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The political branding of apprenticeship into the ‘Dual System’ – Reflections about exporting the myth of employment transition.

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Introduction: ‘systems’ and ‘models’

This chapter provides a critical review of the strengths and weaknesses of apprenticeship in Austria as compared to Germany and Switzerland, and asks some conceptual questions. The analysis starts with the high expectations about the role of apprenticeship in providing a smooth transition from education to employment, which have been recently reinforced through the economic and financial crisis, and looks more thoroughly at the mechanisms that might lead to the comparatively low youth unemployment in some countries with strong apprenticeship frameworks.

Related to the questions underlying this book about the use of myths and brands in educational discourses, a main interest of the analysis is lying in the question of how conceivable factual phenomena are translated into politically manageable expressions, in other words, how research might contribute to the creation of ‘political objects’. Two aspects are included in these processes: first a phenomenon must be brought onto the political agenda, which means that it must be selected, prepared and transmitted by someone to catch the attention of a broader set of actors; second, the mostly diverse and complex factual phenomena must be translated into more simple and abstract concepts that can be manipulated in the political discourses.

Asking for the relationship between research and the broader political discourses we have to consider a parallel process: at the research level, feasible concepts are needed to be able to ‘manipulate’ the diverse realities in meaningful ways by descriptions, analysis, discussions, etc.; at the policy level also representations are needed to bring realities into political existence. The question concerning myths or brands is about the coincidence of concepts and representations at these different levels or fields of reality. Does the concept of apprenticeship

or the 'Dual System' mean the same thing, when it is used in research or in policy/politics? How are meanings changed between the two frames? What is the role of research in creating political objects? Are research based concepts misused by policy/politics?

A specific question concerns the creation of 'models', i.e. simplified stylized representations of phenomena that are further processed in an 'objectified' way. In vocational education complex and diverse structures have emerged at the national level¹ within broader frameworks of education, originally closely related to work, reflecting the different sectors and practices in the economy, and in employment practices. We can broadly assume that the evolution of practices in work and occupations has always been accompanied by practices and reflections about how the practices in work and occupations can and should be learned and thought.

Outside the older practices of agriculture the guilds as the medieval organizations of work are somehow still paradigmatic that created the practices and institutions of the master, and of the steps of becoming a master. The upcoming trading and the industries have also created their practices of working and learning, to some degree destroying older practices, and to some extent adapting them. The ideologies and theories about education have always somehow interacted with work and employment, and to some point they were also explicitly applied to learning for work and occupations. Overall, these interactions and interrelations were highly contingent, and in varying degrees organisations and institutions emerged that typically started to cover some parts of the overall fields, and through time have spread more broadly across the fields of work and occupations.² The diversity of the world of work and occupations, and its development in time was accompanied by diverse practices of learning and teaching, and the diversity of education frameworks and practices interrelated in various ways with the practices in work and occupations. Through centuries broader frameworks of vocational education emerged, very differently influenced by policy/politics by diverse and scattered patterns. At some (late) point more comprehensive pedagogical reflections and political interventions concerning vocational education emerged (e.g., in German discourses the constitutional period of 'Berufspädagogik' is situated in the first half of the 20th century,

¹ Here the relationship between the development of the frameworks of public education and the building-up of the nation states since the 18th century has been an important factor of the development of structures at the national level. See the quantitative studies of the Stanford-group around John Meyer and Francisco Ramirez.

² If we take Austria as an example, we can see on the one hand the high share of agriculture until the first decades of the 20th century, and the small overall share of post-compulsory education, that emerged as a mass phenomenon quite recently. See also the qualitative historical studies by Richard Sennett about the culture of craftsmanship.

with some turn away from pedagogical reasoning and towards economic and business reasoning in the second half).

At the end of the 20th century and around 2000, with more widespread comparative and historical analysis of vocational education ‘modelling’ started as a kind of specific practice geared in the first place to understanding. A key stage was the CEDFOP 2002 conference about history in comparative perspective, when W.D. Greinert proposed his influential modelling of ‘European vocational training systems’ to the wider international audience (Greinert 2002, 2004, 2005). He tried to underpin the concept of a ‘system’ as a permanent self-referential ‘selective communication network’ based on ideas of functional social differentiation, whereby to fulfil this criteria, vocational education must be differentiated sufficiently from school and from work. Thus neither work-based learning alone nor school-based learning alone does constitute a system, only the ‘dual system’ fulfils the criteria to operate as a subsystem (the others are termed models); enterprise based and school based learning operate within other subsystems, based on their logics (production and work vs. meritocracy). These different epistemological stances constitute problems of comparison, and – based on generic considerations about their emergence – a broad holistic picture is drawn about the embeddedness of vocational education into societal and economic structures.

“A society’s values, norms, attitudes, convictions and ideals shape education systems, work organisation and occupational relationships as well as the more or less stable interaction between specific national employment training and other social subsystems such as general education and the various employment system paradigms.”(Greinert 2002, p.18)

In particular four basic dimensions are emphasised to explain the different structures of vocational education in Germany, France and Britain (see Fig.1):

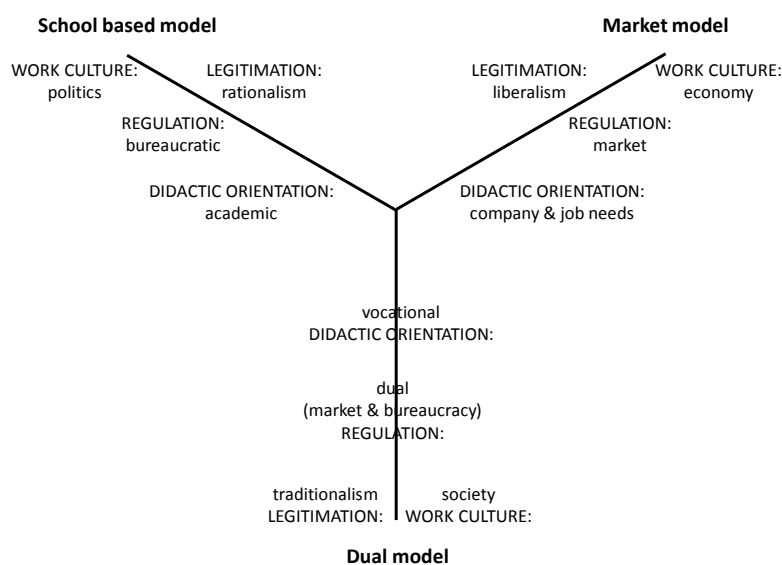
- work culture as the main generative concept,
- training regimes
- legitimating conceptions
- learning orientations.

This methodology has constructed broad streamlined holistic models, which however, on the one hand have also included some degrees of mixtures or – in today’s expression – hybrids at the level of the learning orientations.

“We believe that vocational, market and academic orientation can be considered as didactic principles in all European vocational training models, whatever the dominating specific structural or regulatory principle in the respective country might be.” (Greinert 2002, p.18)

On the other hand, the models are ascribed a high degree of historical longevity in the sense that adaptations and modifications have remained mainly in the course of the distinct models. From this kind of theorising a transplant of one model into another environment must be extremely unlikely.

Fig.1: Basic dimensions of the vocational training models proposed by W.-D. Greinert 2002



Source: own figure based on Greinert 2002.

In case of apprenticeship the attempts of policy transfer, or in a more tight expression, of ‘export’, have been appraised definitely unsuccessful during decades (e.g., Georg 2013, p.9;

see also the contributions in Maurer/Gonon 2014).³ Nevertheless, these attempts have never been stopped; on the contrary, they have rather been strongly increased recently, after the last financial and economic crisis of the late 2000s.

The conceptual approaches have changed in the new attempts, by applying much more loose definitions of apprenticeship, and a pragmatic a-theoretical methodology. In the conception of apprenticeship the two important dimensions of (i) a training contract according to the employment relation, and (ii) the combination of work-based learning with supportive school-based learning as definite part of the programme are considered differently. In some definitions the employment relation between the firm and the apprentice is considered a key element, other definitions emphasise more the combination of institutions and learning places (a main ingredient of the ‘duality’, or ‘alternance’; see EC-DG 2012). The focus is on different specifications of the ‘work-place-learning’-element, rather than on the tight institutional specifications at the levels of governance and industrial relations.

The analysis starts with an account of how apprenticeship has come to the big worldwide attention in recent times, and how the attempts for its spreading into new regions or countries are structured. What are the main arguments behind these political discourses? How is the working of this model conceived? Etc. A next step looks at what we know on the factual level about the functioning of apprenticeship and the transition to employment in the three continental countries of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. How did they retain the low level of youth unemployment? How did other aspects of vocational education develop in these countries? The third step analyses the conditions for transfer of apprenticeship, and asks more directly the questions concerning myths and brands.

The ‘Dual system’ as a German brand to be exported globally

The main actor trying to export the Dual System is Germany, it is also the only country that uses officially this brand, and that has also abandoned the traditional concept of ‘apprentice’ as a kind of modernisation (officially changed into Azubi: Auszubildende) and apprenticeship

³ Georg (2013, p.9) summarizes his point as follows: “*Das seit vielen Jahren immer wieder bekundete weltweite Interesse am „Import“ des dualen Systems hat sich bisher nirgendwo in eine Transformation der heimischen Bildungs- und Arbeitsmarktstrukturen umsetzen lassen.*“

(*Lehrlingsausbildung, Berufslehre*), which is still used in Austria and Switzerland.⁴ For these purposes a strategic framework and a one-stop-shop (GOVET)⁵ für international cooperation have been set up in Germany. Since decades initiatives for the ‘export’ of the German Dual System (GDS) prevailed, Stockmann (2014, p.264) mentions at least 40 countries where elements of the GDS or whole systems were attempted to transfer mainly since the 1980s; e.g., the ‘Mubarak-Kohl-Initiative for Vocational Education, Training and Employment Promotion’ 1994-2007 in Egypt,⁶ or an agreement between CONALEP (the National College of Technical Professional Education and main institution responsible for VET in Mexico) and BIBB about a project for developing a system based on the GDS since 2009, that draws upon earlier initiatives by a large automobile firm since 1993, and including suppliers since 1999 in Mexico.⁷ Since 2001, the BMBF has supported marketing for "Training - Made in Germany" with the iMOVE (International Marketing of Vocational Education) initiative. Since 2012 these national initiatives have been shifted to the European level, with the set-up of a memorandum between Germany and six other countries (Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy, Slovakia and Latvia), in association with the European Commission, to promote vocational education. The memorandum “includes many concrete measures for introducing a vocational education system based on Germany’s model.” (BMBF 2013). These initiatives are planned to be distributed more broadly at the European level due to the creation of a ‘European Vocational Education Area’, and: “In the long term, Germany is to become the export champion in the area of education services.” (BMBF 2013).

The rationale for these kinds of export of the GDS is clearly the observation of low youth unemployment in Germany, that is expressively “attributed to the dual system of education and training, which is closely linked to industry and the job market [...] The particularly low rate of youth unemployment in Germany (7.9 per cent in May 2012) is largely ascribed to the German system of vocational training.” (BMBF 2013). The same argument has been settled at the European level, by promoting the ‘European Alliance for Apprenticeships (EAfA)’ from July 2013:⁸

⁴ See <http://www.bmbf.de/en/17127.php>

⁵ See http://www.bibb.de/en/govet_2350.php

⁶ Mubarak Kohl Initiative for Vocational Education, Training and Employment Promotion (MKI-vetEP)

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http://www.bibb.de/dokumente/pdf/stbpr_veranstaltung_2013_12_04_workbased_learning_in_europe_thomann_presentation.pdf

⁸ See http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/vocational-policy/alliance_en.htm; see also the Declaration of the Social Partners and stakeholders (: <http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/vocational-policy/doc/alliance/joint->

“Apprenticeships and work-based learning ease the transition from education and training to work, and evidence suggests that countries with a strong VET and apprenticeship system have lower levels of youth unemployment than countries without such systems.” (EC-Education and Culture 2015)

The iMOVE platform has since 2009 published a wide set of ‘success stories’ from all over the world providing public relations brochures about currently almost 100 specific examples and experiences, using local stakeholders for promotion.⁹ Philipp Gonon (2014, p.241) in an appraisal of the long tradition of export attempts apodictically states that

“there is no country where such a model has successfully and lastingly been implemented on a large scale and as the main system.” Moreover he states that current analysis *‘clearly shows that there has been no comprehensive development of any Dual System. [...] The approaches of the past have created organisations which still exist, although not always with their original function. [...] the export attempts which have now been taken place over several decades must be considered a failure.’* (ibid., p. 251)

In terms of the myth and brand argument, we can summarise these observation by saying that the stakeholders and promoters of the GDS have been very successful recently in branding their product at the European and international levels, based on the myth that GDS is responsible for the low youth unemployment in Germany, and that its export would bring about similar results in other countries. In parallel to the EU the OECD is also promoting GDS in particular in its initiatives for the G20 countries (OECD 2014; see also Steedman 2014). The conclusions state:

Apprenticeships have a key role to play in facilitating a better insertion of youth into formal employment. However, to successively achieve this, each country’s apprenticeship programme should offer quality training in a range of occupations and sectors that make apprenticeships more attractive to young people and where their costs are equitably shared to ensure they are also attractive for employers. They should also be part of a comprehensive package of education and

declaration_en.pdf and the Council Declaration (15 October 2013)

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/lisa/139011.pdf

⁹ See https://www.imove-germany.de/cps/rde/xchg/imove_projekt_international/hs.xsl/publications.htm? Stockmann (2014) gives a much more critical picture about the development since the 1980s.

employment policies that tackle more general barriers to youth employment.

(OECD 2014, p. 17)

Disclosing the myth: (how) is apprenticeship causing low youth unemployment in the ‘apprenticeship countries’?

Empirically there is some coincidence between established ‘apprenticeship systems’ and (relatively) low youth unemployment. This raises two questions: Is apprenticeship ‘the cause’ for this preferable situation? Can it be used as ‘cure’ against high youth unemployment?

The upper panel in fig.2, based on the two Eurostat definitions of youth unemployment¹⁰ indicates that there is no unanimous relationship between a relatively high incidence of apprenticeship in an EU country according to the definition and measurement by Hilary Steedman (2012) with the size of youth unemployment. Rather there are four countries comprising high levels of apprenticeship at the very low end of unemployment, and there are four countries with apprenticeship at the medium or higher range of unemployment. Among the countries with low unemployment, there are also three countries that are not classified with high apprenticeship participation. So in fact there appears no relationship even superficially. Accordingly Steedman – on the contrary to the above cited political institutions – states clearly from the beginning in her analysis that apprenticeship cannot be used as a cure (see also the arguments put forward by Batliner 2014, p.301 in this direction, and the considerations by Georg 2013, p.9):

“While a positive relationship between apprenticeship and low youth unemployment can be observed over time, it would be misguided to see apprenticeship primarily as a „cure“ for high youth unemployment.

¹⁰ These two definitions/indicators are often misunderstood or confused in the debate:

- the mostly used *youth unemployment rate (UE-rate)* relates the job seeking young people to the labour force as only one part of a cohort that is available for employment;
- it is the more recently developed youth unemployment ratio (UE-ratio) that indicates the proportion of job seeking young people related to the full cohort.

Thus it is the second indicator that shows the percentage of all young people (in a certain age group) that is actually unemployed. The figure shows that the second indicator is grossly half of the first. This means that on the EU average a youth unemployment rate of about 20% means that in fact 10% of all young people are unemployed. We see also in the figure that the difference between the two indicators increases in the countries with a very high youth unemployment rate, in particular Spain and Greece. Here a UE-rate of above 50% means that about 20% of young people are actually unemployed.

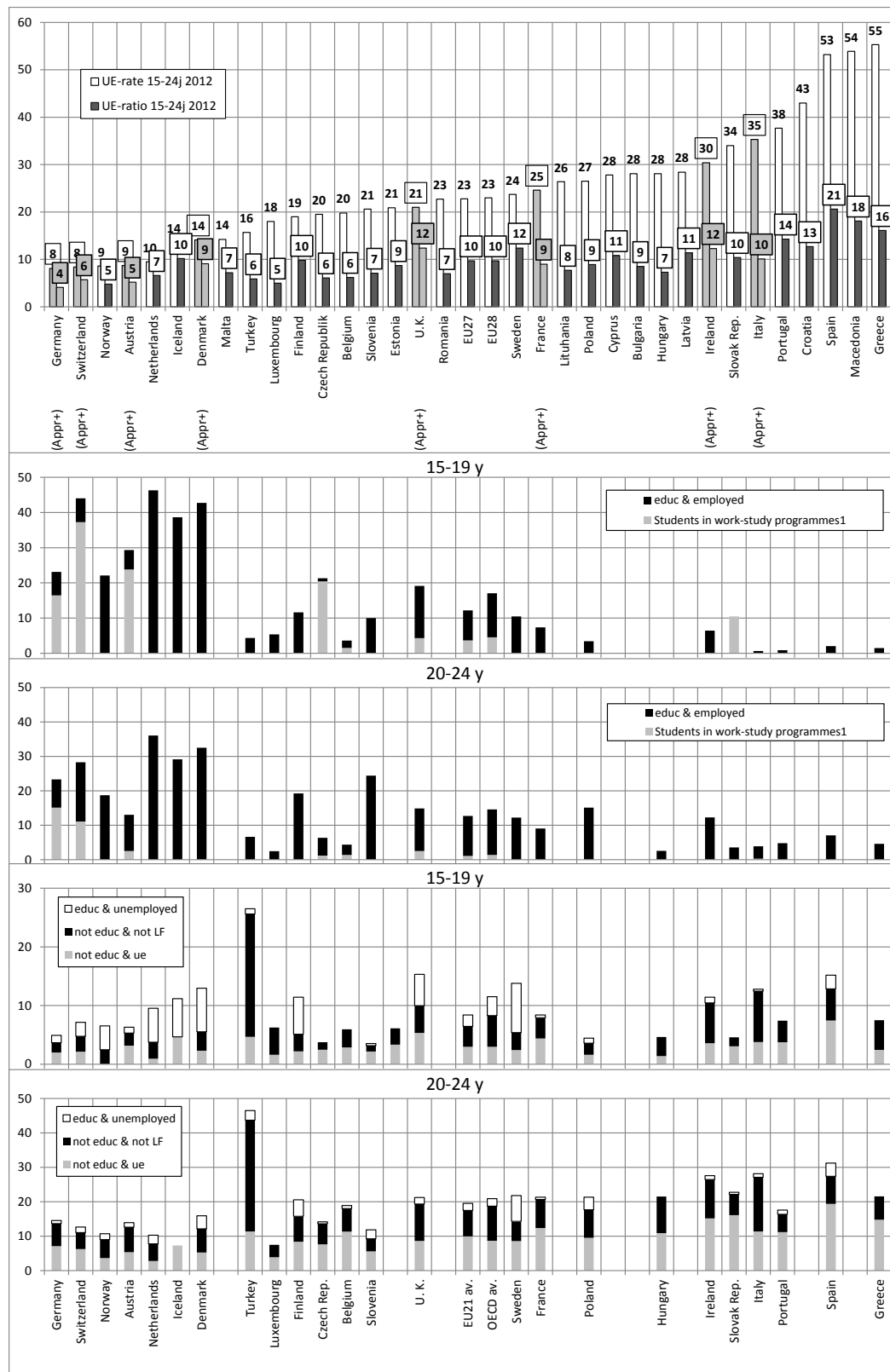
Apprenticeship is first and foremost about skill development to the benefit of companies, their employees and the wider economy. Apprenticeship can accommodate a wide range of abilities and aptitudes because it accurately reflects the equally wide range of skills required in a modern economy. However, it is not a sufficient solution to improving the labour market transition of young people with poor school achievements or other disadvantages.” (Steedman 2012, S.2)

The lower panels in fig.2 show the interrelations of some statuses of young people according to the estimations by the OECD, broken down by a younger (15-19y) and an older (20-24y) group of young people. Here we are firstly confronted with the problems of identifying apprenticeship. The OECD estimations make a distinction between formal ‘work-study-programmes’ that include (or are identical with) apprenticeship and the factual coincidence of education and employment that does not (or at least need not) include formal relationships between education and work: this category simply includes students or pupils that work beneath studies. We see that the latter (informal) category is much higher on average (around 10% or more in both age groups) than the formal work-study programmes (around 5% in the younger group and almost disappearing in the older one), and we see quite big differences in classification between Steedman’s apprenticeship typology and the OECD estimations (only the three ‘classical apprenticeship countries Germany, Switzerland, and Austria) are clearly classified according to the expectations in both estimations (this points to the issues of definition tackled below).

The OECD estimates indicate that it is rather *employment arrangements*, whether formally embedded into work-study programmes or informally occurring, that are related to the incidence of unemployment. This is to some extent tautological, however, points to the fact, that the categories of being in education, and being employed or unemployed are clearly not exclusive: on average around 15% of young people are at the same time in education and employed or unemployed, that is higher than the EUROSTAT UE-ratio (10%).¹¹

¹¹ The lower panels of fig.2 show the coincidence of being in education and unemployed (which is often ruled out by the administrative regulation about unemployment). This is quite low on average, however, in a number of countries (particularly Nordic countries and U.K.) around 10% of the younger age group are at the same time unemployed and in education (in the older age group this proportion is low, except Sweden).

Fig.2: Indicators of unemployment, compared to combinations of education and work



Source: upper panel UE-rate, UE-ratio Eurostat (2012); four lower panels combinations of education, work, and unemployment OECD-Education at a Glance (2012); (1) 'work-study programmes' resemble apprenticeships; classification of countries with high proportion of apprenticeships (Appr+) based on Steedman 2012.

If we consider these overlaps between education and employment, we can see that grossly the countries with high youth unemployment have low proportions of young people of either age group in apprenticeship or coincidental employment, and vice versa, countries with low unemployment have higher proportions of young people in these employment related categories. At the low end of unemployment the pattern is interesting: employment related statuses are much higher in Denmark, Iceland and the Netherlands than in the ‘classical apprenticeship countries’, which show different patterns:

- in Germany young people in employment related statuses are comparatively few (in both age groups around 25%), with the work-study-programmes dominating in both age groups (apprenticeship is still strong among the 20-24y. young people)

- in Switzerland the proportion is much higher (above 40% in the younger and almost 30% in the older age group), with apprenticeship dominating in the younger but not in the older age group

- in Austria the proportion is lying between Switzerland and Germany in the younger age group (around 30%) but lowest in the older age group (around 15%) with apprenticeship being concentrated clearly in the younger group.

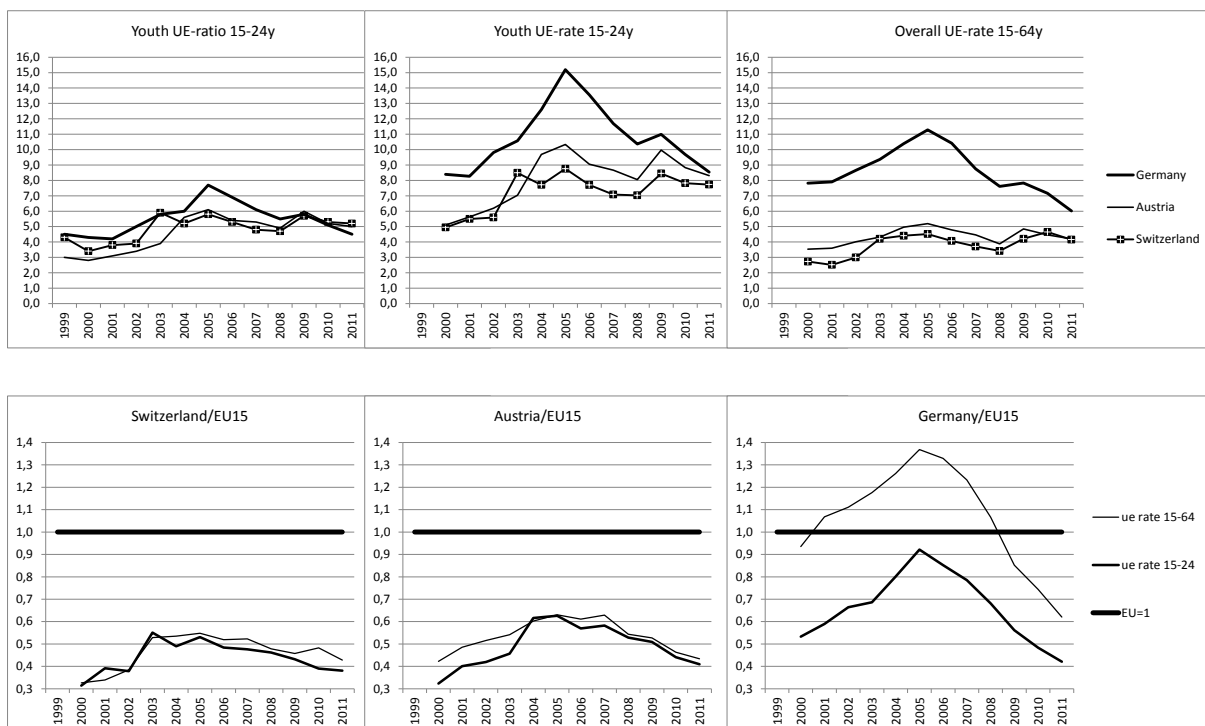
From these patterns education can be rather expected to contribute to low youth unemployment in the *non-typical apprenticeship-countries* Denmark and Netherlands than in the typical ones (Germany, Switzerland, and Austria).

A closer look at the typical apprenticeship countries gives further insights to the question, whether apprenticeship contributes to low youth unemployment. The upper panel of fig.3 shows that the unemployment rates of young and adult people are lower in Switzerland and Austria than in Germany, with a quite substantial reduction in Germany since 2006 relative to the other two countries; the youth unemployment ratio fell below the others in Germany 2006-11. The lower panel compares the unemployment rate of young and adult people to the EU-15 average, and this comparison shows instructive patterns: in Switzerland and Austria the relative position of the youth unemployment rate is grossly at the same level as the relative position of overall unemployment; thus, relatively speaking, youth unemployment is not markedly lower than overall unemployment, and apprenticeship is not needed to explain low youth unemployment, which can be seen as a derivative of the overall economic development. The picture is different for Germany. Here the relative position of youth

unemployment is substantially lower than that of overall unemployment; thus in this country apprenticeship could serve as an explanation for a lower level of relative youth unemployment. However, paradoxically the unemployment rate is higher in Germany than in the other two countries (in 2005 it almost reaches the EU-15 average). Here the marked decrease of unemployment *among young and adult people* since 2005 deserves explanation, which can rarely be given by apprenticeship, because such substantial changes in the system have not taken place during this period, and apprenticeship clearly cannot explain such a decrease of overall unemployment.

So according to the first question of causal influences, these indications underline the assertion, that the idea of the GDS being the main driver of low youth unemployment is probably a myth. The proposition, that apprenticeship could serve as a cure is undermined by the two other classical apprenticeship countries, where we have no causal indications for a reduction of youth unemployment by apprenticeship.

Fig.3: Comparison of apprenticeship countries Switzerland, Austria, Germany (unemployment indicators: youth UE-ratio, UE-rate, overall UE-rate)



Source: own calculations based on EUROSTAT data base

Here is not the space to analyse the causal questions further (for Austria see Lassnigg 2013; interesting more general arguments can also be found in Georg 2013). Rather we have to follow the argument of myth and brand. At the level of the policy rhetoric we can easily see that the established relationship between the GDS and youth unemployment lacks substance, and is based on very superficial empirical correspondences and analogies that do not stand a deeper questioning. If we take the notion of a myth literally, which somehow refers to a kind of deeper reflection of complex, sometimes mysterious issues of life or world that are not easy to understand, then the reasoning behind the GDS and employment is rather a trivialisation of this concept.

A big issue in understanding apprenticeship systems is their historically emerged complex and multifaceted construction at the edge of education and employment. Thus there is much discussion about the necessary elements of such a system, and their effects for its working. This is clearly relevant for understanding, but even more for transfer or export. If we take the above mentioned modelling by Greinert seriously, the idea of export is silly and absurd. The concept rather explains why the historically emerging distinct holistic models have not been and cannot be transferred from one culture to the other. This kind of argument is also reinforced by other holistic approaches, e.g. the versions of varieties of capitalism that build on distinct societal and economic structures (liberal vs. coordinated market economies; Hall, Soskice 2001, also with a more pedagogical approach Winch 2000), or the distinct worlds of welfare capitalism (Esping-Andersen 1990), or the new approach of collective skills systems directed to the questions of the influences at the level of politics and policy making (Busemeyer, Trampusch 2011).

On the other pole of reasoning we find approaches that are trying to decompose apprenticeship systems to their key elements, which might be transferred separately or in a module-like fashion. An identification of the key elements is also needed in a holistic approach, if one wants to understand the system's mode of functioning. In case of export the 'product' must be specified in an operative way, so that at least the buyers know what they get. If this is not possible, the export metaphor is simply nonsense for any serious reasoning. In this case the question shifts to asking what serious people might have in mind when they use this metaphor. One answer would be that the sellers are trying to up value their (virtual) product discursively and propagandistically, without really wanting to sell it. This is exactly the logic of branding, in the extreme, to give high value to (almost) nothing (e.g., to make a

lasting world brand out of some synthetic substance possible to drink), or to something which is difficult to understand (e.g., insuring for risks).

If we look at different de-composite understandings of apprenticeship, we see that the 'product' is all but clear. Different authors focus on different aspects of the complex structures. Batliner (2014) gives an instructive picture:

“[...] the individual [...] meets the world of work and the world of education. [...] The two worlds are different in nature, pursue different aims and set different priorities. [...] together they are standing on the somewhat swampy ground of an unstable economic context that influences their performance and their relations.” (ibid., p.295) “Even simple ‘dual’ training arrangements are more complex and complicated than centre-based training, due to unpredictable factors such as power games in business associations and the rather direct influence of the economic situation on the training.” (ibid., p.300)

The core characteristics of the dual system are differently constructed by some authors putting the combination of work and schooling, and thus the educational functions to the core (e.g., Gonon and his co-authors in Maurer, Gonon 2013), whereas other approaches put the economic aspects of the employment relation to the core, in particular the wage and the employment/training contract (e.g., ILO, OECD, Steedman). Other authors put the 'collective' dual governance structures to the fore that lead to political struggle and instability or diversity in the systems.

Concerning the causal processes behind low unemployment these different perspectives imply different kinds of explanations. The educational focus emphasises the longer term qualification outcomes and the productivity of the completers and a better skills matching, whereas the economic focus on the employment relation points to the more short term processes of selection and skills utilisation. In the economic interpretation the conditions for the transfer and export are different, as not only education and training issues are involved but also the industrial relations must be organised accordingly. „The role of initial VET is dependent on the context of labour market regulation and the structure of the economy.” (OECD, 2010, S.29) In the Austrian and German case the employment relation is strongly developed, and embedded into social security and labour market policy. Access to apprenticeship is a key political issue, and the market is continuously monitored. If imbalances occur, political measures are set in place to reduce unemployment. This

mechanism is clearly in place in Austria (Lassnigg 2013), however, to some degree neglected in policy discourses. In Germany the ‘transition system’ has also absorbed many applicants on the apprenticeship market. The longer term qualification effects are much more difficult to prove. In Switzerland the returns during the apprenticeship period are on average positive, so many firms can reap the returns to their early investments into apprentices already before the end of the contract.

According to this interpretation the institutional embeddedness of apprenticeship into formal employment, and the related labour market policy interventions are the most important factors influencing youth unemployment. However, interestingly this aspect is not mentioned in the analyses about transfer and export provided in Maurer, Gonon (2014). The factors constituting the employment relation are not even mentioned in the structuration of the apprenticeship system in these analyses (see ANNEX).

Conclusions: myths of systems and models?

The analysis has shown on the one hand attempts of branding the German Dual System of apprenticeship for worldwide export, with several influential actors at the international level (e.g., EU, OECD, G20) intensely supporting these attempts. The myth behind the establishment of the GDS brand is that it would cure youth unemployment, which is not so sure, as always with myths.

On the other hand, two conceptions of apprenticeship exist that interpret the conditions for its establishment and transfer differently. One sees a complex holistic system that has historically emerged and is tightly embedded in the broader environment of industrial relations and work culture; the other interpretation sees a de-composite conglomerate of elements which might be pragmatically implemented in a modular way in different compositions.

From the latter pragmatic view the holistic models or systems can be asserted as another kind of myth that might reify the apprenticeship model to a mysterious structure difficult to understand and impossible to transfer. The pragmatic approach has shifted the attention from the dual system to a much more loose conception of work-based learning, which however

might lack the employment relation as main ingredient being candidate providing for lowering youth unemployment and setting the linkage to labour market policy and social security.

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ANNEX: Characteristics of apprenticeship system according to different sources

Gozon 2014, criteria, generalised	BMZ, key characteristics, DE (cf. Stockmann 2014)	Batliner 2014, framework, essential characteristics (CH)	ILO 1939, 1962, research 2010	Steedman 2012	INAP Memorandum, Deitmer et al. 2013
LEARNING SITES Company, readiness School, 2 nd pillar		[Practical training expensive; quality essential] Places of learning (dual, trial), practice over theory	training „systematic“, follows predefined plan (‘39) based in work place, supervised by employer (‘39) off-the-job educ-training (‘10)	Workplace based Programme of training On-the-job training Off-the-job training	Cost-benefit for company Work context constitutive Cooperation learning venues
LAW, STATE Law, necessary framework	National standards Qualified VET staff		established standards for a recognized occupation (‘62) long-term training (‘62) external regulation of training standards in & outside workplace (‘10)	Legislative framework Formal assessment Recognized certification Fixed duration	Legal framework Legal status apprentices Time scale
GOVERNANCE, ACTORS Governance, social partners	Cooperation government-industry	Private sector-state cooperation Political structure, subsidiarity, corporatism (Fr) [Disrespect and mistrust]		governed by a contract between apprentice and employer (‘39) Wage	Cooperation of actors Strategic and operational functions Innovation strategies
VOCATIONS Vocational practice, professionalism	Learning work process		fundamental aim is learning a trade/acquiring a skill (‘39)		methods curriculum development/ Occupational field/ Shaping one’s work/ Core occupations/ Sustainable occupational profiles/ Open dynamic occ.profiles/ Occupational identity/ Continuing prof.development
Knowledge, science related	Research, consultancy				Vocational disciplines
FORMAL EDUCATION Meritocracy, integration		LLL, step in career, access to tertiary education Vocational counselling at secondary school [positive future concerns] [Career perspectives, not last resort] Decentralised formal education, local managing skills (Fr)	intended for young people (‘39)		Integration in H.E.structure
		Valuing manual skills, apprenticeship desirable (Fr)			
		Organised and regulated economy, market barriers (Fr)			

