand. The most convenient way in Switzerland was to establish or modernize a firm-based apprenticeship-system which had to be supported by schools.

To a limited extent it is also true for the evolution of the Swiss VET that the discourses, which led to an introduction of VET and originated a path for further development are not the same as the legitimations for running the system today, which is in line with the path-dependent approaches opposing a strictly functionalist explanation (Thelen 2004; Streeck & Thelen 2005; Moe 2005; Schmidt 2010).

Methodology

This paper is based on “classical” instruments of acquiring knowledge in historical research, by collecting documents and literature, which was found in archives and in libraries.

Furthermore a part of the paper is also discussing the advantages of a path-bound perspective applied to the field of history of VET (see Ebbinghaus 2005).



Results

The emergence and development of Swiss VET system is the result of different efforts of different actors. It took a long time from the end of the 1870s to the 1930s establishing nationwide a coherent system of VET. As a critical juncture for the evolution of the Swiss VET system has to be seen the debates on the competitiveness of Swiss firms in the 1880s. A further critical juncture were the debates about the new legislation in the end of 1970s, when some actors urged a radical change. The result was however a affirmation of the foundational path (see Berner et al. 2011).

Trade Associations, Workers' Unions, Cantons and the Federal Authority

Immediately after its foundation in 1879, the Schweizerische Gewerbeverein (Swiss Trade Association) organised a prize competition on apprenticeship. The winners were two teachers, Gottlieb Hug from Winterthur and Eduard Boos who taught at the Seminar at Unterstrass in Zurich. Hug's contribution, which won the First Prize, emphasized "well organised school-based apprentice workshops as the model of an institution of trade education" and recommended them in particular for bigger cities. However, their general introduction, he said, was "not advisable", thus primarily learning at the workplace had to be reformed (Hug & Boos 1881, 31). The Second Prize, the contribution by Boos, pointed out to vocational training reforms in France and Württemberg: to France concerning the reform of elementary school and its orientation towards the world of work, to Württemberg concerning the establishment of schools for trade-related further education. Apart from this, he stated, one needed further special institutions such as professional schools, apprenticeship workshops and trade museums. Trade associations at Canton and local level would have to increase their connections to a Swiss trade association, and a central institution or a trade chamber would have to be created. Furthermore, he demanded a Swiss trade law with special regulations for vocational training. He presented further details of the clear and stricter regulations for apprenticeships he had in mind, and most of all for apprenticeship examinations, into which apart from trade representatives also schools were to be included. Then he demanded further trade-related day-time schooling. Both prize winners supported the opinion that one should make the state recognize that trade interests were "closely connected to the people's welfare" and had to be protected (ibid., 53).

Another significant push towards the extension and systematisation of vocational training happened in the same time of economic crisis, in the late 1870s and 1880s, when in the debates on Switzerland's contributions to the World Exhibitions in Vienna (1873) and Paris (1878) also the exhibitors' economic and technological success was contextualised with a country's educational system (Gonon 2009). In 1882 the Bundesrat, by initiative of the Bundesversammlung, organised an investigation ("trade enquete") which due to some complaints about trade agreements, was supposed to inform about the need of support for the fields of industry, crafts and trade. The question was if the tariff schedule was to be reworked or if, furthermore, also "schools for craftsmen and handicrafts" were to be supported (Botschaft 1883, 547). Circles from the fields of agriculture, cotton, embroidery and silk industries, but then also from metal trade, from chemical industry and even the watchmaker branch expressed uneasy feelings (ibid., 599). Furthermore the question



was if and in which ways the Federal Government and the Cantons should contribute or if one should leave this to private commitment.

Apart from reworking the tariff schedule and “other means”, such as specific law-making on support, the protection of inventions, loan associations, the creation of voluntary guilds of craftsmen, also the “perfection of teaching at vocational schools” was on the agenda (ibid., 600). How could, apart from schools of vocational teaching, the training of apprentices be made more fruitful?” (ibid., 601).

To all these questions, an overall-Swiss answer was supposed to be found in the following years. Also the Cantons played a significant role with establishing modern vocational education. Apprenticeship laws were supposed to make an end to the traditional “régime corporatif” or to initiate a transformation of the traditional apprenticeship. In this context Neuchâtel (1890), Genève (1892), Fribourg (1895), Vaud (1896) and Wallis (1903) were pioneers. Law-making at Canton level referred to two demands, that is a regulation on vocational skills and capabilities in the fields of trade, commerce and industry, which had to be fixed by a written apprenticeship contract, and to the issue of youth protection which was supposed to protect apprentices from being exploited and to support them with finding the right vocation.

Despite all visible measures and improvements, the Vereinigung Schweizerischer Lehrlingspatronate (Association of Swiss Apprenticeship Instructors), the Schweizerische Arbeiterbund (Swiss Workers Union) and the Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund (Swiss Trade Union Association) demanded a “Swiss Apprenticeship Law” as a comprehensive, nationwide law, to support vocational education at the national level and to standardise the different regulations of the Cantons.

The first federal law on vocational education from 1930, pooling the educational needs of trade, commerce and industry

After a first, failed attempt before the turn of the century (1894), the amendment of the federal constitution by an article on trade in 1908 provided the possibility – which trade circles had been longing for – to become active also concerning the support of vocational education. Apart from the already mentioned actors (such as the Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund and the Trade Association), also the Schweizerische Kaufmännische Verein (Swiss Commercial Association), the Verband Schweizerischer Zeichen- und Gewerbeschullehrer (Association of Swiss Drawing and Trade School Teachers) as well as the associations belonging to the Schweizerische Handels- und Industrieverein (Swiss Trade and Industrial Association) spoke out in favour of a regulation by federal law, including making apprenticeship examinations and vocational teaching for apprentices obligatory. The priority of regulating vocational education over other issues of trade protection resulted, among others, from the fact that in this field one could count on a broad consensus. Already in 1921 a commission of experts presented a bill, which was essentially oriented at the draft handed in by the trade. Then the further proceedings were delayed, however, most of all due to objections from industrial circles, part of whom had already resisted to being made subject of the Cantons’ apprenticeship laws and who at first also rejected the preliminary bill presented by the Swiss employment agency in 1924. For the industry, which benefitted less from federal



subsidies and partly trained apprentices according to their own rules, considered – according to the Zentralvorstand Schweizerischer Arbeitgeberorganisationen (Central Board of Swiss Employers’ Organisations) – the need for standardised national regulations to be less urgent. When the Bundesrat argued that there was progressing rationalisation and growing need of economic coordination resulting from international pressure of competition, even sceptics acknowledged that there was a demand for “quality work” based on a support of vocational education, thus finally supporting the draft law which was also to include subject examinations at secondary level (see Botschaft 1928, 732). In this context, the Federal Government would only set guidelines, whereas implementation would be left to the Cantons (ibid., 741).

Consequently the law, passed in 1930 and valid in 1933, proved to be “a good basis for the support of vocational education” in Switzerland, precisely because of the balanced distribution of tasks among the Federal Government, the Cantons and the professional associations as well as because private initiative and the responsibility of company owners were maintained. Up to the end of the year 1961 the Eidgenössische Volkswirtschaftsdepartement (Swiss Department of National Economy) passed 162 vocational regulations for a total of 238 vocations (Gonon & Maurer 2012).

Further differentiation and extension of the dual system of vocational education by vocational laws in 1963, 1978, 2002

In retrospect, the legislations following the first federal law of 1930, those from 1963, 1978 and 2002 are based on the same principles and may be described as the further integration of previously not included professional fields and a horizontal as well as vertical differentiation of the initial legal basis.

The discursive foundations of the VET system remained quite stable, although in the 1970s new actors emerged, who questioned very decisively the work-based model of VET. These actors (a younger generation of unionists and representatives of left parties and young scientists) were confronted with a stable path and a well-established structure of VET, dominated by the trades and the employers. After a period of dissent, some aspects of the critique – especially including more pedagogical measures for apprentices, thus enhancing the quality of apprenticeship – were taken into account. In the 1980s and in the following years a new consensus emerged including these actors, who expressed formerly a controversial policy orientation.

Conclusion and prospects

After some searching at the beginning of the 20th century and another period in the 1970s of contesting this pathway, especially by the unions and partisan groups from the left and far left, the predominance of the work-based model of vocational education has become clear again. “Workshop apprenticeship” had to be completed by school, after 1895 at the latest almost all actors agreed on this opinion, and again after the debates in the 1970s, and this opinion remained remarkably stable until our days. Public apprenticeship workshops and professional schools are still today definitely of significance for certain vocations, branches and regions, in coexistence with the weightier so called “dual model”. Due to its almost uninterrupted upward



movement and almost unanimous public agreement, by its quantitative significance the VET system has become the most important educational sector, in contrast to many other countries.

This statement is in line with a path-dependency approach, which includes more than the fact that “history matters”. This specific approach is able to explain that the founding motives are still today playing although they have modified and lost its original predominance. It is not so much the trade option today but the beneficial aspects for general welfare and individual careers in a service and knowledge society, which still keep this system alive and lead to remarkable modifications and enlargements of the dual model (see Wettstein et al. 2014). However, the recent addition of new other institutional arrangements since the 1990s with a more academically orientation, the hybridization of vocational and general education, is also a layer which will probably transform the Swiss VET and the Education system itself.

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Commercial Training Between The Poles: Vocational And Liberal Education

On The Development And Impact Of The “Handelsschule der kaufmännischen Innungshalle zu Gotha”

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Abstract: The “dual” form of vocational education and training, a present day form of German commercial education that includes both learning sites company and school, dates back to the years of 1817/18 when in the Thuringian residential city of Gotha Ernst Wilhelm Arnoldi got involved in vocational education. Yet, in terms of economic-educational historiography, little is known about this important institution. The study, which serves as a basis for this contribution, bridges the gap. This article aims for a critical perspective on (theoretically oriented) historiography on schooling. Therefore, this access goes beyond the descriptive-narrative approach that is prevailing in (economic-) educational historiography. Theories of organizational sociology serve as categorical matrices for systematic structural recordings (description) and an aggregating analysis (explication).

Keywords: commercial education, theoretically oriented historiography, organisational theories

Introduction

Commercial part-time schooling (Georg/Kunze 1981) and the “dual” form of vocational education and training, a present day form of German commercial education that includes both learning sites company and school, dates back to the years of 1817/18 when in the Thuringian residential city of Gotha Ernst Wilhelm Arnoldi (1778–1841) got involved in vocational education. Furthermore, the “Handelsschule der kaufmännischen Innungshalle zu Gotha”² has had a sustainable impact on the establishment of the schools, as this is the case with the “Öffentliche Handelslehranstalt zu Leipzig”, which was founded in 1831 by the “Leipziger Kramerinnung” (Horlebein 1985; 1989; 1991; Reinisch 2001; Zabeck 2009).

Yet, in terms of economic-educational historiography, little is known about this important institution. Numerous articles and contributions in handbooks (Zieger/Dietze 1906; Penndorf 1914; 1916; Horlebein 1985; 1991) and monographs concerning this matter do refer to Georg Michael Amthor’s historical tradition dating

² “Commercial School of the Trade Guild Hall in Gotha”, I will herein refer to it as “commercial school” or use the proper name. There are several other difficulties that occur by translating terms, since the historical development of vocational training in Germany differs from the English on a large extend.



from 1836. The study, which serves as a basis for this contribution, probes into the development and relevance of the commercial school (Götzl 2014) from both historical and economic-educational perspectives and thus bridges the gap illustrated above by systematically analysing stocks in the Research Library Gotha, the Thuringian State Archives Gotha, and the Municipal Archives Gotha.

Methodology

This contribution aims for a critical perspective on (theoretically oriented) historiography on schooling (Horlebein 2002; Wehler 1979; Mommsen 1979). Therefore, the access goes beyond the descriptive-narrative approach that is prevailing in (economic-) educational historiography. Theories of organizational sociology – i. a. the “Model of Resource Pooling” (Colman 1974; Vanberg 1982), the “Model of Organizations” (Scott/Davis 2007), and neo-institutional approaches (Meyer/Rowan 1977; DiMaggio/Powell 1983) – serve as categorical matrices for systematic structural recordings (description) and an aggregating analysis (explication). Applying these approaches of description and explication to school history by systematically creating a link between the (general-) sociological micro-level (individuals, individual actors), meso-level (organisations, corporal actors), and macro-level (society, socially institutionalised structures of expectations) is a novelty in the field of historical research on vocational training. The first key issue of the present study focuses on the description of the genesis and implementation of the first vocational in-service part-time school³ in Gotha that uses concepts of organisational sociology, which are modified by approaches of economic-educational history on the basis of Scott/Davis’ “Model of Organizations” (2007). The second key issue illustrates the organisational change of the trade guild’s hall and the commercial school attached to it during the 19th century by adducing neo-institutional approaches (Meyer/Rowan 1977; DiMaggio/Powell 1983). As a third, this study aims for an evaluation on the impact and relevance, which this early educational establishment had on the emerge of a German system of commercial vocational training that still has a close proximity to school, from an evolutionary point of view (for a closer examination on the development and relevance of the commercial school in Gotha see Götzl, 2014).

Results

The constitution of the association of the commercial trade guild hall in Gotha took place in 1817 against the background of a successive process of decay of an older grocers and traders guild, which it finally overcame. The constitution of the association of the commercial trade guild hall was not the only reason why the commercial school was founded in 1817/18, but then, it was the primary purpose. Besides the grocers and traders, the nucleus of the trade guild hall, there were also manufactures, booksellers and publishers, pharmacists, bank officials etc., who affiliated themselves with this association. Therefore, the organisation, consisting of the trade guild hall and the commercial school, clearly distinguishes from older social structures or institutions. While the old grocers and traders guild, according to Colmans (1979), can still be classified among early modern estatist corporations,

³ This refers to a part-time model that allowed for a school attendance alongside apprenticeship. The following text will refer to it as “in-service” schooling. It must not be confused with any form of military service training.



resp. “old” corporative actors, which have a strictly regulated policy of membership, this is not the case with the new association, as participation is on a voluntary basis that allows for overcoming the limits of the old guild. Hence, this association provides one of the earliest socio-economically oriented, organisational structures so far.

There were various motives for founding the association, which primarily based on personal and charitable aspirations of Ernst Wilhelm Arnoldi. Among others, these were a moderate liberalisation of economical and petty-state restrictions, especially an improvement of the prevailing commercial vocational training conditions, the level of education, and the future chances for employment and income for commercial apprentices, assistants, and merchants. Moreover, the foundation of the commercial school could, according to Zabeck (2009), also be seen as a targeted fictionalization of a school as an institution and a try to thereby expose the political position and social rank of merchants in terms of their fight for professionalization. Additionally, there were some central motives for establishing such an in-service part-time schooling to commercial vocational training in Gotha at the beginning of the 19th century, which may also be used to explain subsequent school foundations, especially in the field of basic and further commercial training and education at the beginning of the 20th century. The low quality of the apprentices, who were exclusively trained on the job inside the companies, caused poor employment and income prospects for those who left the apprenticing corporation. In fact, as a result of the so-called “Lehrlingszüchtereier”⁴ former apprentices never had the chance to start their own business.

Beside Ernst Wilhelm Arnoldi there was also Friedrich Gottlieb Becker (1792–1865), son of Rudolph Zacharias Becker (1752–1822, publicist of Enlightenment ideas and former teacher at the “Dessauer Philanthropin”), who played a central role during the first 20 years of the commercial school in Gotha. Not only did he elaborate the plans for establishing the school and its first curriculum, but he also was a member of the school committee right from the beginning and worked as a school representative from 1818 to 1838. The didactic conception of this school, which had been worked out by Arnoldi and Becker, did not aim for full-time or technical schooling, but for a part-time model that allowed for a school attendance alongside apprenticeship. In General, this form of vocational education is still rather undifferentiated referred to as the German “kaufmännische Berufsschule”. It is particularly notable, that the curricular intention of the school – against the background of “Lehrlingszüchtereier” and the fact that most apprentices never got the chance to take the step to self-employment – was not only to prepare their students in retail trade but also to teach them the knowledge and skills they would need for further employment at a merchant’s counting house.

After being well established, the commercial school started a successive progress of organisational transformation up from 1848, which made us change our idea of such

⁴ The phenomenon of “Lehrlingszüchtereier” is usually associated with the increasing number of precariously employed agents or assistants of commercial apprentices – especially in the field of retail – and was discussed at the transition from the 19th to 20th century (Reinisch 2001). However, in Europe this problem was, as proofed by Sombart (1917), already known up from the 16th century. At the turn of the century, it may have come to the fore, due to the increase of employment within the tertiary sector in the context of “service revolution” and the increased number of commercial employees as a mass phenomenon. Only for Gotha – and this is surely no singularly phenomenon – it can be certified that the problem of “Lehrlingszüchtereier” and the reduced employment and income prospects for commercial assistants (especially those who have not been set free from their apprenticing merchant) had already been known on a small scale by the beginning of the 19th century.



a prevailing system of part-time schooling in the 19th century. The initial point was the commission of Friedrich Ernst Feller (1802–1859) as the first principal of the commercial school, who beforehand was a teacher at the “Handelslehreranstalt” in Leipzig, founded back in 1831. By delegating responsibility to professionally and pedagogically trained management and teaching staff, resp. external specialists (horizontal differentiation and professionalization) and the subsequently increasing formal and informal organisational emancipation of the commercial school away from the trade guild hall, as an independently working organisation-unit (vertical differentiation and decentralization), did not immediately led to a change in the strategic focus of the commercial school, but it also caused a slinking intentional modification. On the one hand, this change was indicated by a curricular expansion and increasing integration of realistic, resp. mathematic-scientific (Schubring 1987) and neo-humanistic-liberal or philosophic-historical subjects (Jäger 1987). The original intention, which aimed for a functional, commercial, estatist, and professional education, was successfully infiltrated by a (full-time) professional orientation and finally changed sustainably between 1868/70 and 1874, due to the aspiration after preserving the eligibility of the one-year voluntary military service⁵. The commercial school transferred itself bit by bit from part-time schooling with commercial alignment, which allowed for attendance alongside apprenticeship, to an in-service professional school with the Prussian one-year-privilege. Therefore, this school took an exceptional position among (full-time) commercial schools as well as military secondary level schools.

The gradual shift to an in-service professional school of commerce already started before the pressure to conform arose by the “Einjährigenprivileg” (1867/68) and the “Bundesschulkommission”⁶ (since 1868), which later changed its name to “Reichsschulkommission” (since 1871). Hence, there are many indicators that the most relevant impulse on the steady modification was the process of professionalizing the management and teaching staff between 1848 and 1867/68. At a (relatively) early state it were them, who began to align their principles of teaching and leading on the unwritten professional standards for “good” commercial schools and considered the Saxonian full-time school model of the “Höhere Abteilung” or “Höhere Handelsschule”, which first started in Leipzig (1831, Dresden 1854, and Chemnitz 1856), as a promising role model of organisation that was worth imitating. The emerging process of professionalization, which i. a. was expressed by the fact that there were several efforts of “professional groups” asking for defining prerequisites, conditions, aims, and contents on their work, lead to a structural adjustment to the Saxonian model (isomorph change through normative pressure) between 1848 and 1867/68. However, this alignment was stopped by interests of some members of the guild, who, by the nature of their business, wanted to stick to

⁵ The privilege of the so-called one-year military service (German equivalents: “Einjährig-Freiwilligen Militärdienst”, “Einjährigenprivileg”, “Militärberechtigung”, or “Einjährige”), resp. the later secondary school certificate or the contemporary “Mittlere Reife”, has been, beside the higher education entrance qualification, an essential part of the “Berechtigungswesen”, which established in the 19th century and exerted regulating pressure on liberal schools of higher education as well as full-time schools of vocational preparation (e. g. the Saxonian “Höhere Handelsschule”) and – as it will be presented by the example of the commercial school in Gotha – on part-time vocational in-service education. Further reading on the one-year voluntary military service (see also Peege 1967; Blankertz 1969; Georg/Kunze 1981; Blankertz, 1992; Zabeck 2009).

The “Berechtigungswesen” was established as a result of, or parallel to, the progressing secularisation of the schooling systems in the 19th century. Thereby the expanding education incrementally differentiated by ‘rationalising’ governmental school legislation. This upcoming vertical differentiation was (finally) reflected i. a. in different legitimisation, or proof by educational certificates and commissions (“Bildungspatent”) about duration and attendance of certain school types, which then gave access to military careers, public offices, and subsequently even to commercial promotion.

⁶ federal school board



the in-service form of education and structural positioning as it had been formulated in the founding program.

When in 1867/68 every student was given the chance of receiving the military eligibility certificate, there was yet another major external impact which increased the drive towards conformity and therefore applied pressure that was far above this individual case analysis or the field of commercial vocational education at that time. The strive after the “Einjährigenprivileg” is the key to explain the continuing modification process of the commercial school between 1867 and 1874, which finally made the development of the commercial in-service professional school come to a conclusion. Hence, the military eligibility certificate apparently became the link to a preservation or further development of a more professional alignment. Nevertheless, it was still adhered to the in-service conception which possibly decreased the tensions between management and teaching staff on the one hand, and the members of the guild and its board of management on the other hand, caused by normative pressure and the constituting process of professionalization among the management and teachers. It were also the members of the guild, who had a special interest in the military eligibility certificate, since that would result in an improvement of the social position of their sons. In addition to the isomorphic change by normative pressure, due to the professionalizing process of a constituting teaching staff, a second force supervenes: structural adaption by pressure, which came into force by formal regulations issued by the “Bundes-“, resp. the “Reichsschulkommission”. This isomorphic force did not directly referred to conformity with the Saxonian model, as did the structural adjustment through normative pressure, but to a conformation to the premises for Prussian “höhere Bürger- bzw. Realschulen II. Ordnung”, which came without foreign language teaching in Latin, and equally affected the Saxonian “Höhere Handelsschule”.

After the military eligibility certificate was definitely preserved in 1874, the scope of decision-making and the influence of managers and teachers that was related to it waned. Its power and latitude got racked by aspirations that had been set by the “Reichsschulkommission” and the wishes of members of the guild, which finally led to a number of concessions to the apprenticing trade guild members. As a result of the combination of a negligent supervision on the part of the state ministry Gotha and missing control by the “Reichsschulkommission”, the commercial school eventually decoupled itself from the requirements of the Prussian board of education in the sense of neo-institutionalism. This meant that the expectations by the Prussian board of education, which were indispensable for the military eligibility certificate, were incompatible and dysfunctional to the in-service commercial school, but nevertheless, they formally stuck to, and informally neglected them. Up to 1881/82 it was possible to harmoniously continue like this, but eventually, against the background of the decline of the commercial school during the late 70s of the 19th century and an abruptly upcoming conformity pressure by the “Reichsschulkommission” in 1881/82, it ended by a withdrawal of the certificate.

The period after this denial between 1882 and 1888 was characterized by numerous efforts of reorganisation which aimed for recovering the certificate that was badly needed. But because the board of the trade guild did not deviate from the in-service structural setting from the founding program, the “Reichsschulkommission” was not willing to award it back to the commercial school and thereby enforced the decline



that had started in the late 70s already. It was only in 1888 when the board of the guild finally deferred to the claims of the “Reichsschulkommission”. The original commercial school of the trade guild hall was then downgraded to an apprentice training department on the level of a training school, based on the “Höhere Handelsschule”. The process of adjusting the Saxonian model, which at the same time was modified under the pressure of the Prussian “Berechtigungswesen” up from the 1860s, had lasted more than 40 years and finally came to an end.

Basically, the “Höhere Handelsschule”, as a full-time commercial professional school, contradicted the original concept of the association. Against the background of a forthcoming socio-economical differentiation and stratification of the merchants in Gotha, and the increasing pressure by the Prussian “Berechtigungswesen”, resp. the prevailing Prussian hegemony, the trade guild only had little interest in professional qualification of their apprentices. Their primary interest was to preserve the socially relevant certificate. As a result, in 1890 the “Höhere Handelsschule” of the trade guild hall received a temporary permission to award the certificate. This permission was limited to two years. In 1892 it was eventually admitted to the circle of schools which were allowed to award it to their students. But because of a lacking frequency the “Höhere Handelsschule” in Gotha had to close in 1896. After the shutdown, the only thing that was left from the original commercial school was the curtailed apprentice training department, which still existed parallel to the “Höhere Handelsschule”, resp. the subsequently revitalised commercial school. Finally, the association of the commercial trade guild’s hall had overreached their financial limits, and inwardly disintegrated by the progressing social-economical differentiation and stratification among the merchants in Gotha, resp. the socio-economical pressure of segregation caused by it. Eventually, the apprentice training department, resp. the remaining “Höhere Handelsschule” of the trade guild’s hall, hived off and affiliated to the local middle school while the association that was founded back in 1817 by Ernst Wilhelm Arnoldi was dissolved.

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Made only in Germany?

Internationalization and Transfer of Dual Study Programs

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Abstract: Germany, along with Switzerland and Austria, has a long tradition in the provision of dual apprenticeship training. However, since the late 1960s we see a new development with the rise of hybrid dual study programs located at the nexus of vocational training and higher education. In recent years, this innovative training model has received increasing attention by policy makers in Germany – and abroad. In this context, our study first analyses the degree of internationalization of dual study programs in Germany. Secondly, we examine institutional conditions for the transfer of these programs to other countries: France, the US, Mexico, Brazil, and Qatar. The explorative analysis is based on a range of expert and stakeholder interviews in all six countries. We apply a neo-institutional comparative-historical approach.

Keywords: Vocational education and training and higher education, dual study programs, historical development, internationalization

Introduction

This study focuses on the historical development as well as the future perspectives of the internationalization and the transfer of dual study programs (see Graf, Powell, Fortwengel, and Bernhard, forthcoming, for details). Dual study programs offer a specific hybrid form of education and training located at the post-secondary level that has developed over the past four decades in Germany. While vocational training and higher education have historically been divided by an “educational schism” (Baethge, 2006; Bernhard, Graf, and Powell, 2013), dual study programs combine institutional and organizational elements from both fields, for example, with regard to curricula, teaching staff or funding structures. Furthermore, dual study programs integrate the classroom and the working place as two complementary learning settings. The original type of dual study programs, the *ausbildungsintegrierende* type, leads to an official vocational certificate from the field of vocational training (upper-secondary level) as well as a Bachelor’s degree from the field of higher education (post-secondary level) (see Graf, 2013b: 95-102 for a detailed description of all four types of dual study programs).



Recently, German educational concepts have (once again) gained in importance in global debates about successful education systems, facilitated by the economic strength of Germany during the financial crisis and also by its low youth unemployment rates (Powell, forthcoming). Some of Germany's achievements in this regard are attributed to the "dual principle," i.e. the integration of classroom teaching and training on the job within one curriculum. Dual study programs stand for an upgraded version of this traditional dual concept of learning, given that the higher education institution (or vocational academy) has replaced the vocational school as the major locale for classroom teaching. However, while in the German context dual study programs are very likely to play an important role in the development of vocational competencies in the 21st century, they have thus far remained a mainly German phenomenon (Graf, 2013a).

The rapid expansion of dual study programs also poses the question about their systematic internationalization. Dual study programs were not the result of long-term, strategic planning by policymakers but arose from initiatives of large industrial companies since the late 1960s. And still today their continued expansion is not driven top-down by educational politics. Rather, dual study programs are more often built bottom-up through the cooperation of large and medium-sized companies with higher education institutions (or academies) interested in providing vocationally oriented academic programs (Graf, 2012). In fact, as we illustrate in our historical-comparative study, in rare individual cases dual study programs already today are transferred to other national contexts via the pre-existing global networks of the involved companies and higher education providers.

Research Design and Methodology

While dual study programs have significantly expanded and evolved since their start several decades ago, they only recently have received attention by a broad array of major stakeholders in the German education system. Previously, their development took place rather in a niche or grey zone between the established fields of vocational education and training and higher education (Graf, 2013b). Therefore, so far little is known about the opportunities and challenges related to the transfer of these programs Made in Germany. Thus, we follow an explorative research design and are especially interested in analysing the conditions that could facilitate a successful uptake of dual study programs in the receiving countries. Which cultural, legal, but also local demand-driven conditions are necessary for the successful transfer of dual study programs? Such conditions refer, for example, to the institutional setting comprising the education and training system as well as the industrial and business sector in the respective national contexts. The goal of our study is to measure and make visible the degree of internationalization of dual study programs in Germany and, on this basis, to explore the potential for a systematic transfer of these programs globally.

Given that this relatively new hybrid area of the German education system (see also Deißinger, Aff, Fuller, and Helms, 2013 on hybrid qualifications at the upper-secondary level) is going through an extended period of dynamic change and given the still rather limited literature related to this, we mainly base our findings on expert interviews with key stakeholders in Germany and abroad. The focus is on relevant representatives from higher education organizations as well as firms that are



pioneers in the internationalization and transfer of dual study programs. To analyse the interview data we refer to the tools of theory-guided qualitative content analysis (Gläser and Laudel, 2009). In addition, we analyse seminal studies on vocational training and higher education to look for findings that can be transferred, for example from the discussion around the transfer of classical dual apprenticeship training (upper-secondary level) to the case of dual study programs (see, e.g., Gonon, 1998; Hamilton, 1999; Jacoby, 2001; Thelen, 2004; Busemeyer and Trampusch, 2012; Euler, 2013). Are the chances to successfully transfer and implement dual study programs better than those of classical dual apprenticeship training? We argue that dual study programs must not rely as heavily on a high degree of corporatist governance (which can only be found in a few countries) as does classical dual apprenticeship training at the upper-secondary level. Further, we find that higher education's more theoretical focus and high level of internationalization facilitates transfer of dual study programs.

Case Selection and Outlook

To study the feasibility of the systematic transfer of dual study programs, we compare the German case with the neighbouring country France as well as with four countries outside of Europe, namely the US, Brazil, Mexico, and Qatar. The comparative-historical research design is grounded in two strands of neo-institutional analysis, that is historical institutionalism and sociological organization theory (see, e.g., Powell and Solga, 2010). France and the US signify two ideal-types of educational systems that have often been contrasted with Germany in terms of the structuration of the respective school-to-work transitions (for reviews, see Bernhard, 2014; Fortwengel, 2014; Powell, forthcoming). However, mutual exchange and lesson-learning about education and skill formation (and specific organizational forms) between Germany and these two countries certainly has a long tradition. The educational systems of Brazil and Mexico in Latin America and Qatar in the Persian Gulf are far more dissimilar to the German case, even in higher education (see Powell, 2012 on the Gulf region). However, the economies of these countries are in rapid transition, which implies that many of the relevant local stakeholders are interested in innovative dual educational models. The comparison of the varying institutional conditions in the six countries allows us to draw a number of conclusions about the institutional conditions for the successful transfer of dual study programs also to other countries in these respective world regions.

To summarize, dual study programs have developed in Germany since the late 1960s and represent a rapidly expanding hybrid organizational form at the nexus of higher education and vocational training. Our contribution analyses strategies to internationalize dual study programs in the German context as well as the potential to transfer this specific model of practice-oriented academic education to France, the US, Mexico, Brazil, and Qatar.

This contribution is based on a report commissioned by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and funded by the Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft: *Graf, L., Powell, J. J. W., Fortwengel, J. & Bernhard, N. (forthcoming) Duale Studiengänge im globalen Kontext: Internationalisierungspotential in Deutschland und Transfermöglichkeiten anhand der Fallstudien Frankreich, USA, Mexiko, Brasilien und Katar. Bonn/Essen, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) / Stifterverband für die deutsche*



Wissenschaft. We would like to thank Simone Burkhart and Katharina Maschke from the DAAD for their feedback as well as the participants of an expert workshop on the internationalization and the transfer of dual study programs held in Bonn in May 2014.

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The Impact of the German VET System on Labour Market Segregation and Gendered Professions: Historical and Future Perspectives

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Abstract: Reconstructing the parallel structure of ‘dual’ and ‘school-based’ vocational routes reveals the close connection between the German vocational training system and the segmentation of the labour market by gender. The example of jobs in childcare and pre-primary education shows that the legacy of semi-professionalism in these occupations is not just rooted in the nature of training and working conditions, but complexly interlinks with the prevalence of the male breadwinner model sustained by social policy regulations and the German taxation system. In France, by contrast, the central state takes responsibility for the provision of childcare from zero to six years of age to support female labour force participation and dual earner couples. This has also fostered professionalisation in the respective occupations. Whilst this may not necessarily induce a degendering process at the level of horizontal segregation of vocational qualifications, it facilitates gender equality in terms of vertical mobility and the professional status of women.

Keywords: School-based VET, gendered labour markets, social services

Introduction

Within the OECD countries the German vocational training system remains central to economic prosperity and social mobility. Even under conditions of globalisation, welfare state restructuring and the recent economic crisis, the dual apprenticeship system upholds a model function, mainly because it can be directly linked to low rates of youth unemployment and the sustainable production of skilled labour.

The dominant assessment of the German VET system, however, obscures its gendered structure, which impacts on female labour force participation and reproduces gendered professions. Alongside the dominant apprenticeship training for skilling in manufacturing, industry and the commercial fields, a school-based vocational track covers skill formation for the social, educational, care and some medical professions. Heterogeneity and lack of skills protection result in profiling the school-based routes as semi-professional. Furthermore, these predominantly female professions are characterised by restricted career opportunities and lower salaries as compared to the male-dominated work areas the dual system qualifies for.



Having been largely ignored in the past, the bifurcation of training structures and labour market opportunities has more recently turned into a major issue of concern. In this context, the gendered nature of care work presents a challenge in two ways: on the one hand, women today are better qualified and increasingly work more hours so that they are no longer available for providing unpaid care at home and in the family. This induces a higher demand for public and private personal social services. Working in personal services and care jobs, on the other hand, offers little attraction given the low wages and underdeveloped career opportunities. The result is staff shortages already apparent on the German labour market. Additionally, most care services hardly meet the expected quality standards as they are based on a semi-professional approach, particularly in the areas of early child development and elderly care. Fostering the quality of social services, labour supply and career opportunities have thus moved onto the political agenda across various policy fields, including labour market, family and gender equality.

Advancing reforms, however, is hampered by the divergent interests of multiple stakeholders competing for budgetary resources and by lack of knowledge of the interrelation between skill formation, labour market segmentation and welfare state policies. While research on skill formation has hitherto concentrated on training in manufacturing and commercial services as the core of capitalist economies, welfare state scholarship has been more interested in service provision and its gender impact with a focus on female labour market participation rates and gender segregation. Particularly in comparative research, the German VET system is usually identified with the dual system, while school-based vocational training for social services has gained much less attention (Greinert 2007). This has led to a specific understanding of vocationalism tied to the socialisation function of apprenticeships which, in turn, renders the gender impact of the overall system a 'blind spot'.

Methodology

In a comparative perspective, the paper addresses the gendered character of the German VET system by taking into account its institutional foundation in welfare state development, labour markets and the challenges arising from ongoing tertiarisation.

It starts by linking the dual and school-based vocational routes to gender-specific labour market features, which, in turn, are underpinned by the male breadwinner model and family policies. Within this established institutional framework for skill formation, the rise of female labour force participation and expansion of the service sector have led to ambiguous effects as concerns work and training in the social services. This is contextualised with recent developments of precarious working conditions on the one hand, and the trend towards professionalism of training and in the provision of services on the other. Childcare and pre-primary education are then taken as examples to delineate how changing demands challenge the current qualification structures and working conditions in these areas. Finally, a comparison with developments in France, where the professionalisation route fostered by the central state has been more prominent, serves to illustrate the specific dynamics between welfare state policy, qualification structures and engendering processes on the labour market. Concluding remarks specify the risks of current adjustments and future needs for VET reforms in Germany.



Results

Comparative welfare state research postulates that a large public social service sector eases female labour force participation as it generates employment opportunities by shifting unpaid family work to the formal sector. This applies not only to social democratic welfare regimes characterised by a large state-run social service sector, but also to liberal regimes. Conservative welfare regimes like Germany, by contrast, are classified as less ‘service intense’ as they favour financial transfers to families, thus keeping female labour force participation comparatively low (Esping-Andersen 1990; Sainsbury 1996).

This rationale is also linked to the quality of service provision and employment structures. Welfare regimes with a large public social service sector that aims at providing high-quality services for all citizens tend to rely on a skilled and professional workforce and standard employment. This approach, exemplified by France, serves as a contrast to Germany where, in line with the subsidiarity principle, the state delegates a considerable share of social tasks to the non-profit sector. In combination with the male breadwinner model this has favoured the provision of social services by the family and third sector organisations (including church-run institutions), allowing deviations from standard employment with respect to wages and interest representation. In France, the state provides comprehensive childcare and elementary education with all-day schooling that supports mothers’ labour force participation on a full-time basis (Bahle 2007). Professionalism in the provision of care is more advanced, fostering the development of professional careers in the field, too.

The qualification structures correspond with the designated status and organisation of social services in the respective country. Employment in childcare and pre-primary education in Germany is based on three-year, school-based vocational training and jobs are categorised as semi-professional. The formation is not universally regulated, as responsibilities for educational policies lie with the federal states so that admission regulations as well as training curricula vary by region. As the quality of service provision and career progression routes have become a subject of debate – not least with the introduction of the European Qualification Framework (EQF) and the national follow-up (Rauschenbach 2013) – academisation in the field has been taken up. Today about 60 degree programmes are available, most of them to be followed alongside full-time employment and offered at universities of applied sciences (Dudek et.al. 2013). Qualification and job entry routes have become more diversified to meet the pressing staffing needs. Nevertheless, in the near future the majority of childcare workers and pre-primary carers will continue to be trained under the school-based vocational system as it is expected that only a share of 10 to 15 per cent of the new recruits will be university graduates, primarily serving as heads of childcare institutions and in public management of social services.

Whilst childcare workers in a ‘crèche’ follow a three-year school-based VET route as in Germany, the training of kindergarten teachers in France is the same as for primary school teachers and consists, since 2010, of an academic formation of five years leading to a master’s degree (Friedrich 2013). This places pre-primary education at the same level as primary education, which has a direct impact in terms of equal status and salary structures. While in France childcare and pre-school



facilities enable and cover full-time female labour force participation, in Germany about 60% of all jobs are part-time, corresponding to the high share of part-time care provision. Social policy and welfare strategies come into play insofar as early child development and education in France fall within the responsibility of the state, whereas in Germany it is regarded primarily as a family responsibility traditionally taken care of by the mother, underpinning the male breadwinner model.

Future challenges for vocational education and training

Reforming the job and employment situation in personal social services and adjusting the respective training and qualification structure are widely discussed in Germany and some adjustments have been made. These adjustments, however, have thus far remained incremental and carry the risk of polarisation of training and jobs for the still dominant female workforce. The historical legacy of semi-professionalism seems difficult to alter as it is not just rooted in qualification structures, but also complexly interlinks with social policy regulations and taxation.

In France, the central state responsibility for the provision of full-day childcare to support dual earner couples has fostered professionalisation in the respective occupations (Friedrich 2013). Whilst this does not necessarily induce a degendering process with regard to the horizontal segregation of vocational qualifications, it facilitates higher levels of gender equality in terms of vertical mobility and professional status for workers in personal social services and also across the labour market. In Germany, attempts to meet the growing demand for care provision due to the belated female labour market integration are currently made by a (moderate) quantitative expansion of services and the diversification of job entry routes. In contrast, endeavours to achieve higher-quality child and elderly care are counteracted by an emerging new demarcation between low-skill and tertiary educational tracks, namely the introduction of qualification routes for lower qualified and more poorly remunerated staff on the one hand (the new 'social assistant'), and academisation on the other.

The growing overall demand of social services presents a challenge for the German labour market and qualification system as social services fall among the sectors for which significant staff shortages are projected (Helmrich/Zika 2010, 46-48). Accounting for the specific historical and institutional legacy of subsidiarity and federalism, it can be assumed that professionalisation and meeting the demands in the field is highly conditional. The re-enforcement of the state as a model employer is needed to support enhanced qualification standards and employment conditions, guiding other welfare associations and private service providers. This also implies employing higher qualified personnel to enhance the quality of service provision rather than concentrating solely on better infrastructure. Finally, the central government and the federal states are called upon to agree on higher, more consistent qualification standards across Germany and on the overall expansion of training capacities.

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The vocational education training system in changing working organization processes –a market analyses in the case of integration of dropped-out university students to the vocational education training market in Germany

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Abstract: Special for the, meritocratically organised, vocational education training market in Germany is, that it switches the understanding of supply and demand in contrast to the labour market (cf. Ulrich 2005). While on the labour market, the suppliers are the employees and the demanders are the companies, on the vocational education training market it is the other way around: The companies are the suppliers and the future trainees are the demanders. In a theoretical-conceptual way we argue, that in the segment for higher qualified vocational education the market for training positions has become more close to the rationalities of the labour market. This is related to changes in the working-process-organization that are therefore price-changes the suppliers have to realize for their good. Demanders, hence training seekers, have to correlate the price they are able to offer with the suppliers price expectations.

Keywords: Please enter a maximum of four comma-separated keywords

Introduction

Regarding a time series for development of the amount of vocational education jobs in relation to the educational background a turnover can be discovered: those vocational education training positions which traditionally targeted young people with a lower secondary school degree nowadays are taken by young people with an intermediate secondary school degree. Especially jobs for skilled employees are mainly occupied by those people that have graduated from intermediate secondary school (cf. Baethge et.al. 2003, 143). At the same time, the situation for unskilled-employees is getting worse. 14,1 % of the young people between 20 and 29 years do not have successfully participated in vocational education trainings. At the same time there are less fields of activities in companies in which unskilled people can be employed. Furthermore, human resource development is neither foreseen nor provided for unskilled employees (cf. Baethge/Baethge-Kinsky 1998, 462).



Background for this are changes in the working-processes-organization (ibid.) Risk for unemployment of unskilled-people then, is three times higher as for skilled-people (cf. BIBB Report 2012).

From an analytical perspective, the educational background can be identified as a new pattern of segmentation in the framework of a changing market for vocational education training (cf. Baethge 2011). The educational background is decisive for the access to the vocational education training (cf. ibid.) From an educational policy perspective as well as from an economic perspective, which concerns the needs of the companies, the question for mobilization of these unskilled people arises. Motives for their mobilization from the society's point of view are participation in the society as a whole and the development of the individual on the one hand. On the other hand we can define from the companies' perspective, the main drivers as economic motives. From this perspective, pedagogical solutions like, for example, new or other qualification modes especially for young people who might belong to a "risk-group" are not necessarily required.

Hence, the argumentation in this paper is the following: First, the historic-reconstructive analyses of the changes on the vocational education training market is described. Then second, market-analysis as an instrument for the vocational education training market is introduced and described. Third, the case of vocational education training programs for dropped-out former students is described and finally, the results from market analyses and historical analyses and the impacts and implications for the market concerning the development of new demanders who enter the market are identified.

Historic-reconstructive analyses of the changes on the vocational education training market

During the 1990s the management level delegated classical parts of their own tasks to the employees. Baethge/Baethge-Kinsky (1998) describe the new working organization along dynamic capacity profiles, multi-functional units in the companies (decentralisation), a customer- and process oriented division of work; cross-functional units, de-hierarchization of status; flexibilization of working time (cf. ibid.). Those changings lead to an increasing necessity of people who (already) have those competences and capabilities that are needed in this new organization for example from their former educational background.

To get a deeper understanding of the changings on the market we point out that the educational background can be regarded as segmentation pattern. Based on the educational background, Baethge (2011) describes four job segmentation categories: an upper job segment, an upper-middle job segment, a lower-middle job segment and a low job segment. (cf. Baethge 2011). Depending on the new working-process-organization there is an economic need to qualify for that new organization – or there is a need to find people who fit in there from the beginning.

Market analyses

Generally, markets are the place where goods are traded in our case these goods are positions in a vocational education training program. The amount and the price of



a good play an important role on markets. In our case, the amount of goods here refers to the amount of vocational education positions. The price therefore refers to the respective education certificate or, in a sense of Bourdieu, the cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu 2004). On a market – in our case the vocational education training market there is demand and supply. The suppliers on the vocational education training market – and this differs from the employment market (cf. Ulrich 2006) are the companies and the demanders are the young people who want to get a position. Companies as suppliers want to sell the good they offer for a special price. So, the young people have to valorise their cultural capital, thus their educational certificates. They can pay with that cultural capital to get a good on the market, hence a vocational education training position. Changes in the working-process-organization are therefore price-chances the suppliers have to realize for their good. This is to say that changing requirements to obtain a position in vocational education by those offering them have consequences for those seeking these positions. Demanders, hence training seekers have to correlate the price they are able to offer, hence their cultural capital, with the suppliers price expectations. From a pure market perspective, achieving a position in a vocational education training is tied to the market segmentation along the lines of the educational background. This means that chances for participation for demanders who can offer a high price through their cultural capital increase while chances for those young people who can only offer low prices decrease.

The case: vocational education training programs for dropped-out former students

How can – from an economic perspective - higher-qualified people be mobilized to offer their working power and become demanders at the vocational education training market? An actual case that can be identified is, that people who dropped-out of their academic studies are integrated in vocational-education programs. Those former students can shorten their vocational education training by valorisation of credit points they gained during their former studies. Educational policy has then reacted to the economic needs and rationalities and installed incentive systems to change the demander's structure. Integration of dropped-out-students can be described as such an incentive system. To close the gap in the upper job segment, there are programs all over the federal republic now that offer an easy entrance for former students to the vocational education training market by a so called "accurate-fitting placement" (cf. BBB 2013). The incentive system, is to shorten the time for the vocational education training from 36 months to at least 18 months if the dropped-out former students gained 20 credit points during their academic studies (cf. 7).

Methodology

This paper gives insight in the theoretical conceptualization of the historical view on vocational education training. Targetting the changes in the working-process-organisation as a gap vocational education training should fill, the paper focusses three topics in a systematic theoretical way. To debate, among the systematic

⁷ http://www.aachen.de/de/wirtschaft_technologie/service/arbeitsmarkt/switch/studienabbrecher/
<http://www.ihk-berlin.de/yourturn/>
http://www.duesseldorf.ihk.de/servicemarken/presse/aktuell/2484370/Presse_2013_0716news_069.html



theoretical way of historical changes and market analyses, it is worked out, how current reforms stress the topical needs and challenges of VET with regard to relevance for society as a whole and currency for vocational education training.

Results

Through market analysis we detected, that opening the vocational training market – in our case for former university students – did not affect the vocational education training system as a whole yet. Former students offer their working power and their cultural capital which the companies demand. Therefore, for example the curricula do not change and there is a waiver of time while the elements of the educational and the vocational education training stay the same. The companies then take the existing cultural capital and incorporate those via market-organisation to the vocational education market system. While the part of the vocational education market which refer to of the upper job segments is now organized by market-principles, the meritocratic structure of the other part of the vocational education system stays the same. The supply of positions in vocational education training programs for high qualified people in our case is covered by the demand. We there discover a solution that is market-organized and solves economic problems by covering supply with demand then. From an economic rationality point of view, one can outline elements that are taken off the market. The question is in how far this calls for socio-political tasks. The gap between high-qualified and low-qualified people can be approached from two different angles: First, one has to consider the economic dimension concerning the operation tasks and second, one has to consider the socio-political consequences and in how far this scenarios enables or disables participation in the employment market beyond vocational education training market. The question for the education system still remains: What happens to the people that can valorise less cultural capital then? For the society as a whole, solving the problem in a market-oriented way might lead to increasing inequalities.

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The changing form of governance: Through the magnifying glass of VET

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Abstract: The paper explores the Europeanisation of the governance of vocational education and training (VET). Drawing on conceptual suggestions made by Kathleen Thelen and Marius R. Busemeyer it outlines the change along four dimensions: The determination of content and degree of standardisation, the mode of provision, the control of content and quality, and the right to certify skills. Privileging a sociological perspective, the paper argues that the changes need to be seen in the broader context of a profound change of the economy and the transnationalisation of society that goes with. Accordingly, it studies the transformation of VET governance in relation to the Europeanisation of higher education (HE) and the regulation of professions. On a more conceptual level, the study points out the limits of a comparative perspective to grasp the changes. However, it also highlights the shortcomings of the studies which essentially substitute a methodological globalism for a methodological nationalism informing comparative studies. Both accounts fail to grasp the multiscalarity of the emerging mode of governance in VET.

Keywords: vocational education and training, higher education, regulated profession, European Union

Introduction

In this paper I will argue that we need to see the changes in the governance of vocational education and training (VET) in the broader context of capitalism and the re-organisation of the economy. In a recent study of the reform of capitalism Wolfgang Streeck refers to the change as a form of disorganisation (Streeck, 2009). Inspired by Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto he describes how capitalism cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, sweeping away all "fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions (...) all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify" (Marx and Engels, 1969: 16). In many respects Joseph Schumpeter describes a similar tendency when he refers to the creative destruction of capitalism in his theory of economic innovation and business cycle, although drawing very different conclusions. A historical materialist perspective points out the role of profit-maximisation and the decline in profit rates in the dissolution of feudal groups, religions, and, in the long run, national identities, paving the way for a world market.

Towards a Williamsonian mode of governance



Streeck's neo-institutionalist study points out changes in the political economy. At the core is a disorganisation which, however, does not imply an abolishment of institutions tout court, Streeck argues. He underlines the fact that capitalism still requires institutions for mediating between conflicting interests, not at least with a view to ensuring the re-production of this crisis-prone mode of production. The disorganisation is rather characterised by a general decline in centralized control and organised regulation closely related to an increase in competition (Streeck, 2009: 26). Streeck describes the change as a move from organisation to coordination or, as he also puts it, from a « Durkheimian type » of institutions to a « Williamsionian type » (ibid. 157). The new type is characterised by decentralisation, fragmentation, diversification and privatisation, « shaped by individual choice and local conditions instead of public-political design representing collective values and objectives. » (157). Accordingly, these emerging institutions lend themselves to being conceptualised in terms of Oliver Williamson's transaction cost economics with an emphasis on rational choice, contracts and the boundaries of firms, Streeck argues.

His study identifies five key institutions which undergo a major transformation undermining the neo-corporatist amendments to the post-war settlements established in the 1960s and 1970s (ibid. 9): First, a weakening of collective articulations of interests, secondly a retrenchment of social policy and its underlying "decommodification" (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 3), thirdly, a change of the fiscal policy of the state, fourthly a transformation of corporate governance, and fifthly a weakening of the networks between firms (Streeck, 2009: 22).

In the light of the insertion of the market and competition in the provision and regulation of social policy Streeck also refers to the transformation as a « privatization of state functions » (ibid. 157). But even where the states continues to fund and provide public services major changes have been introduced by reframing of the purpose. The decommodification, described by Gøsta Esping-Andersen as a core rationale of social policy, is no longer justified by the aim to strengthen of the workers' position by way of weakening the absolute authority of the employers (Esping-Andersen, 1998 : 175-175). Social policy is rather promoted in the name of an active labour market policy as a way of quickly re-integrating unemployed people into the labour market.

The reconfiguration of VET

The re-orientation of social policy notably in the context of active labour market policy has major implications for the interplay between the production regime, types of skills, and social protection examined by Margarita Estevez-Abe, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice (Estevez-Abe et al., 2001). It brings the importance of further education to the fore, which has hardly been taken into account by scholars of comparative studies of capitalism (for an exception see Thelen, 2014: 97, 105). These scholars focus rather on initial vocational education and training (IVET), which they consider as one of the five key five areas for determining a country's competitiveness (Hall and Soskice, 2001: 7, 221).

As described by Streeck in more general terms, the change in VET is not so much characterised by a simply weakening of its organisation per se but rather by a change in governance. Kathleen Thelen and Marius R. Busemeyer study the change



along four dimensions: The determination of content and degree of standardisation, the mode of provision, the control of content and quality, and last but not least the right to certify skills (Thelen and Busemeyer, 2012, see also, Thelen, 2004). Each of these dimensions is currently undergoing major changes, as numerous other studies point out as well. Skills have become increasingly differentiated and more closely aligned to the internal needs of large companies engaged in training. By describing this change as segmentalism Thelen and Busemeyer refrain from understanding the change as a simple transformation of “coordinated market economy” into “liberal market economy”, to use the typology developed by Peter Hall and David Soskice (Hall, 2007: 1-68). They rather point out a parallel to Japan, and thus another coordinated market economy, which, however, differs in many aspects from the coordinated market economies of continental Europe with a dual VET system.

The Japanese training system established after World War II is characterised by strong segmentalism which was developed in direct response to the needs of the firms (Sako, 1995). As a consequence, it favours a more narrow notion of skills which contrasts with the holistic principle of (regulated) occupation (Berufsprinzip) established in other organised market economies (Thelen, 2004 : 172-3). The testing and certifying systems introduced in Japan through the Vocational Training Law in 1958 merely increased the transparency with a view to enhancing the portability of qualifications but maintained the narrow notion of skills.

Along these lines, we can expect the transformation in the governance of VET being characterised by a narrowing down of the notion of skills accompanied by a deepening of the segmentation between different qualifications. A case in point is the re-introduction of shorter two-year apprenticeships in Germany in 2003 after this type of qualification had almost ceased to exist, not at least due to major opposition of trade unions.⁸ Furthermore, the Williamsonian move is related to modularisation of the VET content. A number of studies outline how the change undermines the holistic principle of occupation (Berufsprinzip) and strengthen the influence of big firms on the content of VET (Thelen and Busemeyer, 2012: 87, Baethge, 1999). Furthermore, the transformation implies changes in certification accompanied by increasing demands for decentralisation and new modes of quality assurance.

The elephant in the room

However, the studies of the transformation of VET fail to grasp the major internationalisation underpinning these changes. First, the large firms to which the notion of segmentation refers have fundamentally changed. The majority have become multinational companies whose number has multiplied 20 times since 1990 up to 63.000 today. They directly employ 90 million people and their production accounts for 25 per cent of the world's gross product (Gabel and Bruner, 2003). Furthermore, the labour market has become increasingly internationalised. In reaction, a recent OECD study calls upon governments to develop a global perspective in their skills policies (OECD, 2012: 51). Thirdly, the organisation of vocational training is no longer restricted to national public institutions but has come part of the European integration.

⁸ The number of apprentices in this type of training (Werker- and Anlernberufe) had fallen from 14.4% of all apprenticeship in 1980 to 2.7 in 1995 (see Stooß, 1997).



The analysis of these changes requires a new analytical framework which VET studies have failed so far to develop due a strong methodological nationalism (Winterton, 2006, Shaw, 1999, Grollmann and Ruth, 2006, Powell and Trampusch, Cort, 2010). However, we should also refrain from simply substituting this perspective by a methodological globalism according to which all policies are now established at postnational level and national VET policy is simply their implementation. Both accounts still consider the nation state and the EU as two different analytical entities and thus ignore the emerging multiscalarity of VET governance.

Outline of the paper

In the first part of the paper I will develop an analytical framework based on existing typologies of VET with a view to introducing a more abstract notion of VET governance. The suggested framework will focus on four dimensions. First, the determination of content, the degree of standardisation and the mode of representing the content, secondly, the mode of VET provision with its specific public-private mix, thirdly the control of quality, and last but not least the right to certify skills. I will examine the shift in scale in each of these four dimensions over time. This perspective makes it possible to develop a diachronic and synchronic account of the changes. In this regard I draw on Streeck who underlines in his criticism of the ahistorical quantitative methodology of comparative studies that “only in a panoramic view can one truly recognize the details” (17). However, my analysis does not share the methodological nationalism informing his analysis. I will rather explore the extent to which the move towards a Williamsionian type of institutions underpins an internationalisation paving the way for a European “social market economy”, which has indeed become a major reference for the EU since the Lisbon Treaty.

The paper will not be restricted to the development of a more generic typology of VET governance. It also intends to shed light on some of the enabling conditions for the changes in this field. At the centre of this second endeavour is a paradox which comes to the fore when contrasting the Europeanisation of VET with the Europeanisation of higher education (HE).

The paradox of VET

With the Bologna Process, the European countries have taken a remarkable step towards a European Area of Higher Education in the last 15 years (Hartmann, 2011: 123-132). The effectiveness of harmonisation stands in stark contrast to the limited legal competences that the EU member states have assigned to the EU. The opposite characterises the sphere of VET where the European Economic Community had already been authorised by the Treaty of Rome to lay down general principles for a common policy (Art. 128 EEC, now Art. 166 TFEU). However, this authorisation did not translate into any activities of the Community before the 1960s and even then the endeavour to establish European principles was confronted with major difficulties. I will show how it needed the Bologna Process to strengthen a European integration also in the sphere of VET. A case in point is the Credit Point System for VET (ECVET). Hence, the smaller the deference of competence to the EU, the more likely seems to be the success in establishing European standards. The study of this paradox will also draw on insights gained by a study of the Europeanisation of the



regulated professions. The integration in this field also draws heavily on European standards developed in the sphere of HE not at least in reaction to similar difficulties in developing European standards. This broader context sheds light on the role of academisation as a major trigger of internationalisation.

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The integration of the female-dominated education and training systems for health and social care into a common collective skills system in Norway. Historical background and results.

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Abstract: Related to the strongly gender segregated labour marked in Norway, distinct VET traditions historically evolved in both male and female dominated fields of work. One of these, the tradition of social and health care education, has its origins on the one side in home economics and on the other in the nursing tradition. Historically a separate system of school-based educations developed in this field. Through comprehensive reforms in the system of upper secondary education of Norway from the 1960s and onwards, educations for health and social care were integrated into the national system being constructed. During the first reform wave, they were integrated as part of a common, school-based VET system parallel to general education. During a second wave, they were transformed into apprentice-based systems, although having no traditions for this. Today they represent trades that, at least quantitatively, form an important part of the national VET system, while still being quite different from the traditional artisan and industrial crafts. The paper investigates what has historically characterised these female-dominated parts of Norwegian VET, how they came to connect to what is today a unified VET-system, and to what extent and in what way they might still be seen as differing from the rest of the system.

Keywords: National VET system, New VET sectors, Female dominated work

Introduction

Related to the strongly gender segregated labour marked in Norway, distinct VET traditions historically evolved in both male and female dominated fields of work. The educational program for social and health care has its origins on the one side in home economics and on the other in the nursing tradition. Through comprehensive reforms in the system of upper secondary education of Norway from the 1960s and onwards, education for health and social care were modernized and integrated into the national VET system being constructed.

The integration of the education for health and social care represents a large extension of the apprenticeship-based VET system in Norway. The program attracts about 25 percent of all females attending upper secondary every year. Only general



education has more students. On top of this, health and social care is the most popular, vocational adult education.

The paper investigates the integration of these two traditions of school-based education into a common upper secondary school through the first reform wave during the 1970s, and further on as transformed, apprenticeship-based programs through a second reform wave in the 1990s. Through discussing what has historically characterised these female-dominated parts of Norwegian VET, and how they came to connect to what is today a unified VET-system, the paper aims at increasing the understanding of the Norwegian VET-system, and how it has been shaped through reforms and struggles.

The first part of the paper discusses the development that led to the Reform 74, where a common upper secondary school was established for both general and vocational programs. The next part covers the period from the late 1970s to the Reform 94 and its apprenticeship reform. The third part discusses how the health and social care education developed as an integrated part of the comprehensive VET system. The fourth and last part analyses what has been the consequences of this integration both for health and social care education and for the VET system as a whole.

Methodology

The paper is based on a dissertation analysing the historical development of the auxiliary nurse education from the founding in 1963 till it was closed down in 2006 (Høst 2006). It is also based on a number of more limited studies into the education for health and social care, studies and literature on the development of the Norwegian education system more generally, and the VET system specifically in the period from the 1960s and onwards. The methods applied are mixed. Most of the studies are mainly qualitative, based on interviews and document analyses, but also quantitative data, like time series on the number of applicants, students, apprentices and employees in this field have been applied. The paper is part of the Norwegian contribution to a project, comparing the historical development of the VET systems in the different Nordic countries (Michelsen et al. 2014).

The integration in a common upper secondary school from 1974

VET is often associated with the traditional crafts in the artisanal and industrial sectors. In Norway, an apprentice-based training was to become part of the main model for vocational education as late as in 1994. Before that, only a limited part of the labour market had these traditions, while large employment areas such as sales and office work, seamanship, farming, home economics, and social and health care work had developed different VET models, often remaining school-based (Grove og Michelsen 2005). Being school-based does not necessarily imply that they were not practical, but they were based in school, publicly financed, while the role of the enterprises was limited to recruit the certified candidates, sometimes also offering a place for unpaid practical training for students.

Besides office and sales work education, schools for domestic science held a dominating position among females almost up to the 1970s not entering upper



secondary general education. At that time the new auxiliary nurse education, and the parallel education in childcare, were gradually taking over as a more popular choice. During this period, by some called organized modernity (Wagner 1994), in Norway as well labelled the social democratic era, we see a broad development of the welfare state services, while at the same time the house wife-society is on retreat. The females entered the labour market and paid work in large scale, quite often into positions undertaking much the same tasks as they previously had been doing unpaid inside the family, like caring for children, elderly or ill persons.

While the general education had developed into a rather homogenous type of school, the Norwegian VET education in this period seemed rather fragmented and unstandardized. The different school types were administered by different ministries, had different admission requirements, and it was difficult to obtain recognition for previous education if you moved from one school to another. A standardization and rationalization of the structure was seen as a necessary means also to develop a system of equal opportunities. General education, perceived as more homogeneous and standardized than vocational education, was preferred as the foundation for a common upper secondary education system (Lindbekk 1992, Telhaug 1997). The vocational education was to be integrated into a common school as courses consisting of both vocational and general subjects. The main strategy was to lift the working class through the educational privileges of the middle class, instead of recognizing the VET as an equal part in a parallel educational hierarchy. In this way the Norwegian system was to be closer to the Swedish Gymnasium than to the Danish segregated model with its autonomous VET system controlled by the social partners on behalf of the working life. However, in their content the different school types did not come any closer, and although this period in Norway usually is called the period of standardization (Slagstad 1998), it is still pluralism that characterizes the Norwegian system of upper secondary education. The apprenticeship system was kept out of the process of integration, perceived as an inferior part.

Through this period of constructing a system of common upper secondary education, the domestic science and the auxiliary nurse education formed the basis of two different study programs, the one for house economics and the one for social and health care. The programs were the only vocational programs where the students could choose between going for a vocational certificate and adding general subjects to obtain the right to enter higher education. This could be understood as a result of the education being rather general, attracting large parts of the female population, and directed towards broad parts of the labour market. A proposal of connecting these programs to the professional education in the same fields, which was now placed in university colleges, was rejected by the Parliament after heavy protests by the professions. They did not recognize the vocational education in upper secondary to have anything in common with their professional education.

Reforming «unmodern» educational programs

Both the home economics and the social and health care programs, was to become targets of heavy criticism in the years to come. The first one was criticized for being too much directed towards the home and too little towards the labour market (Klemp et al. 1980). The program for social and health care, and in particular the dominating education for auxiliary nurse, which in the 1960s was seen as a modernization, was



in the educational discourse of the 1980s seen as most problematic. This must be understood in the context of the 1970s and 80s policies of gender equality. The Norwegian labour market had evolved into one of the most gender segregated in Europe. Apprenticeship regulations and certificates have historically, with a few notable exceptions, been reserved for male jobs. The feminist movement interpreted this situation as a segregation of certification possibilities, and concluded that this could explain the lower status and conditions of female dominated occupations as assistant positions and part-time work (Michelsen and Høst 2001). Hence, increased female participation in vocational apprenticeship programs and in the skilled trades has primarily been seen as a question of equal rights and access to the apprenticeship system.

A configuration of different actors like politicians working for gender equality, trade unionists in the organisation for the unskilled municipal workers, and representatives for the apprentice based VET system together managed to neutralize the quite strong interest organization for the auxiliary nurses, who wanted to defend their popular school-based education. Under the program for health and social care, two broad trades for the care and nursing sector and the kindergartens were introduced through the Reform 94. The auxiliary nurse education, together with some other smaller programs coexisted as school-based alternatives with the apprenticeship-based programs during the first years after the reform. A quite surprising merging between the auxiliary nurse organisation and the interest organisation for the municipal workers, facilitated a closing down of the school-based education. The apprenticeship-based program was now the only option.

No success for the new trades

Even if the number of students in the program for health and social care have stabilized at around 25 percent of the female cohort, the new trades can hardly be characterized as a success. The Reform 94-model for vocational education is two years of schooling followed by two years of apprenticeship. In the program for health and social care, however, this has never established as a main pattern among the students. Only a minority apply for apprenticeships. The majority instead chooses to use their option to switch to general education the third year of the program. In many ways, this may be seen as a reproduction of earlier patterns, and as a result of this program historically also being quite close to the general education.

A large survey among students in this program shows that the students not in particular identify with the trades at this level and the apprenticeship training (Høst et al 2012a). During the education a majority of the students develop ambitions to obtain education and positions as professional nurses, social workers and kindergarten teachers. New political initiatives to establish vertical connections between the trades, like the care worker, and the higher educations in the same field of work, however, have so far been rejected and delayed by the professions themselves. They only accept students with general education.

In the field of work the new trades - the health care worker and child and youth worker - still have an assistant position, just like the traditional categories they were supposed to replace (Høst 2001, Homme og Høst 2008). The professions with higher education are not willing to offer the skilled workers in these fields of work any



space for developing autonomous positions like skilled workers of the artisan and industrial sector.

The trades do not seem very attractive to the students. The rather few attending apprenticeship in these trades are to a little extent offered full time employment after having been certified as skilled workers. Being offered fixed positions on full time is the main pattern after being certified in the private sector trades, at least the traditional ones in the artisan and industrial sectors (Høst et al 2012b). Instead the health care workers are offered small part-time positions while waiting for years to obtain seniority and possibilities for full-time work. While the professional nurses to a large extent can get full time, employees in the lower segment of the work force, as a main rule are working part-time.

The apprenticeship system in the municipal sector is both perceived and practised in a completely different way than in the private sector (Høst et al 2014). Employment structures in the municipal nursing and care sector differ from those of traditional areas of apprenticeships, with a large presence of part-time and temporary employment. Apprenticeship programs in the care and nursing sector do not seem to have replaced older education practices, but instead seem to have contributed to a process of layering. Standards of good training in the care sector, with ideals of academic (in-school) training and instruction, differ greatly from the norm found in the private sector, where training typically takes place through participation in the work process. The central administration in the municipalities recruit apprentices and pay their wages, where after they are placed in different, local services offer them training, just as they have always done with students in school-based education. The municipal services seem to have little incentive to recruit apprentices if they have to pay them from their own budget. As apprentices are paid by the municipality administration, but work in a local service institution, there is no link at all between wages and productivity.

Norwegian VET: still a mixed system?

Education for health and social care has gone through several stages of rationalization, to become part of a unified upper secondary education system. The school-based education has during the past 20 years been replaced by an apprenticeship-based education and training. However, as this study shows, a lot of the characteristics of these programs remain more or less the same. The programs are still female dominated. Apprenticeship is practiced in a very different way than in traditional apprenticeship, with the employers in a passive role, and receiving full public funding. The education still leads to assistant positions with part-time work. In other words: the new trades do not resemble the traditional trades of the artisan and industrial sectors. The majority of the students of the health and social care program avoids apprenticeships, and choose to switch to general education.

In the 1980s, the Norwegian system of vocational education and training was characterised by considerable heterogeneity, described as a mixed system (Allmendinger 1989). The Reform 94 introduced a new structure of upper secondary integrating the traditional apprenticeship system. In this way, Norwegian upper secondary has been presented as building upon a unitary collective skills system. However, there are reasons to question if this is a fair description of the Norwegian



system. As this study implies, the trades in the public sector, of which most of the apprenticeships are found in the trades in the health and social care, represents almost 30 percent of the apprenticeship system. The integration of these trades into the apprentice based VET system, have certainly contributed to a large extension quantitatively. However, one might pose the question if the changes mainly have been an integration of rather heterogeneous traditions, that persist, and that Norway in this way can be said still to have a mixed system of VET, with the school tradition still fully alive inside it.

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The socio-historical genesis of the dual organisational form of vocational education and training in Switzerland

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Abstract: This paper reconstructs the socio-historic conditions that were necessary for the emergence of the distinctively corporatist foundation of the Swiss IVET system. By drawing upon Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) concept of orders of justification, we ask what underlying educational principles and cantonal compromises triggered IVET to be established in a dual-track form. Methodologically the analysis is based on two cantonal case studies (Lucerne and Geneva). Drawing on historic sources, we analyse the debates in which an adequate concept of IVET was negotiated and in which the legitimate orders of justification unfolded. The results show that the dual-track model of IVET turned out as a viable and enforceable compromise to integrate and stabilise different educational-political interests of the cantons (IVET as a means of education and social balance vs. IVET as a means of promoting trade).

Keywords: Initial vocational education and training, dual-track organisation, historical justification, Switzerland

Introduction

The educational opportunities on offer after compulsory education in Switzerland are marked by a strong orientation towards vocational and professional qualifications. To date three of four diplomas that are acquired on the upper secondary level are vocational certificates. Apprenticeships that integrate learning on the job and at vocational schools (dual system) constitute most of the training programs. The corporatist organisation of initial vocational education and training (IVET), which is well-known for aligning itself according to the requirements of the economy, guarantees graduated apprentices a rather good access to the Swiss labour market.

A look back at the origins of the Swiss educational system shows that the dual organisation of IVET was by no means taken for granted the way it is today. Instead a federal process of institutionalisation of vocational and professional education that lasted several decades was necessary for the dual system to prevail. It is therefore interesting to ask how IVET was able to establish itself in Switzerland in the form of the dual system. What justifications did stakeholders mobilize to vote for dual-track organization of IVET in the late 19th / early 20st century? This paper reconstructs the

socio-historic conditions that were necessary for the emergence of the distinctively corporatist foundation of the Swiss IVET system.

The fundament of IVET organisations: Plural social orders

In order to conceptualise the central justifications stakeholders have mobilized to push a dual-track organisation of IVET, we draw upon Boltanski and Thévenots (2006) concept of orders of worth. This approach enables to distinguish central social orders of coordination and legitimacy of both work and educational organisations. Protagonists of the educational system direct their actions through these principles, and the latter provide a basis as to how to evaluate educational offers, actors and processes. Boltanski and Thévenot originally found six ideal typical orders of justification or polities: the inspired, domestic, civic, market, industrial order, and the order of fame (Jagd 2011). Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) have proposed a seventh order of project-like networking to account for more recent, flexible forms of how work can be organised. Real work organisations – big or small companies, private or public ones – represent different compromises of such orders of justification and coordination (e.g. the domestic principle of coordination is supposed to be stronger and the industrial principle weaker in smaller compared to larger companies). We transfer the concept of order of worth to IVET organisations to analyse their principles of coordination, which can simultaneously be understood as (political) principles of education in the VET-sector. Table 1 gives an overview on the seven IVET principles and the respective educational outcomes and competences.

Table 2: Orders of worth in educational organisations and respective competence

Order of	Educational principle	Educational outcome / competence
Market	Market demand, price	Affordable skills on demand
Industrial	Efficiency, utility	Know how (<i>savoir faire</i>)
Domestic	Community	Respect, trust, loyalty (<i>savoir être</i>)
Civic	Equality	Knowledge (<i>savoir</i>), equal opportunities
Inspiration	Inspiration	Vocation, intrinsic motivation, passion.
Opinion	Renown	Reputation, visibility, popularity
Project	Project-like networking	Flexibility, openness, communication skills

Referring to this conceptual framework, we ask what underlying educational principles and cantonal compromises triggered IVET to be established in a dual-track form.

Methodology

Methodologically our analysis is based on two exemplary historical case studies – comparing two most different cantons: Lucerne (LU) and Geneva (GE) – to examine the educational-political principles and corresponding arguments which were mobilised to justify the institutionalisation of IVET in Switzerland at the turn of the



20th century. The two cantons differ in terms of their degree of industrialization and urbanisation at the end of the 19th century (more advanced in GE compared to the more agricultural and rural economy of LU) as well as in their past and current emphasis on dual-track IVET (stronger in LU) in contrast to school-based IVET and general education (stronger in GE).

In order to examine the conflicts that arose in connection with the institutionalisation of IVET in both cantons and the compromises that were made during early cantonal and national educational reforms, we draw upon historic sources (ordinances, legislations, motions, circulars, protocols, reports). Our analyses are based on a collection of historical texts stemming from the field in question that document the discursive practice of the educational reforms of that time. These sources illustrate the public debates, where just conceptions of vocational training have been negotiated, and the different stakeholders that were involved in the educational reforms and subjected to the necessity of justifying their claims. The debates provide situations of tension and conflict in which an adequate concept of IVET was negotiated and in which the legitimate orders of justification came to bear in the face of heterogeneous protagonists.

Results

Our results show that the model of dual-track IVET was promoted by different compromises in the two examined cantons.

The case of Geneva

In Geneva, where the commitment of crafts & industries in VET was relatively low in contrast to the commitment of employees' associations and unions, the leading political left, initially supported the proposition of full-time vocational education made by the report 'La question des apprentis' (1891) in order to protect learners out of socially integrative reasons. It was argued that (public) school-based VET would guarantee systematic and effective education and training as well as independence from the industries. However, these civic and industrial justifications were criticised from a market perspective: School-based VET has its price that poorer families, a target group of the reforms, were unable to pay for. Apprenticeship training in turn was therefore attractive for public stakeholders because it was less expensive, but it was associated with a lack of commitment on the employers' side (civic criticism of the market principle of education). The cantonal government therefore opted for a state-regulated model of company-based training, which was more in favour of adolescents with a poor working-class background and accommodated the economic conditions of small and middle-sized businesses. Hence, in the case of Geneva state regulated and controlled apprenticeship, supplemented by part-time vocational schools (écoles d'apprentissage) represents a compromise of civic and industrial principles of education, as it enabled both the professional qualification of the lower class to prevent „proletarianisation“ and social conflict (civic principle) and consistency with professional expectations and economic opportunities of small businesses.



The case of Lucerne

In Lucerne on the other hand corporatist protagonists from the fields of trade and artisanry defined the educational reforms from the outset. As local trades and crafts came under pressure of industrialisation, dual-track VET allowed for compromise of multiple educational claims. Crafts and trades as dominant actors fostered a local VET system (domestic principle of education), which should promote the trades and ensure an adequate training quality for the industry. Hence, a motion to regulate training in order to guarantee professional offspring and professional qualification was launched (industrial principle of education). In this case, dual-track VET was considered to guarantee the economic survival of small businesses in the context of increasing industrialisation (market principle of education). Finally, the dual model in Lucerne also made sure that apprentices received appropriate protection from exploitation at the workplace, a concern that had been articulated by Christian unions, as well as civic education (civic principle of education).

Conclusion

As a compromise of plural educational claims, the dual-track model of IVET turned out viable and enforceable on both cantonal and supra-cantonal levels to integrate and sustainably stabilise the various educational-political interests of the cantons (IVET as a means of education and social balance vs. IVET as a means of promoting trade). The organizational form of dual-track VET was indeed convenient to integrate different cantonal dynamics of educational principles. The Federal 1930 Vocational Training Act therefore promoted dual-track VET as the preferable organisational form of IVET and therewith institutionalized the corporatist regime of IVET as described by Verdier (2008), which to this very day regulates the cooperation and coordination between training companies, public vocational schools and courses offered by professional associations to the advantage of multiple and diverse stakeholders.

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Same, but different – emergence of VET in three Nordic Countries

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Abstract: Historically apprenticeship has developed very differently in the Nordic Countries, either as a separate dual system (Denmark), as an integrated part of upper secondary education (Norway) or has almost disappeared (Sweden). This purpose of this paper is to examine the roots of these differences in the period of re-regulation following the deregulation caused by the dissolution of the guilds from the middle of the 19th century. The paper presents the first results of a comparative study of the roots of these differences in the historical transition of VET in three Nordic Countries. A number of earlier studies (Archer 1979; Thelen 2004) have pointed to the significance of the formative transition period after the dissolution of the guilds for the subsequent trajectories of VET, especially the relation between artisans and industrialists and the relation between the labour market partners and the state in establishing new forms of regulation of collective skills formation. Even though the coalitions and institutions formed in this period do not determine subsequent development, they do make some policy options more likely than others (Dobbins & Busemeyer 2014).

Keywords: Nordic Countries, apprenticeship, regulation, vocational schools

Methodology

The current research project (Nord-VET) has amended a comparative approach inspired by B. Lutz (1991). In this approach we try to identify the basic challenges that the different VET systems have been facing despite differences in their institutional architecture, and to study the ways these challenges have been handled by different actors and coalitions around VET. This is done by first developing a matrix which combines specific national research themes with themes of common interest in the three countries. Then we made a preliminary structuring with four main periods in the development of VET around key turning points in history since the dissolution of the guilds (mid 19th century) until today. For each period we formulated a number of key research questions based on existing research to guide the national studies of the emergence of VET in the four Nordic Countries (Finland is also included). The resulting four country reports pointed at a number of similar challenges for VET in the countries involved in each period, but also some particular challenges in each country. The four historical country reports are primarily based on analysis of existing historical studies supplemented with focussed studies of original documents, mainly policy texts, white papers and Government Reports. Where no



other references are made, this paper draws on the three reports from Norway (Michelsen 2014), Sweden (Olofsson & Thunqvist 2014) and Denmark (Bøndergaard 2014).

Results

This paper examines the period of re-regulation of VET following the deregulation caused by the dissolution of the guilds that to varying degree had controlled apprenticeship in the three Nordic Countries before the advent of capitalism. The transition to more liberal market regulation eroded the key institutions that had earlier secured the quality of apprenticeship training: requirements for the skills of the master and trainer, the journeyman's test and the apprentices' contract. Accordingly the further development of VET depended very much on the struggle over the how regulation should be organised and who should regulate vocational schools and the work based learning of young people entering the labour market. In the same period there was a strong expansion of general education, both as to the number of years young people spent in education and the share of youth attending primary and lower secondary school (Telhaug a.o. 2004). In addition to this apprentices access to school based training to supplement learning at work became crucial to preserve the quality of apprenticeship.

On this background we have identified two main common challenges for the future development of apprenticeship after the dissolution of the guilds. The first challenge was to how to reimpose binding regulations to secure the quality of work based training and to secure an adequate number of training placements both in relation to the requirements of young people and the requirements of the labour market. The second challenge was how to provide the theoretical, school based training needed to meet the requirements of modern production in the period of fast industrialisation – and how this school based education should connect with work based learning. In this paper mainly the first challenge will be addressed.

The comparison of the three countries shows that the fate and modernisation of apprenticeship relied on the alliances formed on this issue between the partners on the labour market; both between employers and unions, but also alliances made internally between skilled and unskilled workers organisations and between craft based employers and larger mass producing manufacturers. In addition, the fate of apprenticeship depended on the involvement and support of the state through legislation and through financial support for vocational schools.

Re-regulation in three Nordic Countries

Denmark was the first country to pass a law on apprenticeship in 1889 as a response to concerns formulated by the craft employers for the poor quality of skills (Hansen 1995). The first Apprenticeship Act only took a small step when it reinstated the compulsory apprentice contract. But this step was important for the employers' inclination to invest in the training of the apprentices in the first years of the contract period, with certainty that they could reap the benefit in the last years of the contract. In the period without compulsory contracts many apprentices dropped out before completion to take up work as semiskilled, and the employers tended to exploit apprentices as cheap labour rather than investing in training (Juul 2009). Subsequent



reforms of the apprenticeship act in 1921 and 1937 reimposed in new ways the key measures of quality control from the former guild system: The mandatory journeyman's test controlled by the trade committees, the requirement that the master and trainer should have passed a journeymen test and the introduction of compulsory supplementary school-based training in all occupations (Bøndergaard 2014). In addition the corporatist form of regulation was inscribed in the law of 1937, which gave the bipartite trades committees the legal authority to control the quality of the training companies. In this way apprenticeship was maintained in Denmark through a combination of occupational self-governance, which gave the employers and the craft unions a sense of ownership to VET, and state intervention that imposed binding quality requirements (proposed by the trade committees) on all training companies. The craft sector and industry agreed on this combined form of governance in contrast to Norway and Sweden where the two groups of employers often had diverging positions regarding the regulation of VET (Nilsson 1981; Sandberg & Høst 2009). This situation mirrors the dominance of craft production and the weak position of large manufacturing in Denmark especially in comparison with Sweden (Swenson 1991).

In Norway the employers' Associations for craft and industry formed in 1886 wanted to promote vocational training and education, but turned down the idea of state regulation. In 1920/21 the association rejected a proposition for an act on apprenticeship that would involve public registration and control of apprentice contracts and municipal control of technical evening schools (Michelsen 2014). The Craft Act of 1913 committed artisans to train young people under the age of 18 as apprentices and gave them an obligation to let apprentices attend in vocational schools (Sandberg & Høst 2009). But the law did not cover industry. Generally state regulation was weak until the first law on vocational schools that was implemented in 1945. This law did not cover the apprentices, who partly due to resistance from the crafts, continued to be regulated through the trades and occupations until the passing of the apprentice act in 1948, which only applied to the urban areas (ibid). This means that during the formative transition period after the dissolution of the guilds the regulation of apprenticeship was mainly left to the diverse trades and sectors without any legally sanctioned quality control supported by the state.

In Sweden the dissolution of the guilds in 1846 resulted, as in the other countries, in a decline for traditional crafts and apprenticeship training. Concern for vocational education was raised by the end of the 19th century by the associations for the crafts and the emerging industries. The committee that was appointed documented the low standard of training and required state regulation based on inspiration from central European countries. Subsequently proposals for a law to regulate apprenticeship was presented in 1909 and 1913, but were rejected (Nilsson 1981). After the first World War the craft associations continued to campaign for state regulation of apprenticeship (e.g. to make journeymen's test mandatory), but did not succeed due to resistance from large industry and most of the political parties. New laws on vocational schools were passed in 1918 and 1921 that subsidised vocational youth schools under municipal control. This also included the establishment of full-time workshop schools as an alternative to apprenticeship. The initiative expressed an indirect critique of the quality of apprenticeship training, which was considered to involve exploitation of apprentices' cheap labour and suffer from lack of qualified



supervision (Olofsson & Thunqvist 2014). These laws did not include requirements for vocational schooling of apprentices, and the regulation of apprenticeship was left to the labour market partners. In the interwar period these partners had difficulties reaching agreement on apprenticeship even though they recognised that there was a shortage of apprentices in relation to the needs of industry. Sweden had early developed industrial unions in contrast to the continued division in Denmark between Danish craft and unskilled workers unions. In Denmark the craft unions formed the core of a cross-class alliance that sustained apprenticeship. In Sweden the fear of a downward pressure on the wages of the semi- and unskilled workers from low apprentice wages was prominent in the confederation of trade unions (LO) that pursued levelling of wages across sectors – including wages for apprentices (Swenson 1991). In Denmark wages of apprentices were at a level 3 – 5 times lower than average wages of unskilled workers from WWI until the 1960es (Pedersen 1976). At the same time the uniform and centralised LO in Sweden pursued more egalitarian Socialdemocratic policies in comparison with the Danish LO that was strongly influenced by the large craft unions interests in preserving apprenticeship, which was considered a core value of these unions in relation to the semi- and unskilled unions (Christensen 1978).

Conclusion

The divergent trajectories of apprenticeship in the three Nordic Countries can to some degree be explained by differences in the ways they responded to the common challenges posed by the dissolution of the guild. State regulation was important in Denmark and Norway to reinstate the compulsory training contract and in Denmark also for the obligation of training companies to make apprentices attend vocational schools. While state involvement has been essential for the modernisation of apprenticeship, equally essential was the involvement of the employers and the unions. The training of apprenticeship has historically been a matter regulated by the guilds and the masters themselves separately for each occupation. Employers have generally been sceptical towards state interference in apprenticeship, and this was a key argument in Norway and Denmark for keeping vocational education separate from general education. In Norway this also resulted in the opposition of the employers to legal regulation of apprenticeship as they feared losing control of the system. This was not the case in Denmark where employers supported the Apprenticeship Acts that generalised the regulation agreed on by the labour market partners – and thus extended this regulation to cover all employers. This later came to include the adoption of a general training levy in order to spread the costs of training on all employers.

Vocational schools in Denmark mainly developed as a supplement initiative to improve apprenticeship, first as evening schools and after WWII as full-time schools for block release during apprenticeship in the form of alternating education. The vocational school in Denmark have weak connections to the municipalities and close links to the labour market. In contrast vocational schools in Norway and Sweden developed into an alternative full-time school based vocational pathway with closer links to the overall educational system and the municipalities. In this institutional architecture apprenticeship gradually was marginalised until policymakers much later (Norway 1994 and Sweden 2011) tried to revive apprenticeship in a modern form.



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Industrial relations and VET in Sweden

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to discuss the evolution of industrial relations and VET in Sweden during the past century. A basic institutional feature of the Swedish labour market regime as it took shape in the early twentieth century was the absence of legislation. That characteristic also applied to apprenticeship training. During the mid-century, corporatist relations became prominent, which also was seen in the area of VET. However, the labour market parties failed in attracting enough numbers of young people to enter apprenticeship training, wherefore some big companies initiated their own schools. From the 1970s onwards, coordination and cooperation was replaced by decentralization and flexibility. The role of labour market parties on VET was limited in this phase. Yet, there are some important examples of companies who run their own schools towards the backdrop of a revived political interest in apprenticeship training.

Keywords: Sweden, twentieth century, industrial relations, VET

Introduction

During the twentieth century, the Swedish system of industrial relations underwent substantial changes, corresponding to long waves in the economic development. (Lundh 2010) Three distinct periods may be discerned: the period of collective agreements (1890-1930), the Swedish Model (1930-1975) and the period of decentralization and flexibility (1975 to the present). In this paper we discuss implications for vocational education and training of the changes. This does not imply that we consider industrial relations the only important factor in VET reforms, but rather that we want to bring more attention to an aspect that is often neglected in Swedish historiography. The paper also demonstrates that the regular school system (which is fairly autonomous in relation to the industrial sector) has become increasingly important.

The period of collective agreements

In the decades after 1900, as Sweden entered the Second Industrial Revolution, the labour market parties – trade unions and employers' organizations – acknowledged the existence of each other, but conflicts were frequent. Collective agreements were often concluded on a national basis for whole industries. With the exception of two inquiries based on a sample of collective agreements in 1907/1908 (Kollektivaftal... 1910) and in 1920 (SOU 1924:41) our knowledge of the coverage of apprenticeship regulations in collective agreements is limited. A reasonable assumption is that the relative influence of employers and trade unions over apprenticeship training was related to the parties' access to various power resources and shifted according to the business cycles. Whereas employers typically tried to keep full prerogative over



vocational training, including the employment terms of workers in training, trade unions sought to restrict the number of apprentices in relation to trained workers and impose other measures, such as the maximum extent of the apprenticeship period, to guarantee the quality of vocational training (Bengtsson 2006). However, only in exceptional cases did the agreements contain any specifications on the training that took place in the workplace. The training regulations were normally of a much more general character and could state that 'the employer must ensure that the apprentice obtains as much occupational knowledge and skill as possible' or 'an employer, who accepts an apprentice, must give him a complete training in the occupation' (SOU 1924:41, quotes from p. 49 and 52). Thus, it seems that there existed industry- or occupation specific joint understandings between employers and trade unions of what the appropriate amount of training to become a skilled worker consisted of.

The relations between employers and trade unions were often strained during the period of collective agreements but the labour market parties took a joint stand on one very important issue; they were in agreement to resist the introduction of apprenticeship legislation. In 1918, a reform implied that vocational education and training was organised in a more systematic manner. This VET system had two main components: Part-time vocational schools, where instruction took place in the evenings, and practical training in a workplace. The vocational schools were funded and supervised by the State but operated by municipalities and, to a certain extent, private actors (Hedman 2001). Workplaces were considered the most important part in the training process and when the reform was launched it was assumed that the school system would be supplemented with apprenticeship legislation to ensure proper training in the workplaces. The legislation proposal was met with massive resistance. The trade unions feared that legislation could keep wages low for young workers and that the apprentices would become too dependent on the employer. The employers considered the proposal too costly, partly because it would give the State influence on the relation between apprentices and employers (Hedman 2001). Even the Handicraft Organisation, which in principle was in favour of apprenticeship legislation, raised many objections to the proposal (Swedish Handicraft Organisation 1925). As a result, apprenticeship legislation was not put in place in the early 1920s and a second attempt to introduce it in the mid-1930s was also met with fierce resistance from trade unions and employers. Since then, apprenticeship legislation has not been on the political agenda in Sweden.

The Swedish model

In the 1930s, and gaining increasing momentum in the 1950s, the Swedish economy entered a new phase of change, with new products and methods transforming activities in most parts of the economy (Schön 2010). The seizure of power by the social democrats in 1932 changed power relations in the labour market and is thought to have contributed to more peaceful relations between unions and employers. The high level of youth unemployment in the 1930s led to an increased interest in vocational training. Employers as well as the trade unions advocated an expansion of vocational training in areas where there was demand for labour. The trade journal SIA (1939:23) wrote for example: "In the long run, the industry's labour needs have to be decisive for the scope and focus of training". The era of mutual understanding between the labour market parties was most clearly manifested in the



Saltsjöbaden Agreement of 1938 (Elvander 1992), and that social contract was followed up with agreements in many other areas. In 1944, the central labour market parties founded a common council for issues related to vocational training, Arbetsmarknadens yrkesråd, which played an active role in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. (Olofsson 2005) The vocational council promoted several activities to advance vocational education, including conferences, pamphlets and career guidance. Above all, the vocational council wanted to persuade more young people to become apprentices, but in that endeavour they failed. In spite of a rapidly growing workforce in manufacturing industry and all the efforts from the vocational council, the number of apprentices fell from about 20,000 in 1940 to 15,000 in 1950 (Nilsson, 2013).

During the 1940s, the cordial industrial relations and high demand for labour caused several companies to start their own vocational training. Examples include Atlas Diesel, a mechanical engineer company (Metallarbetaren 1944:22), the shipyard Kockums (Yokoyama & Nilsson 2014), and Mo och Domsjö, one of the largest forest companies (Skogsyrkesutbildningen i Sverige, 1975).

During the 1950s, vocational training was widely discussed, and there was a strong public interest to raise skills. The radical rationalization of the industry had led to new demands on the workforce: More teamwork and greater demands on the ability to cooperate also put new demands on the vocational training. The new nine-year comprehensive school (enhetsskolan, later on grundskolan) was to some extent an answer to these new needs with its three programs including an occupational program called 9y, which meant that the pupils could choose a vocational program during their last school year. The idea was to prepare the pupils for an occupation: Teaching would be mainly vocational and only about a third of the instruction would be devoted to general subjects (SCB Promemorior 1974:5). In this and related reforms, the labour market parties managed to take a joint stand but in spite of the organised collaboration between the labour market parties, some of the old conflicts concerning vocational training lingered underneath the surface. Whereas employer representatives wanted vocational training to be specific and adjusted to company needs, union representatives favoured more theoretical and general training. In the 1960s, when a new VET system was discussed, these differences surfaced. The Employers' federation and the Handicraft organisation resisted the changes but the trade unions were, in general, strong supporters (Lundahl 1997, Nilsson 2013).

Decentralization and flexibility

From the 1970s onwards, the corporatist features of the Swedish model have become less prominent (Elvander & Holmlund 1997). The radicalisation of the trade unions in the late 1960s and during the 1970s implied more strained relations with the employers and in the 1970s the Employers' federation withdrew from most of the corporative bodies that had been created in the preceding decades, including Arbetsmarknadens yrkesråd (Olofsson 2005). The system of collective agreements has remained basically intact but with greater features of state legislation and scope for flexibility. In particular, wage negotiations have been conducted on industry rather than central level since the 1980s.



In 1968 the Parliament adopted an organizationally coherent upper secondary school that would last for the next 25 years despite many attempts at reform (Lundahl 2008). Vocational training disappeared from compulsory school and the separate vocational schools were integrated with upper secondary school where several two-year vocational programmes were started. Municipalities became the responsible authorities. The combination of strained industrial relations and a strong political will to promote a school-based VET system in the late 1960s and early 1970s drastically diminished the possibilities for employers and trade unions to participate actively in vocational education. With few exceptions, the remains of the apprenticeship system, including most company-based VET schools, were dismantled in the early 1970s and the active participation of employers' and trade unions' representatives in VET school councils came to an end in most places.

In the 1990s, these characteristics started to change. With the severe economic crisis of the 1990s, youth unemployment increased dramatically and has remained at high levels thereafter. In search for solutions, several efforts have been made to improve vocational education in search for better matching between labour supply and demand. A reform in 1991 implied that students with a completed vocational education became qualified for higher education but this was achieved at the cost of less practical training outside school. The reform meant a further step from the shop floor to the classroom and it was soon criticised for the small amount of contact with real working life. The reform also paved the way for new initiatives in vocational education since most decisions could be taken at the local level. One result was that trade unions' and employers' representatives were invited to participate actively in 'steering committees' for VET programmes in many municipalities. By and large, however, these initiatives have struggled with rather poor results (Skolinspektionen 2011). Another possibility also emerged in the beginning of the 1990s; to run private schools with funding from the State. Several Swedish multinational companies have used this possibility to start their own industrial vocational training programs. Unlike the apprenticeship training connected to the secondary school, these programs have been successful to attract pupils with good school results from the compulsory school (Lundh Nilsson & Grönberg, 2014). By the early 2000s, many policy makers have looked at countries with apprenticeship systems, such as Germany and Denmark. (Olofsson & Panican 2012; Pettersson 2006) The new initiative is called (as in many other countries) 'modern apprentice training'. The contrast to earlier forms of apprenticeship is big. The apprentice is a student, not an employed worker and all activities are controlled by the school but at least 50% of the training is to take place at a work place. During the first three years, 2008-2010, about 13,000 pupils participated but already in 2011, when the apprenticeship programme was made permanent and 30,000 training places were planned for, interest had diminished. Already from the beginning, dropouts were frequent due to the fact that many of the applicants had poor results from the compulsory school while, at the same time, apprenticeship training was regarded as a demanding education (Hellstrand & Lundh Nilsson, 2014).

The implications of the new institutional landscape in the labour market, and political reforms to combat youth unemployment, on company based training remains to be explored.



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Vocational education and training in Kazakhstan – past, present and future perspectives

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Abstract: The investigation of the Soviet educational system has been predominantly concentrated on Russia as the biggest and trend-setting republic (Olcott, 1987, foreword). For the last twenty years there have been deep political, economic and social changes in the Newly Independent States which require a different view of their educational systems. The dynamic economic development in the Republic of Kazakhstan has necessitated fundamental reforms in the whole system of education. This paper will outline some of the characteristics of Kazakh vocational education and training (VET)⁹ and it will cover the ways in which the system adapts to the economic and social challenges.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, technical and vocational education, educational reforms, modernization

Socio-economic background

The Republic of Kazakhstan is one of the five former Soviet Central Asian republics. The ninth largest country in the world with a population of about 17 million encompasses a multitude of languages, cultures and traditions. Despite this diversity, which earlier observers predicted as a risk for conflicts, Kazakhstan has succeeded in achieving the highest political stability in the troubled region. The country is endowed with natural resources, most significantly petroleum and natural gas reserves, which has great economic potential. Since its independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has been undertaking comprehensive reforms in order to dismantle the command economy and to develop a market economy which is integrated into the world economy. Its positive growth trend started towards the end of the 90s. Driven mainly by the oil and gas sectors, the real gross domestic product (GDP) grew by an average of nearly 10% per year between 2000 and 2008, which made Kazakhstan one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

Economy, labour market and vocational education till 2008

The rapidly expanding economy has generated changes in the composition and size of the labour market. In large part enterprises have been privatized, between 1998 and 2001 the privatization rate amounted to 70%. Many of these companies have expanded or reduced the variety of their products. Small and medium-sized businesses have boomed considerably. These changes have increased the demand

⁹In Kazakhstan, this type of education and training is more commonly known as Technical and Professional Education (TPE). In this paper the VET will be used as the term well-established in international discussions.



for a skilled workforce to a very high extent, especially in the main sectors such as the oil and gas industry, the manufacturing industry, and the service industry. More complicated technological processes and increased competitiveness, however, lead to continuously increasing requirements for skills and competences. A 2008 World Bank labour market survey of 500 firms reported the shortage of skilled labour. 64% of the respondents stated the insufficient level of education and lack of skills as two of the principal hindrances for business development (BISAM 2008). Most of the qualifications offered by the vocational education and training system in Kazakhstan were neither relevant to the job market nor future-oriented.

Prior to its independence, the Kazakh VET system was subjected to a Soviet-style vocational education engineered to support a command economy. Greinert (1995) classifies the VET systems into a) the liberal market economy model, b) the state-regulated bureaucratic model and c) the dual-corporatist model. According to this classification, the Soviet model could be identified as one that is strictly regulated by the state.

In the first years of independence most of the state's efforts in Kazakhstan concentrated on basic and higher education, while the VET system has suffered from a lack of attention and low investment. This has resulted in the system's inefficiency and in a significant mismatch between the skills imparted at the VET institutions and the needs of the labour market.

Reform strategies since 2008

Since 2008 we can observe a new development in the VET system of Kazakhstan. The shortage of more qualified workforce, particularly on the medium level, has begun to impede the economic development and the competitiveness on the world market. These factors have challenged the educational policy in Kazakhstan as well as the economy. The government recognised an imperative for actions and launched the 'State Programme for the Development of Technical and Professional Education in the Republic of Kazakhstan for the years 2008 – 2012'. In 2010 a 'State Programme for the Development of Education for 2011 – 2020' (MESRK 2010) was declared by a presidential decree. The present educational policy in Kazakhstan is based on this document, which aims to increase the competitiveness of the education system and thus to work towards sustainable economic growth. The goals of VET stated in the programme are the following:

- the modernisation of the system of technical and vocational education in accordance with the demands of society and of the industrial-innovative development of the economy
- as well as the integration into the global educational space.

The programme anticipates that a high-quality vocational education and training would create an environment for the successful implementation of the 'State Programme for Accelerated Industrial-Innovative Development of Kazakhstan', which intend to belong to the world's 50 most competitive economies.



To align the Kazakh VET system with international standards, many objectives should be pursued.

Increasing the VET quality

This important concern, probably one of the most important concerns of the reforms, could be mainly achieved by changing the contents. For this purpose the National Qualification System was designed in 2012. It should include a National Qualification Framework, Sectoral Qualification Frameworks, occupational standards (qualification requirements), educational standards and curricula as well as a system of examinations and certifications.

The OECD indicates the adoption of the National Qualifications Framework as a positive result of the reforms in Kazakhstan (OECD 2014:340). It is similar to the European Qualifications Framework, however not all the qualifications have been mapped onto this new framework yet. With the support of international experts, more than 80 occupational standards have been developed, first of all in the main sectors such as the oil and gas industry or agriculture and engineering. Based on the occupational standards, the educational standards, which are compulsory for each occupation, should be updated. To meet the demands for a modern and practice-oriented workforce the extension of the vocational practice is essential. The current volume of practical training is subject to considerable criticism.

Involvement of the employers

The development and the renewal of occupational and educational standards and curricula can only succeed with the involvement of employers and professional associations. In the Soviet era the connection between enterprises and training institutions was regulated by the administrative leverage of the command economy. The collapse of the old economic structures has caused a lack of interest in the VET issues by the employers. To improve the links between the world of education and the labour market the authorities created the National VET Development and Personnel Training Council, a new platform of communication with representatives of employers and business associations, which is supported by regional and sectoral councils. These mechanisms are required to provide a balance of forces, a system of close cooperation between the state, private business, trade unions and educational institutions. It will help to attract the investments into vocational education. Thus, the primary goal in the last years has been the establishment of the cooperative forms of vocational education, modelled on the German dual system. Despite best practices – predominantly in the oil and gas sectors and big national companies – this model has not spread nationwide. In particular small and medium-sized enterprises need stimuli to reinstate their position.

Attractiveness of VET

The involvement of the employers is also needed to increase the attractiveness of the vocational training for young people. Influenced by "prestige-thinking" and supported by the families, many young people prefer higher education: "VET was seen as a channel for young people who had not completed compulsory education, who were unsuccessful in general or higher education or who had dropped out" (OECD 2014:326).



On June 2014, there were 849 VET institutions in Kazakhstan¹⁰, 472 are public and 377 private. There are 561 900 students studying at those institutions. Compared to the year 2000 (453 institutions with 196 400 students), the numbers have risen enormously (Imangaliyev 2014, Kenzhegaliyeva 2010). But many VET graduates - urgently needed on the labour market - (intend to) continue their education at universities. It is one of the next challenges for the educational policy to enhance the attractiveness of the vocational education.

Concluding remarks

The economic strength of a country and its success in the international competition are obviously closely related to the level of development of its system of vocational education and training. Furthermore, the vocational education and training system has to provide people with skills that are needed on the market and that respond to their individual needs.

Kazakhstan is committed to becoming one the world's most competitive economies according to the World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Competitive Index (GCI). According to the WEF's Global Competiveness Report 2013–2014, however, the “inadequately educated workforce” is still a big problem for economic activities in Kazakhstan (WEF 2013).

The Kazakh government recognizes the role of the VET system for the economic and social development of the country and identifies the problems which the system faces. The State Programme addresses many of them. In recent years, great efforts have been made to reform the vocational system. A number of challenges must still be overcome; some of them have been mentioned in this paper. Last but not least: the implementation of the reform strategies needs a well-qualified workforce on all the different levels from management to research and to teaching.

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¹⁰ Until 2012, two main types of institutions provided vocational training programmes: colleges and vocational lyceums, since 2012 all the VET institutions have been called colleges.



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The painting profession in Hamburg during National Socialism. A study of the ideology reflected in legal and formal elements of VET (document analysis)

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Abstract: Professions and education evolve over time. They are both affected by changes within society. Political change in Hamburg society during National Socialism generated changes in the painting profession and its associated training processes. The paper describes how to identify political interests (i.e. National Socialist ideology) concealed within the legal and formal elements of VET. It emphasises the importance of a systematic theoretical and methodological approach, and proposes document analysis as one method of allowing conclusions to be extrapolated from historiographical research to the current context.

Keywords: painting profession, National Socialism, vocational education and training, document analysis.

Introduction

In Germany, one thematic complex of historiographical vocational education and training (VET) research is the influence and impact of National Socialist (NS) ideology. However, this research lacks methodology. Data is usually compiled and interpreted without definition of the methodological approach used. Given the methodological shortcomings in historiographical research into VET, the core of this article describes how document analysis methodology can examine the role of NS ideology within VET. It is centred on the painting profession in Hamburg during National Socialism. The paper considers the relevance and criticism of historiographical studies in the area of VET before briefly describing VET within the NS regime and proposing one methodological approach.

Relevance of historiographical research on VET

Historiography's relevance is in contributing new knowledge to current VET research. The reappraisal and critical analysis of historical memories lend significance to historiographical VET research (Pätzold/Wahle 2006, p. 193). Historiographical research has a clarifying function, adding facts about the origins of and influences on the subject under investigation to its historical reconstruction. Second, it has a critical-historical function, with the focus on maintaining a distance from the past and preserving the past and discoveries. Third, it has the function of focusing on the present. This reconstruction can promote understanding of current issues, problems and causalities in the area of VET (Büchter/Kipp 2003, pp. 308-309).



Criticism

Concern has been expressed regarding the limited level of current interest in historiographical research (Pätzold/Wahle 2006, p. 198). Pätzold and Wahle suggest that only a small circle of authors are involved in historiographical VET research, resulting in research outcomes being given insufficient attention (*ibid.*). In addition to the lack of new insights and the inadequate transfer of historiographical research findings to current issues of VET (Horlebein/Pätzold 2010, p. 391), criticism also focuses on the non-verifiable and poorly justified explanations of any methodologies used (Baabe-Meijer 2006, p. 34f). These criticisms demonstrate the potential benefit of this research discipline using well-founded methodological approaches to transfer its findings appropriately.

Background

Funding, developments and implementation within the education and employment system can be influenced by a country's political leadership, and the staffing of public and private institutions with members aligned with a political party. The order and structures within education and employment may change and develop according to party interests. Hence, educational reform may relate to power structures in society rather than simply pedagogical concepts, institutions and ideas (Friedeburg 1989, p. 476).

Historically, this relationship between politics and education is particularly apparent in totalitarian regimes such as National Socialism. NS politics instrumentalised the education and employment system for its own ideological purposes. If state power is exercised through constitutions and legislation in this way, ideological influences are likely to be present within institutional documents (directives, guidelines, statutes, lesson plans, training regulations, curricula etc.) within the VET system, and are probably traceable. Ideological criticism aims to detect where ideology was concealed in a pedagogical guise.

VET documents as a mirror of NS ideology

The critical analysis and review of vocational pedagogy during National Socialism is at an advanced stage, but is by no means complete (Horlebein/Pätzold 2010, p. 392). This paper aims to show that NS ideology, which was based on certain political interests, is reflected in VET documents. It focuses on the occupation of painting within the Hamburg region, could be extended to other occupations and regions in Germany.

During National Socialism changes affecting the vocational education system were not "[...] primarily pedagogical in nature, but rather economic and not least ideological" (Kümmel 1980, p. 19). These measures intended to impose uniformity across organisations, schools and industry and permit greater opportunities for control and indoctrination (*ibid.*).

Mayring's approach to document analysis, which will be described in the following section, is one model for analysing the "identifiable" ideological content within documents.



Methodological approach

The abundance of different interpretative approaches in historiographical VET research results in "fundamental terminological, theoretical and methodological problems" (Lempert 2009, p. 19). Methodological problems pose an existential threat to the discipline. As the number of publications lacking methodological procedures increases, these problems are compounded (ibid., p. 1).

The different approaches and methods of historiography and empirical social research applied in VET research aim to provide "information on the historical and social reality of work and profession and on associated qualification and socialisation processes" (Pätzold/Wahle 2010, p. 398). However, educational science makes insufficient use of documentation for the analysis of pedagogical issues (Glaser 2010, pp. 365-366; Mayring/Brunner 2010, p. 323). Therefore, this thesis analyses original documents relating to the vocational education and training of painters and examines the extent to which formal and legal elements of VET reflected existing ideology.

Document analysis

In the literature on empirical social research, the term document analysis is frequently synonymous with content analysis (Schnell et al. 2008). Different definitions and attempted definitions of both terms can be found in the literature on empirical research methodology (Mayring 2003, p. 11). To avoid an infinite list of definitions, the specific features and tasks of document analysis according to Mayring are summarised in six key points as follows:

1. The subject of document analysis is communication, which must be analysed.
2. Document analysis concerns fixed communication (text logs), which must be analysed.
3. Free interpretation must be avoided; a systematic approach is to be taken.
4. To meet the methodological standards of intersubjective verifiability, a rules-based procedure is used.
5. Taking a systematic approach also means building on the work and insights of other scholars in this area of research.
6. The aim of document analysis is to draw conclusions on certain aspects of communication (Mayring 2003, p. 12).

In summary, document analysis is a research method that is systematic, objective and intersubjectively verifiable, and allows individual conclusions or generalisations to be drawn from the analysed document and extrapolated to other aspects (people, society). The material to be analysed must never be regarded in isolation, but in context (Mayring/Brunner 2010, p. 325). However, the method's effectiveness in historiographical research on VET is limited. In document analysis, the sources pertaining to the research topic are rarely available in their entirety. Moreover, procuring, reviewing and then analysing the documents is a tedious and time-consuming process. Finally, in addition to all the limitations, care must be taken to employ this method in a flexible way and to adapt it to the subject of research (Mayring 2003, p. 117).

Categorisation



The purposeful application of document analysis is not a matter of recording the material in its entirety, but of taking a "selective, category-based" approach (Mayring & Brunner 2010, p. 325). Developing a category system is an important element of analysis (Schnell et al. 2008, p. 409).

If professions evolve as a result of and with history and are closely linked to the political developments within a society, it should be possible to identify these trends in the form of ideologies in NS documents on education. A theory-based category system thus essentially corresponds to the ideological elements in National Socialism. The task of theory-based categorisation consists of accurately defining categories and carefully classifying passages in accordance with set rules. Two possible approaches, deductive and inductive categorisation, will now be explained.

Deductive categorisation uses predetermined aspects for analysis that have been theoretically deduced from pertinent literature. A literature search on the research topic results, for example, for elements of ideology in National Socialism. The archive documents can then be classified according to these elements.

In inductive categorisation, the different aspects for analysis (categories) must be developed from the material. The intensive work on the archive material is aimed at formulating category-defining criteria based on the research question by reviewing material. Over time this can provide further generic categories and sub-categories for analysis. The aim of this procedure is to reduce a large amount of material to a manageable size while maintaining the content (Mayring 2003, p. 74).

Conclusion and outlook

In addition to providing knowledge and transparency of knowledge, studies on historical VET offer an insight into the context of the current problems in VET (Muth 1985, p. 1). Neither the findings on VET, nor the analysis of ideology in VET in the NS regime alone can answer the question of whether our present education system could (still) be functionalised. However, such studies can motivate further research into other eras, regions and professions and encourage a broad discussion of the use and effect of political education within the VET system.

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‘Muddling Through’ revisited – the long term development of the dualistic Austrian VET system

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Abstract: Austria with its specific ‘dualistic’ structure of VET, including both, a strong full-time schools sector, and a strong apprenticeship system lies in-between the established classifications of VET. This structure is not a result of ‘systemic’ political decision making; rather the different institutions have evolved more or less in parallel. A remarkable phenomenon is that the formal structure remained quite stable through history along very different regime periods (the Habsburg Empire, 1st Republic, two Fascisms, 2nd Republic).

Challenges are first to identify the specific structural traits, and second to explain the historical processes. Methodologically, artefacts of historical analysis are combined with statistical sources; the main task is a consistent interpretation of the material, based on institutionalist approaches.

Keywords: Austria, VET-history, institutionalism, muddling through

Introduction

Austria has a specific ‘dualistic’ structure of VET that lies in-between the established classifications of VET, with a strong full-time schools sector, and a strong apprenticeship system. The historical emergence of this structure is analysed on basis of institutionalist approaches, combining artefacts of historical analyses and statistical sources as the material of analysis.

Two challenges are taken up, first the issues of classification, and of the identification of persisting structural traits; second the issues of explanation of the historical emergence of the current structure. In terms of classification of VET structures, the threefold typology of state systems, apprenticeship systems, and enterprise-based systems does not apply to Austria, and the institutionalist definition of a collective skills system covers only apprenticeship as one part of the Austrian VET structure. Moreover, the well-known Anglo-Saxon classification of VET as a track for low achievers does not fit to the Austrian structure, as a substantial part of VET (the upper level VET colleges) is tightly linked to higher education by providing the entitlement for university access.

If we look at the historical development of the structure, the question arises, to which extent the establishment of a certain institutional pattern can be identified as persisting along different historical periods. One phenomenon of the development of Austrian VET is that the pattern of institutions remained quite stable through history along very different regime periods (the Habsburg Empire, 1st Republic, two Fascisms, 2nd Republic), however, substantial changes of the distribution of institutions also appear within this structure. The broadening of participation in VET,



from a selected minority to more than half of a cohort during the 20th century is mainly gradual change. The societal changes related to this 'expansion', and the co-evolutionary changes in other sectors pose important questions for the analysis and understanding.

Concerning the explanation of change, the overall structure has never been an object of 'systemic' political decisions. Rather the different institutional sectors of VET have evolved more or less in parallel along certain trajectories, without deliberate decisions about co-ordination or their 'systemic' relationships. Here the concept of 'muddling through' is applied. In the outset of the long-term process of broadening of participation, we can see the different VET-sectors 'localised', as they were embedded into different local and sectorial environments, with no or weak relationships to each other. Important divisions are the small crafts ('Gewerbe'), historically related to apprenticeship, and the evolving industrial sectors ('Industrie'), to which the arts and then the engineering institutions were related originally as devices for innovation. Within the VET school sector institutional divisions also have existed for long periods between arts and engineering schools, business schools and women's schools. All these divisions have been related to different governance structures, of which we still can find some traces.

Methodology

The methodology combines artefacts from historical research with longer term quantitative data about participation in different parts of VET. Propositions from institutionalist approaches are taken as sources for alternative interpretations of the material. The following distinctions and conceptions can be used:

- incremental or punctuated change
- evolutive/systemic or deliberative/voluntaristic changes
- modes of change (displacement, layering, drift, conversion, exhaustion)

The paper builds upon a previous analysis of the development of Austrian VET based on historical institutionalism (Graf/Lassnigg/Powell 2011), and expands the historical time span and the scope of analysis, and tries to address some problems that were not easily captured by the modes of change devised by historical institutionalism.

The analysis tries out the rather simple and seemingly old-fashioned concept of 'muddling through' (Lindblom 1979) against the more sophisticated institutionalist approaches of analysis and explanation. The concept of 'muddling through' was brought up in the 1950s and 1960s by conservative scholars arguing against the attempts of deliberative technocratic 'evidence based policies' using systems research (e.g. 'educational planning'). The core assumption is a certain rationality of how policy makers practically take their decisions. The concept was more or less 'forgotten', however, has been revived by researchers who focus on the endemic uncertainties in policy making (e.g. Woodhouse 2000).

Historical Institutionalism takes a much more distanced position of observation from policy making, and has developed very sophisticated hypotheses about how institutional change might evolve along certain patterns according to the interplay of actors with their environment. Often the historical material might not provide such



detailed accounts to decide about the modes, and, moreover, the question also arises whether at more aggregate level changes different modes might combine or intersect.

Results

The paper shows certain historical lines of development in Austrian VET and tries to explain the pattern of stability and change in the relationship between VET schools and apprenticeship, which are embedded on the one hand in the overall education system, and are related to higher education on the other hand. In particular the following phenomena are outstanding in the more current development of Austrian VET, and can also be traced back to historical trajectories.

VET schools and apprenticeship

The VET schools in engineering have been set up by the state as a network across the Monarchy in the 19th century as an instrument for modernization in industries. In the liberal era the fight between the small-scale crafts and trades against industry and the upcoming bigger trade shops has been very marked in Austria, of which we can find several relicts even today (in Austrian economic law the industry sector is still formally defined as an exception to crafts and trades; today's conservative party Österreichische Volkspartei, is still the successor of the party that was originally founded as the first mass party of the small entrepreneurs that fused with the farmers and completely destroyed liberalism in the second half of the 19th century, the Christlich-soziale Partei; the apprenticeship system is still founded mainly in the trade law, *Gewerbeordnung*, which has set numerous anti-liberal regulations; the Chamber of Commerce, *Wirtschaftskammer*, is still representing mainly the sector of small enterprises).

The apprenticeship system has been historically related to the small enterprises sector, and this gap has remained until today, with apprenticeship being the traditional sector of VET which has not undergone much change (thus Austrian apprenticeship differs quite much from the neighbouring systems in Germany and Switzerland), with a strong quantitative expansion of apprenticeship during the German Nazi Occupation 1938-1945 (this period has not been researched in more detail until today because of tabooing, however, has in combination with the nationalisation of the German owned big industries after 1945, probably had a big influence on the relationship between apprenticeship and the industrial sector: the core of apprenticeship in big industries was situated in the national industry, and has subsequently, with the privatisation beginning in the 1980s, been strongly reduced).

Upward mobility through VET colleges, social reproduction by academic schools

The historical development of today's quite uniformly regulated state school sector has gradually evolved from several different institutional starting points. Only the engineering VET colleges (*Höhere Technische Lehranstalten HTL*) have been deliberately planned, starting with a state network of '*Staatsgewerbeschulen*' in the late 19th century. The business schools, (*Handelsakademien*) and the schools for services (*wirtschaftsberufliche Schulen*) have their roots in different kinds of private



initiatives, the first ones business related, the second ones related to 'humanistic' endeavours interested in girls' and women's education primarily for the household.

The tracked structure of compulsory education was reflected by a tracked structure of VET schools, which at several periods, when the elites became suspicious about the educational expansion, the VET schools have been successfully promoted to take up the ambitious young people from the lower strata, and to shade the prestigious academic schools from the inflow from the less privileged strata. An important decision for expanding VET rather than academic schools has been taken in the 1970s by the then Socialist Government.

Realistic linkage of VET to higher education

Upward mobility through VET became an alternative strategy to the politically fiercely disputed comprehensive school movement. A strong and flexible relationship from VET to higher education has been established through the upper level VET schools by providing them the access requirements for university, but not upgrading them to higher education institutions. Currently the employers and the graduates can choose between the different levels (thus the 'Fachhochschule' remained quite small so far, and there is room for hybrids)

Scattered and dualistic governance structure of VET

The dualistic structure of apprenticeship and state VET schools is reflected and reinforced by a dualistic governance structure, bureaucratic in the school sector, corporatist in apprenticeship. The structural dualism is reinforced by the fact, that the part-time school part of apprenticeship (Berufsschule) is organised completely separate from the VET school sector (different establishments, different responsibilities at regional level, different teachers, etc.). The different institutions are reflected also by different teachers' categories, and different frameworks for teachers' education. Consequently, a unified framework of research and development does not exist.

Concluding remarks

The historical analysis supports the hypothesis, that the different parts of education which were separate in the beginning, when participation was low and very different in rural and urban or industrialised regions, moved nearer to each other when participation broadened, starting to compete with each other for students. In addition, with an increasing part of the workforce being formally qualified, questions of priorities from the demand side came increasingly up. More recently, based on the separate governance systems the VET schools and apprenticeships are quite fiercely competing with each other, and it seems quite difficult to move out of the dualistic structure.

The practice of 'muddling through' seems not only able to explain the past development but seems even being incorporated into the existing governance structures, which were somehow shaded against change by constitutional right in the 1960s. Historical junctions related to the sketched phenomena will be outlined, and



the potentials of the much more specific concepts of historical institutionalism will be outlined in the paper as devices for further research.

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Zum Bildungswert der Gesellenwanderung und ihre bildungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung. Eine Analyse von Handwerker-Biographien

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Abstract: This paper examines the educational effects resulting from the tramping system which lasted from the Middle Ages until the 20th century in the German-speaking area of Europe. The custom of travel among journeymen was part of the traditional professional education and socialisation in most crafts, denoting the entry into a skilled craftman's career. Travelling was even partly required to gain mastership status in one's trade. However, the learning effects in terms of professional and general knowledge, character building and personal advancement opportunities, generated by this unique mobility tradition, has received little attention in vocational educational research and the historiography of education in general. The analysis of reports by travelling journeymen from different periods aims to reveal the various educational benefits of this historical tramping tradition, and thus, contributes to our knowledge of informal learning settings in advancing professional skills.

Keywords: Migration, Tramping, Informal Education, History of VET

Einleitung

Im Zentrum steht die Frage nach der Bildung, die sich Handwerksgesellen während ihrer traditionellen Wanderschaft angeeignet haben. Die Gesellenzeit, die sich in historischer Perspektive typischerweise mit einer Zeit des Wanderns und Arbeitens bei verschiedenen Meistern verbindet, stellte eine wichtige sozialisatorische Statuspassage dar. Auf die Lehrlingszeit als „primäres Unterweisungsverhältnis“ und Ende der Kindheit folgte eine Jugendphase als Handwerksgeselle (Endres 1996, 385), die mit der Meisterschaft, gekennzeichnet durch Niederlassung und Heirat, endete (Kluge 2007; Wadauer 2005, 24 f.).

Die Gesellenwanderung war für das deutsche Sprachgebiet vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts essentieller Bestandteil einer umfassenden Ausbildung zahlreicher Handwerksberufe und war jahrhundertlang als Qualifikation gefordert, wobei Reste dieser Mobilitätstradition sich bis heute, vor allem im Bauhandwerk, erhalten haben (Elkar 1987; Kintzinger 1991; Kluge 2007, 174 ff. Lemke 2002; Schulz 2010, 244 ff.; Wadauer 2005, 24 ff.). Umso mehr verwundert es, dass die Gesellenwanderung in der aktuellen Berufsbildungsgeschichte ebenso wenig Beachtung findet wie in der allgemeinen Bildungsgeschichte. Einschlägige Handbücher und Überblickswerke lassen die Thematisierung dieses berufserzieherisch relevanten Gegenstandes gänzlich missen



(Rauner 2006, Arnold/Lipsmeier 2006; Blankertz 1969). Lediglich das Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte widmet sich in einem Kapitel „Handwerk – Berufsbildung“ den Gesellen und ihrem Wandern (Endres 1996). Wenngleich Vorzüge wie Fachkenntniszuwachs, Festigung des Berufshabitus, Gruppensolidarität, Arbeitsmarktkennntnisse, Erfahrungsgewinn und Charakterbildung genannt werden, erscheint dort letztlich die Wanderschaft, deren Verhaltensregeln „lange und intensiv eingeübt oder ‚eingebleut‘ werden mußten“, als Relikt eines starren ständischen Brauchtums und einer überkommenen handwerklich-zünftischen Berufserziehung, die „ausschließlich“ durch „das pädagogische Prinzip der Nachahmung“ bestimmt war – „mit dem Ziel, die vorgelebten und tradierten Normen des richtigen Verhaltens zu habitualisieren“. Schließlich hätten „aufgeklärte Patrioten“ erkannt, dass die „Aus- oder Weiterbildung der Gesellen und Meister verbessert und die Erwachsenenbildung eingeführt werden müßten“ (Endres 1996, 375f., 390). Tenor bei Endres ist folglich der Ruf nach mehr Verschulung, mehr formeller Institutionalisierung, und damit mehr staatlicher Kontrolle im Aus- und Weiterbildungsbereich. Der umfassende Bildungseffekt der korporativ organisierten Gesellenwanderung kann angesichts einer fundamentalen Kritik am Ausbildungsmonopol des Handwerks schwerlich gesehen, geschweige denn gewürdigt werden.

Seit den 1980er wurden Handwerksgesellen und ihr Wandern zum eigenständigen Forschungsgegenstand in der Migrations- und Handwerksgeschichtsforschung (Engelhardt 1984; Jaritz/Müller 1988). Doch auch die jüngere Sozialgeschichtsforschung ist mehrheitlich darum bemüht, den Bildungsgedanken gegenüber anderen sozialen, politischen, ökonomischen und demographischen Wandermotiven zu relativieren. Indem die Gefahr von Entwurzelung und Verwahrlosung betont sowie angeblich ausbleibende Transferwirkungen nachzuweisen versucht werden, entsteht der verzerrte Eindruck einer zu vernachlässigenden gesamtgesellschaftlichen Bedeutung dieses vom Spätmittelalter bis in die Moderne reichenden, weite Teile eines ganzen Berufsstandes prägenden Bildungs- und Sozialisationsabschnittes. Als Teil des als überlebt geltenden zünftischen Handwerks wird die Wanderschaft ebenfalls als überkommen, rückständig oder erzwungen kritisiert und deren Zweckhaftigkeit, teilweise polemisch, infrage gestellt. Skepsis besteht vor allem darüber, ob das Wandersystem die Funktionen der Ausbildung, des Technologietransfers, der Allokation von Arbeitskräften und Kenntnissen erfüllen konnte (Kluge 2007, 177 ff.; Schulz 2010, 245 f.; Elkar 1987, 1999; Reininghaus 1999; Kintzinger 1999).

Dennoch, bei aller Sozialkritik, negativen Wanderfahrungen, unerwünschter Effekte und Entwicklungen bleibt der grundsätzliche und vielfältige Bildungswert des Gesellenwanderns, der über den rein fachlich-beruflichen Aspekt hinausreicht, erhalten. Zum einen werden, wie hier gezeigt, die Einwände der Sozialforschung durch Selbstzeugnisse gewanderter Handwerker widerlegt. Zum anderen ergeben sich aus erlebten Hindernissen, Mängeln und Rückschlägen wiederum Lerneffekte und Entwicklungschancen, wobei individuelle Bewältigungs- und Problemlösestrategien, etwa hinsichtlich der Arbeitsverhältnisse oder des Arbeitsmarktes, zum Tragen kommen und vor allem ein beachtliches Selbstbildungspotenzial entfaltet wurde.



Da weder in der Sozialgeschichtsforschung noch in der Berufsbildungsforschung der Bildungsaspekt des Gesellenwandern systematisch erfasst und eingeordnet worden ist und damit dessen qualifikatorische Funktion und sozialisatorische Relevanz (im Gegensatz zur Lehrlingsausbildung) bislang vernachlässigt wurde, widmet sich die folgende Untersuchung dieser Aufgabe aus bildungswissenschaftlicher Perspektive. Die Analyse von Handwerker-Biographien zeigt, dass Bildung fachlicher, allgemeiner und personeller Art während dieser mobilen Berufseinstiegsphase erworben wurde und wie sich dieser Bildungserwerb gestaltete.

Methodisches Vorgehen

Anhand dreier Selbstzeugnisse ehemaliger Gesellen aus unterschiedlichen Epochen wird der individuellen Bildungsleistung und dem Potenzial des informellen Bildungserwerbs während ihrer Wanderzeit nachgegangen (Bechstedt 1991; Güntzer 2002; Werner 1934). Die bildungsbezogenen Aspekte werden direkt durch die Autoren thematisiert oder sind indirekt vermittelt erkennbar. Nach einem Vergleich der Wandermotive erfolgte die Untersuchung der biographischen Texte hinsichtlich der in der Handwerks- und Migrationsforschung kontrovers diskutierten Bildungsaspekte. Bei der Textanalyse wurde induktiv vorgegangen, sodass Elemente handwerklicher, allgemeiner, sozialer und charakterlicher Bildung abgeleitet und zu Kategorien zusammengefasst werden konnten.

Ergebnisse

Bezüglich der Wandermotive belegen die Selbstzeugnisse, dass die Wanderzeit, nicht wie durch den Großteil der Handwerksforschung vertreten, vorrangig der Tradierung handwerksspezifischer Normen oder der unmittelbaren Arbeitsplatzsuche diene, sondern vielmehr auch touristische Belange umfasste, und damit auch der Horzonterweiterung im Sinne eines allgemeinen Bildungsinteresses diene.

Folgende bildungsbezogene und sozialisatorisch relevante Elemente ließen sich durch die Textanalyse ermitteln:

1. Aufbau von Kontakten, Nutzen von Beziehungen
2. Handwerksbräuche, Einüben von Ritualen
3. Selbstbehauptung und Erlangung von sozialem Selbstbewusstsein
4. Einblicke in Ehe- und Familienführung, Modelle der Haushalts- und Betriebsführung
5. Handwerkskenntnisse und Wissenstransfer
6. Herausforderungen des Reisens, Zurechtkommen mit Witterungs- und Wegbedingungen, Bürokratie und Kriegszustand
7. Lebensführung und Gefühlsregulation
8. Charakterbildung, Solidarität und Flexibilität
9. Verständigung: Dialekte und Fremdsprachen
10. kulturelle und politische Bildung, weitere Facetten allgemeiner Bildung

Die Gesellenwanderung war sowohl Zweck- und Nutzreise als auch Abenteuer- und Bildungsreise. Ihre Aufgabe bestand in der Sozialisation und Berufserziehung im Handwerk. Darüber hinaus diene sie der universellen Persönlichkeitsbildung. Neben fachspezifischem Wissen vermittelte sie eine umfassende Bildung des Charakters, Welt- und Menschenkenntnis. Sie zielte darauf ab, sich in der Profession zu



vervollkommen und reichte somit über rein ökonomisch-technische Zweckgebundenheit hinaus. In diesem Sinne kann die Wanderschaft durchaus analog zur akademischen Ausbildung und Sozialisation gesehen werden (Wissel 1971, 301). Ihr spezifischer Bildungsanspruch manifestiert sich heute in anderen Formen wie Auslandspraktika während oder nach der Ausbildung.

Die Anerkennung des Bildungscharakters der Gesellenwanderung und ihrer Funktion als Statuspassage bedeutet keinesfalls, einer romantisch-idyllischen Vorstellung von Wanderschaft das Wort zu reden. Bei ihrer Einordnung in den Kontext der Bildungswissenschaften kann es auch nicht darum gehen, korporativ organisierten Formen der Ausbildung und Berufserziehung gegenüber staatlichen den Vorzug zu geben oder einen Mythos von handwerklichem Arbeitsethos zu beschwören. Allerdings sei auch darauf hingewiesen, dass sich Bildungsgeschichte nicht auf das Ziel der Legitimierung und Etablierung staatlicher Institutionen und des Standes der (Berufsschul-)pädagogen beschränken darf.

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Learning from the Nordic countries: the case of Norwegian VET- origins and early development 1860- 1950

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Abstract: The issue of vocational education and training (VET) has not been much related to a possible Nordic model of VET. Instead the differences between the Nordic countries in VET policies and VET institutions have been emphasized in most typologies of VET. Systematic comparative studies of the historical formation of VET institutions and policies in the Nordic countries have not been carried out, and for some of these countries available materials on historical developments in VET are patchy and not easily accessible. Norwegian VET has gravitated on the one hand towards Swedish solutions and the construction of VET schools and Danish solutions focusing apprenticeship on the other as well as other influences. The paper traces the origins of this vocational modernization process in the period 1860-1950. Central is the identification of drivers, key stakeholders and evolving interest coalitions and political regimes behind the development of VET.

Keywords: Norway, VET, origins, compound

Introduction

A model of Nordic VET may be defined in many ways and in different scientific traditions. It may be defined as a more or less tightly specified selection of variables, or in historical terms by the route or path through which it has evolved. This paper focuses the origins of Norwegian VET as a part of a family of VET systems; that of the Nordic countries. What is the character of these VET systems? How have they been formed? Such questions warrant a solid basis in the form of historical research. So why should a possible Nordic VET “model” warrant any interest? What can be learnt? While VET systems presently often struggle with declining participation rates, decreasing esteem and high dropout rates, enrolment in VET has increased in Finland, remained relatively stable in Norway or decreased somewhat in Denmark and Sweden.

In most typologies of VET, where different nation states are associated with a different VET models, the Nordic countries are viewed as quite different. While the Danish system emphasize the autonomy of the dual system in relation to the state, Swedish VET is exclusively the responsibility of the state (Greinert 1998, Bussemeyer and Trampusch 2012). Norwegian VET represents a somewhat more ambiguous case. The Norwegian system of vocational education and training of today, may be characterized as a hybrid or an amalgamation. It combines features from dual system with features from comprehensive statist, school based VET systems, it combines public high commitment to vocational training with high social partner



involvement in a number of fields in working life, and it combines a separate system for VET with full integration into a comprehensive system of upper secondary education.

Norwegian VET has evolved through heavy interdependencies to Denmark and Sweden. Before 1814, Norway had been an integral part of the Danish-Norwegian realm for 600 years. In 1814 Norway was separated from Denmark, and declared itself as a sovereign state with a separate democratic constitution. Thereafter Norway assented to Swedish rule until 1905. The formation of Norwegian VET has gravitated on the one hand towards Swedish solutions and the construction of VET schools and comprehensivization on the one hand, and Danish solutions in the form of apprenticeship on the other. This brings about a picture of Norwegian VET policies and VET system as a melting pot, where policies have oscillated in both directions.

Norway was basically ruled by officials and civil servants. But as the contours of a liberal Norwegian state emerged, a variety of social movements were mobilized and evolved through that very process. The farmers and the labourers organized themselves and became district forces in the new nation state of Norway. Through the constitution the farmers wielded heavy political representation in parliament, and local autonomy was secured early. Political parties were formed. Eventually a grand coalition emerged which assumed power in 1884 and parliamentary rule was established. A considerable number of interest organizations in the professions as well as employer and employee organizations in crafts and industry were formed. A variety of these movements and the organizations they created were incorporated into the state apparatus and wielded state sanctioned expertise. Furthermore, the unitary school emerged as a central element in the nation-building process. Measured by general European standards the reforms in general and basic education during the liberal regime have been considered as exceptional or even extreme.

Methodology

We assume that the formation of Norwegian VET was heavily influenced by this trajectory. Once established, patterns of skill formation will exercise considerable influence on later developments. Prior choices will restrict alternatives and influence reform alternatives which are considered appropriate or suitable. This is connected to a view on institutional change as sedimentation or compound production, based on the idea that older ways of doing things does not vanish when adapting to new circumstances. Rather, new layers are added to pre-existing ones, creating an increasingly complex structure in the form of compounds combining different organizing principles and orders. Of course, sketching out such a perspective in full requires considerable space. In this context we will have to make do with a sketch of the origins of Norwegian VET, where “conventional” historiography often assumes that industrialization patterns are decisive for VET formation. While the significance of industrialization is acknowledged, the timing and interaction between democratization, industrialization processes and interest formation is focused. In order to investigate the position of industry and crafts in VET, four different areas of VET has been investigated, where industry and crafts have been compared to more traditional areas like handicrafts and home economics as well as relations to general education. Here the formation and expansion of the unitary school is important.



Through such processes different ideas of VET have been combined and amalgamated in the formation of the Norwegian VET system.

Results

The timing and sequencing of the Norwegian trajectory has some interesting features compared to other Nordic states. Crudely speaking; unlike Sweden, democratization preceded industrialization. Norwegian big business community became more dependent on the state than the Swedish. There is much to suggest that this had implications for the formation of VET policy and institutions for industry and crafts. Institutionalization of vocational training took place relatively late, compared to Sweden and Denmark. The liberal state was not fond of industry, and the pace of industrialization lagged behind. A variety of attempts were made in order to modernize VET, but the employers and their organizations did not manage to agree on a reform VET on their own. Neither did they succeed in obtaining significant finance and legal regulation from the state. The state provided for the universities and the gymnasiums, while the municipalities took care of the basic school. This arrangement catered for the needs of the civil servants and the farmers. The middle classes and industry were left behind. An advanced college of technology was established as late as 1910. A separate law on vocational schools for industry and crafts was finally passed by the new social democratic regime (1945) and an apprentice law as late as 1950.

In contrast, handicraft/ house industry and domestic science was widely acknowledged and supported in Norwegian society. The development and build-up of schools and courses in these areas were linked to a variety of modernization processes and projects in both rural areas as well as in and the towns. Educational institutions, regulations, state financing and governance structures were formed early, these policy areas became strongly embedded in the state bureaucracy through councils and stewards. The liberal regime opened up the state bureaucracy to a variety of interest groups, also in VET, where some were able to wield state sanctioned expertise in their particular field.

The emerging policies for the different areas of VET came to evolve as internal systematization processes within the sectors and school types. The common pattern for the formation of VET schools and institutions was local initiatives and financing. Adaptation to local conditions was considered extremely important. Practical pre-apprentice shop schools as well as practical/theoretical and elementary-technical school types evolved, loosely coupled to each other. But the various school types were challenged by competing school types and reform projects aiming at the social inclusion of youth in the educational system and in society. The growth of the unitary school and the formation of the practical continuation school represented such alternatives. To the liberal regime the unitary school signaled democracy, nation building and the formation of a school for all, independent of class and geography. Measured by general European standards, the rate and pace of reforms in general and basic education during the liberal regime has been considered as exceptional or even extreme.

The idea of the practical continuation school (in obligatory or non-obligatory forms) was based on the notion of schooling with combined practical and general education.



However, a Swedish solution equivalent to that of the 1918 reform, which was based on an encompassing coalition for the integration of VET and general education, was not on. Instead the Norwegian VET schools were taken out of the unitary school reform agenda, and VET schools and post-obligatory general education re-emerged as two distinct problem areas, undergoing distinct modernization scenarios and development processes. Within industry and crafts, employer interests were neither able to achieve a VET reform on the basis of apprenticeship nor a solution based on the formation of “pre-apprentice” VET schools. The field remained in search of a proper legal basis. As a result the “unprotected” VET schools went through unprecedented budget reductions during the recession in the 1930ies. As in crafts and industry, commerce education (handel) also confronted problems. Setting up a shop required basic training in a commerce school, and a citizens letter documenting such skills. Such schools were also formed through local initiatives. The growth of these schools and the need for regulations were recognized by the state, but a legal framework for this type of schools did not materialize either. Basic commerce education remained a private enterprise, and attempts at achieving state financing and regulation did not succeed. But the commerce gymnasiums managed to obtain access to a university education as early as 1910. Although ideas were nourished about parallel educational systems in commerce and industry/crafts and a technical gymnasium, this was never achieved.

In industry and crafts the new labour regime intervened with law and organization. State control and state planning emerged as the road to reform. Policy makers and actors looked once again towards Sweden and Denmark. The vocational school act was heavily influenced by Swedish model, while the apprenticeship act of 1950 referred to Danish structures and practices. The result was a “double” institutionalization. Separate governance structures for VET schools and apprentice system was set up. Relations between the two elements of VET were loosely coupled, and gravitated in different directions in different trades. Pre-apprentice schools and apprenticeship could be flexibly combined, where time spent in such schools could be deducted in the specification of the duration of apprenticeship. Some elements of handicrafts and domestic science was gradually incorporated into the practical continuation school and then merged into growing unitary school at lower secondary level, while others elements survived as specialized VET schools. Also the commerce schools were drawn into the emerging systematization processes. Traditionally the labour party and the labour movement harboured a strong scepticism towards the white collar sector, but the growth of the service industry as well as possibilities of integration of the white collar workers within an encompassing Federation of Labour were compelling arguments. Public shop-floor schools and a separate apprentice system for white collar trades were formed. But neither employer nor youth interests materialized in the long run, and commerce education remained a private enterprise. Thus it can be argued that the Norwegian VET system hardly can be lumped under the Swedish statist model, nor the Danish dual model. Rather it looks like a compound, developed though a unique route.

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Dialectical polarizations of vocational training in France

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In France, for a long time, the vocational training of young adults differentiated little between the terms "technical" and "professional". The trade schools, established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, rather laid the basis for an industrial staff at the middle or lower level. The term "professional" moved into the landscape of youth training during the twentieth century, with the Astier Act of 1919, and then in the 1970s with the vocational secondary school, whose purpose was to train future workers and employees. Somewhat paradoxically, it is therefore during the century in which France is developing a more egalitarian vision of its school system that words institutionalize a hierarchy within itself: "professional" representing the training of workers and employees, "technical" the training of the team leaders and middle-level managers of the production and administration, and "general" the academic path to university diplomas as well as to degrees in higher education, even when highly professionalizing.

Under these conditions, speaking of initial vocational training in France implies a choice. One possible alternative, the one referred to here, is to focus primarily on the training of future workers and employees, for two reasons. The first relates to a characteristic of the French education system: it resorts little to continuing or "lifelong" education, and the objective fate of the individuals is centrally decided at the time of initial training, the latter being highly segmented and hierarchized, despite the "egalitarian" discourses of French society. The second refers to the law of majority: the structure of the labor market in France remains largely dominated by the weight of the working classes, workers and employees.

This being the case, how to account for what is - and has been - initial vocational training in France? A linear description of the history of vocational training seems to be in vain: it would juxtapose elements intertwined. Hence the bias towards thinking the initial vocational training, here, not as a change which would lead from a "rudimentary" state to a "modernity", but as a set of "dialectical polarizations" characterizing it historically as well as renewing itself continuously over time, while taking different shapes. In this perspective, three pairs of oppositions are clearly identifiable.

The first relates to the system of training of future workers and employees. The system of initial vocational training in France does not represent a "stable state": it is the product of conflicts, of different visions, of social relations, in short of social struggles, the key issues of which are focused on the training sites of young people (I).

The second issue opposes diploma and certification. It raises the question of the forms of attestation and certification of professional knowledge that training must deliver. France took the side on the one hand of a policy of "graduation" of its youth initiating in the early twentieth century, and on the other hand of a policy of raising the level of diplomas characterizing rather the second half of the twentieth century,



thus contributing to strengthening the hierarchy as well as the segmentation of the youth, to the extent that today professional diplomas certifying "basic qualifications" become diplomas "to be avoided" (II).

Finally, the third polarization is built around the purpose of training. It scrutinizes the social function of vocational training between a political project of the training of "the human being, the worker and the citizen" and the rising power of "adequationist" theories which tend to reduce the vocational training to the question of "placing" the youth on the labor market (III).

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Using qualifications policy as a leading element of reform strategy in VET – the English case

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Abstract: The paper examines the emergence of outcomes-based approaches in VET and the way in which this has impacted on the role and purpose of qualifications. It examines the way in which qualifications and qualifications frameworks have become a specific focus of some national governments and transnational agencies. It explores paradigm conflict between outcomes-based approaches and other models and the system levels impact of an outcomes-oriented approach to system management and improvement. It highlights particular failings of the QCF (Qualifications and Curriculum Framework) in the English setting.

Keywords: Outcomes, qualifications, qualifications frameworks, management of change

‘Outcomes’ versus ‘formation’

A focus on ‘outcomes’ has emerged strongly in VET strategy, affecting domestic, European and transnational developments (CEDEFOP 2012; Jessup ; Clarke & Winch 2006; Coles & Werquin 2007). While strategies focussed on increasing VET (Vocational Education and Training) volumes and quality have remained strongly located in national arrangements and priorities, outcomes-based approaches have been promoted strongly by European agencies, for example:

The endemic irrelevance of curriculum may be one of the greatest obstacles to matching education and training provision successfully to learner and labour market needs. Adopting a learning outcomes approach when developing curricula, valuing what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process – irrespective of how, when and where this learning takes place – is seen by many European countries as an effective way to avoid such potential mismatches and promote active learning and inclusive teaching. For VET providers and employers, outcome-oriented curricula can offer a valuable platform for bridging the worlds of education, training and work, providing a common language between competences acquired in learning and the needs of occupations and the labour market. For teachers, a curriculum built on knowledge, skills and competences that learners can acquire through an interdisciplinary approach, is more challenging than traditional approaches but also more flexible in designing learning programmes tailored to the needs of learners and applying innovative pedagogies and assessment procedures.
(CEDEFOP 2009 p1)

Outcomes-based approaches have one very clear asset: when founded on sound empirical analysis, they can better link curricula and qualifications to the content and processes of work (Jessup 1991). This can result in learning programmes better linked to labour market requirements, and allow more effective curriculum



development and management processes – for example, deliberate management of the level and breadth of programmes. But outcomes models, by attending more to surface and observable aspects of work, can lead to a neglect of less tangible but vital elements of competence, such as a concern for accuracy, underpinning values, and interpersonal skills, and can lead to a down-grading of knowledge (Oates 2004). Expressed in an extreme form (Jessup op cit) they can lead to a neglect of the relation between the form of learning and the composition of outcomes. This represents a failure to recognise that the way in which something is learned can have consequences for the precise nature of the outcome; for example, the extent to which a person can apply knowledge or skill in varying settings. The potential reductivism in outcomes-based approaches can be moderated by the quality and scope of the empirical analysis which underpins it. That is, sound analysis does indeed apprehend the need for more subtle development of values, for ability to act in complex teams, etc. But it is an approach which is highly dependent on the theory and practical method driving this analysis. It is thus potentially more error-prone than some other models for design and management of VET.

The highly deliberate nature of outcomes-based approaches – a relentless focus on the ‘analysed elements’ of work – can be contrasted with ‘formation’ models of VET such as the Dual System models in Germany and Switzerland, or the long-duration vocational stream in the Netherlands. Such systems are not opposed to the aims or methods of outcomes approaches – they too focus on incorporating accurately the requirements of specific work processes. However, they include a commitment to ‘immersion in work’: acquisition of specific values, orientation to work, an expansive knowledge base through subtle, extended processes of engagement in real work, simulation and by applying knowledge and skills in varying settings, over time. Ironically, such approaches potentially are less error-prone than highly instrumental outcomes-based approaches, since they rely on more protracted immersion in work-based learning, rather than focussed ‘managerialist’ approaches to skill acquisition, these latter being associated with shorter-duration, highly targeted training. Potentially less error prone, they also appear less efficient, due to longer duration and less apparent precision in learning input-learning outcome linkages. These long-duration training streams are founded on assumptions that moving, in IVET (Initial Vocational Education and Training), from young and inexperienced, to mature and competent, requires forms of learning which are broad-based both in content and curriculum aims, and where acquisition of ‘work habits’ and deeper values (such as a concern for accuracy, a commitment to team working) are more associated with managed learning processes than highly formal certification processes.

Empirical analysis suggests that the ‘strong’ version of outcomes-base approaches (that ‘learning does not matter’) is flawed – models of situated learning suggest that the way in which things are learned can impact the composition of learning outcomes (Boreham, & Samurcay 1998; Eraut 1998; Oates 2004; Brockman, Clarke & Winch 2008). But the same work also suggest that learning outcomes descriptors (standards) – the mainstay of outcomes-based qualifications – can be reframed to include these more subtle, broader elements of competence (Oates op cit).



Paradigm conflict

A paradigm conflict legitimately can be said to exist, partly on the basis of very different policy directions of the two models, but also due to contemporary controversy over the effectiveness of Dual System models and whether they are modern (and central to current and future economic and social success) or anachronistic (and thus an impediment to economic and social success). The discussion around the genuine and serious reduction in employment-based training places in the German Dual System is an example of this controversy – but played out in a complex way. The reduction can be seen as a failure of the underlying model (Tremblay 2003; Deissinger & Hellwig 2005; The Economist 2010; TES 2012) or – quite differently – as a failure of incentive structures and culture to support a vital mechanism for supply of skills to the economy (Eichhorst & Marx 2009).

Outcomes-based approaches pull towards systems managed through frameworks of standards and driven by formal qualifications. These are characterised by a tight focus on explicitly-stated standards, by shorter-duration and more focussed IVET, and the use of qualifications as the major structuring element of all forms of State-sponsored VET provision and State VET policy. The emphasis on low levels of ‘front end’ VET for young people – training to minimum levels of competence in highly targeted programmes – is accompanied by an aspiration to put in place highly flexible and accessible adult provision – stimulating high levels of later participation in training oriented to specific work requirements. The key words here are ‘efficiency’, ‘transparency in standards’, ‘qualifications’, and ‘flexibility of provision’.

By contrast, Dual Systems and allied arrangements emphasise ‘formation’, are characterised by broad-based and long-duration IVET, have a greater focus on learning processes, emphasise the distinction between ‘certificates’ (formal qualifications) and ‘qualification’ (the acquisition of an appropriate body of skills, knowledge and understanding), and emphasise the vital role of ‘training for stock at the level of the individual’ – while later access to training may be important, high quality initial training is vital. The key words here are ‘foundation’, ‘formation’, ‘qualification rather than certification’.

One way in which this distinction plays out, in very real ways, is the contrast in approaches to provision for these different categories of VET:

- 1 school-based VET (including work experience) as a component of compulsory general education
- 2 initial VET in a full-time educational setting
- 3 employment-based for young entrants to the labour market – focused VET for comprehensive labour market preparation
- 4 continuing VET for adult employed workers
- 5 VET for unemployed adults

In outcomes-driven systems such as the UK, there has been an assumption that the same, modular vocational qualifications can serve the curriculum needs of all of



these categories (Oates T 2013a) despite the very different needs in each of these. In addition, this strategy has been accompanied by continuing structural skills shortages, low status of vocational training, a collapse in provision of 'classical apprenticeship' and vast increase in training delivered by private training providers rather than employer-based places (Oates op cit). Thus, it is not clear that a 'modern' outcomes-based approach has driven improvement across the different categories of VET in England.

Outcomes and qualifications frameworks

Outcomes-based approaches also have affected high level policy instruments. Qualifications frameworks – both national and international – have emerged as a very new type of instrument for system control and management (Oates T 2013b). Instruments which focus on mobility and recognition – such as the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) - frequently have been strongly influenced by an 'outcomes-orientation' (Coles & Oates 2005).

England provides an interesting case of qualifications-led policy in relation to initial VET (for 16-19 year olds). Repeated reform of formal qualifications has been a feature of the last three decades, which include significant investment in the development of a national 'Qualifications and Credit Framework' (QCF). Policy makers placed considerable faith in the QCF during the period 2004-10 in respect of 'rationalisation' of VET qualifications – a radical rationalisation and reduction of qualifications – aiming both to enhance the responsiveness of qualifications and reduce overall numbers. This combined with a national target to increase participation in Higher Education to over 50% of young people – with strong messaging to society that HE was a vital route for personal and societal success.

The data are salutary: the number of qualifications increased dramatically in the period 2006-2011, rather than reduced, with the main increase being in QCF qualifications - with no commensurate reduction in other categories.



Qualification type	Number of qualifications available to certificate				
	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11
Advanced Extension Award	-	-	-	-	-
Basic Skills	100	100	100	100	100
Diploma	0	50	150	200	200
English for Speakers of Other Languages	150	150	150	150	200
Entry Level	350	300	300	350	350
Free Standing Mathematics Qualification	50	-	-	-	-
Functional Skills	100	100	100	250	200
GCE A Level	250	450	450	450	300
GCE AS	300	450	450	450	250
GCSE	450	450	700	750	800
General National Vocational Qualification	100	50			
Higher Level	400	500	550	600	550
Key Skills	350	350	350	350	400
National Vocational Qualification	2,100	2,000	1,900	1,750	1,600
Occupational Qualification	100	100	100	100	100
Other General Qualification	500	600	650	750	750
Principal Learning	-	50	100	200	200
Project	-	-	-	-	-
QCF	150	1,000	2,450	6,100	9,700
VCE Advanced Subsidiary Level	-				
Vocational Certificate of Education	100				
Vocationally-Related Qualification	2,650	2,950	2,950	2,750	2,400
Total	8,150	9,700	11,500	15,300	18,100

Source Ofqual, the Register Database

The QCF essentially developed a set of criteria (a formula for awarding credit ratings) which allowed a much wider range of qualifications to attain legitimacy. Whatever the technical merits of this recognition, it was in direct contradiction with the original policy aim. As emphasised above, despite the impetus to reform, volumes of young people in high quality, long duration initial training have not increased significantly. At the same time, structural skill shortages and under-utilisation of HE graduates have emerged as a persistent feature of the economy and VET system (Keep undated).

Conclusion

Despite the potential to provide an empirically-grounded analysis of the content of work, and thus better-ground qualifications in the content of work and work processes, outcomes-oriented policy has tended towards restricted perspectives on the design and management of VET arrangements. A better balance of 'formation-oriented' and 'outcome-oriented' provision is necessary.

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The occupational principle as a key factor in the institutional change of Norwegian skill formation

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Abstract: The main empirical analysis in the paper offers a portrait of the historical formation and institutionalization of the occupational trade and its skilled worker category within the production units of the Norwegian chemical process industry. This process is interpreted as a successful expansion of the dual system within the Norwegian VET. The difficulties establishing similar trades and categories within health and social care and for retail and administrative work serves as instructive contrast for the general thesis of the paper: the importance a multidimensional construction of occupational trades as condition for expansion of a dual apprenticeship based system of VET.

Keywords: occupational principle, institutional change, skilled worker categories, Norwegian VET

Introduction

For the international literature on skill formation, or systems of vocational education and training, the Norwegian case offers an interesting case. Within an overall heterogeneous institutional setting, with strong vocational school traditions in some fields of training, plain firm based training in others, and still dual apprenticeship traditions in thirds, in the 1960ies a general school based statist system seemed to get a stronghold. The “Swedish model” was a key reference. The more interesting – and maybe astonishing - a significant change of direction could be observed from the 1980ies. The apprenticeship tradition was revitalized and experienced a regular renaissance in the industrial sector. Even more, in the national educational reform in 1994 it was a central goal to expand this kind of collective skill formation based on a cooperation of public and private interest and responsibility for education and training regulated of autonomous occupational governance, typical for s.k. “dual systems” (Greinert 1998), to all sectors and fields of VET. It was put forward as a key element in the “main model” of the Norwegian VET a whole.

Today, however, we may hold that this goal has achieved a rather modest success. While the dual model has experienced a renaissance and further expansion the industrial sector, the experience in the service is rather different. To some extent, in fields like retail and administration, the whole apprenticeship order is a rather weak institutional plant. For a historical explanation of both the successful development within the industrial sector as well as for the constraints of further expansion in other (service) sectors, this is the main argument of the paper, we must look at the conditions for the growth of the occupational trades, the “core” of the system (Kutscha 1992). As representative for an institutional success we shall present the history of the occupational trades in the production units of Norwegian chemical



process industry. This will be the main part of the paper. As contrasting cases we shall look at the trades in health and social care and in retail and administration.

Methodology and theoretical perspective

The paper will have a synthetic ambition and will, for the main part, be based on earlier empirical studies made by the author (Olsen 1990, 1994). For the contrasting analysis it bases mainly on other empirical studies of the period (Høst 2007, 2014). The empirical material for these studies is a combination of case studies of companies (interviews, documents, observation), local network studies and policy studies (national public and interest organisations: key informant interviews, documents).

In explaining the continued heterogeneity of the Norwegian VET – and lack of collective skill formation expansion – the paper will draw on concepts of interdependent - but elastic – relationships between system of education and employment structure (Lutz 1981) and the variety of conditions for establishing an occupational principle in different sectors. The formation of specific occupational trades will be studied as part of broader labour market categories, or qualification types (Drexel 1989). How are they anchored in skilled worker categories at the labour market and in the horizontal and vertical division of labour of the firms? Such categories are seen as historical or social “constructs” (Maurice et.al. 1982) of multidimensional processes. On the one side there is the qualification processes (education and training) related to formal and informal learning processes, carried by some form of community of practice. On the other side we have political processes, forwarded partly by educational actors and partly by actors of work and labour politics. Occupational trades are both educational and qualification categories as well as labour categories – and their development must be understood as such.

The historical formation of new occupational trades and skilled worker categories in Norwegian process industry

The scene of the historical formation (the social construction) of the Norwegian industrial skilled worker was originally first and foremost the metal industry. In the expanding chemical and electro metallurgic process industry the skilled worker categories belonged in the maintenance departments. Production workers were recruited as unskilled. Some developed high local qualifications as “firm specialists” for the most demanding work tasks, but most of the work was seen as easy jobs, “Jedermannsarbeit”. Work and labour politics in these industries was up to the 1950/60ies mostly based on a “tayloristic” rationalization ideology. Quantity, not quality, was the main criteria of productivity. This production paradigm was, however, (slowly) replaced by a type of “differentiated quality production” (Sorge/Streeck 1988). Technology and market situation demanded new kinds of work organisation and qualification. A general need for highly skilled production worker evolved. Local innovative projects were initiated in 1960/70ies, and in the 1970ies an internal program for training and status assignment became model for the results in a national public enquiry on the need for reforms within the Norwegian VET for industrial branches.



The initiatives and suggestions put forward by local firms and groups of representatives of both labour and employer organisations may be seen as starting point of long lasting process of institutional innovation and entrepreneurship. The initiatives coincide with a growing engagement for competence politics and vocational training within the industry as a whole and – related to this – a preparation for a renewal of the apprenticeship law through a public inquiry on the same theme. And in the early 1980ies a grand new occupational trade for production workers in the process industry regulated by the renewed law of 1980 was launched. This was achieved not without resistance. The idea of a production worker (in this kind of industry) as a skilled worker category contradicted the traditional concept of industrial skilled work, originated in transformed craft categories.

Informal resistance was also observed in the tendency to hold on to old ways of recruitment, training and work organisation in many firms. The general standing of the production work as low skilled was also a hindrance for quick transformation of the occupational status and institutionalisation of a new category on the level of the “qualification type” skilled worker. As local vocational schools established first years introductory and second years further going courses for preparation of the apprenticeship training, they got no or very few students that had this trade as first choice. “Chemical process worker” was seen as second and third option; it was a solution for those who didn’t get anything else.

But this situation changed during the decade of 1980ies. A determined long-termed cooperation of key actors in the firms (trainers, unionists, local foremen) and regional/local schools (securing highly relevant, demanding and interesting training, in both schools and firms), supported by institutional entrepreneurs within the branch organisations and national unions, organising regional and national networks, partly within the framework of regional and national councils of the apprenticeship system, the “social construction” of a new skilled worker were unfolded and realized. When turning to a new decade, 1990ies, the school places for chemical process work were contended, and the occupational trade experienced a steep rise of status within the general area of industrial VET.

The highly qualified young skilled workers met the needs of work organisations in continuous change towards demand for quality and regularity of production; these changes on their side met the expectations of the new young workers, which again gave positive feedback to the educational programs in the schools, recruiting highly motivated local students. One other factor added to the success: the new skilled worker could build on the core of the traditional stock of “unskilled” workers, who could upgrade their status by theoretical preparation and practical test for attaining certificate identical of completed apprenticeship. This was made possible by a special article in the national law of apprenticeship. The article, which has been very popular and in extensive use within many occupational trades, opened for a strong growth of the amount of skilled production workers in the process industry – and thereby for a normalization of the category – and for securing the unity within the communities of the work organisations. The new category could be seen as an option for everybody and expression of recognition for the production work as such.

In the first phase local foremen could feel a threat from the expansion of the new skilled workers entering their space of overall competence and production



knowledge. After a while their own positions were transformed to shift leaders and a broader responsibility compensated for the loss of being the problem-shooter of every technical detail. For groups higher in the hierarchy of the division of labour the new skilled worker was no threat.

Contrasting the evolvement of the skilled production worker in chemical process industry with similar initiatives of “constructing” skilled workers in the service sector some conditional factors emerge as significant for their lack of success. As for the health and social care workers both their origin and their further evolvement have been strictly defined by their positions as subordinated different semi-professional groups of higher rank, nurses etc. This has not only narrowed their work tasks and skilled worker autonomy, it has also - more important – been a continuous and strong signal – a self-evident proof, almost – for all young people entering these fields of work, that the “natural” end for their education is not a skilled worker position but a position as a semi-professional worker. The drift towards higher education among students starting in the vocational programme of health and social care is accordingly strong. When it comes to retail and administration a main problem is the fact that need for labour recruitment is met by other channels than apprenticeship training. So is the qualification processes.

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The development and implementation of the workplace learning approach in the Vocational Education and Training System in Spain

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Abstract: The paper covers three topics. Firstly, it presents a historical analysis of the evolution of the Vocational and Educational System in Spain throughout the last decade. Secondly, it analyses the efficiency of the VET system in terms of enrolment rates of students and employment rates of graduates. Finally, preliminary results are presented regarding the quality of internships, workplace practice modules and apprenticeships practices.

Keywords: work based-learning, employability, educational attainment

Introduction

VET Systems have attracted the attention of politicians, academics and employers due to a convergence of economic, social, technological and historical factors. Consequently, educational systems are undergoing a process of reforms and deep changes in order to face the challenges of a global, competitive and knowledge-driven economy. In this context, the Spanish government introduced great changes in the structure of its educational system, firstly as a result of the implementation of the European educational policies and, secondly, and more urgently, as a result of the outburst of the economic and financial crisis. The present paper gives an historical account of the development of the VET system in Spain, analyses its current results in terms of enrolment and employability of its graduates and look into future challenges.

Methodology

The study draws on a documental analysis, statistic national data and in-depth interviews. The study traces the recent history of the VET System in Spain through a documental analysis of specific laws and decrees and attempts to identify its underling rationality within the current economic and social background. This analysis is focused on the development and implementation of the work-based learning approach, which is not new in the Spanish context but was renew along with the recent incorporation of the dual system. The analysis is complemented with four in-depth interviews to key informants in the vocational educational field and quantitative information from statistical national data.

Results

History of VET System in Spain

The VET System in Spain encountered many problems to become part of the formal educational system throughout the second half of the last century. Its institutionalization process was long, unstable and with many difficulties. Three main factors account for this. First, the formal educational system traditionally was based on an academic and theoretical-oriented model with a propaedeutic purpose towards university studies. In this context, vocational studies were always regarded as a second-class education. Second, the underdevelopment of the Spanish industrial economy during the first half of the last century did not require a qualified workforce or, in any case, it was considered enough that workers gained their experience on their job. Finally, the limited development of wealth fare polices increased the difficulties to introduce educational polices in this regard due to lack of budget or weak initiatives.

The current Spanish VET system is the result of the combination of three different schemes addressed to different target groups, each run by a different governmental agency, and each build on different curricular design. Firstly, there is the Professional Training scheme (Initial VET), regulated and organized by the Ministry of Education. This is the mainstream track. Secondly, there is the Occupational Training scheme (Initial VET), regulated and organized by the Ministry of Employment. This educational track is considered a second chance for those who have not finished the compulsory secondary education and wants to resume their training. Finally, there is the Professional Training for Employment scheme (Continuing VET), which is organized under a tripartite model with the participation of the government, the trade unions and the employees' unions. This scheme addressed the continuing training needs of the employed and unemployed workers. These three schemes are link together with the National Qualification Catalogue which functions as an exchange coin in terms of qualification recognition.

Current results of the VET System in Spain

Great efforts have been made in the last years to improve attractiveness of initial VET Diplomas. The raise on the number of students following the VET itinerary in the education system shows some success and the different pathways between the general studies leading to university or the vocational studies are striking some balance. The graduation rate in the upper secondary education has raise for the period 2005-2011 and, for the first time in 2011, the graduation rate in the upper secondary vocational orientation was higher than the general orientation (Fig. 1).

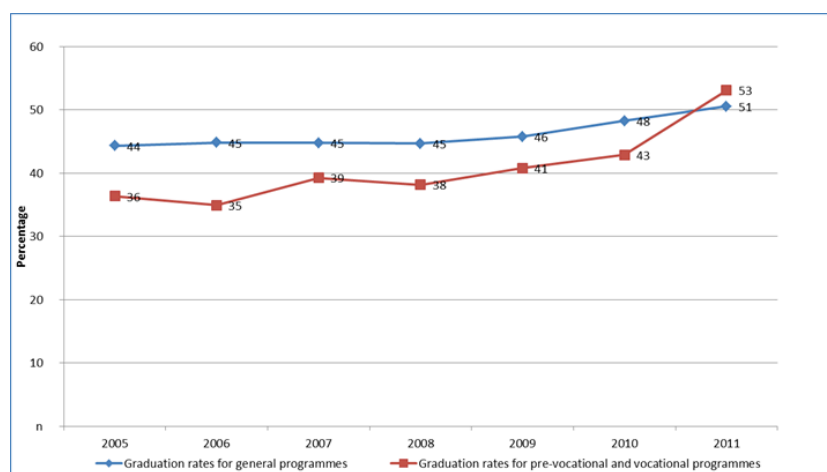


Figure 1: Trends in graduation rates at upper secondary level (OECD, 2013)

However, despite these great efforts, Spain is still behind the OECD and EU21 benchmarks in terms of educational attainment. Spanish population structure in terms of ISCED levels shows a reduce number of people with intermediate level qualifications (Adults 25-64 years old with ISCED 3-4, 22%, 2010) in comparison with other OECD or EU21 countries (OECD 44%; EU21 48%, 2010).

The economic crisis has highlighted the weaknesses of the Spanish labour market in the last years. The severity of the current crisis has destroyed more jobs, and faster, than in the major European economies. A main concern is the high and persistent unemployment rate. Job losses have been most severe in certain age and educational attainment groups. The youngsters have been severely affected by unemployment facing difficult transitions from school to the labour market. In this context, both types of graduates of general studies and vocational studies have great difficulties in finding a job. An analysis of the evolution of the employment rate in the 16-24-year-old group shows a favourable response by the labour market to graduates of vocational studies. There was a slighter fall of the employment rate in the 16-24-year-old group of age with vocational diplomas than graduates of general studies in the same group of age (Fig. 2).

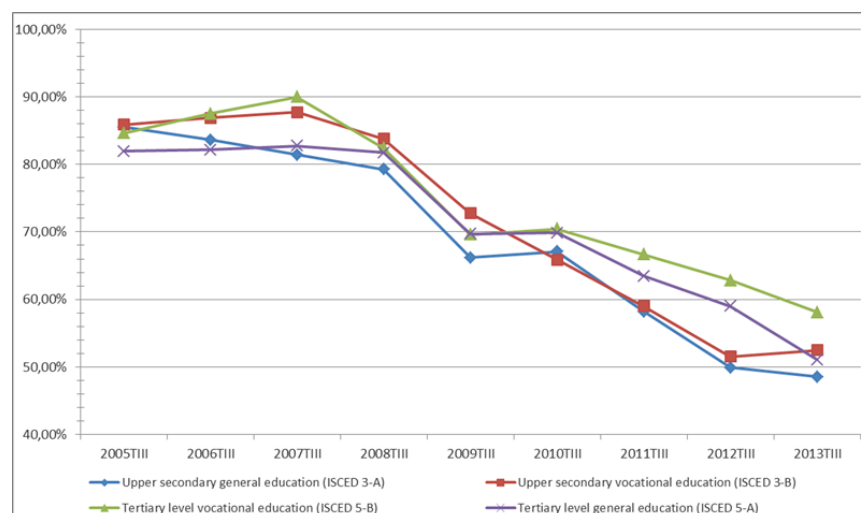


Figure 2: Employment rate 16-24 year-old group, EPA, 2005-2013, 3er trimester (INE, 2013).

These figures show that the labour market takes into consideration not only the educational attainment level but also the type of educational program and that vocational studies have a good recognition. This might be regarded as a paradox in which a high employment rate does not corresponds with a high enrolment rates in vocational studies. However, according to some authors (Casquero-Tomás & Navarro-Gómez, 2012), vocational education graduates would have a faster transition from school to work in the short term while general education graduates would have a better employability and would be able to find a more stable job in the long term.

Challenges

There are several issues that the VET system should tackle in the future.



The work-based learning approach and education-business partnerships needs more attention. Different problems still need to be address, e.g. the competence which will be established among the students to get a placement, to get a real placement and to get one of quality. There are also problems of design, planning, delivery, and assessment of training under work placements arrangements, as well as its relationship to school based learning. Work placement needs to be considered under a curricular framework if it is expected to be related to vocational education and not only to narrowly specific occupational preparations. All this is connected with broader questions of the Education-Business partnerships. It must be understood as a two-way dialogue. There must be a clear commitment on both sides towards cooperation, understanding and sharing benefits as well as efforts.

The specialization of the VET system has been a chief aim of the most recent reforms to match vocational training with the labour market structure. However, several authors have argued that a greater specialization produce a greater dispersion causing very low enrolment rates in of some studies. This also produce the phenomena of 'occupationalization' which consist in 'to design a vocational education model excessively centred in short term needs of the labour market and leave aside long term needs of people and companies as well' (Marhuenda-Fluixá, 2001). To counter this situation and gain a better position in the labour market, youngsters use to accumulate several vocational qualifications by combining more general o more specific studies.

An ongoing research shows some preliminary results about the quality of VET studies. This findings draw from interviews with 4 teachers of vocational education. Among others, here we would like to highlight three main issues. Firstly, teachers argued that the structure and design of the VET system are in constant change and it seems difficult to make profit of what has been done before. This is connected with the influence of European guidelines through which there is a feeling that more demands than inputs have been posed. Secondly, according to the teacher's point of view, the dual-system rise students' expectations to find a job once they finish their studies, tough not always these expectations are fulfilled or at least not automatically. Finally, teachers highlight the importance of the communication between educational institutions and company as one of the main success factors of the vocational system. These findings raise issues related with the general management of the vocational system, social and personal expectations and the definition of the education-business relation system.

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Comparison of historical development pathways of initial vocational education and training in Germany and Lithuania: how history matters for policy learning?

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Abstract: The paper discloses the role and importance of consideration of differences of historical development pathways of initial VET for the policy learning referring to the case of application of the experience of the dual apprenticeship from Germany in the implementation of the apprenticeship in the school-based initial VET system in Lithuania. There are compared the pathways of the historical development of the initial VET in Germany and Lithuania in the period from the second half of the XIXth century to our days considering relationships between “macro-context” factors and conditions (social, economical, cultural), development of institutional frameworks of VET, social dialogue and cooperation of stakeholders, VET policies, as well as the impact of the crucial institutional, political and social changes and transitions.

Keywords: apprenticeship, historical development of the VET institutions, policy learning, transitional change of the VET system

Introduction

Reforming of the initial VET systems requires different know-how in the VET policy design and implementation, curriculum design, development of institutional frameworks, social partnership etc. Countries that reform their VET systems look for this know-how in countries that have already implemented targeted measures. Europeanization of VET reforms and VET policy also enhances application of different policy borrowing and policy learning approaches referring to the different “leading” countries. It leads to the variety of approaches of application of such experiences beginning from the direct transfer of “successful” models, frameworks and approaches in VET (policy borrowing) and ending with comprehensive, holistic and in-depth analysis of the different practices of other countries used in the design and implementation of the original solutions and measures adapted to the conditions and requirements of the local VET systems. The paper discloses the relevance of consideration of the differences of historical development pathways of the initial VET and apprenticeship for the policy learning in the implementation of the dual apprenticeship in the school-based VET system in Lithuania. Historical rootedness of the social, political, institutional and legal conditions of the German dual apprenticeship model is considered as the factor that precludes direct exporting of this model and its application in other countries on the basis of policy borrowing (Euler 2013; Thelen & Busemeyer 2012; Streeck 2011).



Methodology

Research is based on the historical institutionalism theory and comparative historical analysis. Historical institutionalism theory provides methodological background for the analysis of interactions of ideas, interests and institutions involved in the creation and development of the institutions of initial VET and apprenticeship. It also helps to analyse the break downs of the institutional continuity in the development of the initial VET systems by identifying critical junctures in institutional developments of VET and focusing on how the institutions and actors of the VET become dependent variables of the abrupt historical changes. Comparative historical analysis is based by applying analysis of the features of the historical phenomena distinguished by Streeck (2009) in the context of the institutional development of initial VET – uniqueness and contingency of the VET changes, irreversibility of the changes in VET systems, historical givenness (impact of legacy) and dynamic nature of the change and development of the institutions, open and unpredictable outcomes of the historical development of the VET systems and processes.

Results

1. Institutional development pathway of initial VET and apprenticeship in Lithuania since the second half of the XIXth century

Looking to the institutional development pathway of the initial VET and apprenticeship in Lithuania in the above indicated period we can discern 5 main stages.

1. The period of crafts apprenticeship and first initiatives to establish initial VET institutions under the rule of Russian Empire in the end of the XIXth century- beginning of the XXth century. Looking to the socioeconomic context of this period there can be discerned two main factors – domination of the agrarian economy and society with very strong symbiosis of the crafts and slowly developing industry and absence of autonomous source of power that could exert on and articulate own political initiatives in the field of education governance. Due to the slow pace of industrial development in the current territory of Lithuania there has not occurred such strong and clear separation of industry and crafts as it was in Western Europe. It precluded several important implications for the development of initial VET: strong domination of the craft-based apprenticeship training at workplaces, as well as very slow and craft-oriented development of the formal vocational education institutions.

2. The period of attempts to establish more systemic vocational training in the fields of agriculture and crafts after the establishment of the independent state in 1918 and until the Soviet occupation in 1940. One of the most striking features of this period was comparatively low attention of the governments to the development of initial VET and apprenticeship. The institutional framework of the VET in the period of independent state of 1918-1940 was largely built upon the existing educational institutions. Establishment and development of the new VET institutions was largely limited due to the lack of capacity of stakeholders and social partners and low interest of governments in the development of initial VET. Development of vocational training institutions in this period inherited and further strengthened the trends of



social polarisation of the students and orientation to the education of lower social classes.

3. *The period of establishment of the Soviet VET system integrated in the centrally planned economy and subjugated to the functioning of the totalitarian state regime.*

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Soviet period was fast industrialization on the basis of centrally planned economy after the Second World War. After a range of different re-organisations the Soviet system of VET based on vocational-technical schools was established in the period of 1959-63. The newly established initial VET system was based on the totally different socio-economic basis – industrialization in the conditions of centrally planned economy and ideological goals of education. In this way initial VET became merely the instrument of regime used in planning and preparing loyal workforce for the planned economy, what largely contributed to the unattractiveness and poor image of this training pathway after the re-establishment of the independent state in 1990.

4. *The period of reforms of the initial VET system after the re-establishment of the independent state 1990-2004.*

Introduction and development of market economy and economic restructuring significantly changed the former structure of economy: many large industrial enterprises collapsed or were restructured into smaller units, many small and medium enterprises developed in the tertiary sector. There can be noticed some elements of continuity of institutional development from the previous Soviet period consisted mainly of the legacy of the public initial VET schools. This factor, together with the weak involvement of employers and social partners (esp. trade unions due to there involvement in the Soviet system) in the VET reform predefined mainly school-based direction of the institutional development of the initial VET. Reform of the initial VET system by it's re-orientation to the needs of market economy and democratic society required to introduce various new institutions thus opening the way to policy borrowing in this field.

5. *The period of Europeanization of the initial VET system and policy. 2004-current state.*

This period is characterized by the design and implementation of the institutional changes in the initial VET following the EU strategies and policies of VET development (Copenhagen strategy). Implementation of these strategies are related with the declared political goal to increase the attractiveness of initial VET pathway by improving the quality of initial VET, increasing permeability of learning pathways and learning outcomes between initial VET and higher education and fostering mobility of VET students and learners.

2. *Institutional development pathway of initial VET and apprenticeship in Germany since the second half of the XIXth century*

1. *The period of the establishment of the initial VET institutions (1870-1920).*

According to Greinert (2006), initial vocational education and training institutions emerged in the Prussian state not merely as response to the demand of skills caused by fast industrialization, but more as political reaction of Prussian state to the risks of the social disintegration caused by the tensions of industrial development. Institutionalised holistic vocational education was perceived and treated by the Governments as a measure of smooth socio-economic modernization by strengthening of the positions of the middle class.

2. *The period of institutional structuring and consolidation of the VET system in 1920-1970.*

In this period traditional elements of vocational education related to crafts training were integrated with the modern school-based education. Important role here was played by the consolidation of the interests of social partners. A systemic provision of vocational education and training with important



roles played by the stakeholders from the industry and trade unions was established. After 1918 was with Kerschensteiner's conception of the "Berufsschule" a systemic element created which can be seen as a functional complement of the academic paths of the Bildung. Strong centralization and strict legal regulation of initial VET by making industrial training compulsory in the period of National Socialist regime implied massification of enrolment of youth in VET (Gillingham 1986). After the Second World War there was followed the pathway for the development of the VET system towards public, regular, state supported and regulated education pathway with significantly increased role of trade unions in the development of apprenticeship system and design of the legal regulation.

3. The period of further construction and rationalisation of the dual VET system is marked with the legal regulation of initial VET of 1969. It marked a deeply going change and total renewal of the VET system. A new legal basis was needed and the Berufsbildungsgesetz BBiG (Federal Law of VET) was decreed. By this the role of all stakeholders of general vocational education and training was fixed. This law provided employee status to apprentices, introduced the national VET standards (Ausbildungsordnungen) entailing for each vocational profile a decree both on the content and the examination regulations and leading to the standardised general and theoretical vocational education and differentiated practical training.

4. The period of decentralisation of the provision of VET and apprenticeship and the reaction of collective skills formation in Germany started at the end of the XXth century under the impact of the rise of the tertiary sector and globalisation of economy (Thelen & Bussemeyer 2012). These developments challenged the corporatist German VET system seriously (esp. compared to systems based on units); and led in a first phase to a shift from the formation of the broad and uniformly standardised skills typical for the dual VET system of the previous period to increasing differentiation and modularization in the provision of skills in certain sectors; especially in the late 1990ies when Germany was considered to be the heart of "old Europe". Although some stakeholders still promote modularised approaches, proved the system and the relevant stakeholders its internal flexibility and achieved the integration of the new sectors into VET, such as IT.

3. Outcomes of comparison of the institutional development pathways of the initial VET and apprenticeship in Lithuania and Germany

Comparing the institutional development pathways of initial VET and apprenticeship in Lithuania and Germany, first of all there can be noticed the differences in **the roles played by the state and social stakeholders and the changes of balance of their power**. In case of the institutional development pathway of VET and apprenticeship in Germany, in the all periods beginning from the Prussian state and ending with the Federal Republic of Germany there can be noticed strong political will and support of state in initiating and regulating the establishment and further development of the VET institutions by seeking of different socio-economic and political goals. In the same time, VET gradually but irreversibly becomes important field of interests of social stakeholders and social dialogue, facilitating development of state-coordinated and social stakeholders' regulated model of VET governance. In case of institutional development of VET and apprenticeship pathway in Lithuania the role and influence



of state institutions and social stakeholders are rather different. In the periods of Russian Empire and the independent state of 1918-1940 there can be noticed certain vacuum of political will and involvement of state in initiating and fostering development of VET institutions and VET is largely left aside of the institutional development of education systems. During the Soviet period state became the main and most important regulating power in the development of VET subjugated to the requirements of planned economy and totalitarian regime. In the period of initial VET reforms after the restoring of independence in 1990 the state has been also the main initiator and driver of the VET reforms while other social stakeholders (employers, trade unions, professional organisations) have been not sufficiently interested and/or capable to take active and responsible roles in this field. Therefore incremental development of the capacity of social stakeholders in the field of VET requires from the state to take bigger part of responsibility and initiative in this field.

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Berufsbildung und Systementwicklung - Oesterreich und Preussen im Vergleich (1860–1914)

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Abstract: On the basis of Bourdieu's field theory (i.e. social space analysis: Bourdieu 1985) this lecture wants to handle an academic void between the top-down approach "system building" (primacy of structures) and the economic approach (primacy of economy/economic development) in a historic longitudinal section as well as contribute to a comparative educational research in Europe by the example of Prussia and Austria. Furthermore, the article aims to reconstruct the system integration of professional and general education. Against this background the institutional separation of professional and general education will be emphasized as well as the strict demarcation of non-academic and academic education in the German-speaking area and the associated authorization practices (certification programmes). Thereby both, the Bologna and the Copenhagen-Lisbon process, are brought up indirectly as well as the establishment of a vocational educational discourse in the German-speaking culture.

Keywords: Berufsbildungssystem (occupation / profession), Bildungspolitik (Educational policy / Policy of VET); Wirtschaftsförderung (Promotion of Economy); Vergleich (Comparative research);

Introduction

Die Etablierung des Systems Beruflicher Bildung wurde mit der Trennung von Fachbildung und Allgemeinbildung sowie der scharfen Abgrenzung von akademischer und nicht akademischer Bildung vornehmlich durch Österreich und die deutschen Staaten (Preußen, Sachsen, Baden, Württemberg etc.) realisiert. In Konkurrenz zu Frankreich wurde seit den 1860er Jahren im deutschsprachigen Raum ein institutionelles System nicht akademischer (Fach-)Schulen, in Konkurrenz zum etablierten Lehrlingswesen, mehr oder weniger flächendeckend, politisch gefördert und schrittweise in expandierenden Industrieregionen etabliert. Regionale Wirtschaftsförderung und Berufsbildungspolitik, basierend auf technischer Innovation, Produktivkraftentwicklung und strikter Arbeitsteilung, gingen über Jahrzehnt eine enge Allianz ein (Schütte/ Gonon 2004; Schütte 2013).

Am Beispiel von Österreich (Böhmen) und Preußen lässt sich sowohl der Prozess der „Systembildung“ in den Etappen „Systemfindung“, „Systemkonstitution“ und „Systemkomplementierung“ (Müller 1996; Schütte 2003; 2012) bildungshistorisch rekonstruieren als auch die aktuelle, europäische Systemarchitektur im Längsschnitt diskutieren. Mit der institutionellen Fokussierung auf das technische Fachschulwesen



im Habsburger Reich und dessen Entwicklung in Preußen-Deutschland lassen sich so genannte Pilotprojekte, ausgewählte Schulstandorte und engagierte Pioniere identifizieren, die prototypisch sowohl für den Aufstieg der Fachbildung als auch für die Desintegration von akademischer und nicht akademischer Bildung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und dessen institutionelle Ausdifferenzierung stehen.

Der Ingenieur, Fachschulpionier und Technikmethodiker Christian Theodor Reuter (1838–1909) lässt sich in diesem Szenario als Pars-pro-toto-Akteur der Epoche adressieren. Als erster Direktor der ‚mechanisch-technischen Lehrwerkstätten‘ in Komotau (Böhmen) zählt Reuter zu den herausragenden ‚Fachschulmännern‘ Preußens. Reuter war nicht nur Promotor des Institutionalisierungsprozesses und aktiver Teil der fachschulpolitischen Arena in Böhmen (Österreich) sowie später in Preußen, sondern auch ein ausgewiesener Technikmethodik und Mitbegründer des Unterrichtsfachs Technisches Zeichnen an den zeitgenössischen Fach- und später gegründeten Berufsschulen.

Der berufsbildungspolitische Vergleich bietet die Möglichkeit, einerseits die Systembildung über einen Zeitraum von rund sechzig Jahren (1850/60–1914) zu analysieren, andererseits eine vertikale und horizontale Systemintegration von nicht akademischer und (semi-)akademischer Bildung (Berufsbildung) zu identifizieren. Gesellschaftspolitische Rückwirkungen auf die Systemarchitektur nationaler resp. europäischer Bildungssysteme im Kontext des Bolognaprozesses sowie des Kopenhagen-Lissabonprozesses lassen sich derart diskutieren (Schütte 2013a).

Auf diesem Hintergrund diskutiert der Vortrag erstens, ausgehend vom Ansatz der ‚Systembildung‘ (Müller 1981), die theoretische Reichweite diverser Ansätze, zweitens den Prozess der Institutionalisierung der Fachbildung und damit die Etablierung gewerblich-technischer Schulen in zwei bildungspolitisch dominanten Staaten Zentraleuropas und drittens, beispielhaft, die Gründung einzelner Schulstandorte in Verbindung mit der Biographie des Fachschulpioniers Ch. T. Reuter. Das Resümee (Results) geht viertens der Eingangsfrage nach und thematisiert erneut die ‚Systemintegration‘ von Allgemeinbildung und Fachbildung sowie damit die institutionelle Abgrenzung von akademischer und nicht akademischer Bildung im bildungs- resp. ordnungspolitischen Raum Europa.

Methodology

Die Bourdieu'sche Feldtheorie konzentriert die sozialwissenschaftliche Analyse auf die Arenen Bildungs-, Arbeitsmarkt- und Wirtschaftspolitik sowie, nur indirekt erkennbar, auf die verdeckte Berechtigungspolitik. Die gesellschaftlichen Felder Wirtschaft, Politik und Herrschaft treten somit in den Vordergrund. Während das ‚Bochumer Modell‘ von D. K. Müller (1981) und der ökonomistisch-technikzentrierte Ansatz, basierend auf dem Primat der Ökonomie, nur einzelne Arenen und diese zudem isoliert betrachten, argumentieren Vertreter des ‚Dual-Modell-Ansatzes‘ (Greinert 2000, zuletzt Gonon 2013) nur mit einem institutionellen Ausschnitt des Systems Beruflicher Bildung, bestehend aus Berufsfachschulen, (Technische) Fachschulen und ‚Dualem System‘. Die institutionelle Verbundenheit und Genese dieser Schultypen resp. Bildungsgänge wird von diesem Ansatz in analytischer Absicht ignoriert. Hier wie dort ist ein Reduktionismus zu beobachten, der die Komplexität sowohl der angesprochenen Arenen als auch die der historisch



etablierten Bildungsinstitutionen mit ihren ausdifferenzierten Angeboten ausblendet. Vergleichende Berufsbildungsforschung hat sich deshalb der unterschiedlichen Objektbereiche hinsichtlich Struktur, Politik und Personal zu vergewissern.

Die Öffnung der sozialhistorischen Perspektive lenkt den analytischen Blick auf die historischen Barrieren von Systemintegration und die sozial- sowie gesellschaftspolitischen Zusammenhänge von Bildungs- und Beschäftigungssystem, von Fachbildung und Allgemeinbildung mit Rückwirkungen auf soziale Ungleichheit und berufliche Mobilität. Angelegt als Längsschnittstudie und mit einem Primat der Politik operierend leistet der angestrebte Vergleich einen Beitrag zur Annäherung und zum Verständnis europäischer Bildungssysteme.

Die Studie argumentiert auf der Basis ungedruckter Archivalien und gedruckter Quellen in österreichischen und deutschen Staatsarchiven unterschiedlicher Provenienz sowie ausgewählter Stadtarchive.

Results

Der Beitrag fokussiert vier Themenfelder mit unterschiedlicher Reichweite und sensibilisiert für:

- die manifesten Probleme der Systemintegration von Fachbildung und Allgemeinbildung sowie die scharfe Gegenüberstellung von nicht akademischer und akademischer Bildungswege im Kontext der europäischen Harmonisierung nationaler Bildungssysteme;
- die Dynamik der Institutionalisierung sowie Ausdifferenzierung fach- / berufsfachschulischer Bildungsgänge (Typenbildung) am Beispiel ausgewählter Schulstandorte (Komotau, Böhmen & Magdeburg, Preußen);
- die Herstellung politischer Akzeptanz sowie den gesellschaftlichen support neuer Bildungsinstitutionen und damit unmittelbar verbunden die Rekrutierung neuer Klientel;
- die Verhinderung (bis hin zur jahrzehntelangen Blockade) sozialer Mobilität auf der Grundlage berechtigungspolitischer Hürden.

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Bildungssystemforschung: Intention, Reichweite, Desiderata. Ein berufspädagogisch-historischer Kommentar

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Abstract: Bildungssystemforschung im Sinne des Bochumer Ansatzes (Müller 1977; Müller/Zymek 1987) erklärt das gesamte (nationale) Bildungssystem zum Objektbereich. Auf der Basis von Längsschnittstudien diskutiert die Bildungssystemforschung sowohl die institutionelle Dynamik des Bildungswesens als auch bildungspolitische Interventionen resp. den Absentismus. Über einzelne Epochen (Kaiserreich, frühe Bundesrepublik usw.) hinweg treten damit unterschiedliche Themenfelder, bspw. Bildungsexpansion, Überfüllungskrise, Berufsdifferenzierung, soziale Ungleichheit und berufliche Mobilität (Beruflicher Bildungsweg), vertikale und horizontale Differenzierung etc. in den empirischen Forschungshorizont. Mit dem Ansatz der "Systembildung" (Müller et. al.), der die Entwicklung von Bildungssystemen als historischen Prozess interpretiert und zwischen den Phasen "Systemfindung", "Systemkonstitution" und "Systemkomplementierung" unterscheidet, bietet sich unter forschungsmethodischen Aspekten die Möglichkeit, die Differenz sowie die Wechselwirkung von Fachbildung und Allgemeinbildung herauszuarbeiten. Die aktuelle berechtigungspolitische Debatte um den europäischen Qualifikationsrahmen (DQR/EQF), aber auch die Initiativen zur Re-Industrialisierung einerseits und die sozialpolitische Steuerung der europäischen Jugendarbeitslosigkeit andererseits thematisieren Aspekte der Bildungssystemforschung. Vor diesem Hintergrund will die Keynote einen Beitrag a) zur Überwindung der methodischen Fixierung auf das "duale System" leisten und damit der Erweiterung des Objektbereichs i.S. eines Gesamtsystems beruflicher Bildung die Tür öffnen sowie b) für eine Systemintegration von Fachbildung (Berufsbildung) und Allgemeinbildung sensibilisieren. Der Beitrag konzentriert sich deshalb auf die Forschungslage, den Forschungskontext/-geschichte, die Reflexion der Befunde sowie auf ausgewählte Desiderate."

Keywords: Berufsbildungssystem (occupation / profession), Bildungspolitik (Educational policy / Policy of VET); Wirtschaftsförderung (Promotion of Economy); Vergleich (Comparative research)



Development of two-year training occupations in Germany: From basic training to promotion of lifelong learning – a historical and comparative view

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Abstract: The paper deals with training in the dual system with a duration of two years instead of three (which is the normal case). It depicts the change in the conceptualization of these schemes towards lifelong learning settings supposed to ease transition into “normal” occupational training. It will also discuss possibilities and limitations of promoting “transition competences” in this context. From a VET policy perspective there are deficits in the practical realisation of this “promotion”, especially when it comes to prolonging a training contract, which requires new forms of pedagogical and social support.

Keywords: two-year apprenticeship training, transition, permeability, comparison

Historical development of the two-year training occupation

The two-year training occupational in Germany has a long tradition (Uhly et al. 2011). With the introduction of the two-year training are intended economic and social political aims until today. On the one hand the trainings are intended to improve the chances of young people with lower preconditions. On the other hand the trainings should enhance the engagement of companies to offer more training places (Bellaire/Brandes 2004, p. 42, Gruber/Weber 2007, p. 77). These aims constitute the background of two-year training occupations and are based on two central educational and political tasks: First the necessity of ongoing modernization and recreation of apprenticeship training courses and second the integration of young people with more practical abilities into vocational training.

The implementation of the two-year training already early came along with controversial discussions which went into two directions. While one part (representatives of the employers, the government and the federal states) favors the raining occupation and its modernization the other side (representatives of the employees) refuses this concept and their recreation. The representatives of the employees suspect that the two-year training would lead to a qualitative graduation of vocational training, a decrease in the placement of education and lower occupational chances (Uhly et al. 2011, p. 5). Instead of that the representatives claim a regular three-year training occupation for young people with more practical abilities supported by considerably social and pedagogical help. Over the time both positions have used different arguments to support their attitude.



Because of their different positions the stakeholders have a strong influence on the development of the two-year training occupations until today especially with respect to the structure and the implementation of educational support. The development of the last 50 years can be shown along five phases.

Five phases of the development of two-year apprenticeship trainings

The first phase of the „development of two-year training occupations“ starts in the year 1940 when the first two-year training occupation were set in action (BiBB 2009, p. 116). Within the next 20 years different sorts of short training were initiated and proved in practice. At the end of this period 11 two-year training occupations existed (Uhly et al. 2011, p. 5; Musekamp et al. 2011, p. 118 ff.). The phase ended with the implementation of the Vocational Training Act in 1969. For all trainings courses in this stage is common that they are not justified by the Vocational Training Act.

The second phase of „testing training by stages“ can be defined with the beginning of the 1970s. The training by stages represents a central reform option that was developed by all responsible stakeholders with the aim to install more differentiation in apprenticeship trainings for disadvantaged young people. Every stage can be completed with an examination. The first stage is corresponding with the two-year training course. The completion of the second stage is equal with the completion of a regular three-year vocational training (Stender 2006, p. 99 ff.). After the second stage the company and the apprentice are free to decide about the continuation of the training. In the conception the interests of the company and the abilities of the apprentice should be considered. After a few years the concept experienced strong critics by the representatives of the employees. They criticized that the companies used the stages to discipline and select young disadvantaged people and refused them to enter into a regular three-year vocational training. Because of this the representatives of the employees refuse to agree to the further ongoing of the training by stages and also of the two-year training because both trainings seem for them to be inadequate.

The third phase of „stagnation in the development of two-year training courses“ comprises the period from the mid-seventies to the year 2002. The background here is a lack of consensus-finding between the stakeholders due to the blocking attitude of the representatives of employees. For nearly 30 years there is no modernization or re-structuring of two-year training courses. Starting in the 1980s, the support instrument of “accompanying training aid” is brought on its way. It offers additional instruction for apprentices with educational deficits. All young people are entitled to make use of it who undertake dual training and who fall under the diagnosis of needing learning support. It can also be used by young people in a two-year apprenticeship.

The fourth phase of „modernization thrust for two-year training courses“ falls in the period between 2003 and 2006. This phase starts with the lifting of the principle of consensus by the federal government. From now on the representatives of employees no longer can block off the further development of two-year training courses. In due course, a boom of new training ordinances for two-year apprenticeships can be observed (Kath 2005, p. 5), in which a number of innovations is included. The two-year training occupations now are given the status of generally



recognized training occupations and are meant to be credited once the training is extended to more than two years. These innovations are also supported by contemporary education policy moves. In the year 2005, the new Vocational Training Act comes into operation and with the turn of the millennium the European dimension of VET policy gains importance, which is supposed to foster permeability, transparency and mobility in the field of VET.

The fifth phase may be characterized as „stressing the need for more support for two-year training courses” and stretches from 2007 to 2014. It is an outcome of new activities which the federal government undertakes with respect to fostering labor market integration of young people with weaker abilities. Against the background of demographic change and a looming lack of a skilled workforce, the government has initiated a number of programs which are to support young people with educational deficits in their transition from school to the labor market during their training. These are now described as “educational chains”, “introductory escort into an occupations” and “senior partnerships” (Adler 2013, Seusing et al. 2013), and they also are considered to help apprentices in two-year training courses. As an amendment to this, the representatives of the federal states have explicitly come up with the demand for socio-pedagogical support to help both companies and trainees alike.

Evaluation of the historical development

The historical development shows that deep-going changes in the system of two-year training courses only take place since the turn of the millennium. It is only in the fourth phase that two-year apprenticeships receive the status of a fully-fledged training occupation and that recognition of these courses for an extension of training is being realized. The course of history also shows that already in the 1980s “accompanying training” aid becomes available, which addresses the needs of youth with a weaker learning performance in two-year training courses. However, up to the present day, there is no specifically designed instrument just for these courses. The development in recent years illustrates that all in all support for these young people has increased and its focus from policy has become stronger.

Increasing permeability with respect to two-year training course

At this point it may be asked in which way a two-year training course supports young people with weaker learning abilities in their transition to a prolongation of their training. In particular the question arises whether the current forms of support via accompanying training aid is actually sufficient and helpful. Studies refer to the fact that more support could entail more progression (e.g. Eckert 2011). In the year 2013, there are now 28 two-year training occupations (with a share of 9 % of all new training contracts). 24 of these courses come up with a crediting option (Gutschow 2014, p. 97; Gericke 2014, p. 130 f.). At the same time, just 26 % of graduates of two-year apprenticeships managed progression to an extension of their training (ibid., p. 132). This share, however, varies with respect to the various occupations quite manifestly, but there is no higher quota than 50 % (Uhly et al. 2011, p. 33). It is obvious that factual progression due to an individual mobility option only partly takes place compared to what would be possible. It is therefore relevant to ask what kind of support would be necessary to achieve a better record in this pedagogically relevant area of progression to an extended training course.



More support for companies and apprentices

The above mentioned results lead to ongoing questions. Concretely can be asked in which way support structures are available in the two-year training courses and in which way these instruments can especially support permeability into a prolongation of the training. Specific instruments of “accompanying training aid” as well as company-based measures to increase the quality of training (e.g. mentoring, counseling, onboarding) (Loebe/Severing 2010; Büchter et al. 2011) and the new support instruments started by the government in the last years will be looked at critically with respect to the above-mentioned objectives. The concepts will especially be looked at in which way they support the development of a transition competence of apprentices (Nohl 2009; Jung 2011). Finally, the Swiss FIB concept, which was implemented to widen and deepen transition competences in the same field, will be illustrated in a comparative perspective (Pool Maag et al. 2011).

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Towards School-Based Finnish VET – Historical Roots of VET

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Summary: The development of Finnish vocational education and training (VET) started, when Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian empire in 1809. In the middle of 1800s Finland started to change societally and economically rapidly, when the workforce got a freedom to choose their living and workplaces. This meant that the old guild system was ruined. School-based vocational training emerged in Finland only during the period of rebuilding that followed the Second World War. Prior to the turn of the millennium the Finnish VET was mainly organised by vocational schools with few links between education and working life. In the 2000s on-the-job learning (work-related learning) and vocational skills demonstrations were incorporated into the VET curriculum. The systematic development towards to the world of work has changed the position of VET and increased its interest among the applicants in recent years.

Keywords: vocational education and training, school-based VET, work-related learning, apprenticeship training

Introduction

The four Nordic countries such as Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden are characterized by similar societal contexts, but they have different models of vocational education and training. The VET system has an important role in each country to play by linking school-based and work-based learning and by connecting education with the labour market (Wolbers 2007). In Finland apprenticeship training exists as a minor route beside the dominant option of school-based IVET. Despite this current dominance within the Finnish VET system, school-based vocational training emerged on a large scale only along with the rebuilding era that followed the Second World War (Tuomisto 1986).

The aim of this paper is to describe the roots of the Finnish vocational education and training (VET) system and its development towards the school-based model. This description bases on the existing data and the paper prepared for the NordForsk project “The future of vocational education – learning from Nordic countries” (Stenström & Virolainen 2014).

Early roots to current situation of the Finnish VET

The Finnish society started to change both societally and economically rapidly since the mid’19th century under the rule of the Russian Empire. An important change was that the workforce got a freedom to choose their living and work places as a result of



a new legislation issued in 1879 (Laukia 2013). The institutional vocational education was initiated at the beginning of 19th century (Klemelä 1999).

The historical period of Finland being a Grand Duchy belonging to the Russian Empire ended when Finland gained independence in 1917. After that, in the 1920s and 1930s, the number of vocational schools and students increased slowly, because Finland was an agrarian country and towns were not very interested in establishing new vocational schools (Heikkinen 2001; Laukia 2013).

The new law (1958) for vocational education meant that all municipalities of more than 20,000 inhabitants had to have a vocational school and smaller municipalities had to reserve study places for their youngsters at these schools (Laukia 2013).

The national government-led policy of vocational education in the 1970s and 1980s was to broaden the scope of VET provision, to raise national standards, to meet the needs of the labour market, and also to make students more equal irrespective of their social background. One of the most important reforms in the 1990s was the VET curricula introduced in 1998–2001. The reform brought the extension of the duration of all vocational study programmes to 120 credits, incorporation into all study programmes an on-the-job training period of at least six months and vocational skills demonstrations (Numminen 2000).

Before the turn of the millennium, IVET in Finland was mainly organised by vocational schools with few links between education and working life. Since 2001, one of the major reforms undertaken in Finnish VET has been the incorporation of on-the-job learning into the curriculum. Students' learning at work is a part of formal vocational education and therefore it includes goal-oriented and guided study organised by the vocational schools at the workplace (Virtanen, Tynjälä & Stenström 2008).

In 2006 again, a new system was incorporated into all vocational qualifications, namely the vocational skills demonstrations. As a result of this reform, students need to demonstrate in practice how well they have achieved the objectives of their vocational studies and acquired the vocational skills (Stenström, Laine & Kurvonen 2006).

Qualifications can be achieved via three different routes (see Table 1). The majority of young learners complete their upper secondary vocational qualifications at vocational institutions. Vocational qualifications may also be completed through apprenticeship training; most apprentices are adults. Furthermore, upper secondary vocational qualifications may be obtained through competence-based examination (completed by adults) (Cedefop 2012).



Table 1. Number of VET Students by Type of Education in 2007 and 2010 (adapted from Cedefop ReferNet Finland, 2012, p. 15)

	2007	2010	Percentage from all VET students in 2010 (%)
Upper secondary VET			
Upper secondary vocational qualification	126,025	133,690	49.9
Competence-based qualifications			
Upper secondary vocational qualification	28,041	36,931	13.8
Further vocational qualification	30,081	31,664	11.8
Specialist vocational qualification	6,846	6,541	2.4
Apprenticeship training			
Upper secondary vocational qualification	27,169	22,797	8.5
Further vocational qualification	20,503	19,633	7.3
Specialist vocational qualification	14,841	16,461	6.1
Total	253,524	267,717	100

Apprenticeship training

The Central European type of apprenticeship training system never gained much ground in Finland. One reason might be that the factory-owners, who had oriented towards mass production after the Second World War, had no time for instructing apprentices. Furthermore, working in the factories did not require very much theoretical knowledge, because the necessary skills were provided on the job through experience (Kivinen & Peltomäki 1999). Hence, the Finnish employers started to take interest in vocational training only in the early 20th century, when the factories began to establish their own vocational schools (Kivinen & Peltomäki 1999).

At the same time, the major labour market organisations, the Finnish Employers' Confederation and the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions, held differing views on vocational training in industry and also on apprenticeship training. The employers were in favour of apprenticeships, whereas the employees were against them because of a narrow vocational qualification. The Finnish tradition has not obliged the employers to take any greater responsibility for training of newcomers to their field of industry. Rather, they and also the representatives of the employees have preferred to leave training to the state and the municipalities (Kivinen & Peltomäki 1999).

A new Apprenticeship Act was launched in 1992 (Laki oppisopimuskoulutuksesta 1992). Its aim was to improve the status of apprenticeship training as a work-oriented form of training within the otherwise mainly institutional VET system during the time of recession (Poutanen 2008). Furthermore, it was hoped that apprenticeship training would interest the unemployed, unskilled young people at risk of marginalisation and help them find jobs and earn their livelihood (Kivinen & Peltomäki 1999).



Conclusion

The position of vocational education in the Finnish school system has changed in recent years. The year of 2009 was the first year when the majority of applicants listed a VET programme as their primary choice. While interest in VET has increased, after basic education a half of the youth continued after comprehensive school in 2012 in general upper secondary school, and 42% in IVET (Statistics Finland 2014). Correspondingly, in 1992 52% of students completing the comprehensive school immediately continued in general upper secondary schools and 32% in IVET (Statistics Finland 1994).

The following facts may explain the VET's increased parity of esteem with respect to general upper secondary education: 1) IVET has been developed more clearly towards the world of work during the last decade, 2) Skills competitions, like The annual Finnish National Skills Competition "Taitaja", have also increased the popularity of VET (Cedefop ReferNet Finland 2011) and 3) eligibility to higher education. The establishment of the universities of applied sciences in the 1990s is one factor that has strengthened the status of the vocational education.

Although the attraction of vocational education and training has been steadily growing, the Finnish VET system is faced with some developmental challenges as well. On the one hand, dropping out remains a problem in VET (Stenström, Virolainen, Vuorinen-Lampila & Valkonen 2012). On the other hand, the increased popularity of VET with the changing working life and competence requirements create new demands (Laukia 2013). There is a need to develop the VET system to be more responsive to heterogeneous student population, to meet the needs of those aiming to participate in Skills competitions (Ruohotie, Nokelainen & Korpelainen 2008) and those under the threat of dropping out (e.g. Kuronen 2010).

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How do the European vocational training systems change? An approach in terms of public policy regimes

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Abstract: Our approach in terms of education and training regimes (ETRs) combines societal analysis with socio-historical methods. It attaches prime importance to the principles of justice mobilized by the VET actors in order to define social conventions. Among the five ideal typical regimes, three of them are more and less based on de-commodification: “Corporatist”, “Academic”, “Universal”; the two other ones are market oriented. A national VET system is the result of a specific compromise between different typical regimes supported by specific coalitions of public and private actors. This societal arrangement may be more or less sustainable. This approach is applied to the European countries.

Keywords: International Comparison, Europe, Change, Policy Making

Which comparative approach of vocational education and training systems?

Any comparison of national vocational education and training (VET) systems is complex. Such schemes are embedded in other social sub-systems (e.g., industrial relations, basic education, higher education, company management). In addition, focusing on the national frame of reference alone may be problematic because on the one hand, the increasing decentralisation and, on the other, the development of a supra-nationalisation. Several approaches, rooted in different theoretical traditions, may be drawn upon (Giraud, 2004):

- The comparative political economy approach known as ‘varieties of capitalism’ (Hall and Soskice, 2001) distinguishes “Liberal market economies” and “Coordinated market economies”. In the latter, young people know it is not irrational to invest in (semi) specific VET. In the former, they acquire general skills which allow individuals to confront the uncertainties of the labour market.
- The dualistic approaches (actors vs. institutions) emphasise intermediate regulations – for instance in terms of local networks (Culpepper, 2003) – in order to explain the successes and failures of youth training schemes at both national and regional levels.
- The societal analysis highlights the coherence of the wage-labour nexus specific to each country by analysing the interactions between three spheres: labour relations, work organisation and education and training (Maurice, Sellier, Silvestre, 1986).



- Socio-historical approaches develop comparisons by tracing the genesis and evolution of the national institutions, public issues and social categorisations at work (Thelen, 2003)

Our approach in terms of education and training regimes (ETRs) combines societal analysis with socio-historical methods. It takes as its starting point the hypothesis that several factors are fostering the hybridisation of national VET systems: reforms drawing their inspiration from (supposed) ‘successes’ in foreign countries; changes in general education leading to a repositioning of initial VET because of the increasing access to higher education ; European policies structuring the flow of ideas and ‘good practices’.

Methodology

Our approach constructs ideal types (Max Weber 1965) ETRs which attach prime importance to the principles of justice (Boltanski, Thévenot, 2006) mobilised by the VET actors in order to define social conventions. Each regime is built around the responses to a series of political stakes: furthermore the choice of principles of justice, they are concerning the responsibilities for qualification and employment-related risks, the governance (degree of decentralisation for instance), the conception of knowledge, the rules for selection and guidance of individuals, the means of access to both initial education and training, the funding of education and training etc.

The list of ETRs draws on two kinds of typologies of national systems.

- One relates to national welfare states, which is all the more justified here because human capital policies are becoming a new pillar of social protection (Esping-Andersen and Palier, 2009).
- The other related to national systems of initial education and training (see Buechtemann and Verdier, 1998; Maroy, 2000; Green et al., 2006).

The characterisation of these regimes is based on the one hand, on a body of analysis concerning the organisation and the institutional settings of VET which are “stylised” in order to capture their more general sense and, on the other, on a serie of indicators which attempt to describe their specificities.

Five Education and Training Regimes

Notwithstanding their individual specificities, these five regimes can be grouped into two categories in terms of links with the market rules. Three of them are more and less based on de-commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1999): “Corporatist”, “Academic”, “Universal”; the two other ones are market oriented but with different conventions or principles: “pure market competition” versus “organised market”.

Decommodified ETRs

These three regimes make initial education and training a central focus of the collective action which is decisive for both individual and collective destinies, but they

draw on quite dissimilar rules: selection, vocation and cohesion. They also decommodify education and training to varying degrees.

Table 1. 'Decommodified ETRs

Regimes	Corporatist	Academic	Universal
Justice principle	Access to an occupational community (vocation)	School-based merit system (selection)	Compensation for initial inequalities ('solidarity')
Conception of skills in initial education and training	Overall mastery of a trade or occupation	Education levels	Reconciliation of basic knowledge and practical skills
Certification	Recognized qualification	Certification by an academic authority	National diploma
Nature of program	Contents determined by negotiation	Subject-based standards	Interaction between different kinds of knowledge
Area of recognition	Occupational labor market	Internal and hierarchical market	'Multi-transitional' labor market
Key actor in initial education and training	Company	Academic education institutions	Community of partners
VET objective	Occupational rules	Indicators of abilities	Social citizenship
Main risk	Stigmatization of those without qualifications	Sharp inequalities in schooling	Increased collective costs
Key actor in institutional regulation	Social partners at industry level	Educational institution	Public authorities

Source: Verdier (2013)

Market ETRs

Both of these regimes, that of the pure competition market and that 'organised' around networks associating public and private actors, approach VET in utilitarian terms. For the former, a price sanctions the encounter of service supply and demand on the labour market; for the latter, work can be an alternative to training in function of a double trade-off for the individual involved: which skills does on-the-job training, in a work situation, offer? How is time to be divided between leisure, training and work, in function of the utility/disutility of the different activities? The answers to these questions vary considerably from one regime to the other depending on the distribution of responsibilities between private and public choices.

Table 2. Market ETRs

REGIMES	MARKET COMPETITION	ORGANIZED MARKET
Principle of justice	Utility of services provided	Fair price for quality
VET objective	Human capital	Social capital
Conception of skills in initial education and training	Meeting a demand (possibly on the job)	Portfolio of operational skills
Certification	Level of remuneration (matching)	Attestation of skills
Nature of program	Not at stake	Quality procedure
Area of recognition	Immediate transaction (spot market)	External 'organized' markets
Key actor in initial training	Individuals as consumers	'Guided' individuals
Main risk of failure	Under-investment in training	Inefficient incentives
Key actor in institutional regulation	Invisible hand	Public regulatory and accreditation agencies

Source: Verdier (2013)



From ETRs to National Systems

A national VET system is the result of a specific compromise between different typical regimes supported by specific coalitions of public and private actors. This societal arrangement may be more or less sustainable according to the endogenous social dynamics and the capacity to face the external changes.

Over the last 25 years, national VET systems in Europe have been subject to increasing hybridisation. However, among the countries reviewed here, the extent and political significance of this phenomenon vary considerably. Denmark has seen the introduction of an unprecedented compromise between the universal and corporatist regimes. This compromise has been further consolidated over the past decade by means of considerable public investment. In France, the academic regime still predominates, but a series of reforms, inspired by Germany in particular, have established a new system which might be described as 'integrated vocationalist'. In the UK, the Thatcher era saw the establishment of an organised market regime targeted mainly at individuals in transition (young people and the unemployed), while the past decade has seen significant public-private investments in education along the lines of the universal regime. At present, even though the universal regime remains predominant, the Swedish societal system is facing reforms on a scale that is difficult to measure but which appear to reassert initial VET. Germany has undergone fewer transformations as indicated by the stability of the proportion of higher education graduates: ultimately, the corporatist regime linked to a market for apprenticeship places still stands out.

If there is convergence in Europe, it is probably to be found in the extent of the governance challenges facing these societal VET systems.

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Solving the Crisis. Vocational Education and Training as an Economic Development Policy (France, from the Long Depression to the Second Oil Crisis).

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Abstract: Economic crises have been in contemporary France an opportunity for the state to intervene directly in economic and social affairs. The vocational education and training system was on these occasions used as a policy instrument to address the difficulties of the time: the need to revive the French industry during the Long Depression; the will to direct workforce to professional sectors in need during the crisis of 1930s; the requirement to facilitate the professional integration of young people into the labour market during the Oil Crisis of the 1970s. This communication is thus interested in the diversion of vocational training practices for the benefit of these issues, both at the legislative level and in the context an industrial area, here given by the industrial district of Saint-Étienne.

Keywords: state-led policies, local authorities, economic crisis, employment.

Introduction

The French VET system is built by the state intervention, both within its prerogatives and in spite of it. From the liberal Second Empire to the crisis-obsessed Raymond Barre's governments, the VET network had indeed grown with a double-way interaction: first, the establishment of a regulatory framework by the public authorities (Chapoulie 2010); secondly, local initiatives, more or less efficient depending of the financial support by the administrations (Bodé/Savoie 1995). Both aspects respond permanently, according to the level of political intervention in economic matters. This relation between VET and economic policy raises three questions.

VET as an economic intervention device: since when?

VET is viewed by governments as a mean to interfere into the economic field since the 19th century. The long-time debate between workshop training and school learning did not find a real winner until the aftermath of World War II (Brucy/Troger 2000). The stabilization of the Third Republic in the late 1870s finally enabled the choice of school pattern by the political power. However, the educational aspect never totally overtook social and economic issues. The discourses on the crise de l'apprentissage, the ongoing complaint of the French employers about the lack of skilled workers kept VET between these yearnings (Lembré 2013). The episodes of economic crises then provided opportunities to use VET as a policy instrument in such perspectives.



Educating workers in times of crisis: a fading issue?

If the educative question remains behind the development of the VET school pattern in France, unlike the German dual education, the highlighting of scientific and technical humanities tends to disappear in times of economic difficulties, with the need of vocational rehabilitation for unemployed workers in the 1930s (Bodé 2002), then of the occupational integration and employability necessity in the 1970s (Dubar 1998; Nicole-Drancourt/Roulleau-Berger 2006).

Training unemployed (youth): from a rational allocation of workforce to an employability policy?

French VET is marked by a long process of strengthening throughout the 20th century. The system gradually opened to the lower skills levels (Charlot/Figeat 1984). The purpose of training also evolved from the know-how acquisition to the abilities certification (Zarifian 2004). Public policies had to adapt to these shifts. The issue of skilled workforce and its allocation according to the needs of the professions, so essential during the inter-war period and post-Libération times gave way in the 1960s to the issue of training/employment matching (*adéquation formation-emploi*), in a context of mass unemployment, especially for unskilled youth and workers non-adapted to the needs of labour market.

Methodology

This work falls within the scope of a doctoral research focusing on the relationship between employers and VET organization in a territorial framework, namely the industrial district of Saint-Étienne. This study follows a historical approach, including a broad chronology (mid-19th century to the early 1980s). The advantage is the ability to examine in a long-term perspective both speeches and achievements of public actors on issues of training. The chronological study of episodes of crises, through national legislation and localized achievements, must demonstrate how VET has been used as policy instruments for a state-led economic intervention. This study at different scales must also show, through historical sources, the dichotomy between the national narrative and practical application of these measures.

Results

The Long Depression, although its status as real economic crisis remains debatable, is a first break in the phenomenon of industrialization in the 19th century France. The economic downturn required the search for a new industrial dynamism, notably by improving the skills of workers, and ultimately the quality of productions. If this is not the aspect most emphasized by the literature to justify the development of vocational schools in the period, the use of a local field allows querying this issue more directly. The regulatory framework, especially the 1880 law on the *Écoles manuelles d'apprentissage* promoted local initiatives. Municipalities invested on human capital, serving the local economy. The proximity between political leaders and economic elites also facilitated this decision-making, which was then followed by other cities.



The Great Depression set as soon as 1931-1932 the issue of unemployment on the policy agenda, both at national and local levels. The resources offered by the VET – the public vocational schools – were leveraged to solve the problem. Jobless workers attended vocational courses. Guidance commissions were implemented with the help of professional representatives already involved in labour and VET matters. The historical sources available probably do not allow to identify the results of the organization of vocational rehabilitation of the unemployed workers. Later, from 1935 to 1939, the legislation offered to create a new kind of training institutions. After some hesitations in the Saint-Étienne territory – contrary to other French regions – the perspective of war altered the use of such schools, in a national effort to provide workforce for the war industries.

The unemployment rise resulting from the first Oil Crisis does not submit such a methodological difficulty. The implementation of the Pacte national pour l'emploi des jeunes in 1977 presents a top-down policy approach again. In the context of the administrative regionalization, the training of unskilled workers used local institutions, public and private ones, in order to streamline the state financial effort. The use of conventions was designed to strengthen local training actors, while excluding them from the policy-making. Local actors were then reduced to associate the issue of VET to various attempts to revive local economy.

VET, state and local actors: from local initiatives to state-led investment.

The role of local actors remains a function of state investment in the VET system: from 1880 to 1971, the weight of the state rises, to the detriment of local authorities. The 1930s crisis still involves local and national initiatives, intersecting devices while benefiting of the network of municipal vocational schools. The laws of July 1971 do only confirm this dispossession of local political actors on vocational training issues. But the economic crisis limits the transfer of financial responsibility to the employers. Training is largely diverted to the issue of employment. The state continues to largely finance the system. Local political actors then leave an open field to vocational training actors that emerged since the 1950s around the issues of professional development and social advancement.

VET as a short-term economic policy: some long-term results?

The 1880s vocational schools openings may be viewed as short-term fixes by local authorities in an economic downturn framework. But those creations do not present a guarantee of success in the Saint-Etienne district, where many vocational courses disappeared after an initial success. The school pattern, encouraged by the partial financial support of the state, allows the sustainability of technical education in a changing industrial economy. The 1930s initiatives probably were a minor fix in a labour market still reluctant to fully embrace the contribution of vocational training. The solutions imagined so far had a real purpose in the following years, while diverted from their original context and their intended departure. The vocational training for adults results from this experiment. In the 1970s, given the extent of the crisis and the interventionist habits by public authorities, the employability experiments for unskilled jobless workers tended to multiply: from 1977 to 1981, three Pacte national pour l'emploi occurred. The evolution of governments certainly changed the devices involved, but not the means neither the objectives.



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Vocational School Policy in Germany in the Context of Securing State Legitimacy

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Summary: The paper draws on a methodological approach of contemporary history to sketch out the historical development of the German state's construction of legitimacy and its particular relationship with the vocational schools. Moreover, using the concept of "legitimacy" as it can be found in political science, recent schemes of political reactions in vocational school policy to globalization related problems of securing state legitimacy will be analyzed. Finally, scenarios of change in the context of European Integration will be discussed. The analyses are focused on the level of the nation state. Based on the theoretical framework developed, implications for and limitations of policy development will be discussed vis-à-vis the vocational schools in Germany, but possibly also for other European countries.

Keywords: vocational education, legitimacy, European integration, globalization

Introduction

Schools are commonly understood as, idealtypically, mandatory institutions offered by the state to the entire next generation. They enable young members of a society to participate culturally, but their mandate is also to organize this participation. Historically, their existence has been far from a matter of course. It can be closely linked to the rise of the modern, legally sovereign national state (Adick 2004, 952ff.). Schools have historically been founded based on the Gewaltmonopol (monopoly of coercion), meaning the state's exclusive authority to legislate and to physically enforce the law, which includes its ability to impose taxes. This monopoly has been a central characteristic of the modern nation state, besides external acknowledgement and a minimum of common welfare orientation (Zürn 1998, 37; Weber 1980/1922, 822). At the same time, establishing schools has legitimized the existence of the Gewaltmonopol (cf. Fend 1981, 16f.). An underlying assumption to this contribution¹¹ is that this applies not only for general schools, but also for German vocational schools, albeit in a specific manner. As a consequence, threats to and changes in the design of state legitimacy, as they appear in the context of globalization and European integration, are likely to impact demands placed upon schools with regard to their contribution to this construction. This accounts for both shifts of the political levels claiming a right to legitimate law-making and the legitimacy of law-making by the state itself.

¹¹ The paper is a revised version of an article formerly published in German (Wittmann 2013).



Hence, this contribution leans on a methodological approach of contemporary history (cf. Ferraris 1983) to ask how the integration of the vocational schools into the nation state's construction of legitimacy affects these schools. Moreover, the paper discusses to which extent it can be assumed that conflicts surrounding the legitimacy of the nation state are mirrored in vocational school policy. It will be argued that vocational schools have historically been founded, used, and altered in the context of the necessity to secure state legitimacy. While these influences are often of a rather indirect nature and are hardly deterministic, the nation state's legitimacy is an important and indispensable element in explaining vocational school policy. The paper suggests that policies towards the vocational schools are framed within the arenas in which state legitimacy is negotiated and "fought out". Threats to and the weakening of the nation state's legitimacy, as they have appeared with globalization and European integration, as well as efforts to re-establish and strengthen its legitimacy, have therefore been reflected in shifting political debates surrounding the vocational schools. They have often been followed by political measures or even considerable changes in the legal situation.

The Vocational Schools' Integration into the Nation State's Construction of Legitimacy from a Historical Perspective

Using the term "legitimacy", the paper refers to the fundamental belief of a country's population into both the lawfulness and the rightfulness of a political order (Albrecht 1999, 88), corresponding with a claim to legitimacy by the representatives of such an order (Weber 1980/1922, 19f.). According to Scharpf (1999, 16), such a belief can on the one hand be input-oriented, in the sense that political decisions can be derived from the authentic preferences of the members of society, particularly by means of democratic and due process. On the other hand it can be output-oriented, that is derived from its effective contribution to general welfare.

Following Georg (1993, 14), the origin of the authoritarian state taking responsibility for the development of vocational schools, as well as educational policy in general, lies in its contention with the crafts and guilds over the establishment of its Gewaltmonopol (cf. Zabeck 2009, 289, 298ff.). It was used to establish the general rule of state law over particular and exclusive rights of the crafts and guilds. In addition, vocational schools supported the purpose of generating taxes, laying the groundwork for the state's capacity to act. But these vocational schools were historically also integrated, in a variety of ways, into mechanisms of ensuring output-oriented legitimacy. This includes their involvement in governmental economic (Zabeck 2009, 307), but also into socio-political pacification strategies. Specifically, the evolvement of the German system of entitlement (Berechtigungen) can be interpreted as part of such a strategy, increasingly associated not only with graduating from general education, but also from specialized vocational school programs (Fachschulungsprinzip) (Georg 1993, 35). Likewise, under the participation of the predecessor of the modern Berufsschule, vocations were constructed as a status granting and identity forming concept within German society (Zabeck 2009, 442ff.; Greinert 2003, 42f.; 1998, 48; Blankertz 1969, 131).



Schemes of State Political Reaction to Problems of Legitimacy in the Context of Globalization

Following the concept of legitimacy as laid out above, it can be assumed that questions of legitimacy impact on institutions of vocational education in two ways: first by means of the general acceptance of the state and its administration and, as a consequence, state provision of vocational schools which form part of this administration (Wittmann 2009, 119; 2008); secondly by gaining acceptance for the fulfilment of public tasks, like providing for a qualified workforce (Harney 2004, 335).

With regard to the first impact, globalization has caused and enhanced problems of legitimacy of the bureaucratically organized state, leading to what has been called a crisis of governance (Zürn 1998, 55). The ensuing reform concept of New Public Management has been implemented to regain such legitimacy by procedural means. The purpose of such reforms has been to enhance accountability and control, but also to introduce market mechanisms in order to increase the efficiency of the state's production of services (Schröter/Wollmann 2005, 63ff.). By means of policy borrowing, but also with the support of major non-state actors, like the Bertelsmann Foundation, this concept has been introduced into vocational policy making in Germany in varying forms across sub-jurisdictions (Länder) (Wittmann 2009, 202; 2008; 2006).

Likewise, the introduction of federal legislation on vocational schools (Bundestagsdrucksache 15/4752, 21f.) where authority usually resides with the German sub-jurisdictions, can be framed in the context of contested output-oriented legitimacy between the nation state and these sub-jurisdictions (Wittmann 2013, 9f.).

Scenarios of Change in the Context of European Integration

The introduction of the European Qualification Framework (EQF) by all major EU political institutions (Education and Culture DG, 2008, 3) can be interpreted as an effort by the European Union (EU) to gain legitimacy in a policy area where, originally fuelled by the idea of subsidiarity, the Maastricht Treaty forbids harmonization (Art. 127 Maastricht Treaty 1992; Art. 166 Lisbon Treaty 2010/2007). It is part of the broader 2000 strategy of the Lisbon European Council (2000, n. 5), claiming output-oriented legitimacy with regard to the economic, labor and employment policy of the European Union. In Germany, the following debate focused on fears of threats to the dual system of vocational education and training which were assumed to result from modularization and the streamlining of general and vocational education (Dehnbostel 2011, 245).

However, as a consequence of the Maastricht Treaty, the EQF provides no legal entitlement for individual EU citizens to enter certain levels of vocation and professional education in another country. The effect of this policy instrument has rested largely with the implementation on the level of the nation state. Here, a considerable shift of debate can be noted as a result of the financial crises. As Beck (2013, 16f.) argues, in the aftermath of this event, Europe has been increasingly governed based on considerations of German national legitimacy. In this context, current developments seem to indicate the resurrection of the German model of



vocational education and training not only within Germany but in a broader European context (Wittmann 2013, 13; cf. Schavan et al. 2012). At the same time, the implementation of the EQR with regard to the streamlining of general and vocational education remains fragmented (Blings 2012, 18f.). With implications of the EQR remaining, thus far, being weaker than was originally assumed, the nation state seems to keep the upper hand in the construction of legitimacy.

Conclusion

Not only from a historical perspective the argument can be made that policies concerning the vocational schools can be explained with disputed claims to legitimacy between the nation state and other political entities, like the European Union. This is underscored by the lack of empirical evidence regarding the success of the policies discussed here. In the context of remaining struggles for legitimacy in the international and the European realm, a continuously high frequency of approaches to political reform is to be expected. An increasingly fragile construction of the nation state's legitimacy will likely also put the existence of these schools itself, as defined at the outset of this paper, into question.

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