

# The complex dynamics of change and reform in Austrian education and training

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and the 2nd Conference for History of Vocational Education in Europe

**“Myths and Brands in Vocational Education ”**

Tampere, 14th -18th June, 2013

# Prologue

- different views about...History...&...Myths...&...Brands...

# ...History...&...Myths...&...Brands...

- ...different views
- 1: **replacement** or ‚crowding out‘ of history by myths&brands



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# ...History...&...Myths...&...Brands...

- ...different views
- 1: **replacement** or ‚crowding out‘ of history by myths&brands

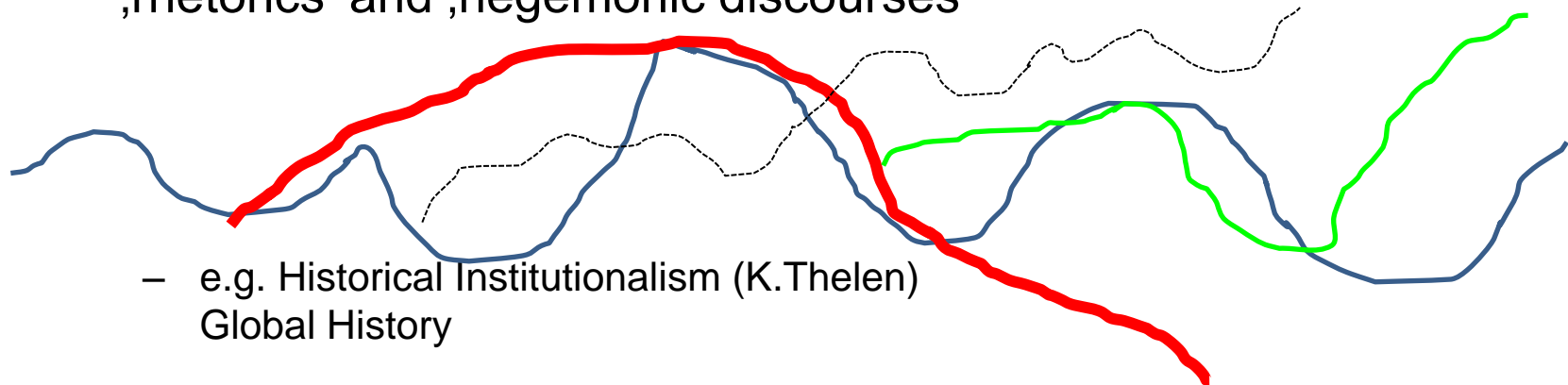


FACT OR MYTH?

\$\$\$\$€€€€€



- 2: **differentiation** of different kinds of reasoning, ups and downs of ‚rhetorics‘ and ‚hegemonic discourses‘



- e.g. Historical Institutionalism (K.Thelen)  
Global History

# Overview

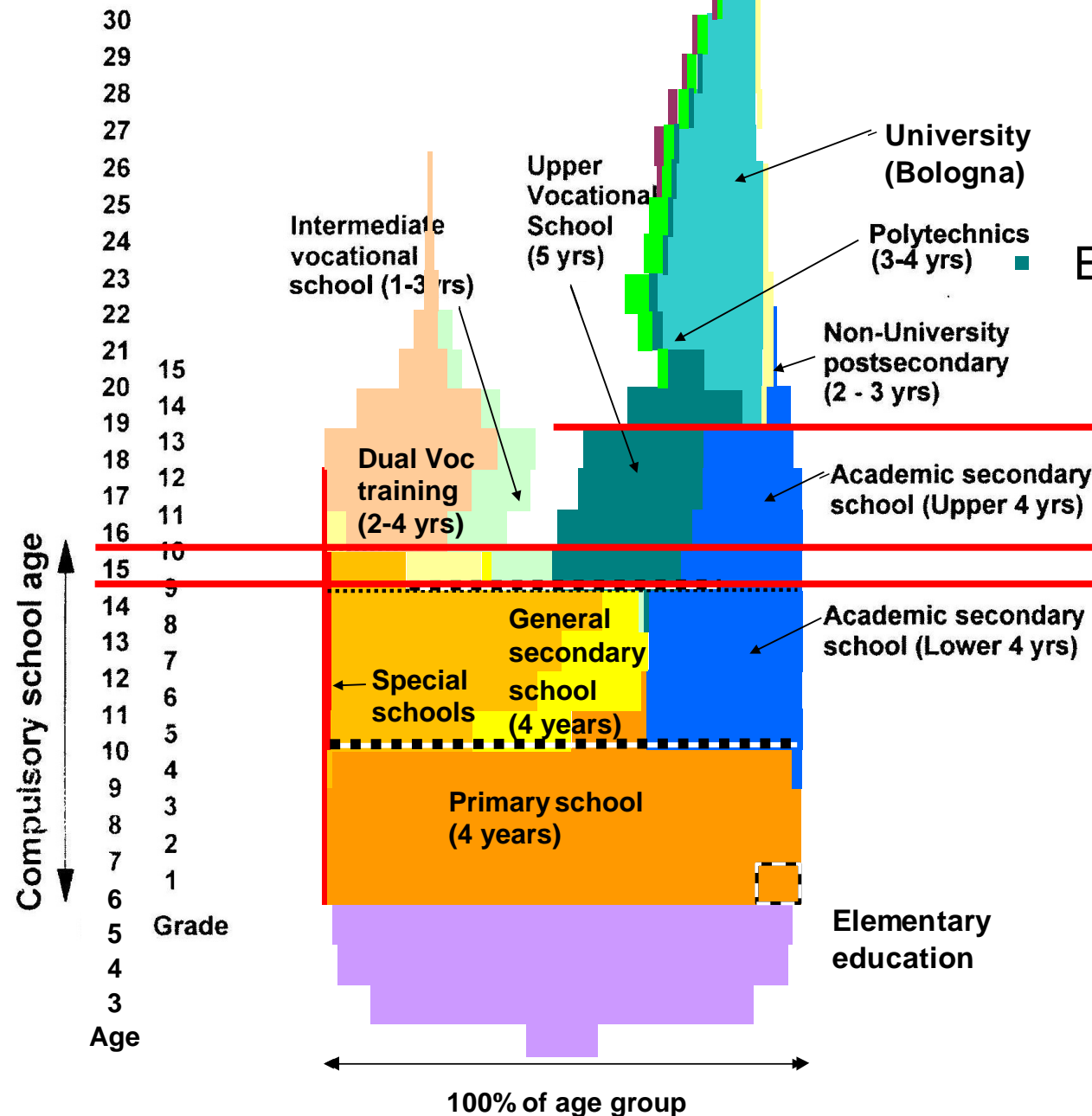
- Current structure of education and recent changes
- Change of participation at upper secondary level since 1920s
- Comparative position
- Long term patterns of development and reform
- Current reforms and changes (Austria, EU, OECD)
- Explanations?
- Myths and Brands?

# 'System' of Education

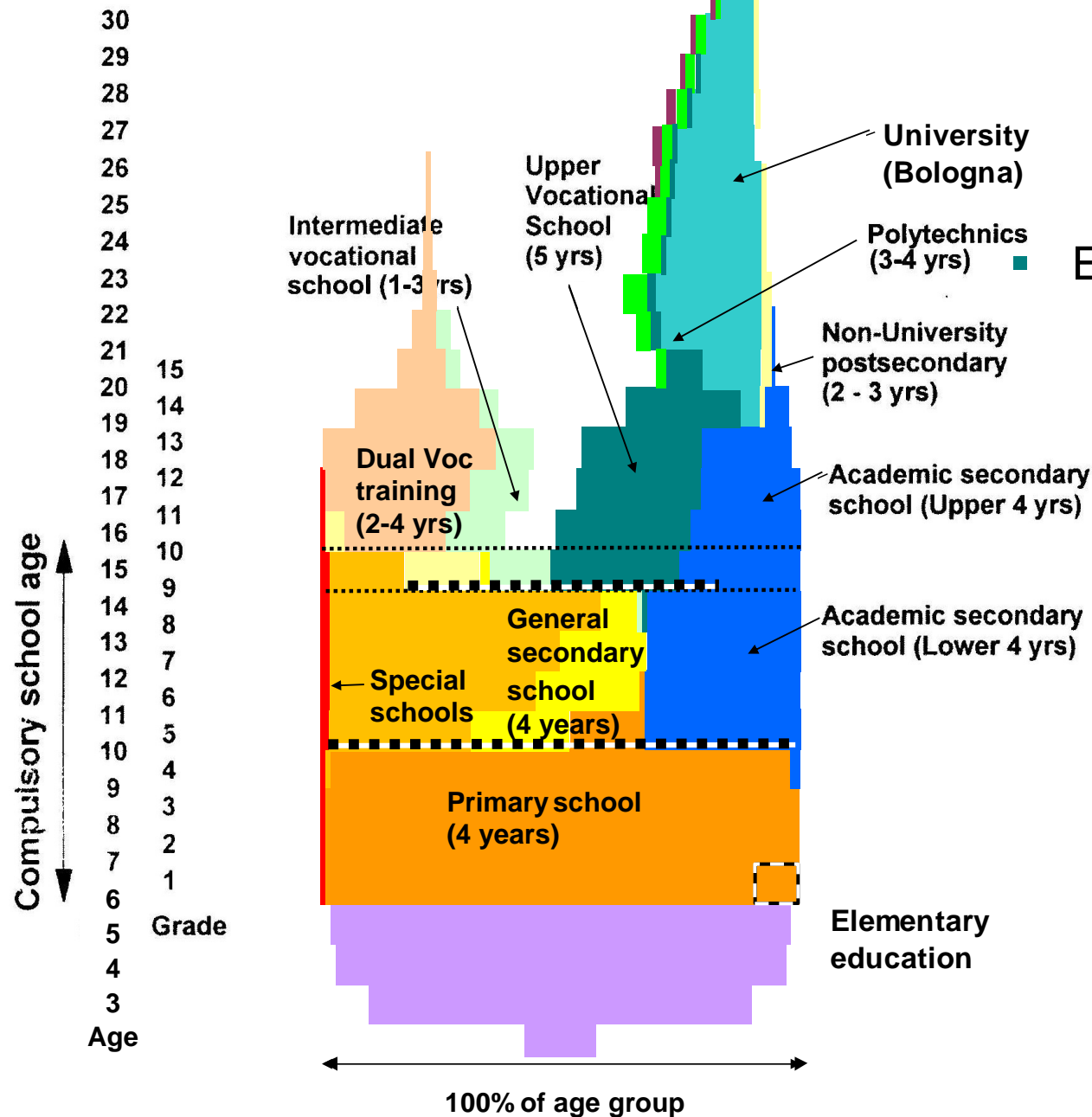
## Current Structure

2010-12

Educational institutions due to participation per age cohorts



# 'System' of Education



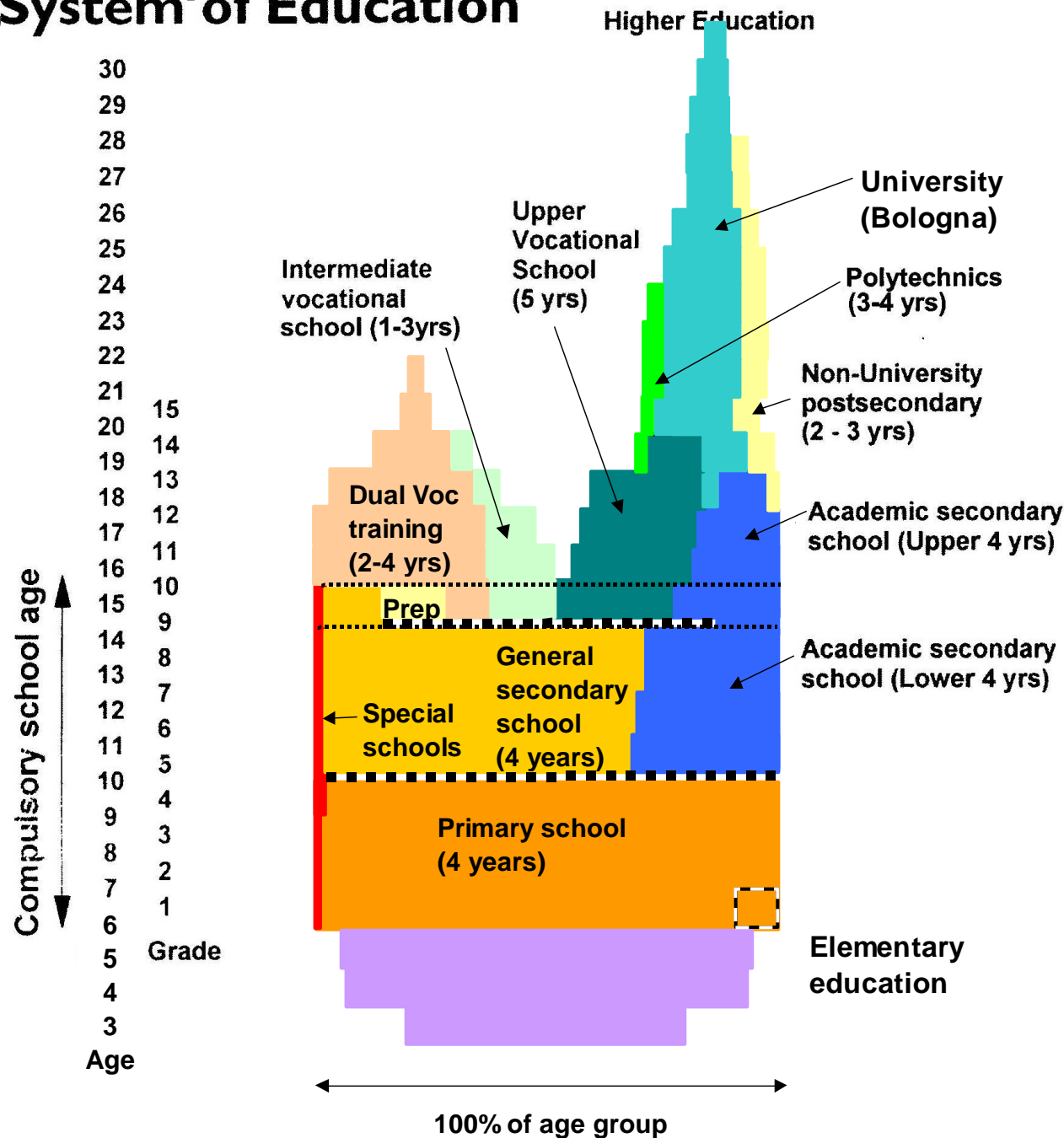
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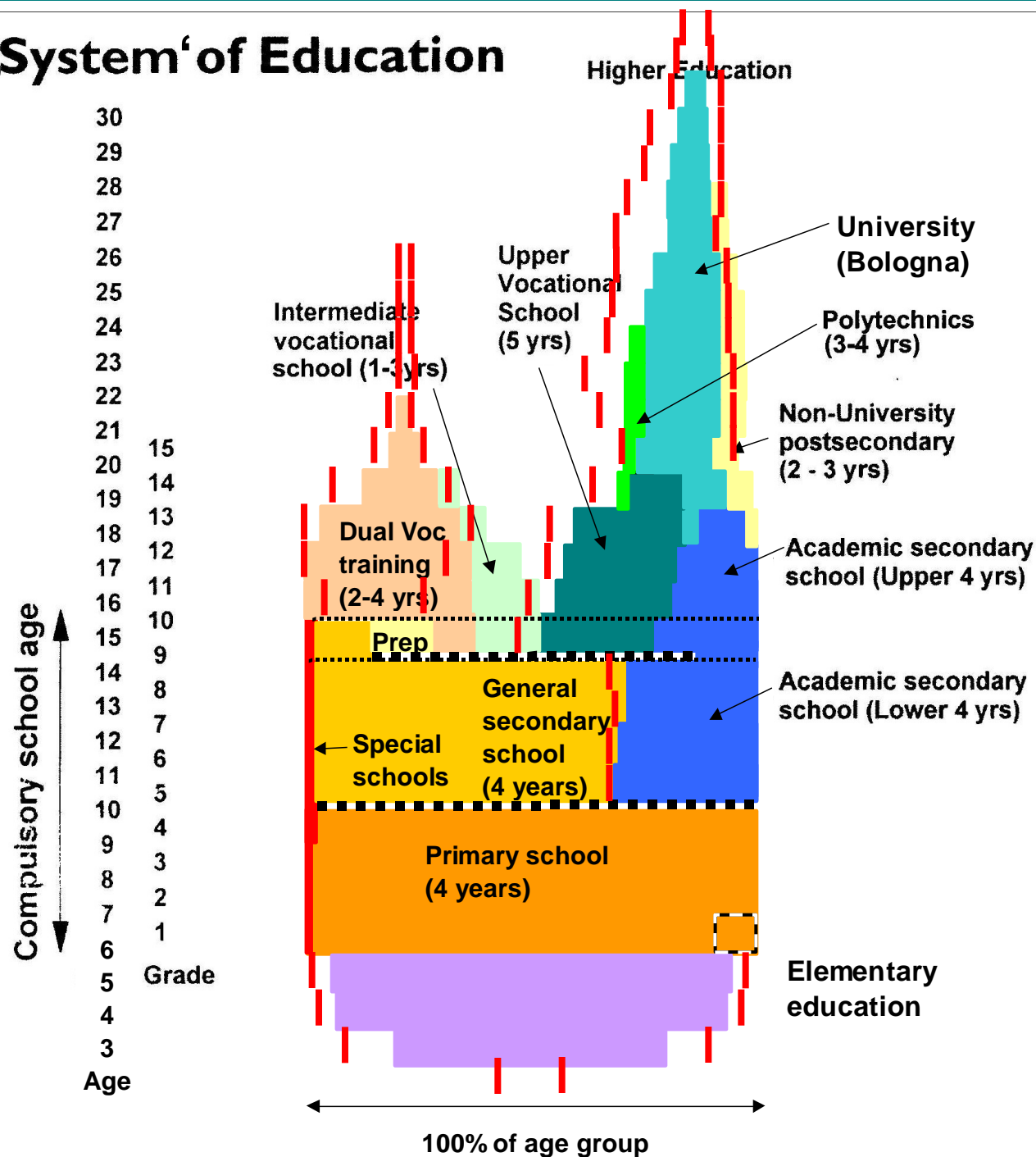


## Previous Structure

- 1990-2000
- Changes:
  - expansion of HE, mainly university
  - postponed and prolonged careers in HE
  - postponement of apprenticeship
  - expansion of upper level programmes



# 'System' of Education

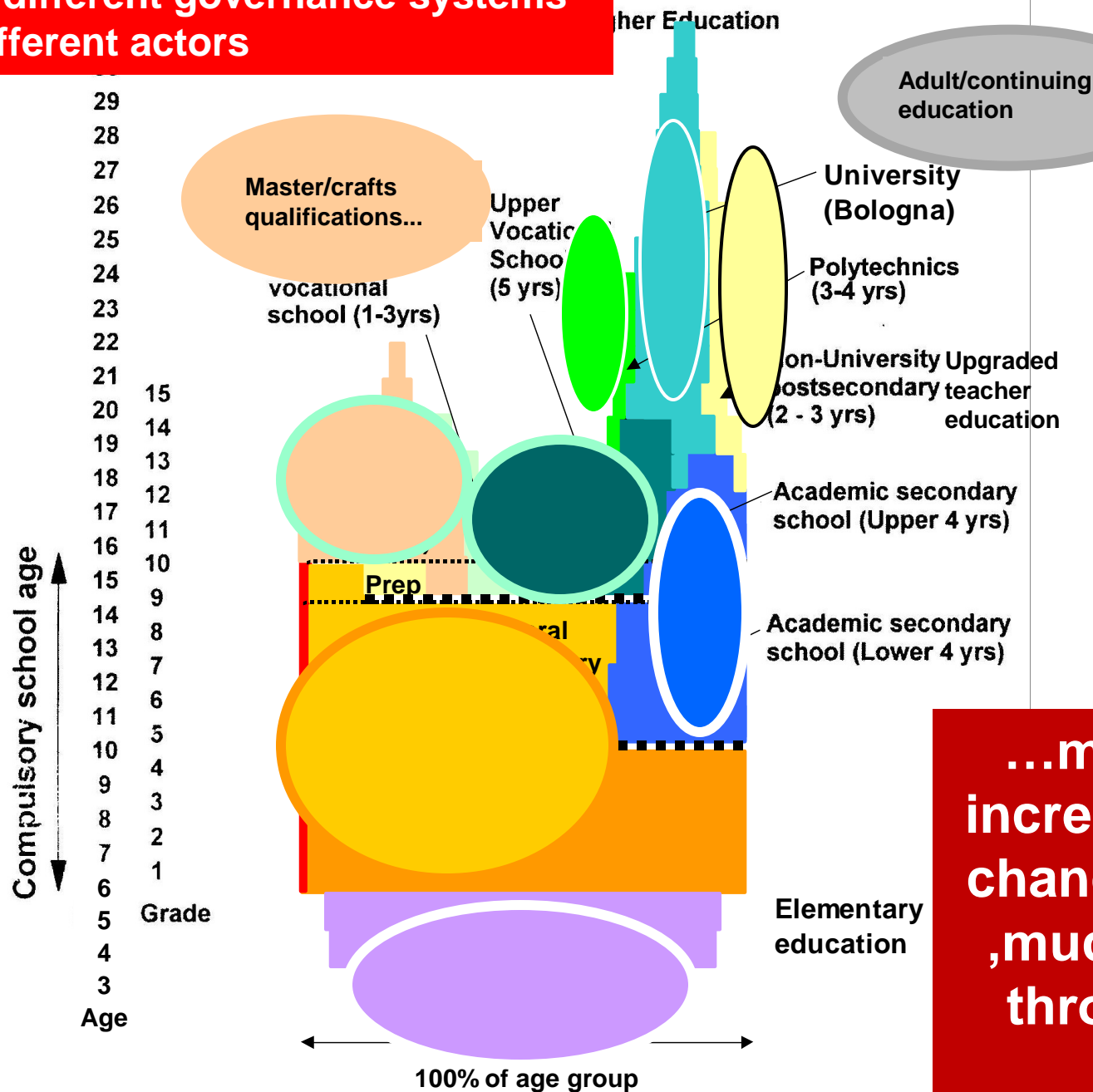


## Previous Structure

- 1990-2000
- Changes:
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  - expansion of upper level programmes
  - 'Neue Mittelschule'
    - expansion of preprimary

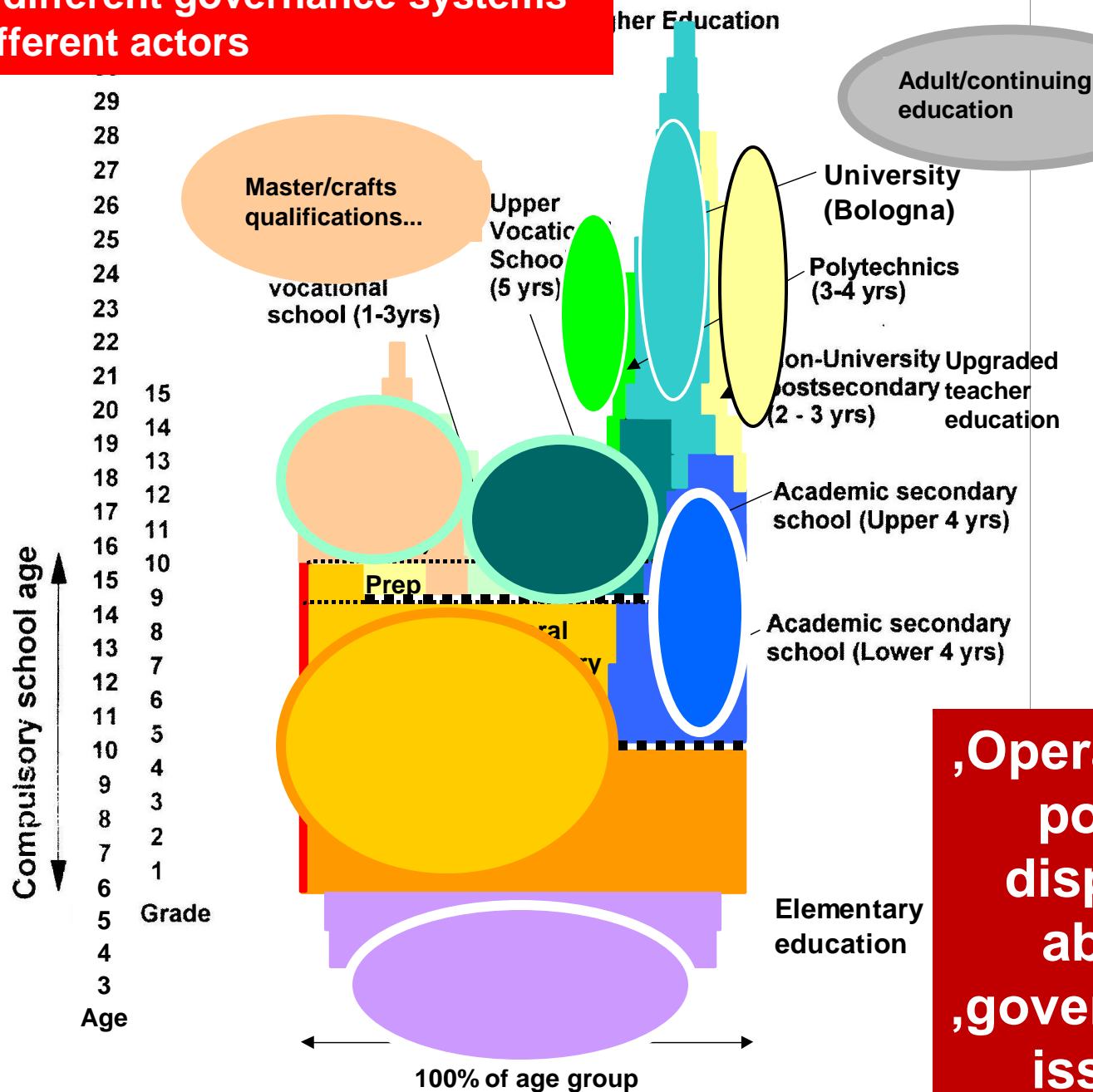
# Complexity & governance

~ Eight to ten different governance systems including different actors



...means incremental change and 'muddling through'

~ Eight to ten different governance systems including different actors



**„Operational‘  
policy  
disputes  
about  
„governance‘  
issues**

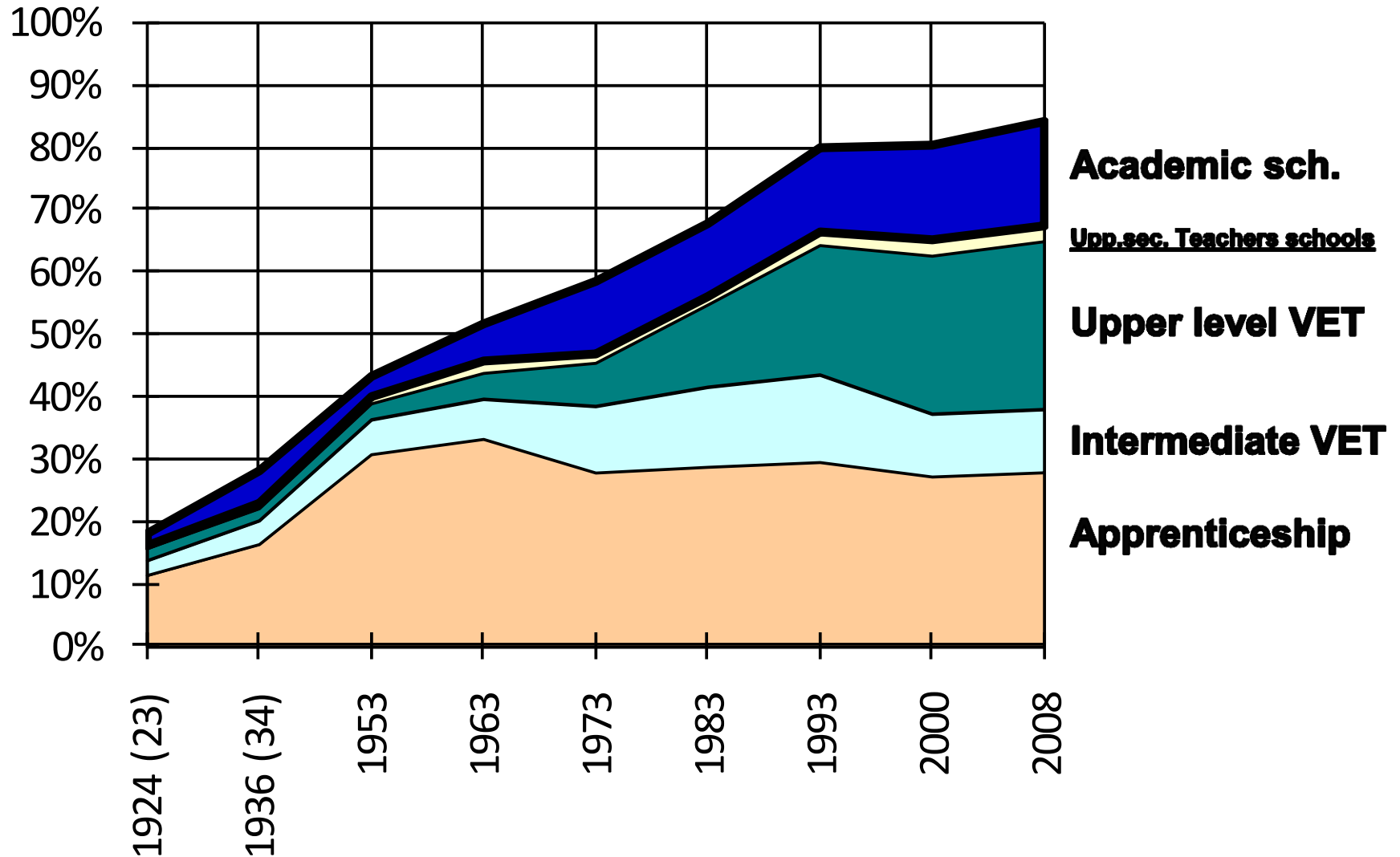
# Austria

## centralised structure, stop-go pattern

- Austria has retained historical elements
  - key reforms of most other countries since the 1960s have not taken place in Austria
    - comprehensive reform at lower secondary level*
    - upgrading of vocational colleges to the post-secondary level.*
  - Basic traits of this structure have been retained from the 19<sup>th</sup> century...
    - 1849 shape of the academic secondary school;*
    - 1870 vocational colleges*
  - and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century
    - 1927 lower secondary compulsory school ‘Hauptschule’*
  - persistence of apprenticeship is related to the persistence of the trade organisation and the weakness of large industry in Austria
  - The bureaucracy originates in the Empire (18<sup>th</sup> century)
  - Some of the persistent traits go back to reforms of the past, in particular the creation of the vocational schools
  
- Stop-go pattern, historical overview

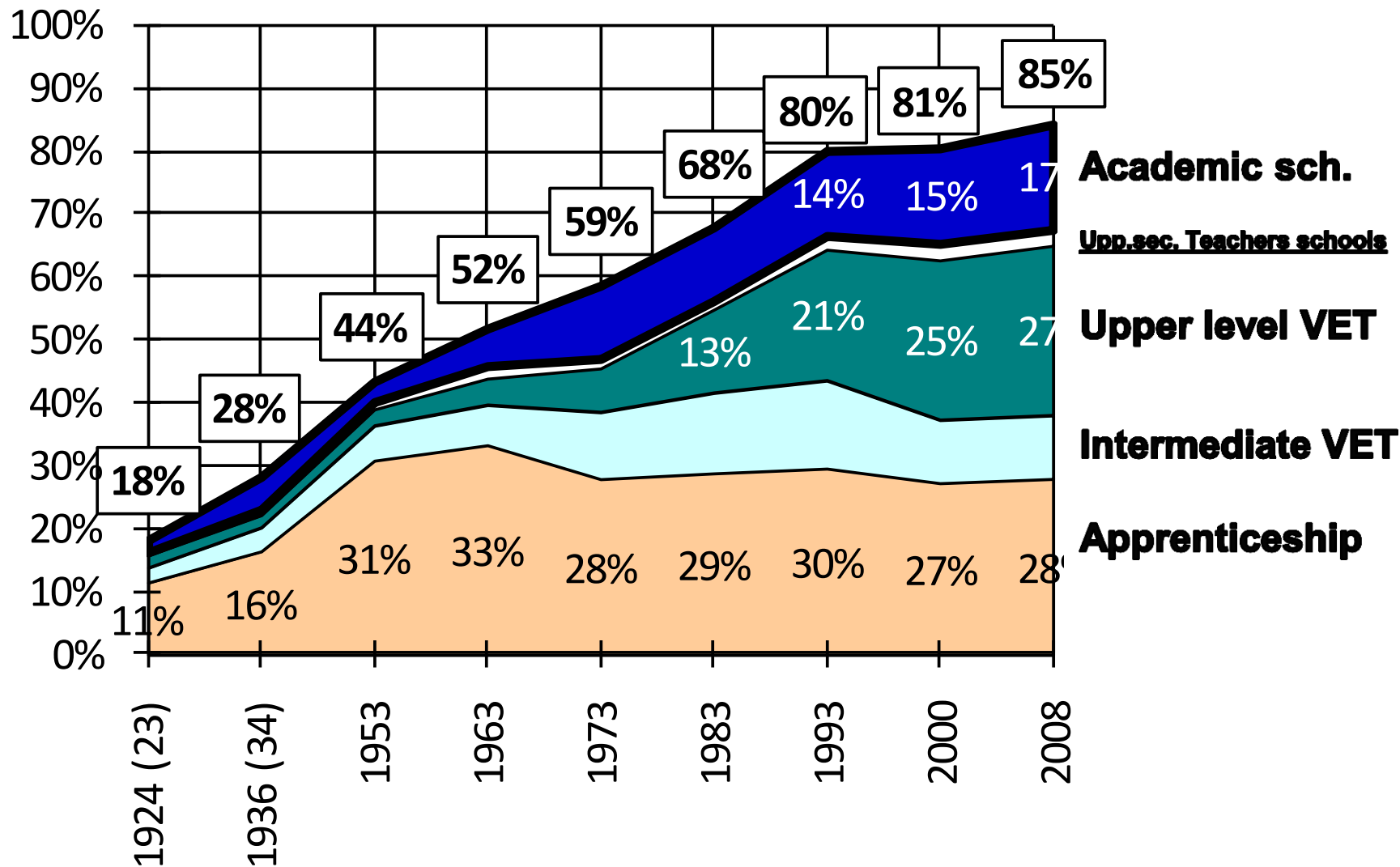
# Longer term trend of participation (since 1920s)

## Enrolment at upper secondary level related to 15-19yrs population in Austria 1924-20



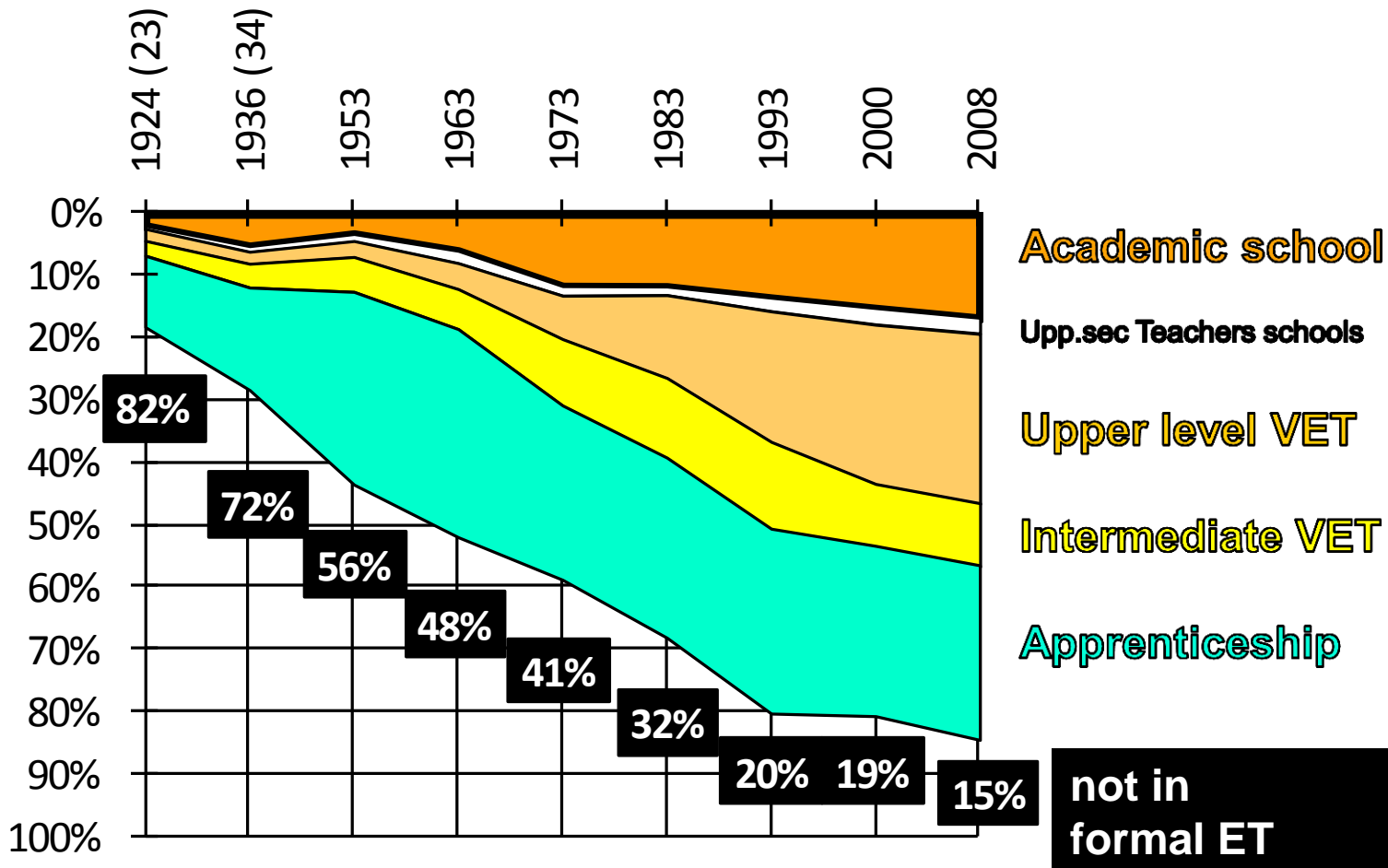


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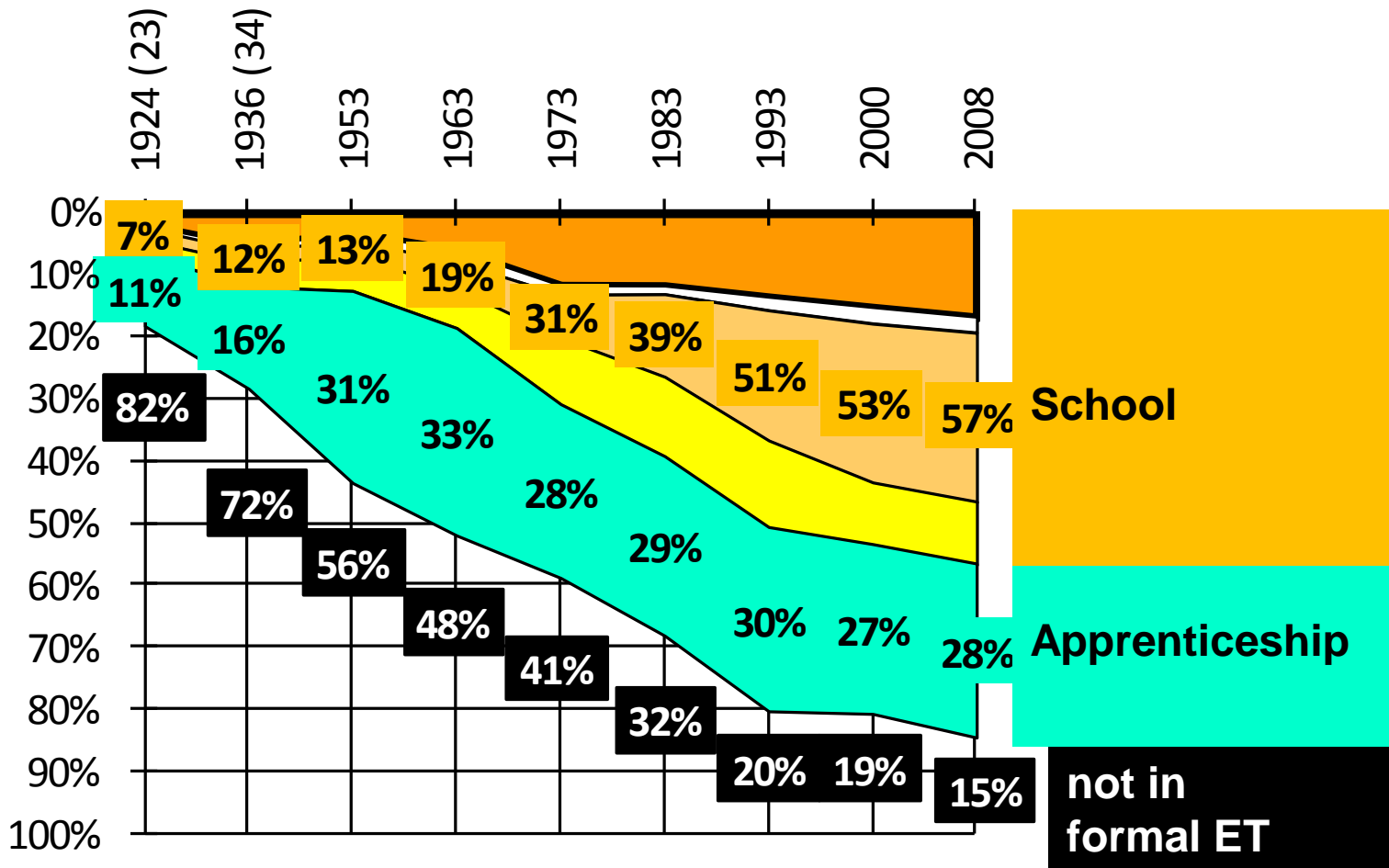
# ...increasing inclusion by social background at upper secondary level (4-5 generations)...

Enrolment at upper secondary level related to 15-19yrs population in Austria 1924-2008



# Austria a ,dual system'?

Enrolment at upper secondary level related to  
15-19yrs population in Austria 1924-2008



# Austria a ,dual system'?

## Enrolment at upper secondary level related to 15-19yrs population in Austria 1924-2008

Ratio Apprenticeship/School

1,7 1,4 2,4 1,8 0,9 0,7 0,6 0,5 0,5

1924

1936

1953

1963

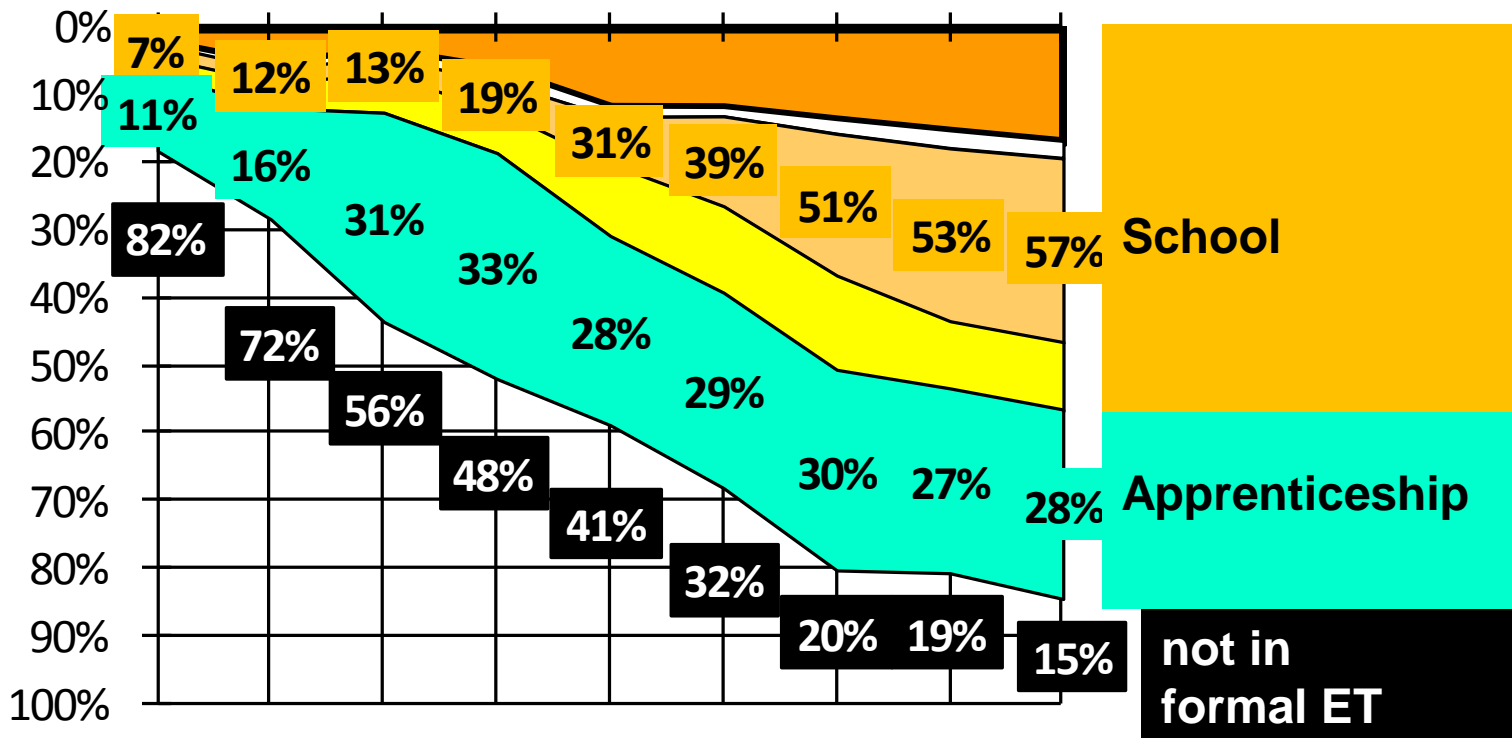
1973

1983

1993

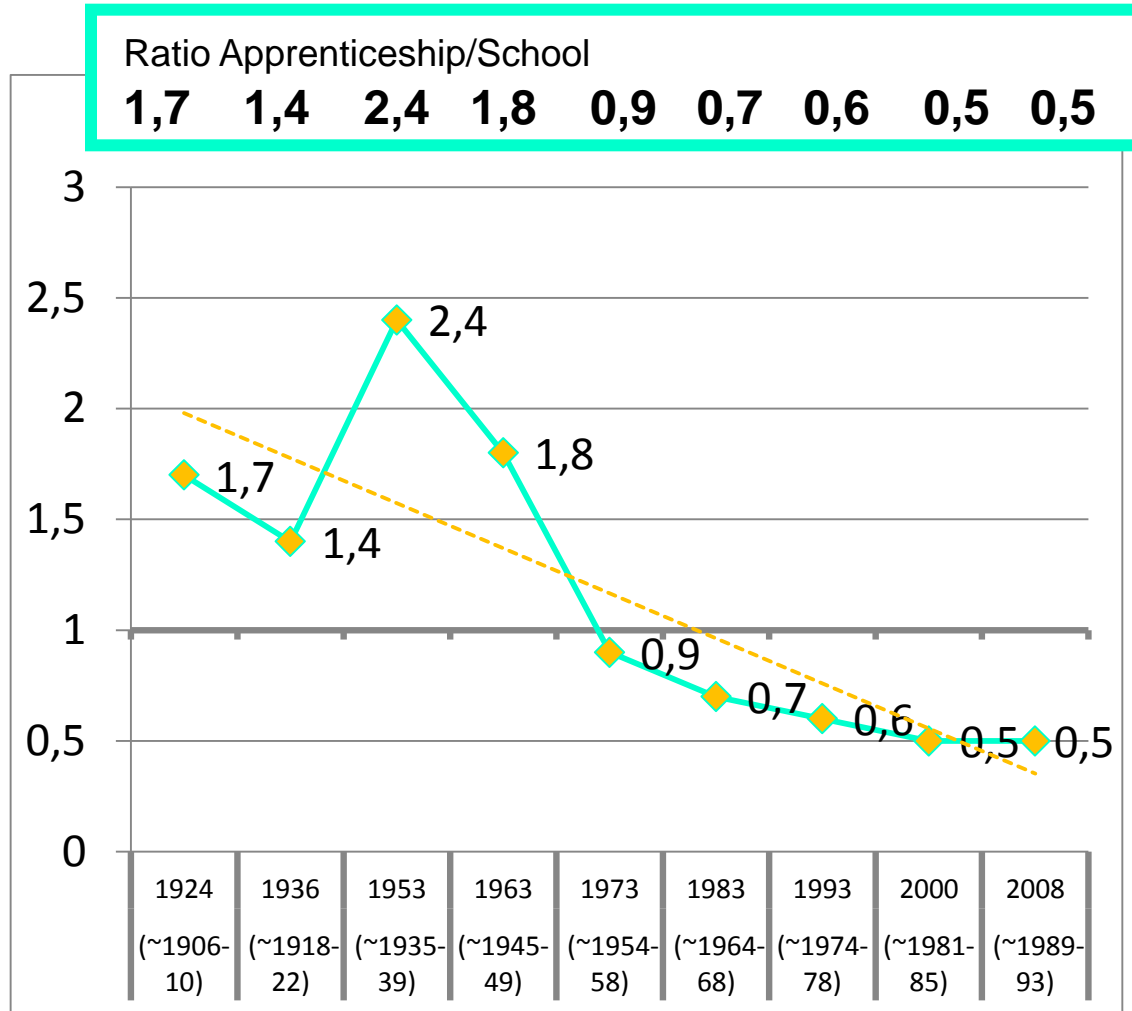
2000

2008



# Austria a ,dual system'?

- Increase of apprenticeship during NAZI-regime (1938-45), longer term trend decrease of ratio / increase of full-time school



- 1953 highest ratio apprenticeship
- 1973 ~parity
  - 1971-81 programme by social democratic government to increase school participation to 1/3 of age cohort: 1:1:1 acad : upVET : interm.VET

# Change of VET

- **increase of participation** of young people in education since the 1920s from a minority (< 20%) to a majority (~ 80%)
- **proportion of apprenticeship** down from two thirds to one third, academic and vocational upper level tracks increased from one quarter to more than half of participants
- **reversal of trend towards academic school** in two fascist periods, and increase of apprenticeship during the German occupation
- In the 1950s a **long term trend of increase of school tracks** to the disadvantage of apprenticeship started
  - first academic school increased,
  - afterwards vocational colleges
- expansion of vocational colleges has **repeated the policies from the 1880s**, when expansion of vocational schools should reduce the expansion of the academic school.

# VET and Higher Education

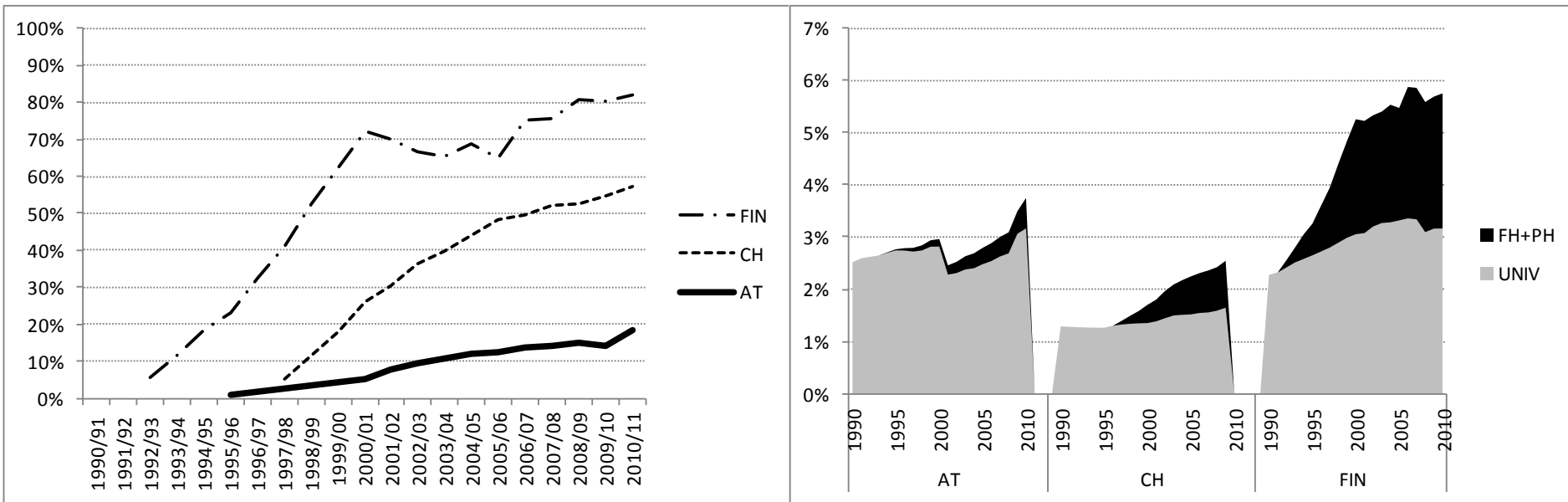
- In 1993 the **polytechnics** (Fachhochschule) framework was established as a specific reform attempt oriented to create a new kind of governance (NPM) within the overly bureaucratic and state driven educational administration
  - accreditation model from bottom-up, no institutional upgrading, slow expansion
- in 2002 radical **university reform** towards 'autonomous' institutions ('entrepreneurial university', financing based on 'achievement contracts' and scoreboard ('Wissensbilanz'))
  - heavily disputed, big gap in financing



# Expansion of late comer polytechnics Finland, Switzerland, Austria

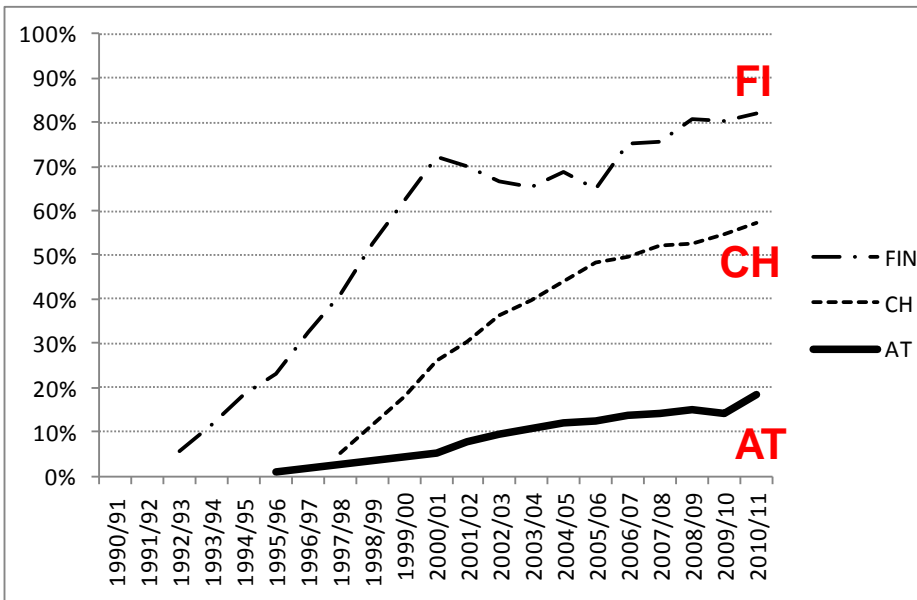
Proportion polytechnics to  
universities 1990-2010

Students/population 1990-2010  
polytechnics, university

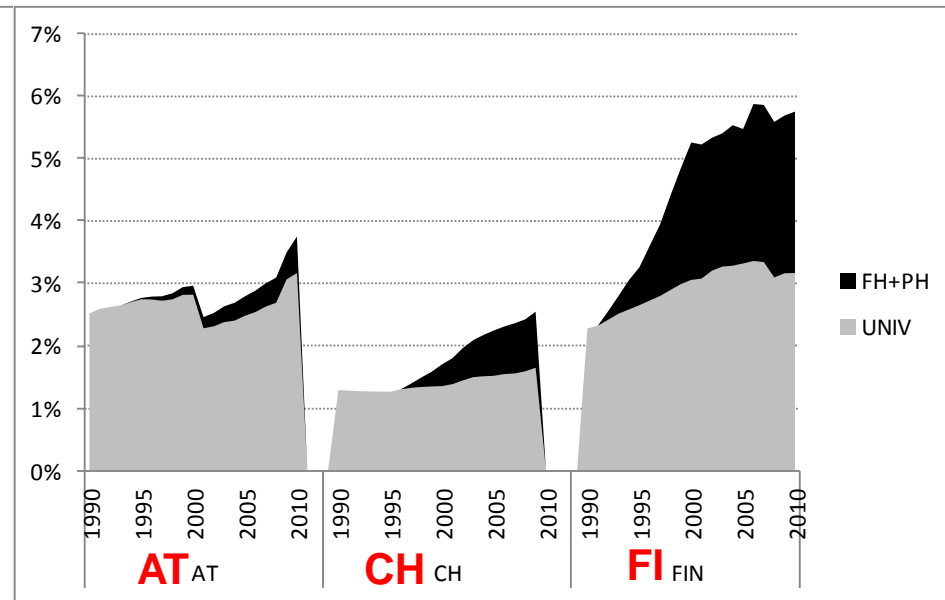


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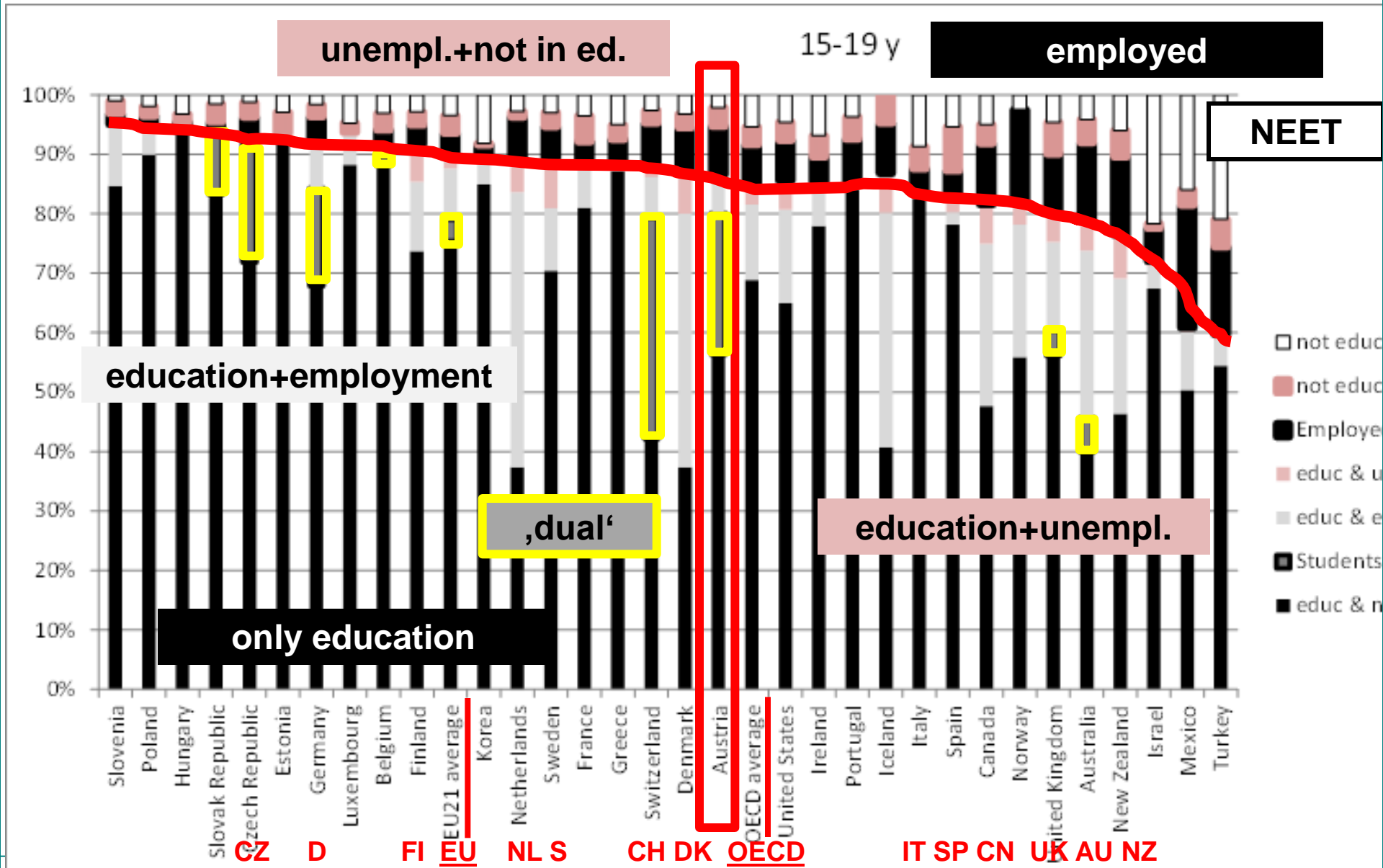
Students/population 1990-2010  
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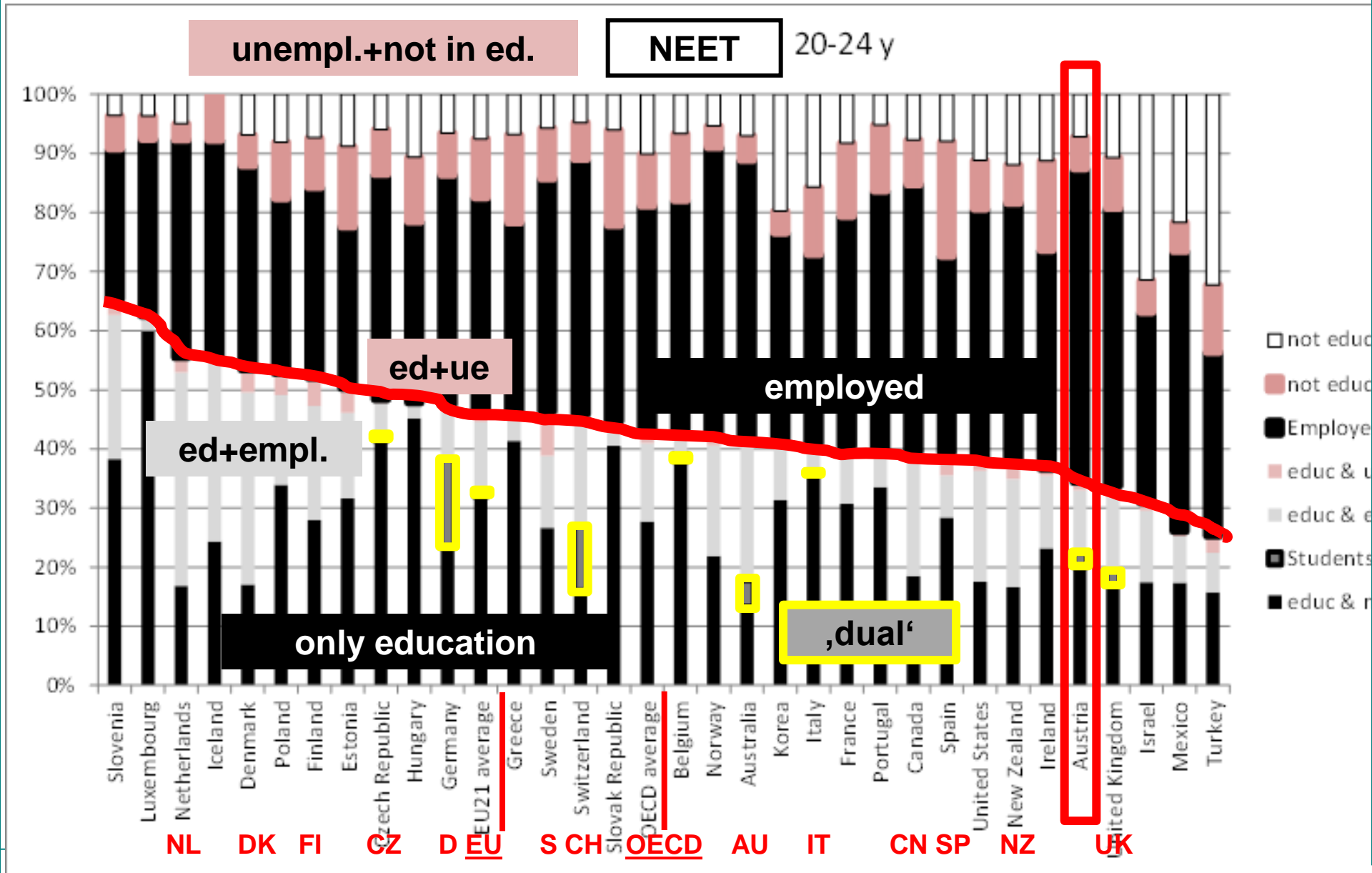
- Polytechnic in Austria: 'Retarded Expansion' because of 'bottom-up' development and upper level VET schools retained

# Comparative position

# 15-19 years old, total in education including other positions (employed, unempl.)



# 20-24 years old, total in education including other positions (employed, unempl.)



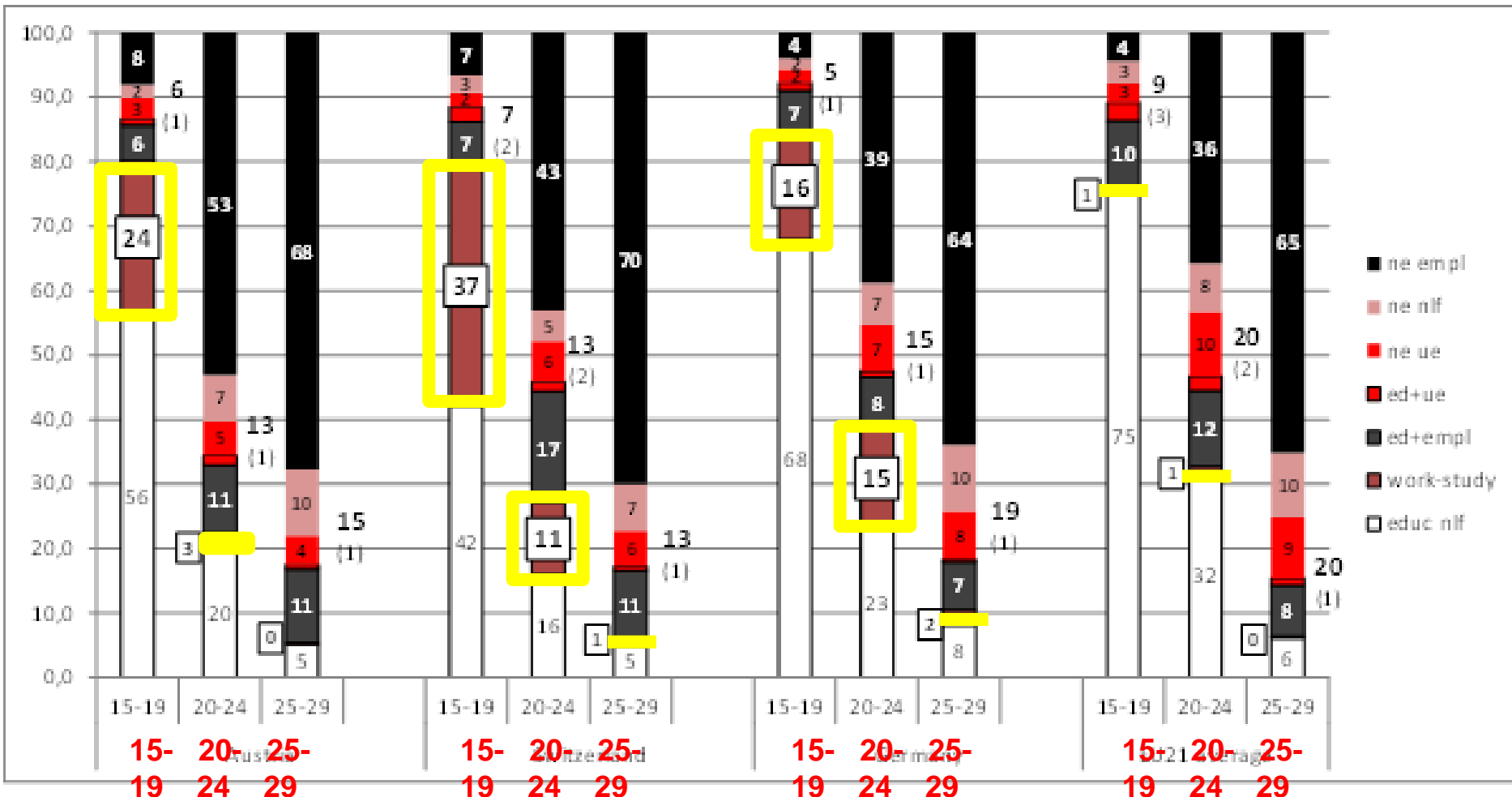
# Positions of young people in AT, CH, GER per age groups: profiles of apprenticeship

Austria

Switzerland

Germany

EU 21



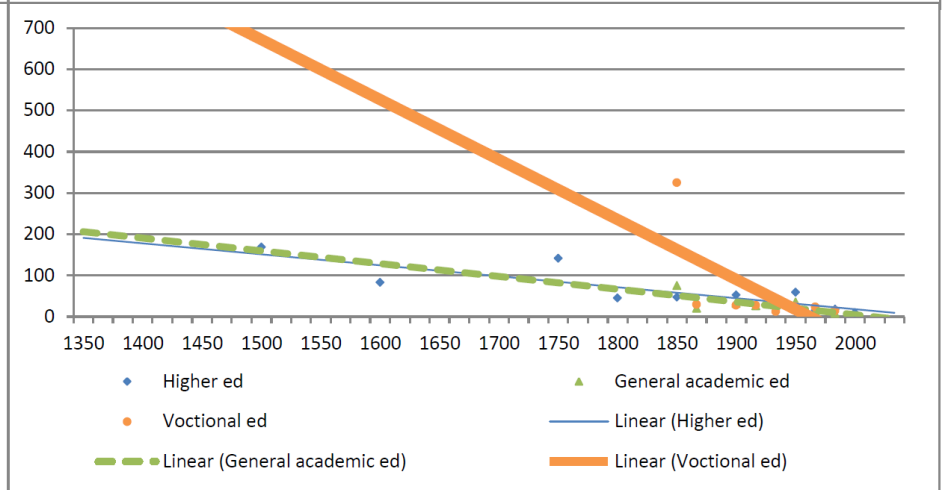
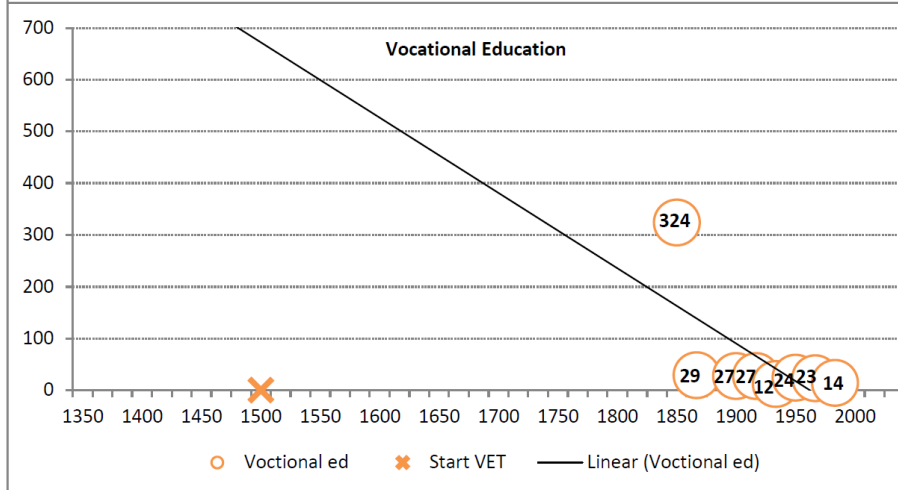
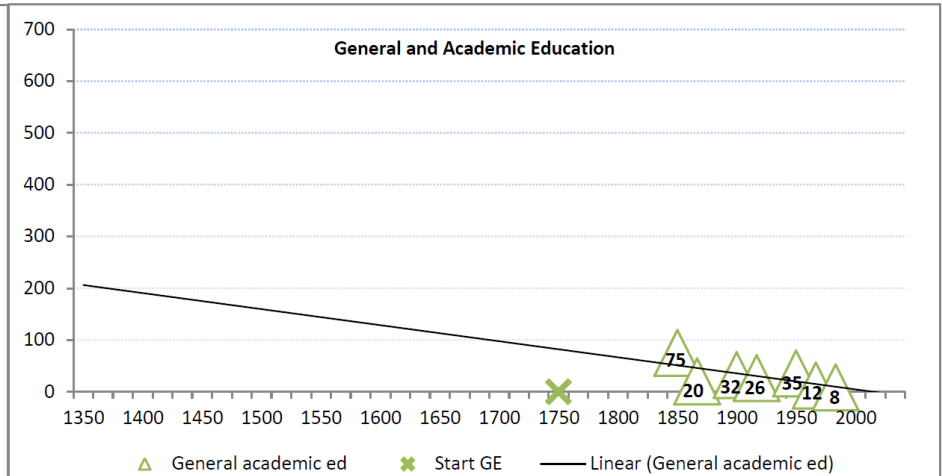
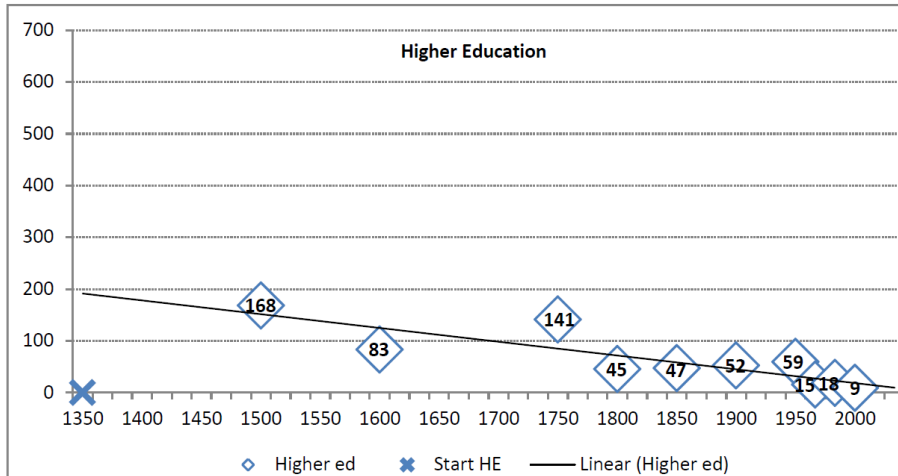
# Long-term historical trends



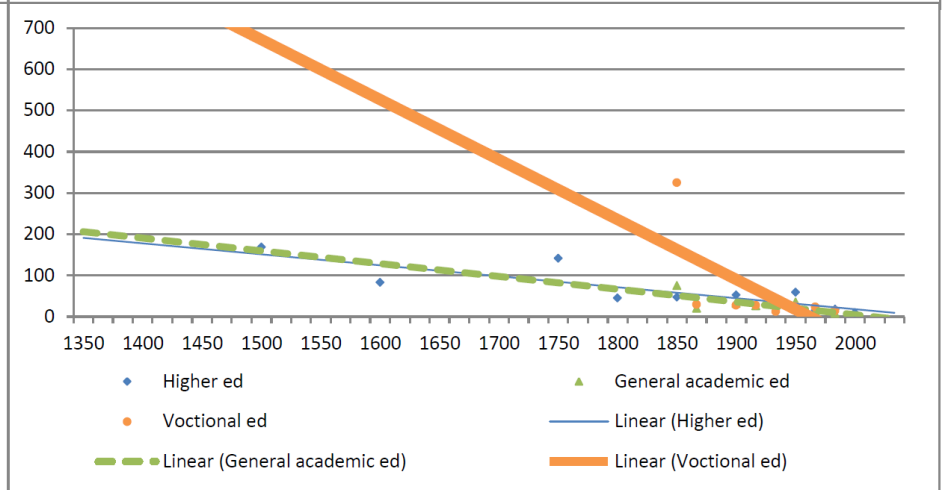
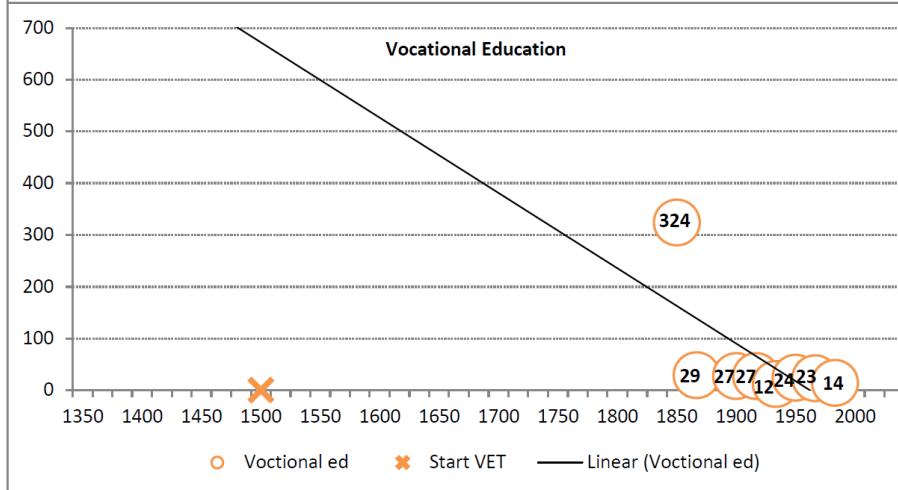
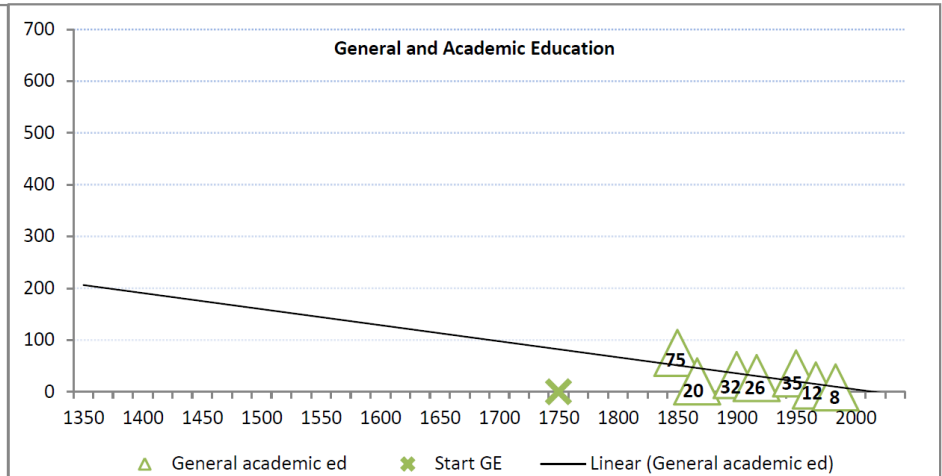
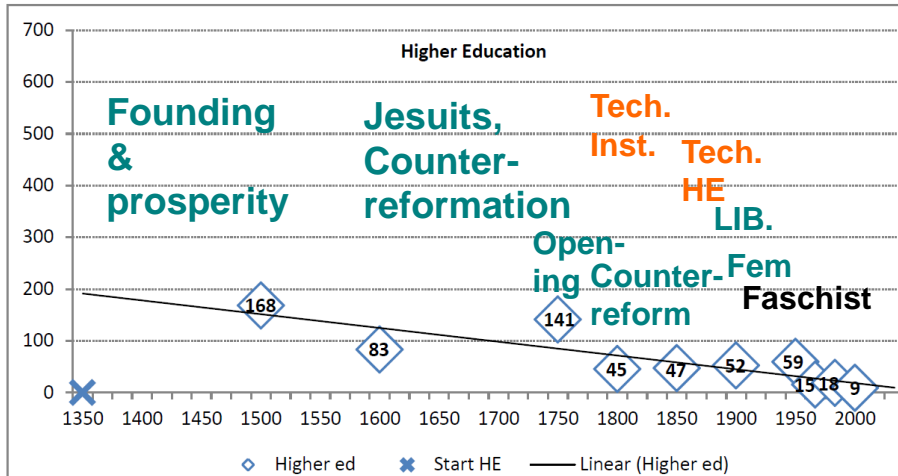
# Long term development pattern

- **stop-go pattern** of educational reform in Austria, with 30 to 60 years between major reforms and
- a clear tendency to **shorten periods between reform** over time
- The starting points were set
  - in the **14<sup>th</sup> century** at higher education level (foundation of university of Vienna),
  - in the **18<sup>th</sup> century** in general and academic education (start of compulsory education) and
  - in the **17<sup>th</sup> century** in vocational education (first common regulation of guilds and crafts).
- Despite this development has taken place in a number of **different regimes** (the empire until 1918, the first republic until 1934, the fascist regimes until 1945, and the second republic), the institutions, and to some extent also the issues and development patterns show **much continuity**
  - the most recent part is **VET**, establishment of core structure of today's institutions **around 1880**;
  - **academic** secondary education established **around 1849**;
  - **compulsory education** developed stepwise from **1774, 1869, 1927, 1982, ?2014**

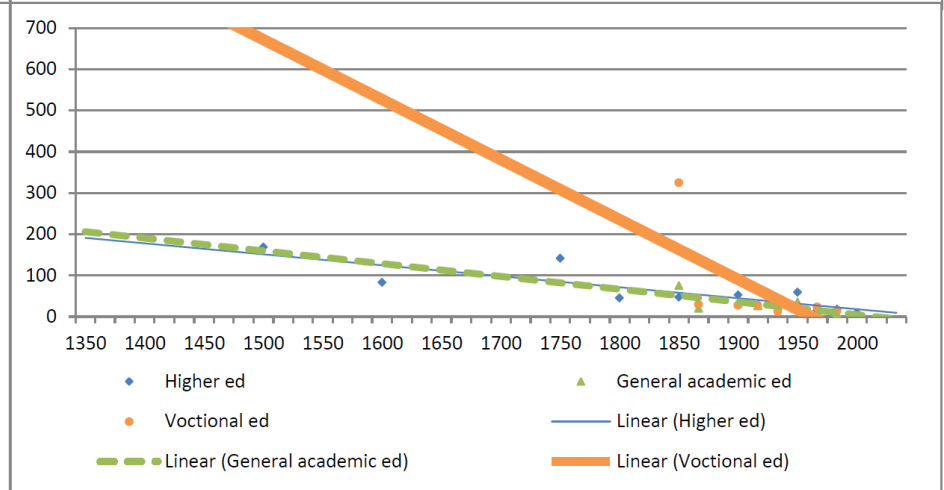
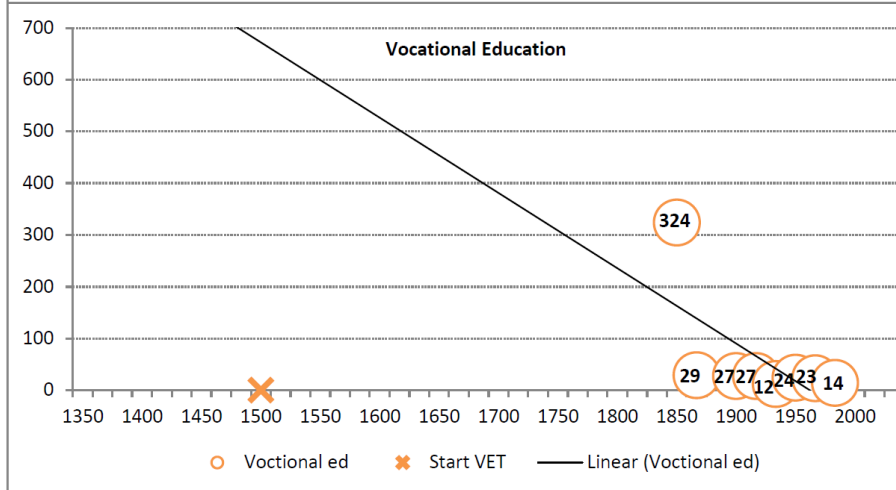
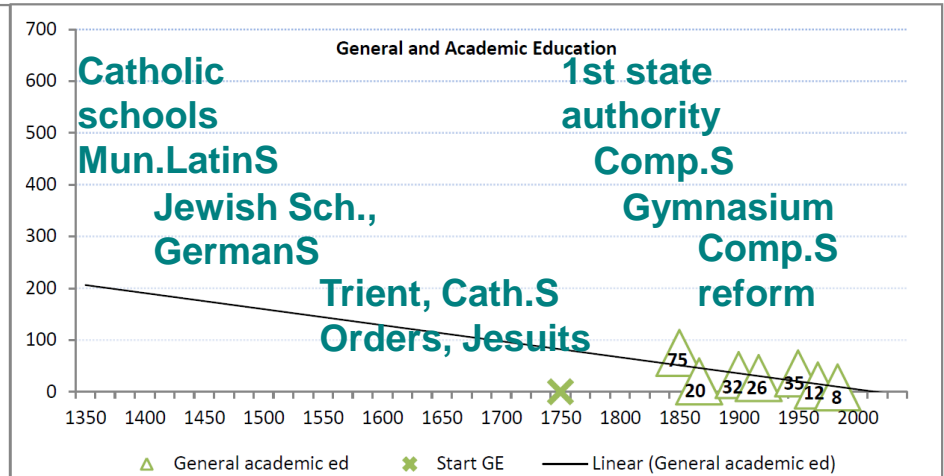
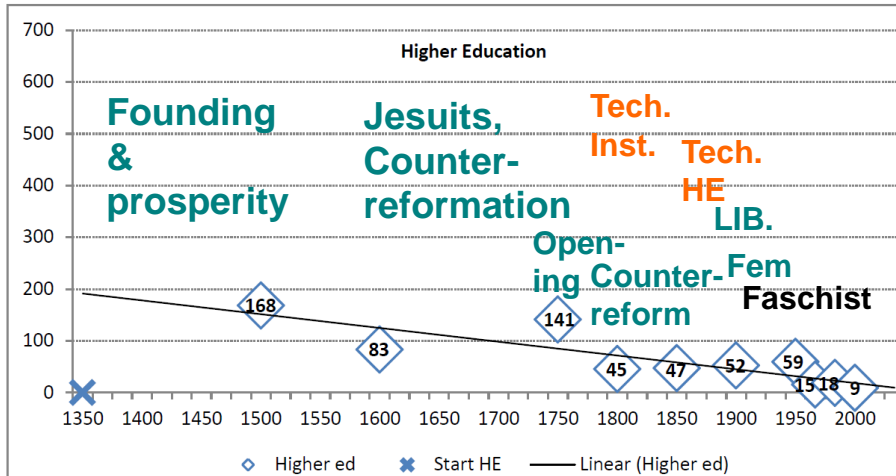
# Reform pattern in the long term: Nr.years between reforms in sectors 1350-2020



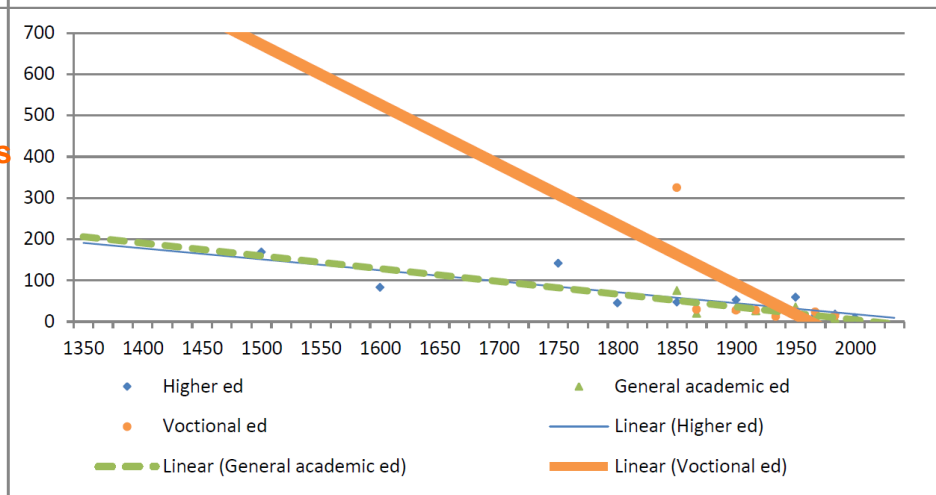
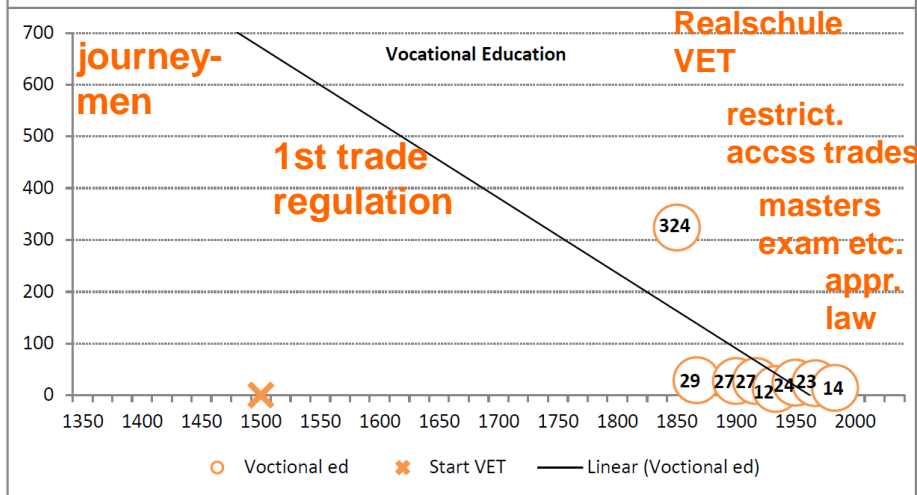
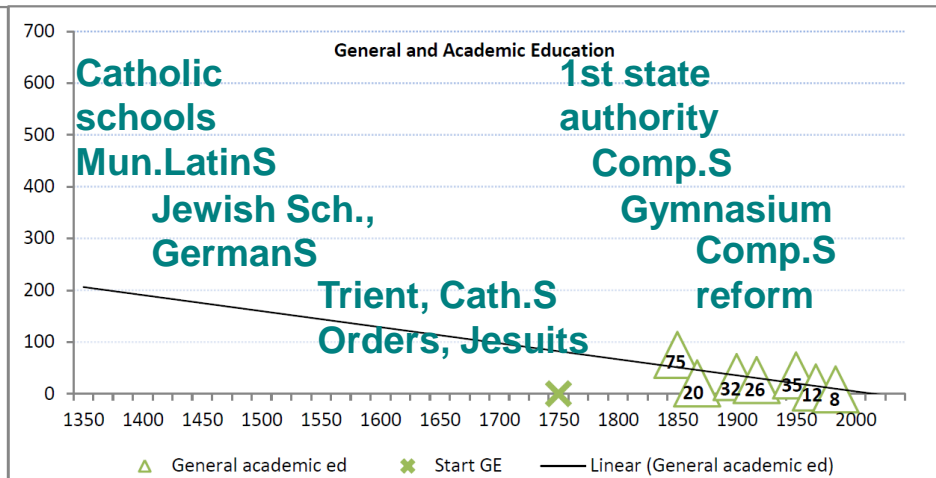
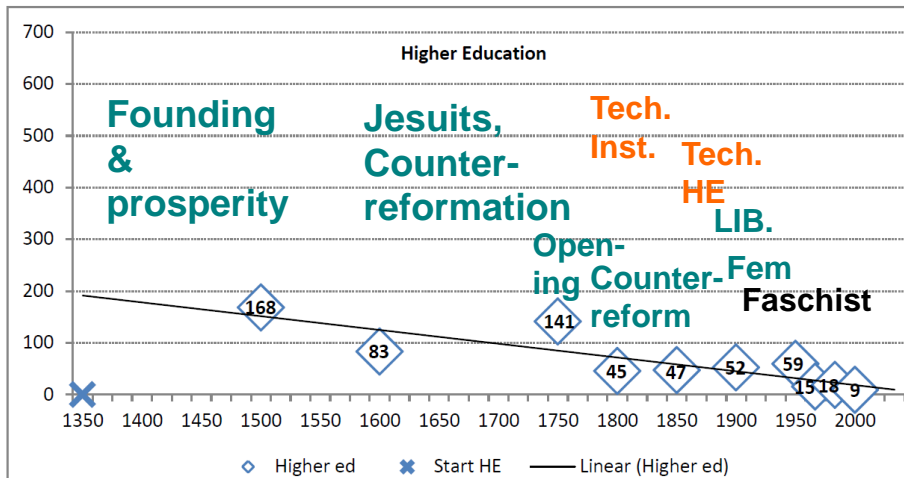
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# 1100-1640

	School	Vocational	Higher	Elementary and adult education
1100	1100-1400 schools at monasteries, parish schools, schools at cathedrals (Domschulen)	1100-1400 guild and crafts, apprentices and masters, decentralized (informal) regulations		
1150	1154 parish school vienna, 1174 council instruction at churches, monasteries			
1200				
1250	1296 vienna municipality takes over school			
1300	1300-1500 municipal Latin schools	14 <sup>th</sup> century: journeymen		
1350			1365 Univ.Vienna	
1360				
1370				
1380				
1390				
1400	1400-1600 Jewish schools flourish			
1410				
1420				
1430				
1440				
1450	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> century German schools			
1460				
1470				
1480				
1490				1493-1519 prosperity and humanism at university
1500				
1510				
1520		1527 common trade regulation, plus decentral regulations	1525-30 crisis	
1530			1533 Reform, resources and professorships	
1540	1546 gentry school 1546 coucil Trient, Catholic schools 1549-95 regional school regulations (Schulordnungen)			
1550	1551 Jesuit school and study house at university 1555 'Großer Katechismus' basis for two centuries' teaching		1551 Jesuits appointed	
1560			1564 Liberalisation	
1570			1576 Counter-reformation	
1580			1585 Jesuit Univ.Graz	
1590				
1600				
	1617-1717 schools by various religious Orders			
1610			1616-1619 Jesuits increasingly took over	
1620	1620s Jesuits controlled preparatory schools, Piarists controlled lower level schools 1627-1717 schools for females		1620s to 1730s crisis of law and medicine 1622 Benedictine Univ.Salzburg	
1630				
1640				

# 1650-1890

	School	Vocational	Higher	Elementary and adult education
1650			1651 Non-Catholics expelled	
1660			1669-77 Univ.Innsbruck	
1670		1676-1770 various vocational institutes		
1680				
1690				
1700				
1710				
1720				
1730				
1740			1745 reform medicine	
1750			1753 other faculties reformed	
			1757 state university, Trautson protector of studies	
1760	1760 first state authority for education (Studienhofkommission)			
1770	1774 6 years compulsory school law		1778 open for protestants	
1780	1782-90 implementation of school law, network of parish priests (state sponsored seminar) 1780s-1848 Philosophicum at university, and Lyceum		1781-90 anti-catholic reforms, training of state officials	
1790				
1800			1802-05 Counter-Reform	
1810	1816 compulsory sunday school		1811, 1815 technical institutes Graz, Vienna	
1820				
1830				1830 child care institute
1840	1845 preparatory classes transferred to gymnasium 1848-1860 ministry of education (then federalism) start extension of compulsory education (native language, subjects, teachers' position) 1849 reform upper level schools, prolongation, subject teachers, language&science instead of latin&philosophy 8y. gymnasium, final examination for (male) university access, teachers entrance examination		1848 freedom of teaching, medical faculty 'world class' 1849, self governance, science, teacher education seminar	
1850	1855 catholic teachers	1851-69/70 Realschule vocational school 1859 trade law (Gewerbeordnung), liberalization of access, centralisation of regulation		
1860	1867 new ministry of education 1860-1880 expansion of upper level schools 1869-70 Realschule general 7y. School, regional, access technical HE 1869 primary and secondary school law, 8 years compulsory, new subjects, teacher education institutes, civic school (Bürgerschule) at lower secondary level	1868-1911 vocation schools for females	1865 technical HE-Institute	1863 Kindergarten
1870	1870 nationalisation of religious Gymnasiums 1871-73 private upper level schools for Females	1872-74 commission for industrial education 1875 Expose about industrial education	1873 separation of academia and faith	1870 association of popular education
1880	1883 reduction of compulsory school 6y.	1880s shift from general to vocational schools 1880 industrial school (Staatsgewerbeschule) 1882-83 ministry of education responsible for industrial schools, reformprogramme 1883 reform of trade law, more access restrictions		
1890	1892 gymnasium for females		1897 partly womens access	

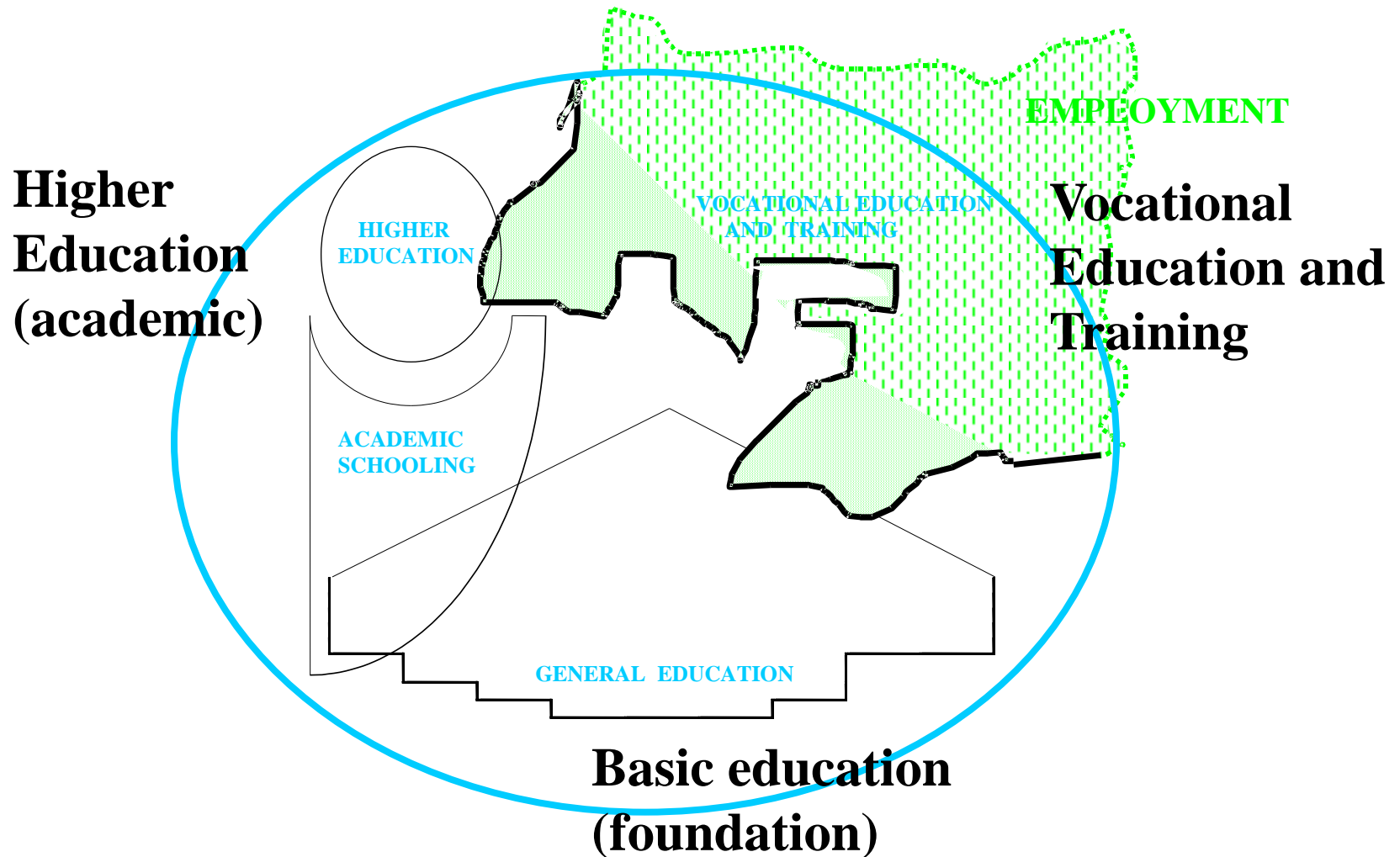


# 1900-2010

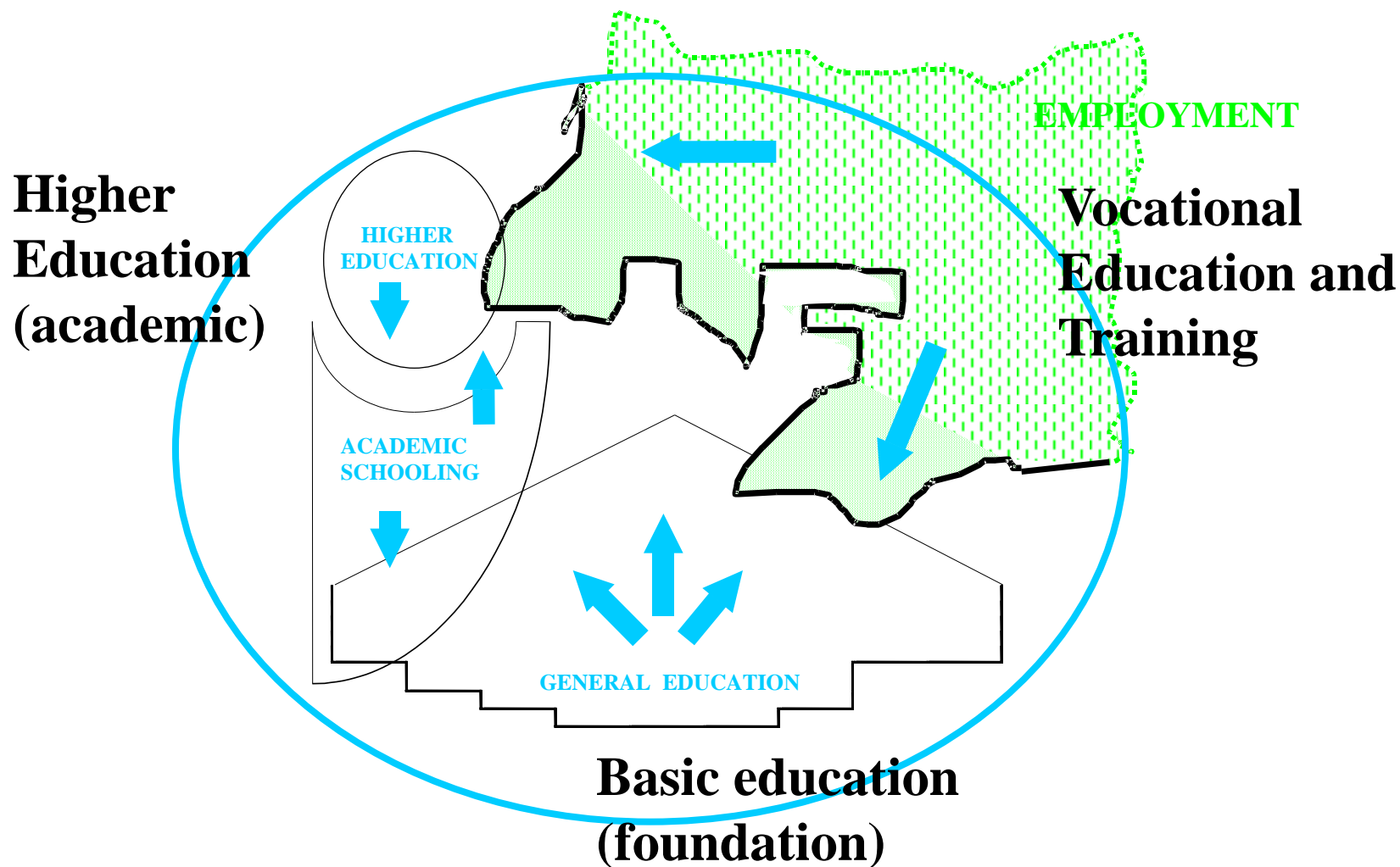
	School	Vocational	Higher	Elementary and adult education
1900		1907 more restrictive access to trades, journeymen examination requirement	1901-22 gradual access of females to university	
1910				
1920	1920-21 celibacy for female teachers, new upper level womens schools preparing for household and motherhood 1926-27 new lower secondary common schools (5y prim +3y sec > 4+4)			
1930	1934-38 restrictions for female education 1939 German laws fully applied	1933-35 prohibition law for trades, approval by ministry; masters examination requirement, common organization law for trades		
1940	1945 German laws eliminated	1946 programme for vocational education		
1950	1957 parents' council		1955 organisation law HE 1957 academic council	
1960	1962 school laws, extension, teacher Colleges 1967 co-determination by teachers 1969 referendum about education, parliamentary reform commission	1960s-1970s nationalisation of business schools 1969 apprenticeship law	1962 univ. Salzburg, Linz  1963 study grants 1966 study law HE	
1970	1971 no entrance exam to upper level school, experimentation lower sec, student council 1974 school instruction law, co-determination	1971 government programme for expansion of vocational education 1973 new trade law	1970 ministry of science and research  1972 abolition of fees in HE 1975 university organisation law, codetermination	1972 organisation of adult education providers 1973 law about adult education
1980	1982 reform of lower secondary common school			
1990		1993 polytechnics law	1993 university organisation law	
2000	2008 new attempt at lower secondary level reform	2006 modularisation of apprenticeship 2008 institutional apprenticeship	2002 new comprehensive university law, radical autonomy 2011 referendum education policy	2009 compulsory elementary year, state supported 2012 lifelong learning strategy, state support for basic adult education
2010	2011 referendum education policy			

# Framework for understanding historical development

# Process of structuration and integration

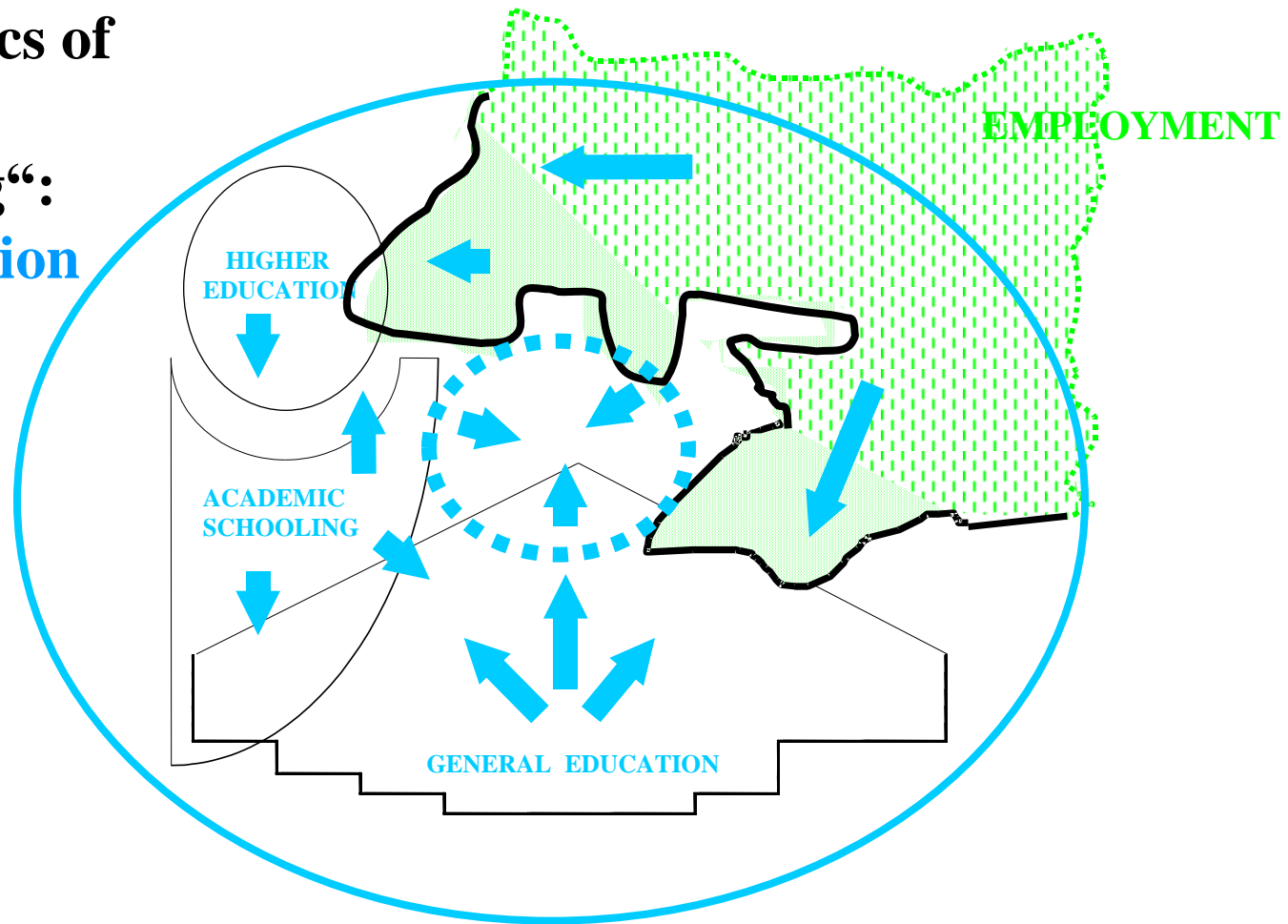


# Integration



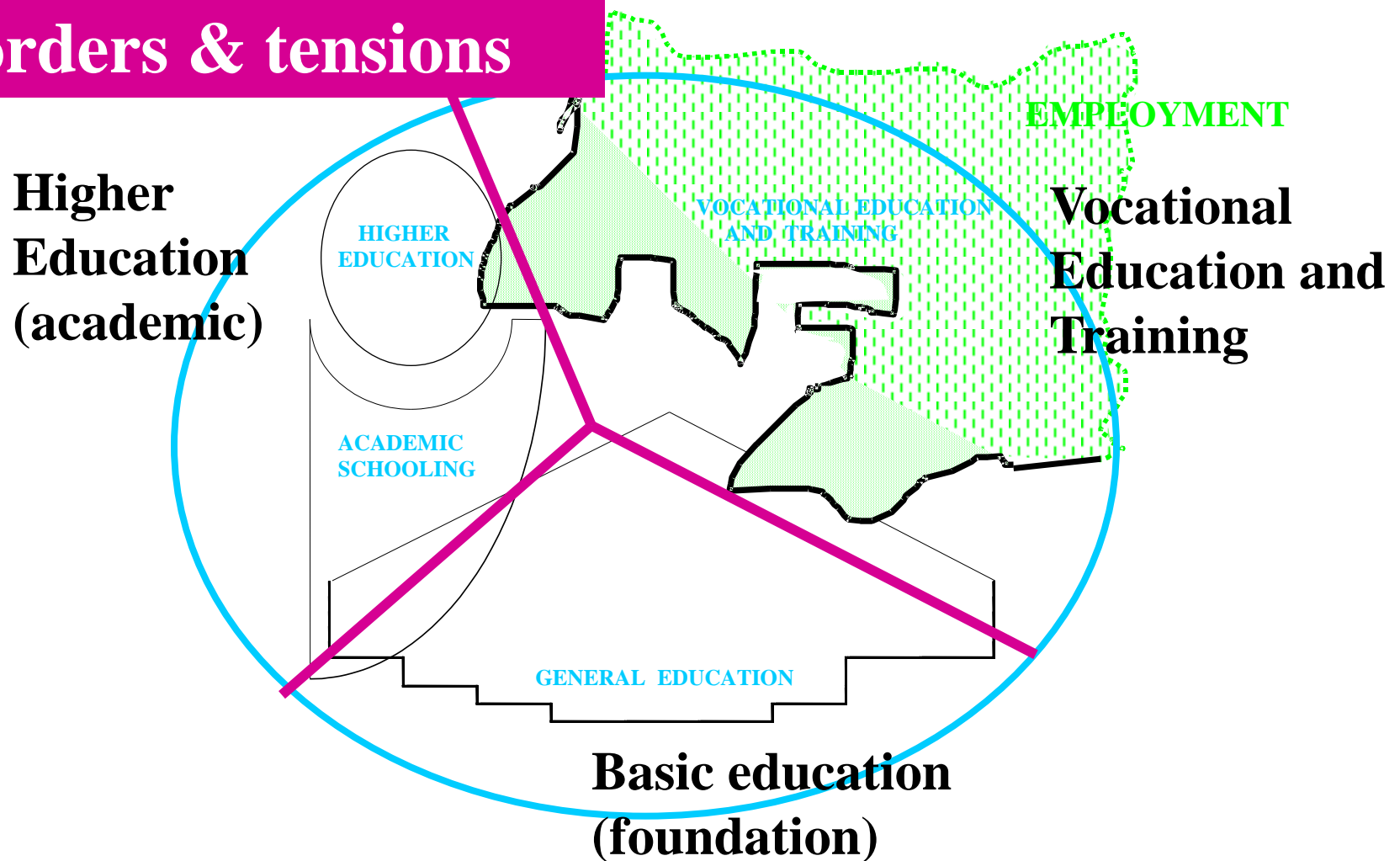
# Integration

**Dynamics of  
„system  
building“:  
Unification**



# Structuration

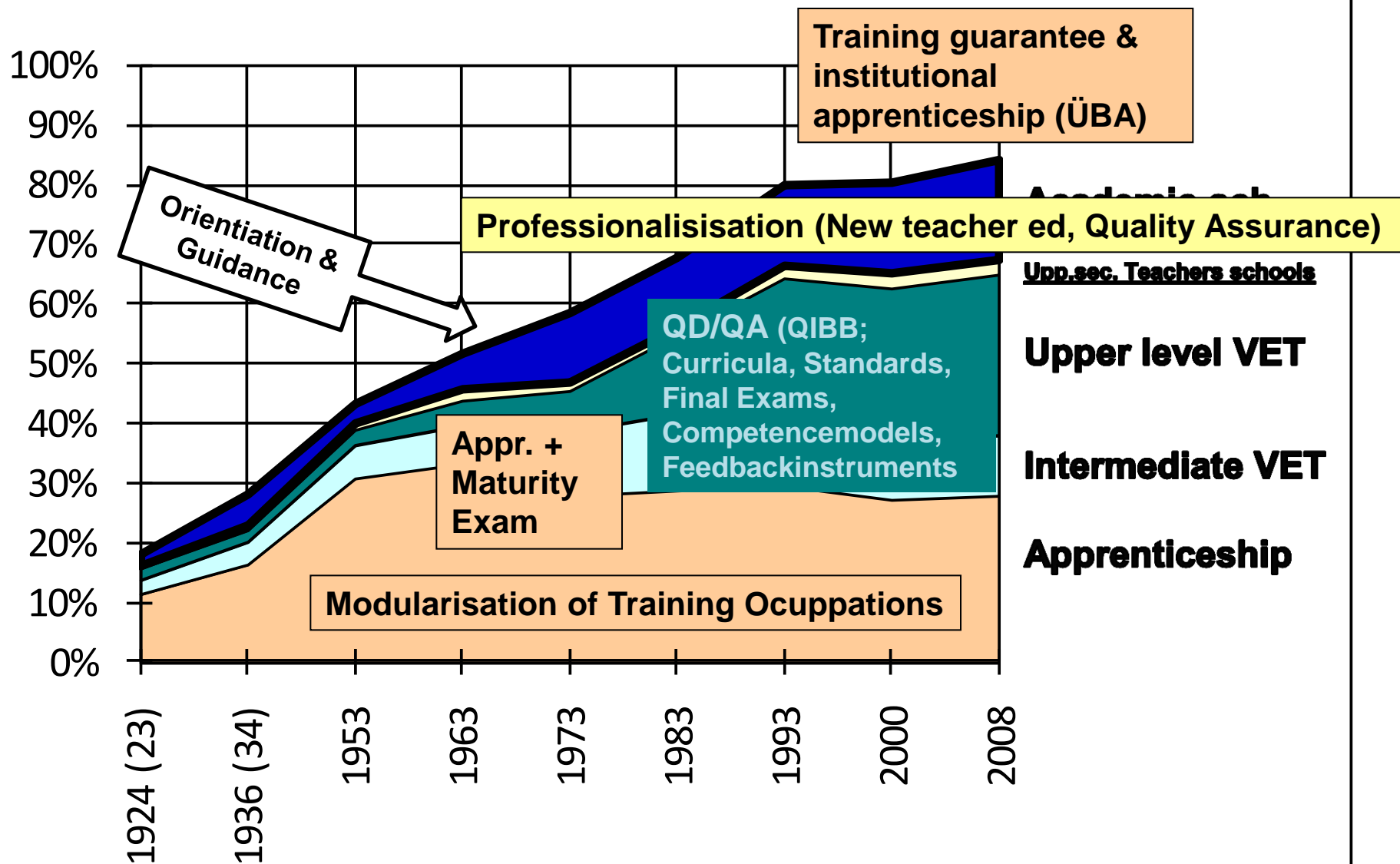
## Borders & tensions



# Recent reforms

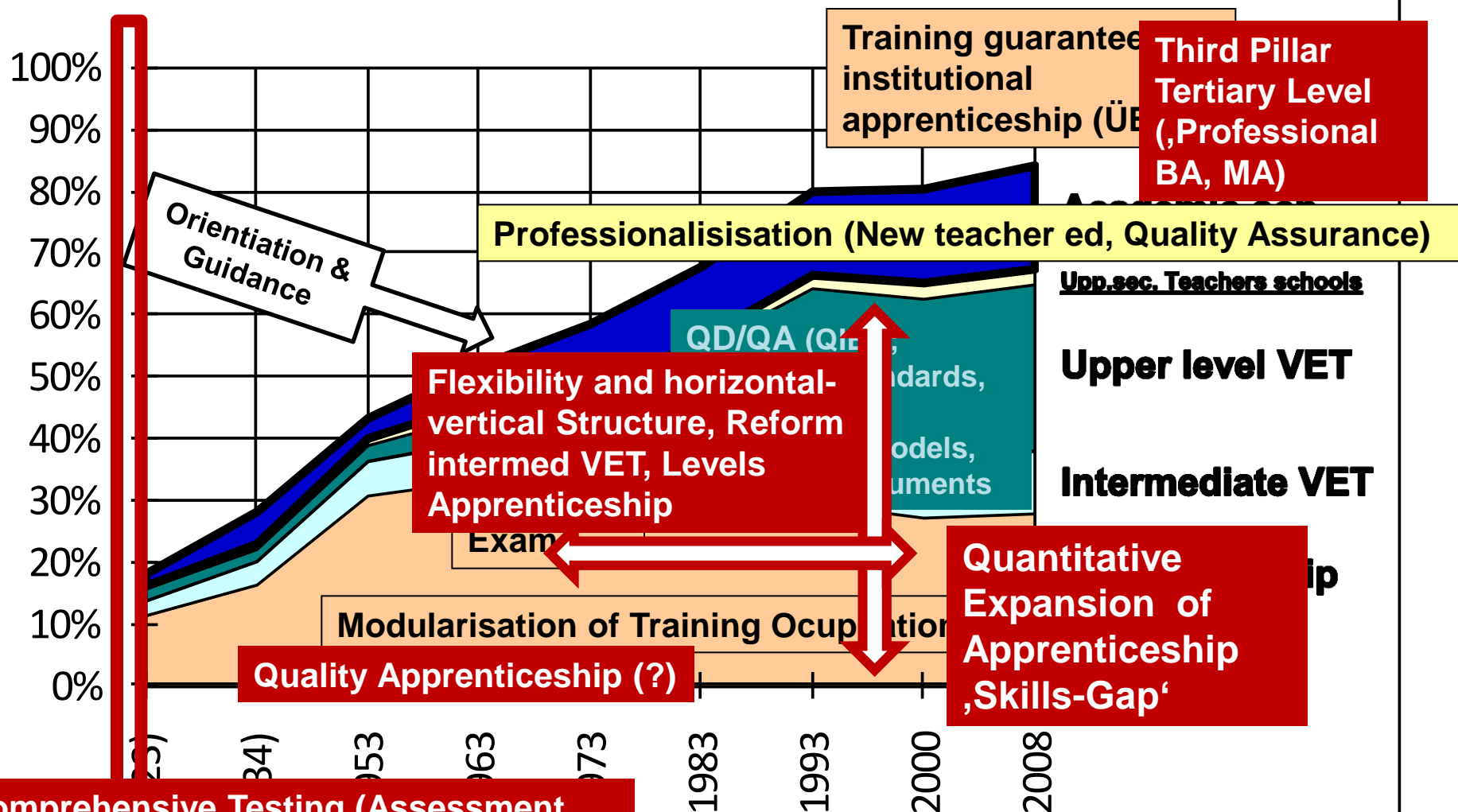
- ...Myths and Brands...?

# Ongoing reforms in VET



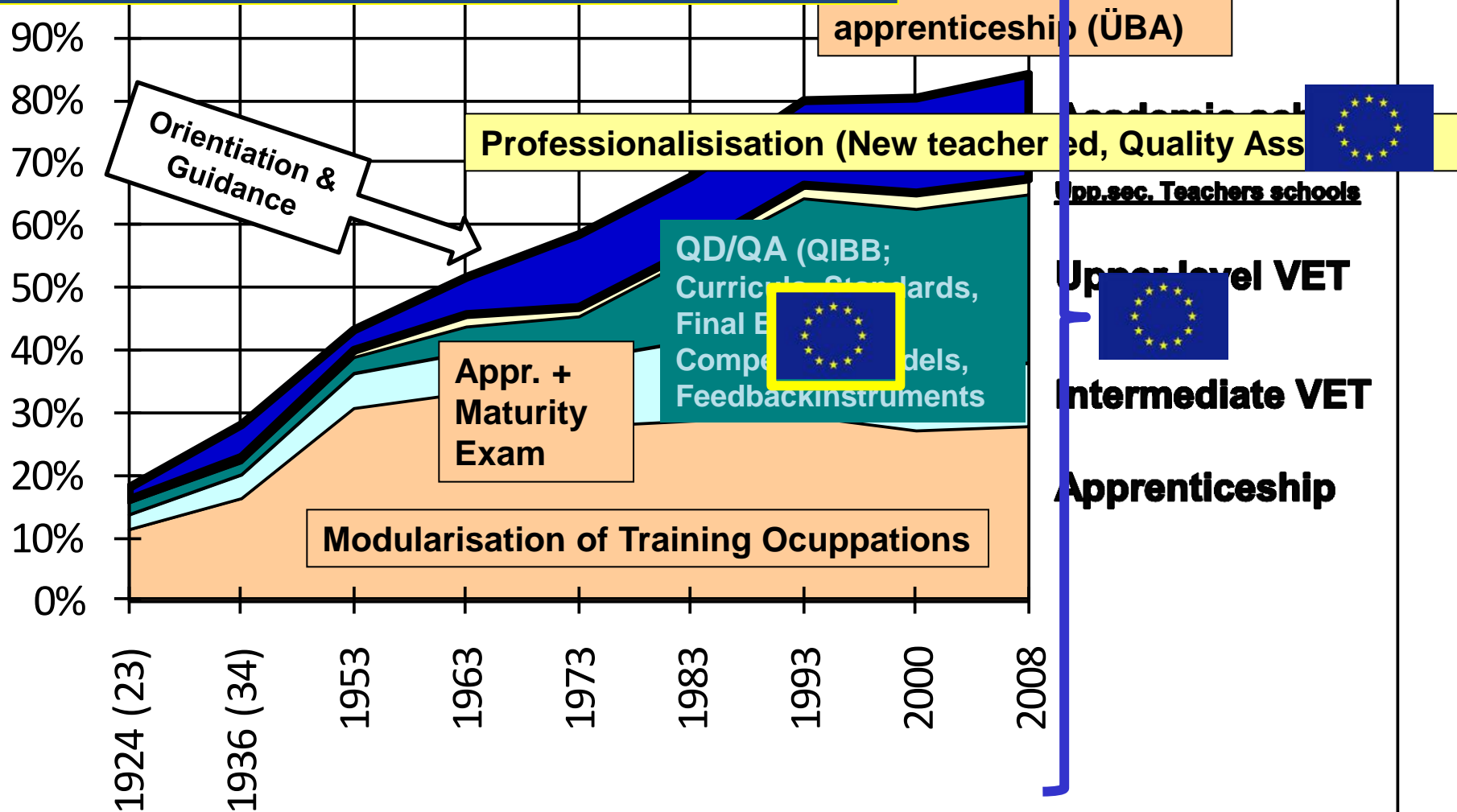


# Ongoing reforms in VET and current challenges



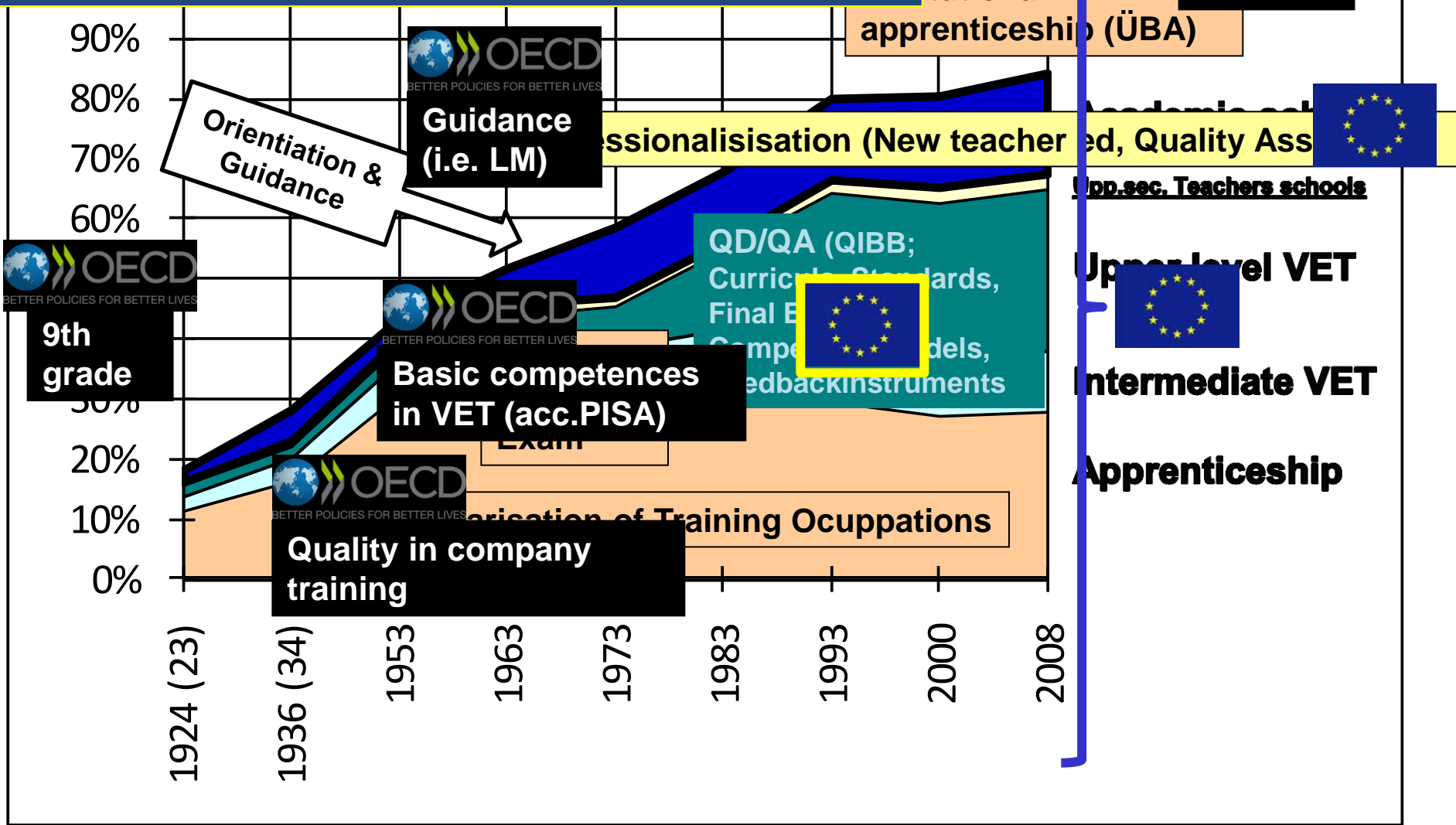
# EU-VET-policy

- lower profile (e.g. no benchmarks)
- competing with higher education
- Copenhagen: comprehensive taxonomy no obligation
- ,symbolic policy': accreditation (NQF, Europass, ECVET), Quality Framework (EQUAVET), Trainers, Mobility (support programmes)



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# OECD-policy



# Explanations, argument 1

## complexity, meaning

- **Task** is explanation of **reform (and non-reform) in Austrian VET**, question is how historical path-dependency might influence basic structures and reform patterns
- **Reform** is seen as a complex phenomenon that **crosses different sectors of society**, politics-policy, the economy, education, and possibly other sectors (social security, law, etc.)
- **Meanings** of reform (and revolution) have changed/reversed from **modernisation** through **post-modernity** to neoliberal-neoconservative **adaptation to change**

# Explanations, argument 2

## context, differentiation, interrelation

- Reform concerns **interrelation of education and the state**, different disciplines have different position/perspective
  - Systems theory, institutional theory, practice theory
- Three basic theorems
  - Differentiation of systems, fields, sectors
  - Basic internal logic of those entities
  - Power and influence of knowledge, ideas, concepts
- Discursive shifts 1980s
  - Global knowledge society, crisis of the welfare state
  - NPM and EEE(sss)
  - Politics and policies
  - Old and new sociology of education
- Reform attempts meet historically evolved structures
  - Different reform dynamics in centralised/decentralised systems (stop-go, incremental)

# Explanations, argument 3

## historical dynamics, Sociology

- Basic pattern of originally religious private separate institutions evolve and grow together to a complex fabric of education
- Process has increasingly globalised since creation of modern nation states, similar structures and reform waves
- Stanford School in Sociology discovered global patterns and trends in education, now taken up in global history studies
- In Austria: Sociology weak, two waves of ,bottom-up'-Sociology, and one application
  - 1970s pointing to influence of social background
  - 1990s specific concepts used in school development (Giddens, Lortie)
  - 2010s post-structuralist analysis of higher education

# Myths and Brands

# Myths...

- ...various meanings...



# Myths...



- ...in modern Greece...

# Myths...

**Mythos®**



# Myths...

## other examples in education or society

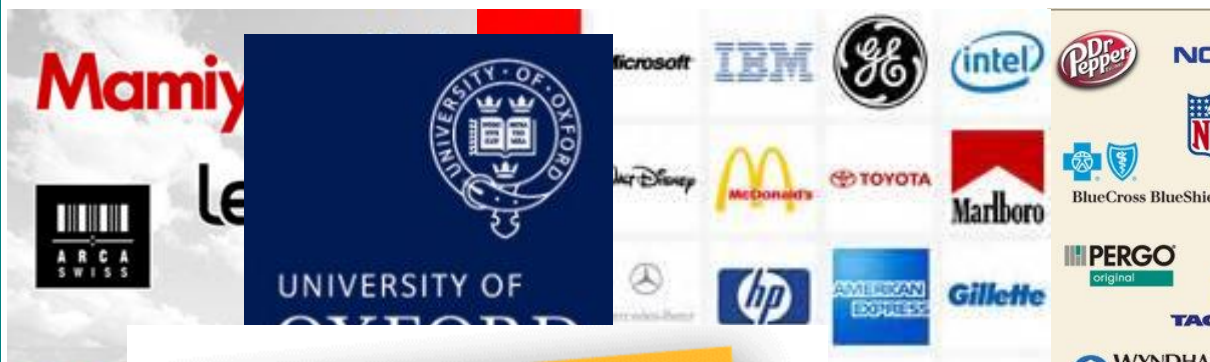
- S.Bernfeld: pedagogical reform as a myth
  - Tantalos
  - Danaides
  - Sysiphos
- Neo-institutionalism (Scott/Meyer)
  - organisational structures as myth and ceremony...e.g., schools
- Education Sociology
  - Meritocracy
- Horkheimer & Adorno
  - Progress
  - Nationalism
- Today's candidates?
  - Globalisation, Knowledge Society, Neoliberalism



## ...and Brands



# ...and brands



**SUPSI**  
Scuola Universitaria Professionale  
della Svizzera Italiana

## Classifying Universities: Institutional Brands from the Market's Perspective

Academica Group White Paper | May 2008

Ken Steele, MA  
Senior Vice-President  
Education Marketing

Research shows that  
Canadian applicants already  
sort their university choices  
into five basic categories.  
Will you like the position  
they've given your school?  
Can you base an appealing  
brand promise on their  
entrenched perceptions?

academica group

Which universities (excl. Oxbridge) have a great reputation

Loughborough  
University

the university  
of Nottingham

UNIVERSITY  
of MIDDLESBROUGH

UNIVERSITY OF  
EXETER

UNIVERSITY OF  
BATH

THE UNIVERSITY  
of York

More likely to be seen as having a great reputation

KING'S  
COLLEGE  
LONDON

University of  
BRISTOL

MANCHESTER  
The University of Manchester

LSE

the LONDON SCHOOL  
of ECONOMICS and  
POLITICAL SCIENCE

University  
of Auckland

THE UNIVERSITY  
of TORONTO

More likely to be seen as having a great reputation

THE UNIVERSITY OF  
WARWICK

Imperial College  
London

UCL

Durham  
University

More likely to be seen as having a great reputation

1. People often consider the University of Oxford and University of Cambridge to have excellent reputations. What other UK universities can you think of that have a great reputation?  
Base: 1,000 respondents - All respondents (1,000)

YouthSight



# ...and brands



*Das Theresianum 2013*

Just consider the University of Oxford and University of Cambridge to have excellent reputations. What other UK university think of that have a great reputation?  
contribution - All respondents (1,000)

**YouthSight**

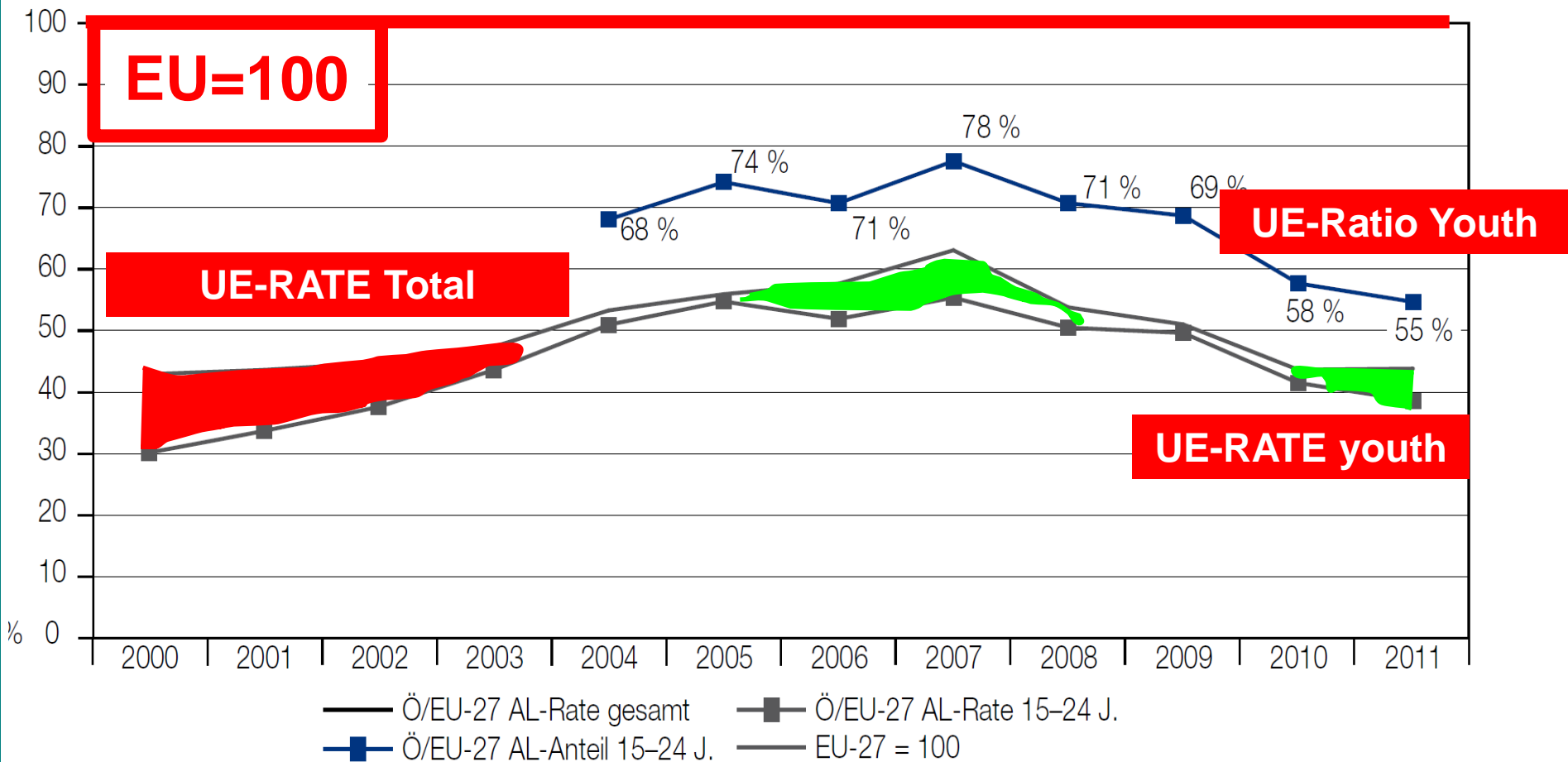
# Myths and Brands...

- ...or something in between?
- for my analysis of Austria, Myths seem too big, and Brands too specific an aspect of market competition...
- however, we can find some elements (maybe ,discourses‘ and/or ,rhetorics‘; cf. A.O.Hirschman ,*rhetorics of reaction*‘) which serve such a role
  - Humboldt in HE (,unity of teaching and research‘)
  - Gymnasium vs. Gesamtschule (comprehensive school)
  - Apprenticeship (German ,Dual System‘)
  - New Governance
  - Orientation and Guidance
  - Quality development/assurance, standards
  - Outcome orientation
  - Competences, Qualification Frameworks

Germany tries to make BRAND (,export good‘), but impact questionable, main ,success‘ is inclusion in employment regulation and labour market policy

# Labour market, EU-Comparison (EU=100) relative display: UE-rate, UE-ratio

Abb. 8.1: Arbeitslosigkeit in Österreich im Vergleich zu EU-27 2000–2011



Anmerkung: Arbeitslosenrate (AL-Rate) gesamt, AL-Rate für Jugendliche, AL-Anteil für Jugendliche.

Quelle: Eigene Berechnung aufgrund von EUROSTAT-Download 28. 09. 2012.

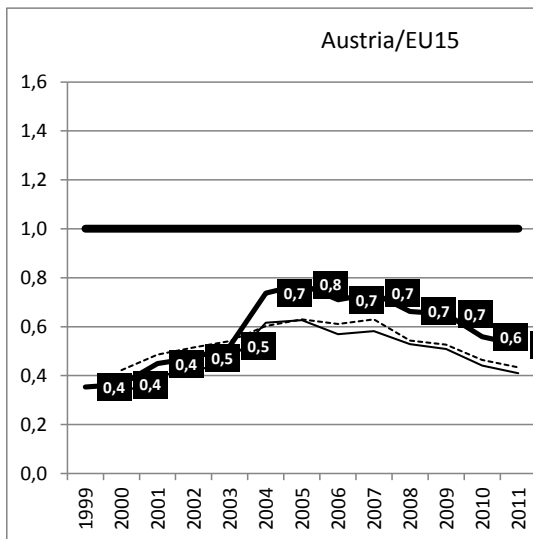


# Labour market, EU-Comparison (EU=100)

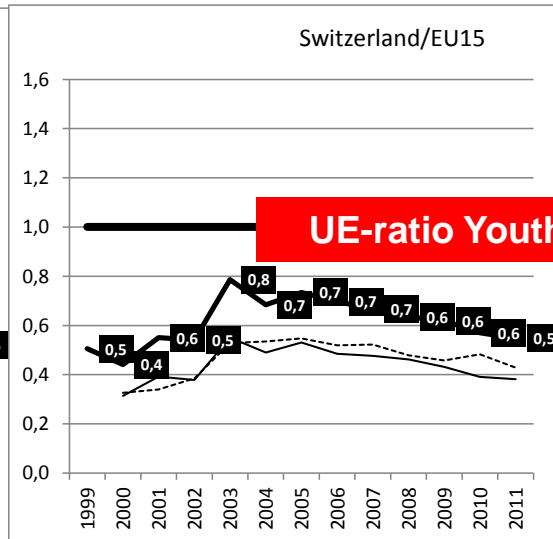
## Austria, Switzerland, Germany

- 1999-2011

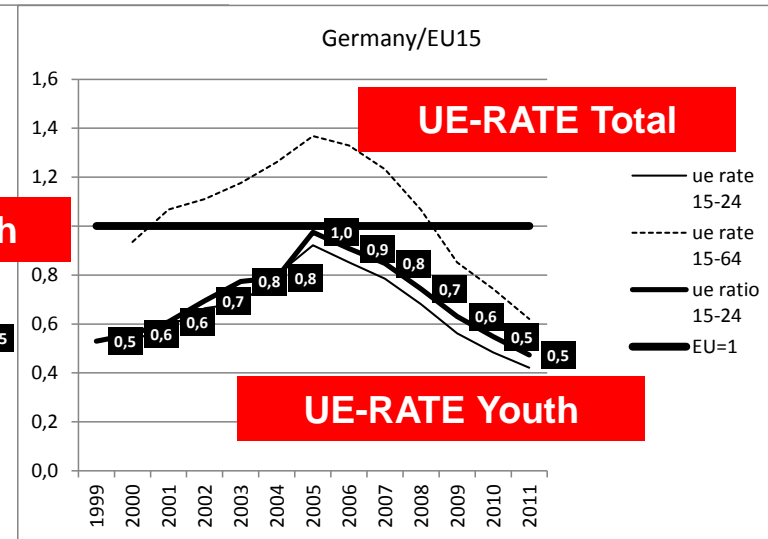
### Austria



### Switzerland



### Germany



- Switzerland same as Austria**, UE-rate Youth and Total at similar level, UE-ratio worse, but max.80% of EU
- Germany different**, UE-rate and ratio Youth higher level (2003-07) and more change, youth better than total
- Why export system with less favourable outcomes?

# The End



# Material

