

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

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Input: to International Research Conference

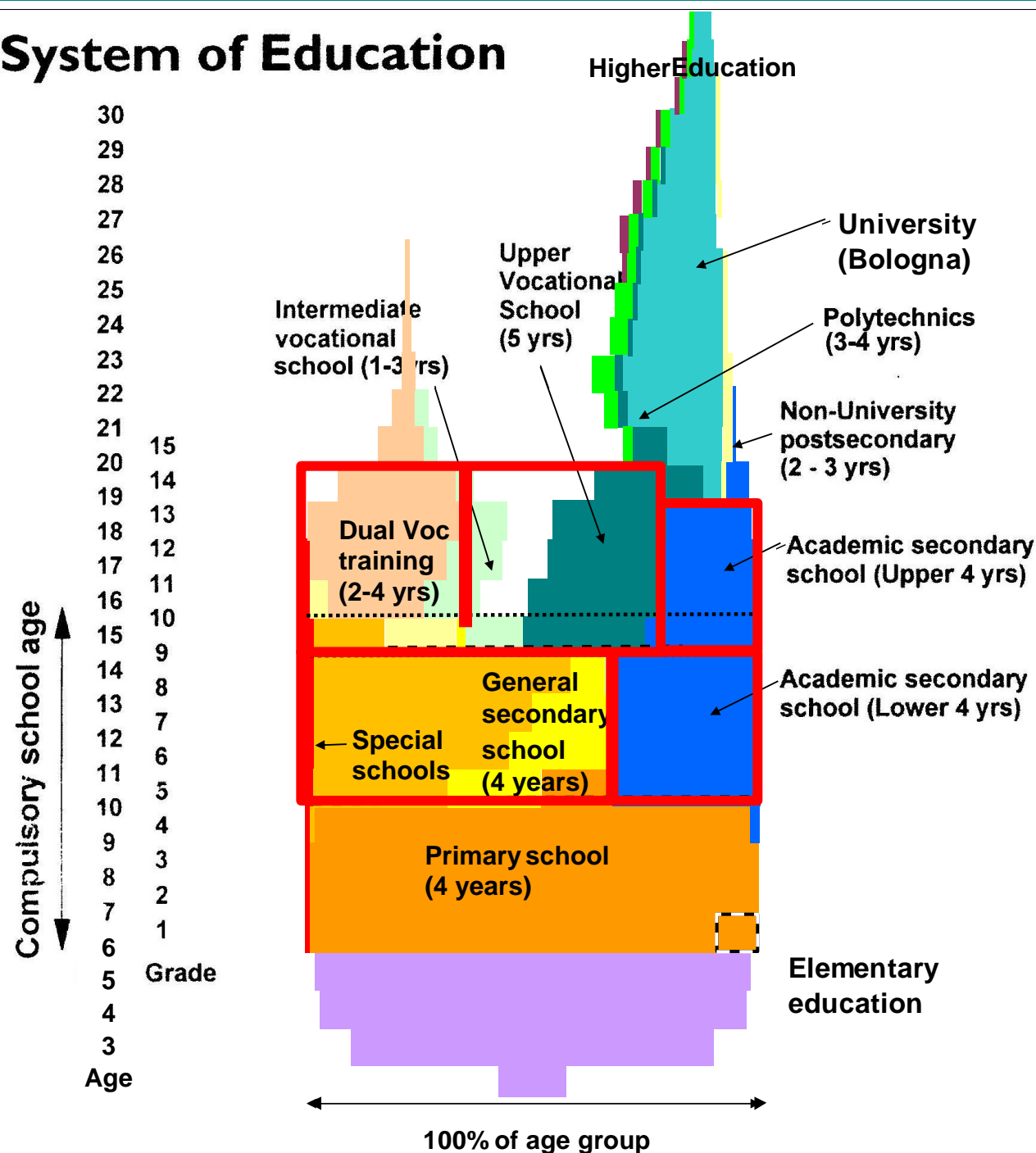
**“History of Vocational Education and Training:
Cases, Concepts and Challenges”**

Zurich, 8.-9. September 2014

Agenda, questions

- Overall question: Dualistic structure of two sectors: fulltime schools and apprenticeship, how did it emerge historically?
 - Empirical picture
- Theoretical/explanatory questions
 - Persisting/changing structure; how to define?:
 - Description/explanation, historical institutionalism as a theoretical-methodological approach for analysis of institutional change
 - can the ‚muddling through‘ hypothesis contribute something?

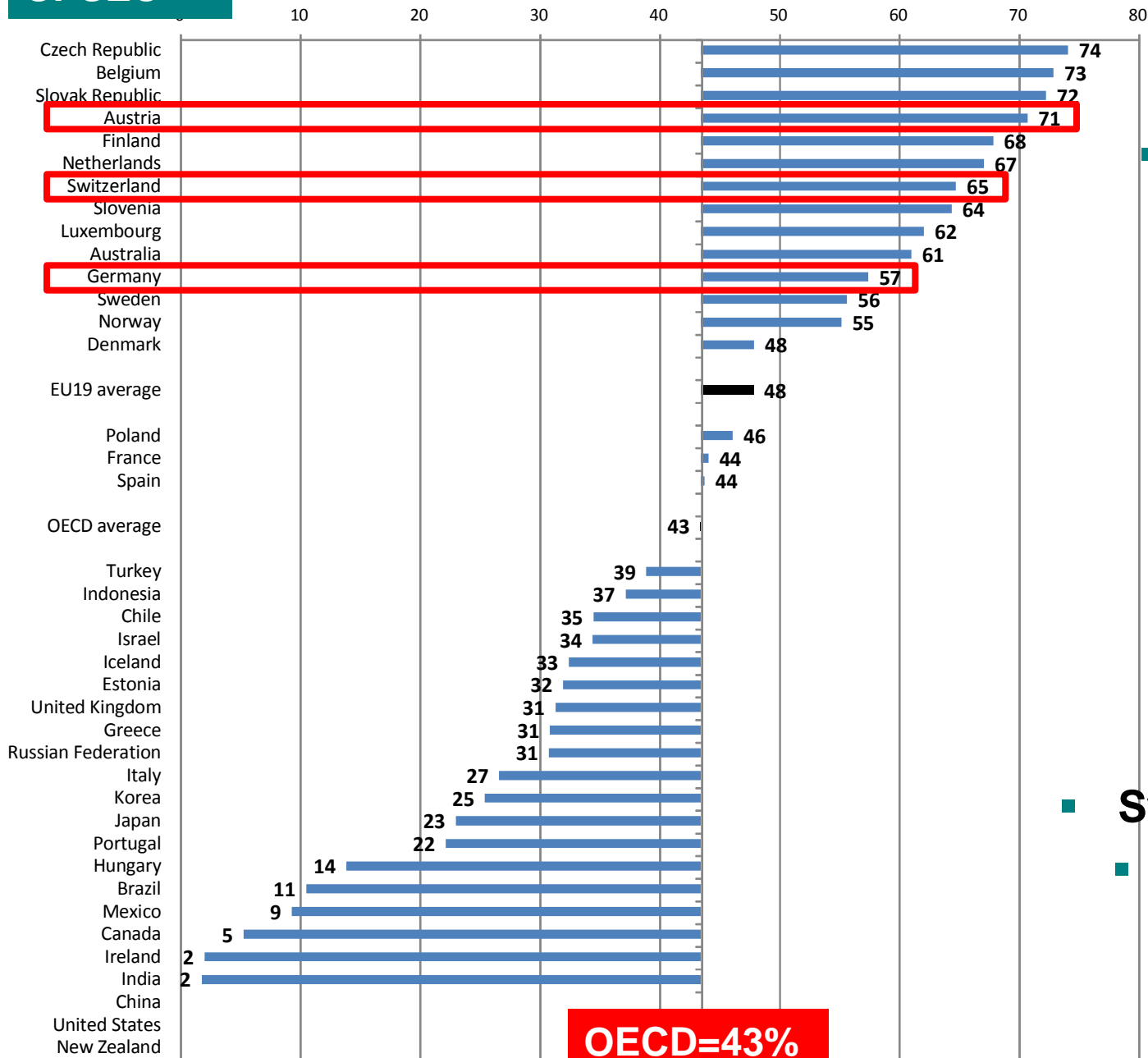
System of Education



STRUCTURE

- Differentiated structure from age 10 (very early)
- One of the highest proportions of vocational education
- 'DUALISM': Strong apprenticeship and strong full-time vocational schools

Proportion vocational



- VET between 74% and 2% at upper secondary level

- OECD 43%

- EU(19) 48%

- Austria 71%**

- Switzerland 65%**

- Germany 57%**

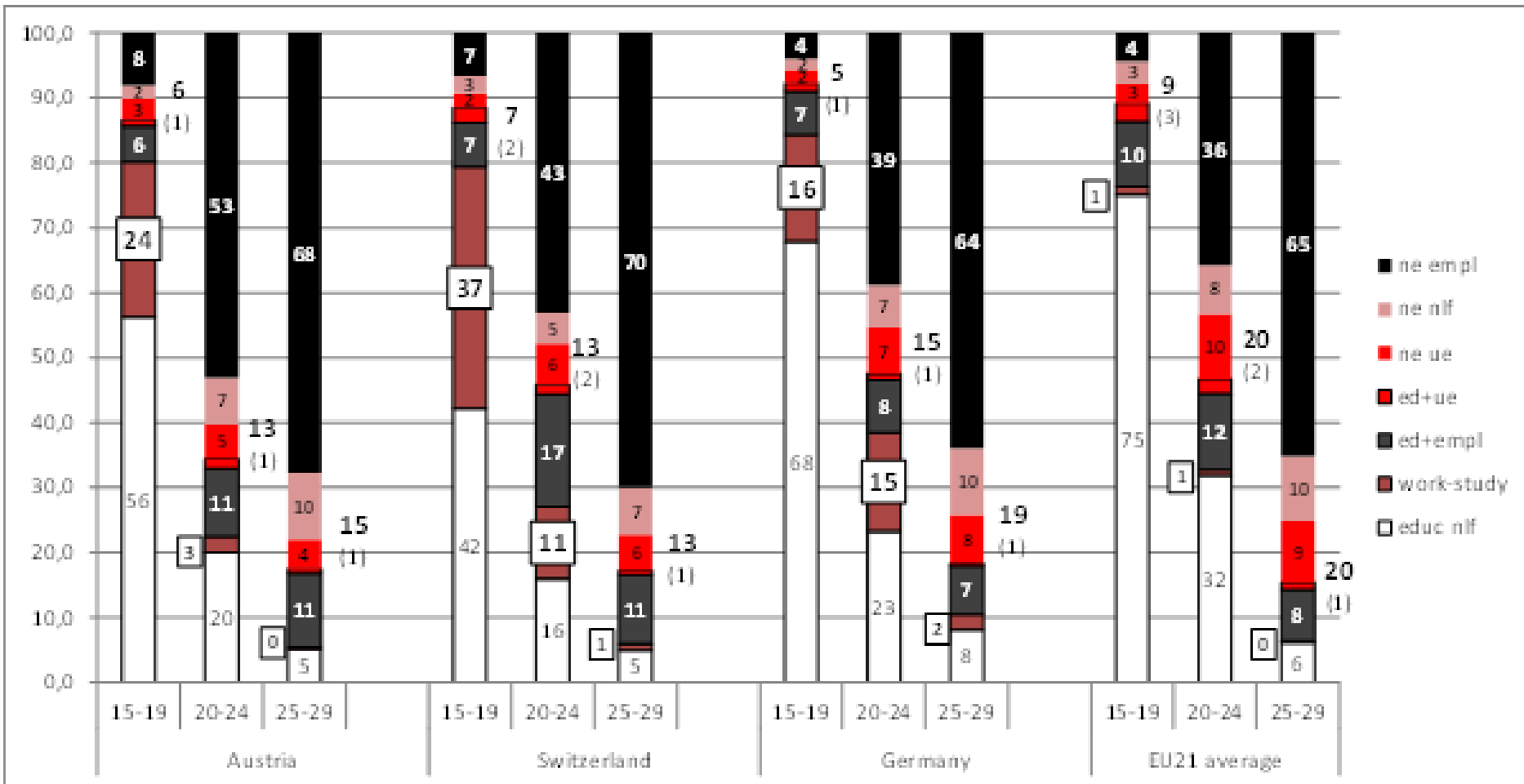
Participation in education and employment, OECD-Indicators, AT, CH, D, EU21, age groups

Österreich

Schweiz

Deutschland

EU 21



■ 15-19; 20-24, 25-29 y age groups

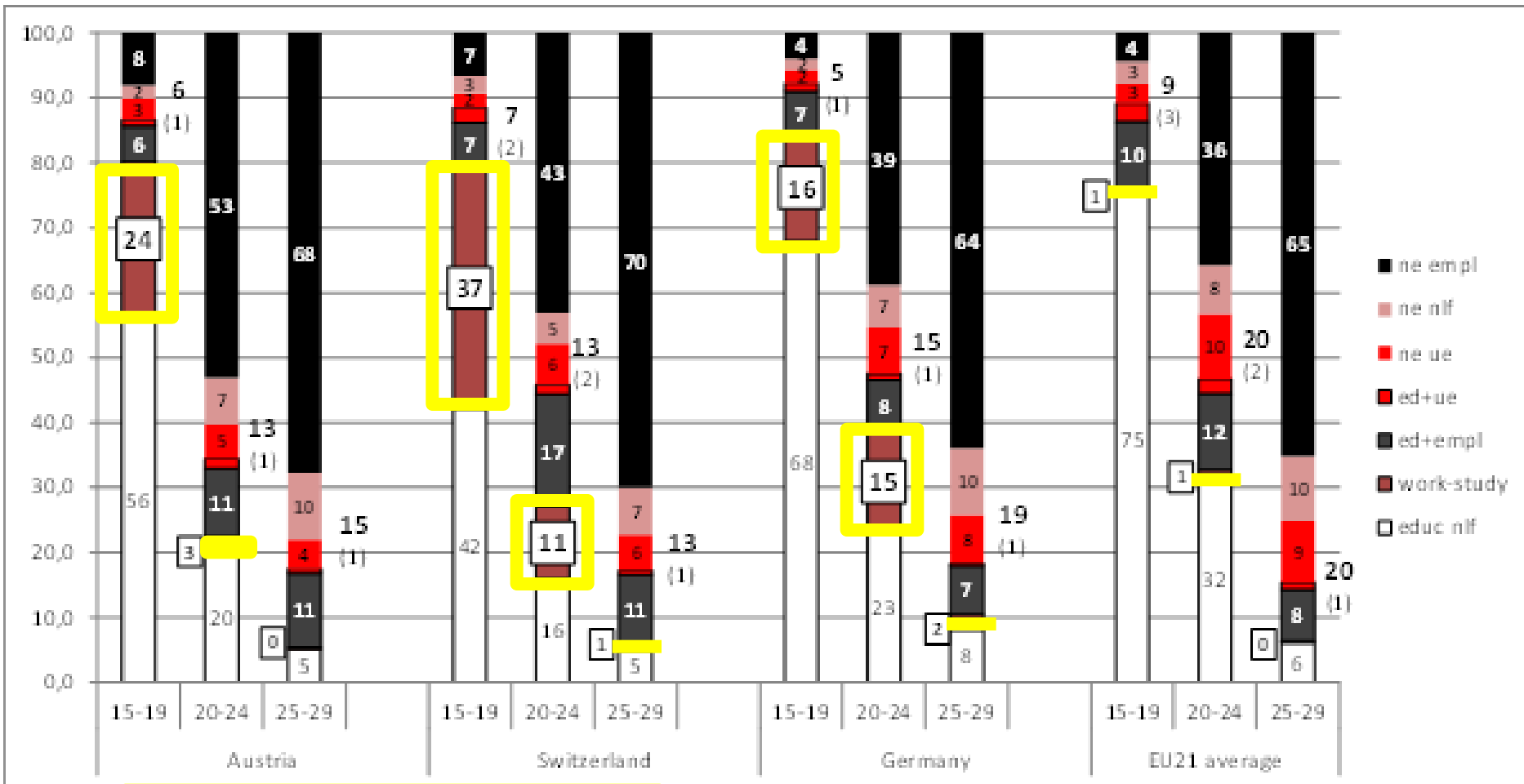
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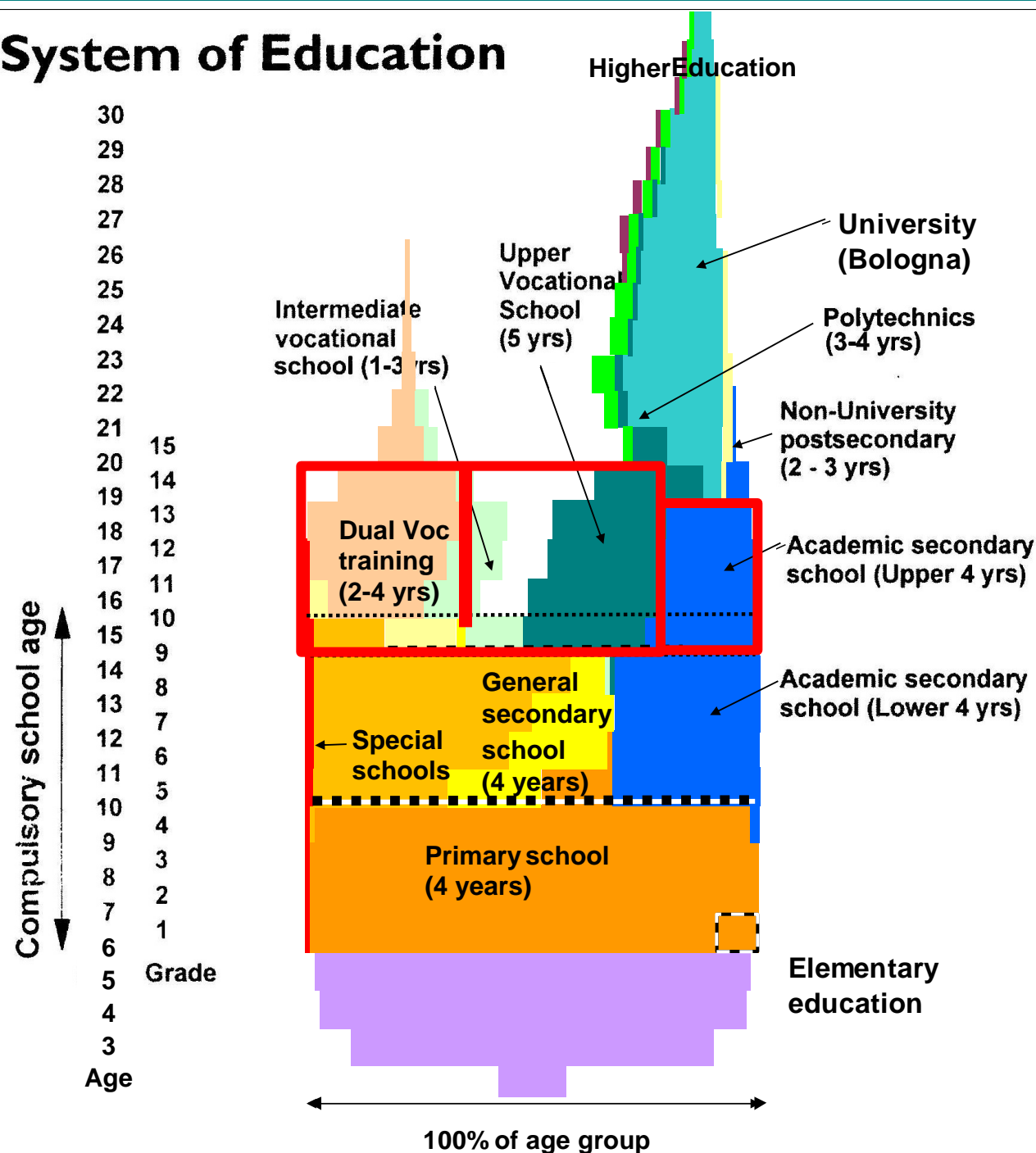
Deutschland

EU 21



- Proportion apprenticeship (education in employment and school)

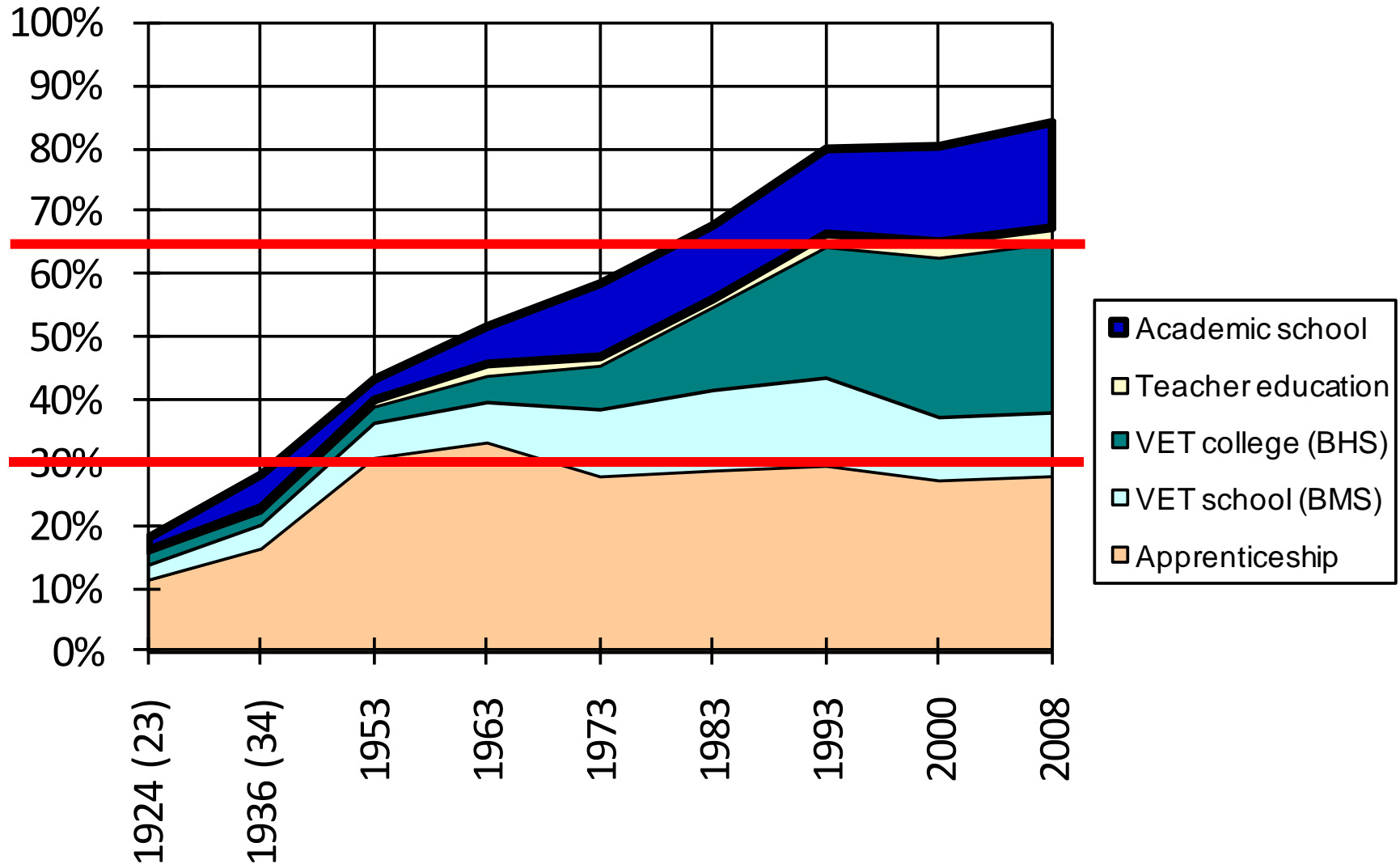
System of Education



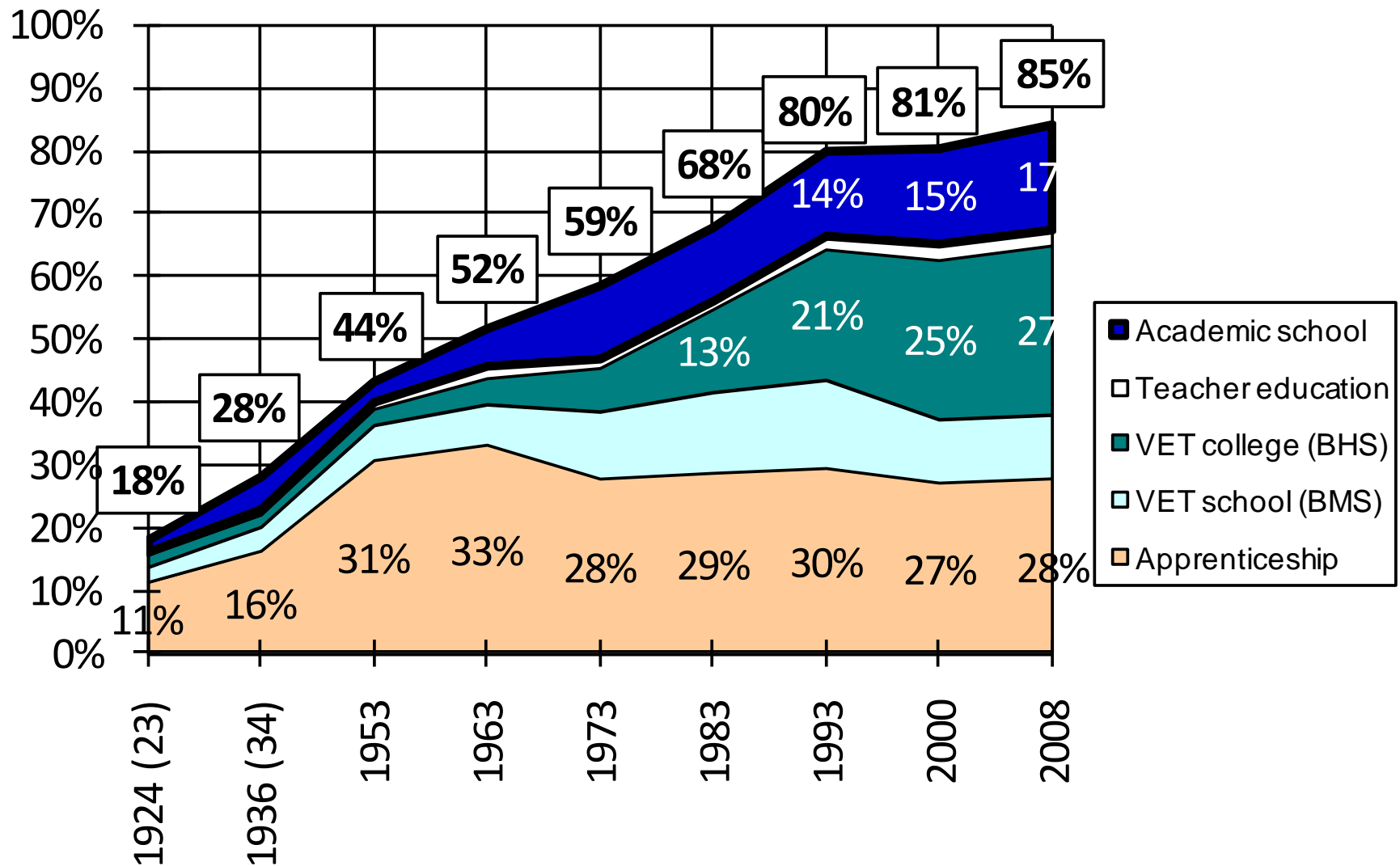
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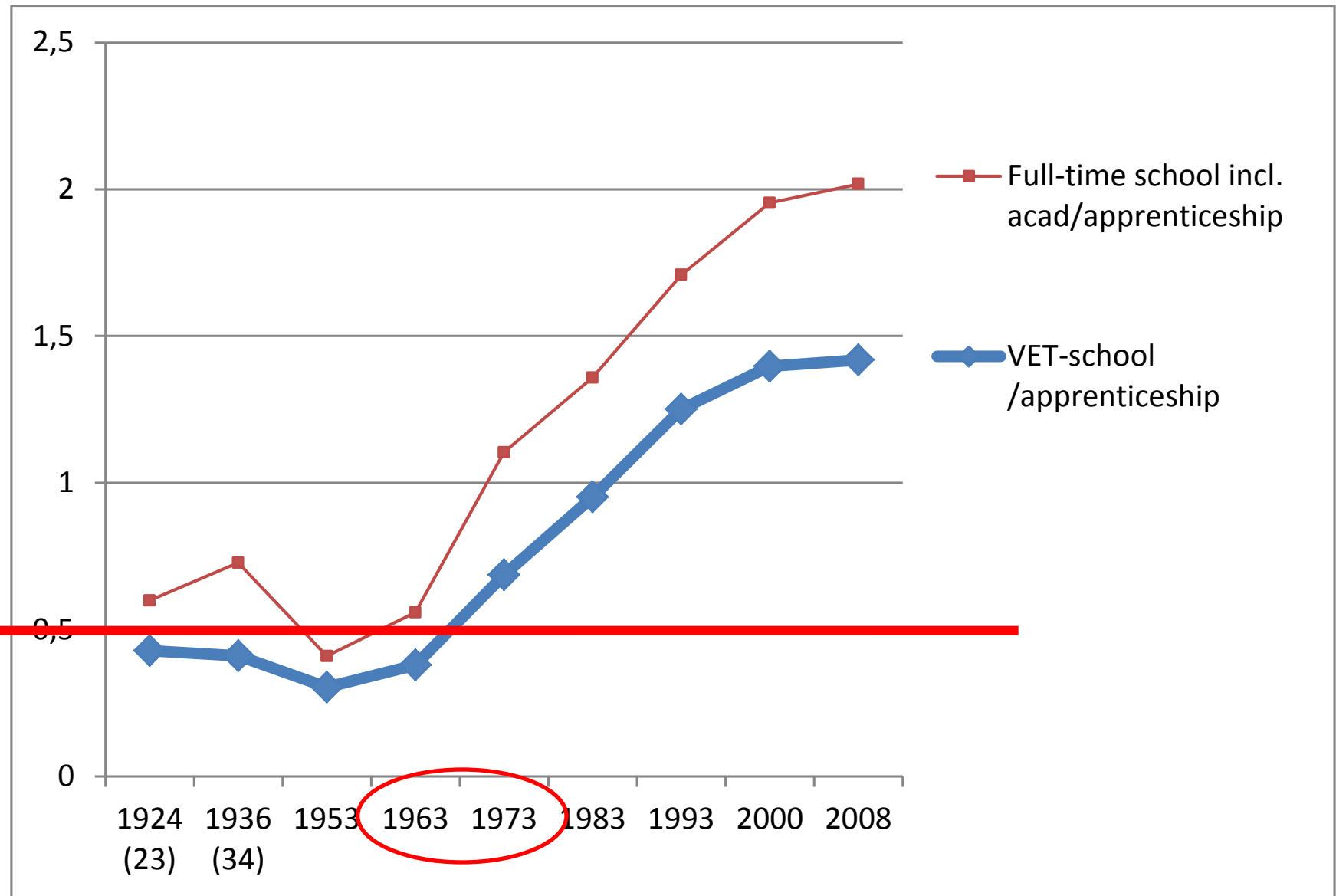
Upper secondary Participation 1924-2008 (4-5 Generations)



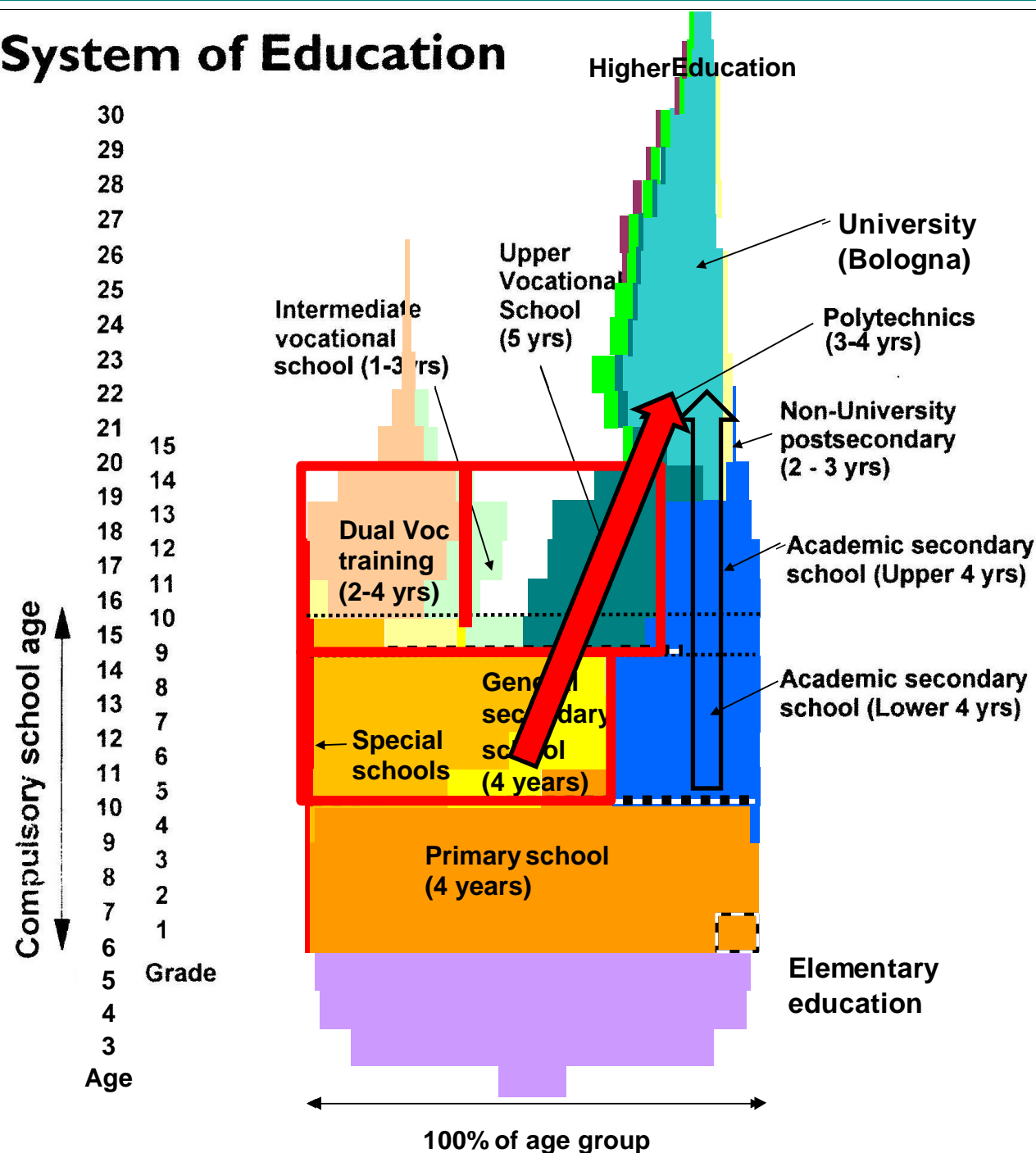
Entwicklung der Beteiligung auf der oberen Sekundarstufe 1924-2008 (4-5 Generationen)



Proportion full-time (VET) school/ apprenticeship



System of Education



STRUCTURE change

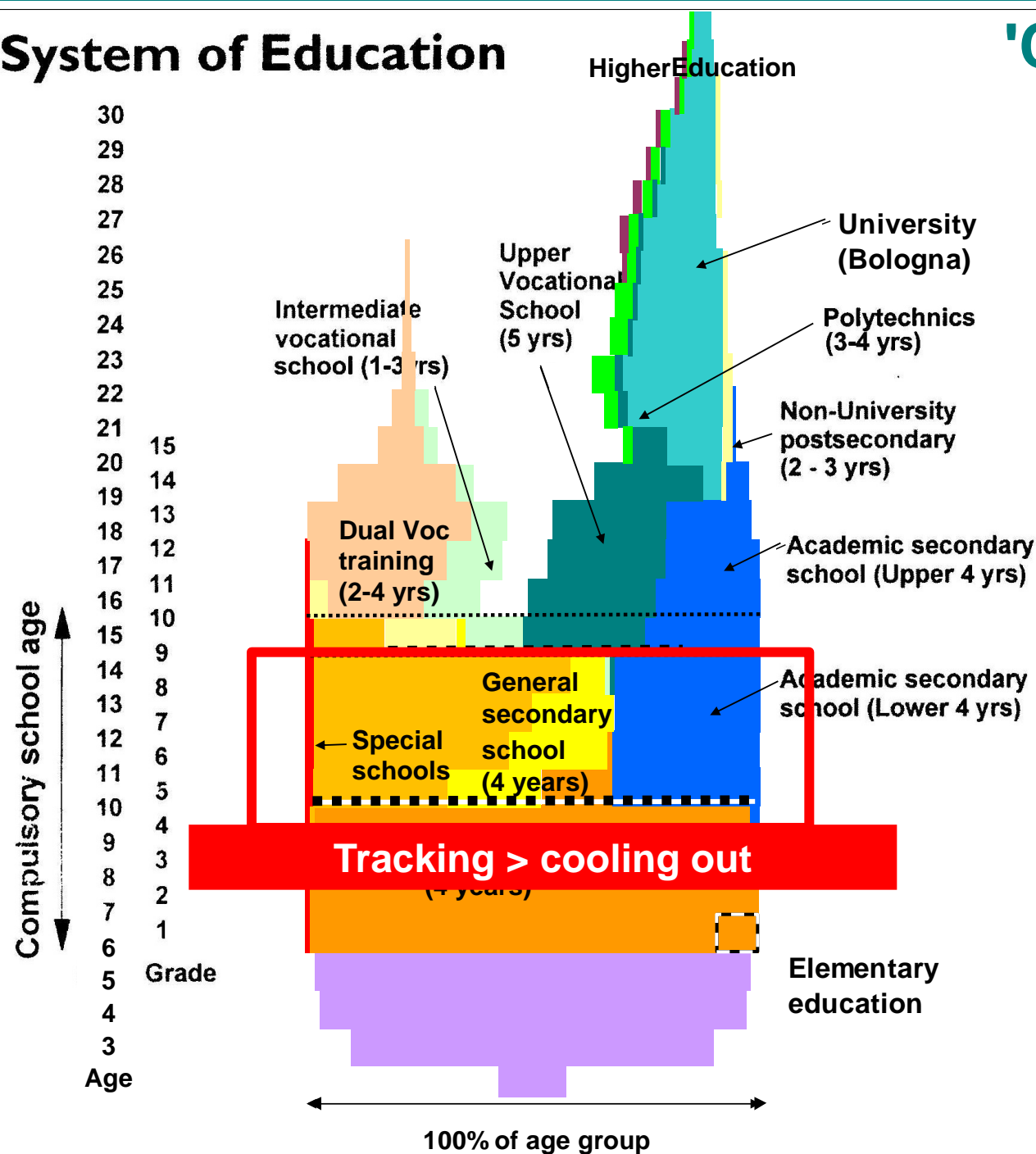
- Additional upward path through upper level vocational schools
- Cooling out structure gradually complements tracking at lower secondary level

Longer term historical developments

- Institutional change at lower secondary education
 - cooling out structure complements tracking at lower secondary level
- Vocational education and overall participation in education
- Vocational education: Roughly the same institutions constitute different structures
 - Long term processes of system building bring distant parts increasingly nearer to each other...
 - ...vocational education moves towards other parts...
 - ...apprenticeship moves towards full-time schools

System of Education

'COOLING OUT'



- Gradual change from tracking to self-selection

Logic of cooling out long term change?

- Cooling out: self-selection instead of predetermined tracking
- Tracking at lower secondary level changed...
 - from three tracks as schooltypes until 1920s...
 - to two (+one) schooltypes including three tracks until 1970/80s
 - to two schooltypes including 2 tracks including 3 achievement levels until 2000s
 - to two tracks with internal differentiation currently into the future

Change: 1920s	to	1960s/70s	to	2000s	to	future?
Academic ,elite‘		Academic ,elite‘		Academic ,elite‘		Academic ,elite‘
Bürgerschule		Hauptschule one > two tracks		Hauptschule three achievement levels		„Neue Mittelschule“ individualised
Primary school upper cycle		Primary upper				Hauptschule
3 school types		> 2 ₍₊₁₎ types, 1 tracked		> 2 types, 1 achiev-l		> 2 ₍₊₁₎ types, indiv.

Historical participation in education

- 1859: full participation in primary schools
- 1924: ~20% total participation upper secondary level
- about second generation after full participation in primary school

	1924 (23)
Apprenticeship	11%
VET full time schools (BMS)	2,4%
VET full time colleges (BHS)	2,0%
Upper secondary teacher education	0,6%
Academic school (AHS)	2%

Historical participation in education

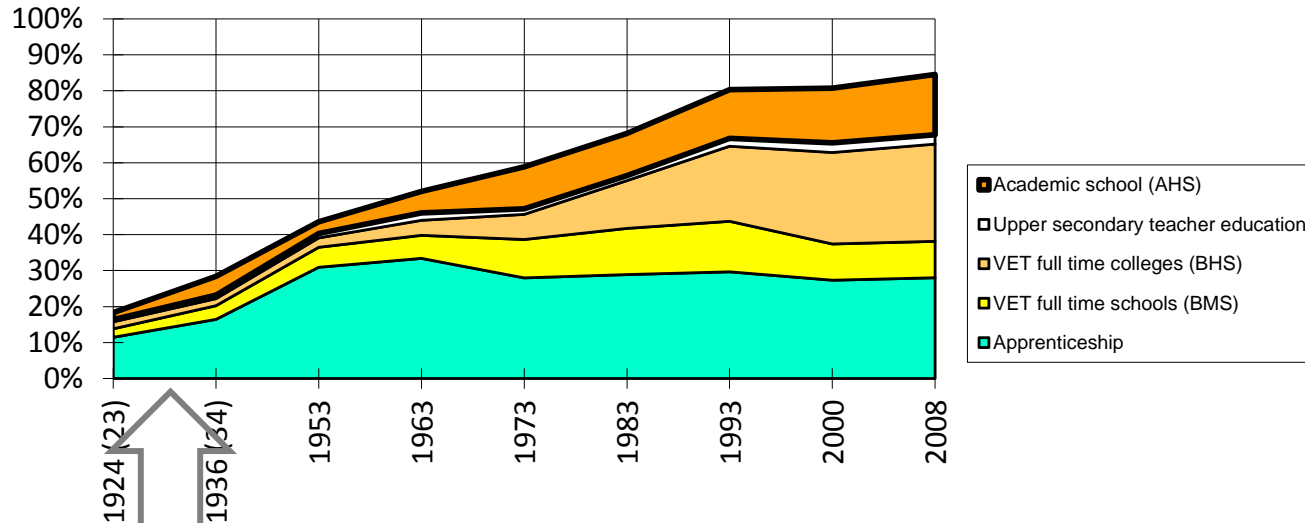
- How is upper secondary participation related to mass compulsory education?
- Reconstruction of generations since full participation in mass education 1859
 - Participants 6-12 old, birth cohort 1847-53
 - Next generation born after 18-35 years: 1865-1888
 - Upper secondary school next generation after 15-19 years: 1880-1907
 - Etc. ...

comp.school 1859	born	1stgen+ children (18-35)		upsec school (15-19)	2nd children (18-35)		upsec school (15-19)
	1853	1871 1888		1886 1907	1889 1923		1904 1942
	1847	1865 1882		1880 1901	1883 1917		1898 1936
		1865 1888		1880 1907	1883 1923		1898 1942
				not in picture		picture: 2nd generation after full prim school	
						1924	
						1936	

Historical participation in education

Enrolment at upper secondary level related to

15-19yrs population in Austria 192



- Relation of upper secondary participation to mass compulsory education
 - begin of upsec statistics related to 2nd generation of parents that have fully participated in (at least some) basic compulsory education

Historical participation in education generations after 1924

- Same procedure of reconstruction of next and 2nd generations

- participants upsec 1924
- participants upsec 1953
- participants upsec 1973

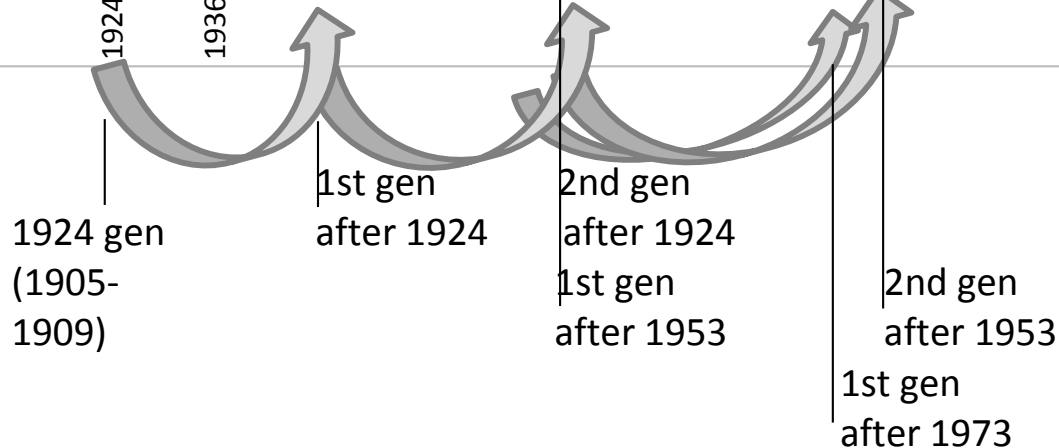
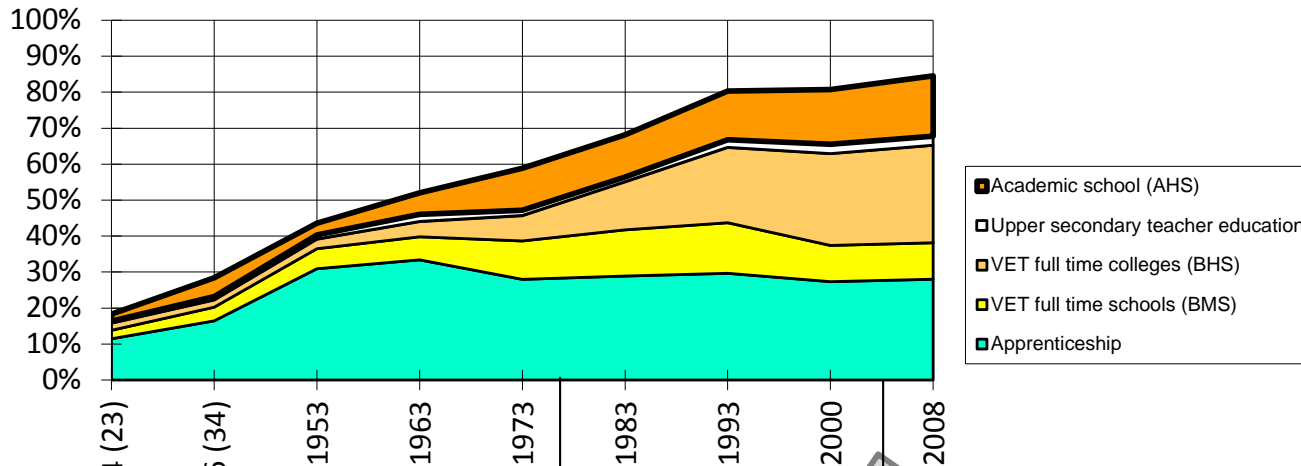
- (age range widens from on generation to the next)

up sec	1924	1st children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	2nd children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	
born	1909	1927 1944	1942 1963	1945 1979	1960 1998	
	1905	1923 1940	1938 1959	1941 1975	1956 1994	
		1923 1944	1938-1963	1941 1979	1956-1998	
			1st gen from upsec 1924		2nd gen from upsec 1924	
			1953	1951	1963	1977
			until	av	until	av
			1963		1993	
up sec	1953	1st children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	2nd children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	
born	1938	1956 1973	1971 1992	1974 2008	1989 2027	
	1934	1952 1969	1967 1988	1970 2004	1985 2023	
		1952 1973	1967-1992	1970 2008	1985-2027	
			1st gen from upsec 1953		2nd gen from upsec 1953	
			1973	1980	1993	2006
			until	av	until	av
			1983		2027	
up sec	1973	1st children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	2nd children (18-35)	upsec school (15-19)	
born	1958	1976 1993	1991 2012	1994 2028	2009 2047	
	1954	1972 1989	1987 2008	1990 2024	2005 2043	
		1972 1993	1987-2012	1990 2028	2005-2047	
			1st gen from upsec 1973		2nd gen from upsec 1973	
			1973	2000	1993	2026
			until	av	until	av
			1983		2047	

Participation of generations after 1924

Enrolment at upper secondary level related to

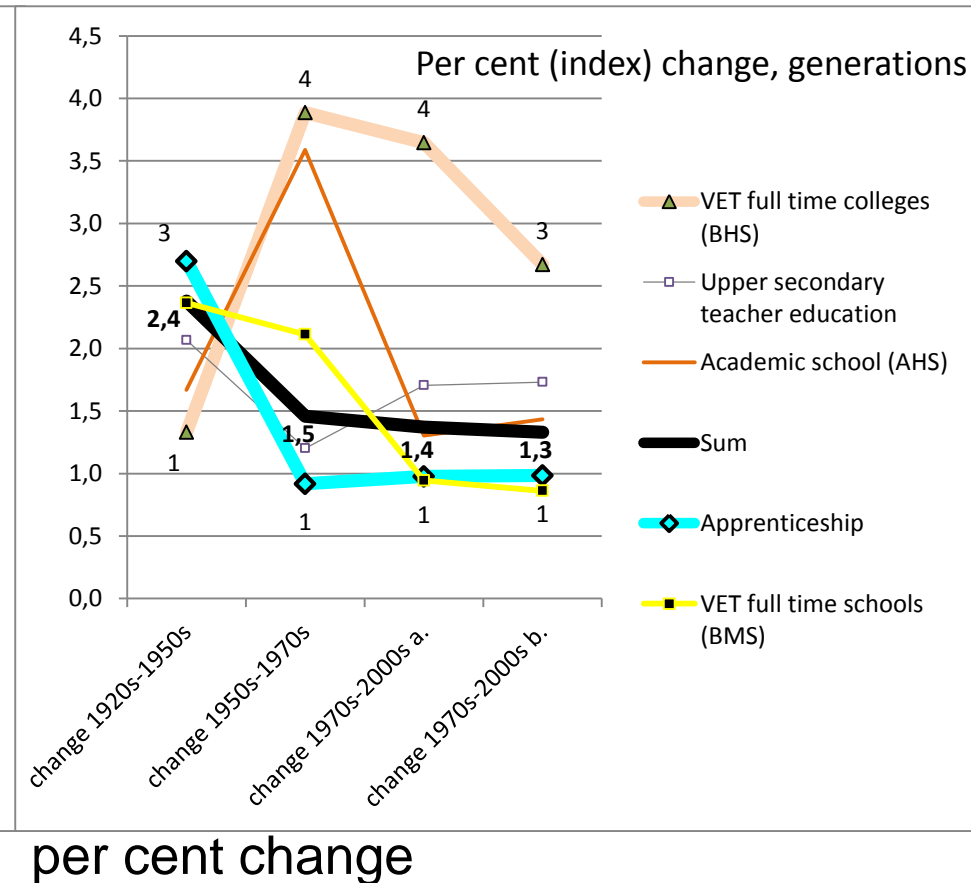
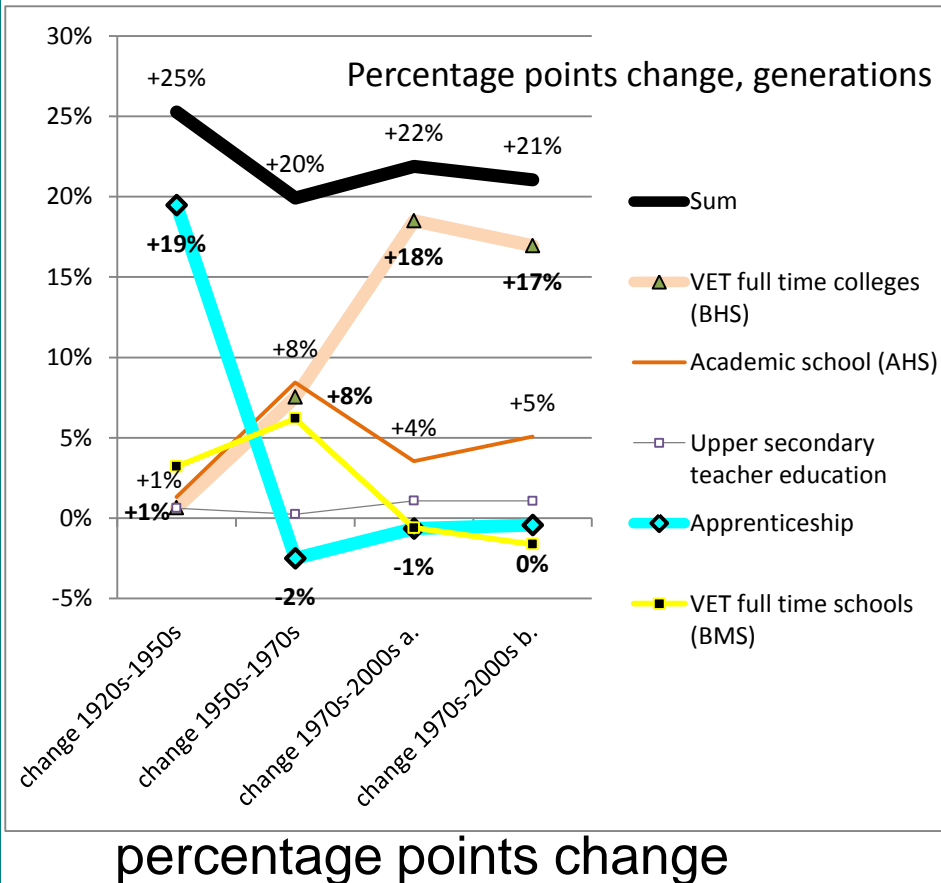
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...further parents
generations of
participants in
upper secondary
education

Change in participation per generation after 1924

- Overall: + 20 p.points per generation
- Apprenticeship + only 1920s to 1950s
- VET colleges + 1950s to 1970s, 1970s to 2000s



System building stylized account

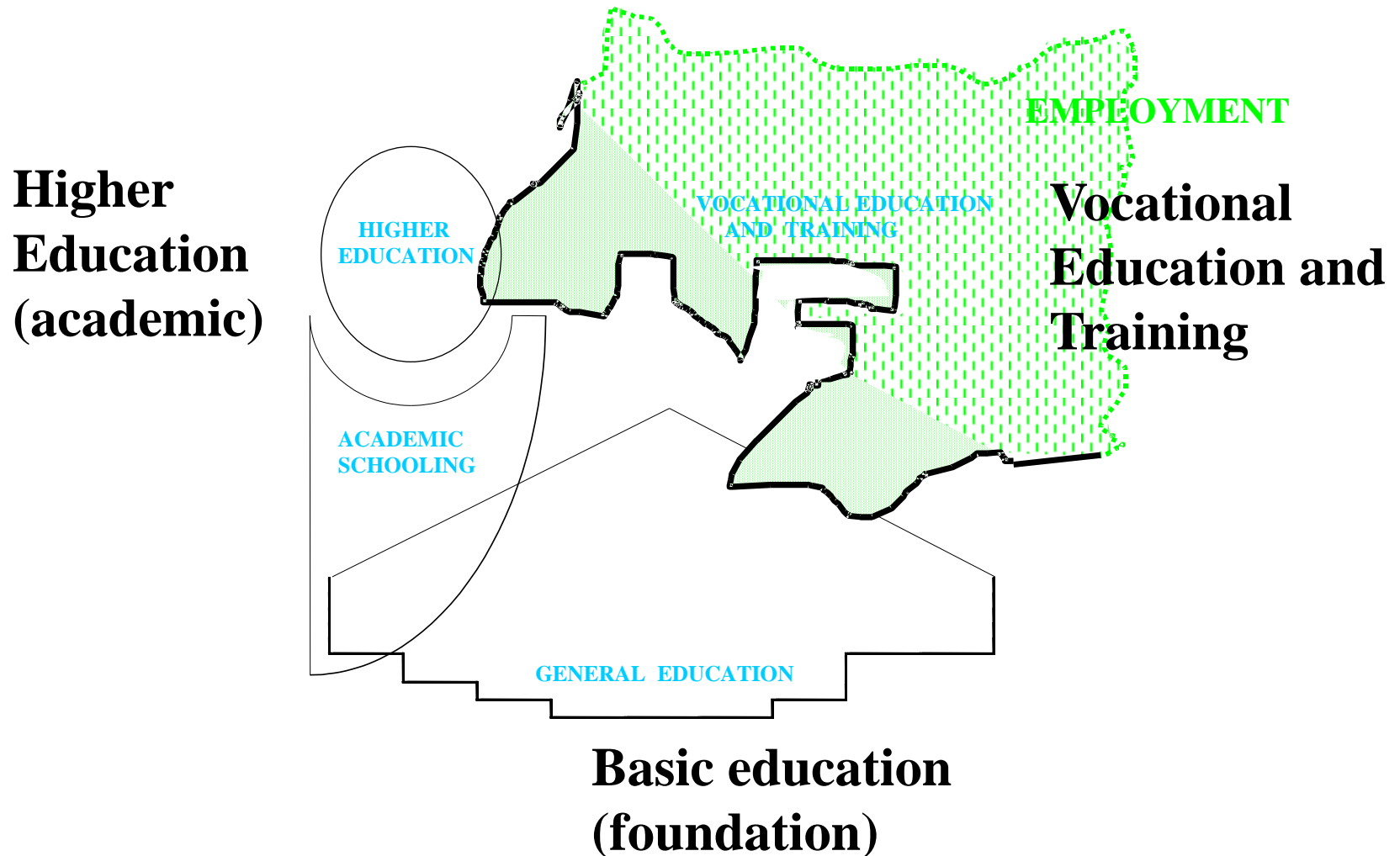
Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

**Higher
Education
(academic)**

**Vocational
Education and
Training**

**Basic education
(foundation)**

Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions



Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

-Universities founded
14th, 16th cent.

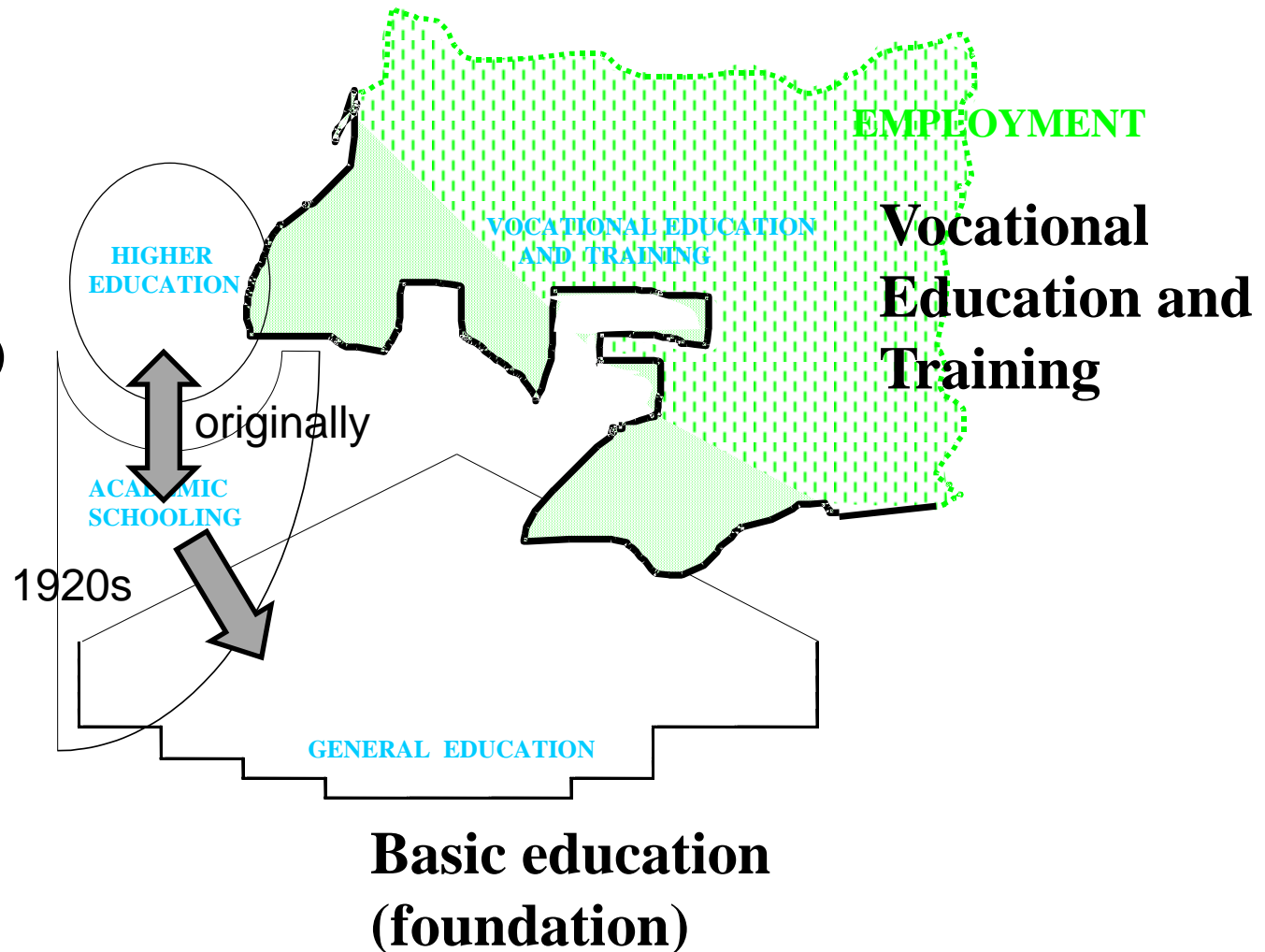
Higher Education (academic)

-academic schooling
13th -15th cent.
preparatory to univ

-1781-91
,Philosophicum‘-
Lyceum, competing
with gymnasium

-1848 basic structure
of academic school

-ac.related to mass
education 1920s



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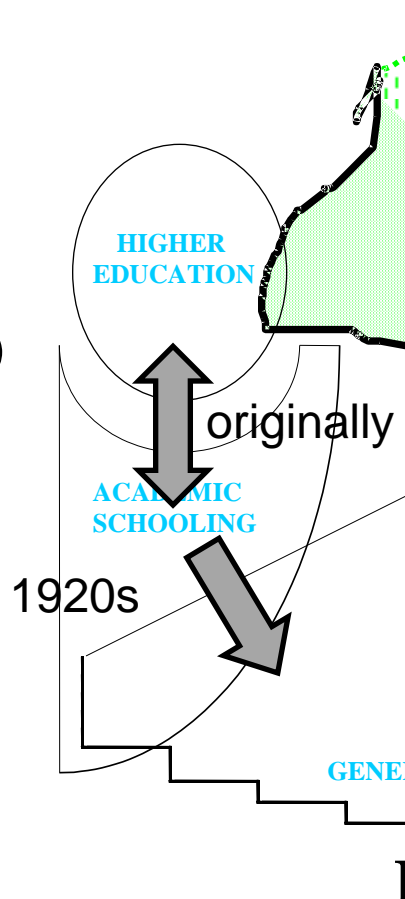
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- Originally only in employment:, masters in guilds, 13th religious, 14th economic, social

- power fights 15th to 19th century

- 1760s-70s early founding of various occupational academies

- Sunday, evening schools for apprentices founded 18th cent. compulsory 19th cent.

- after 1800 new vocational academies, end 19th cent. Higher education (TU, WU)

- new medium level vocational schools mid 19th cent. sectorially separate (business, trades, womens'...); orig undifferentiated, 1880s network trade schools

- 1938-45 German occupation: expansion of apprenticeship (part-time school compulsory also for unemployed)

Vocational Education and Training

- 1947 integrated system

- 1969 Vocational Training Act

Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

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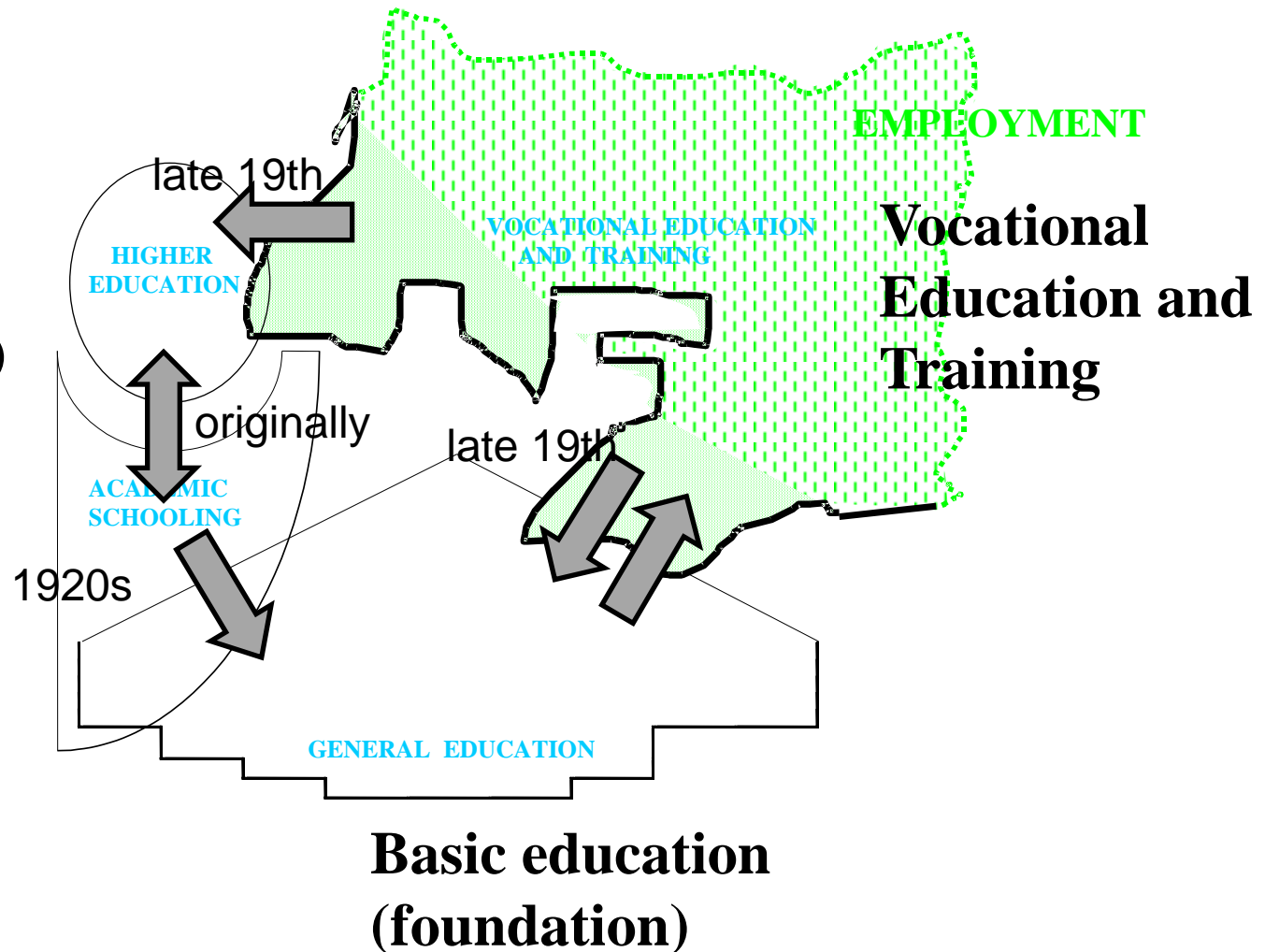
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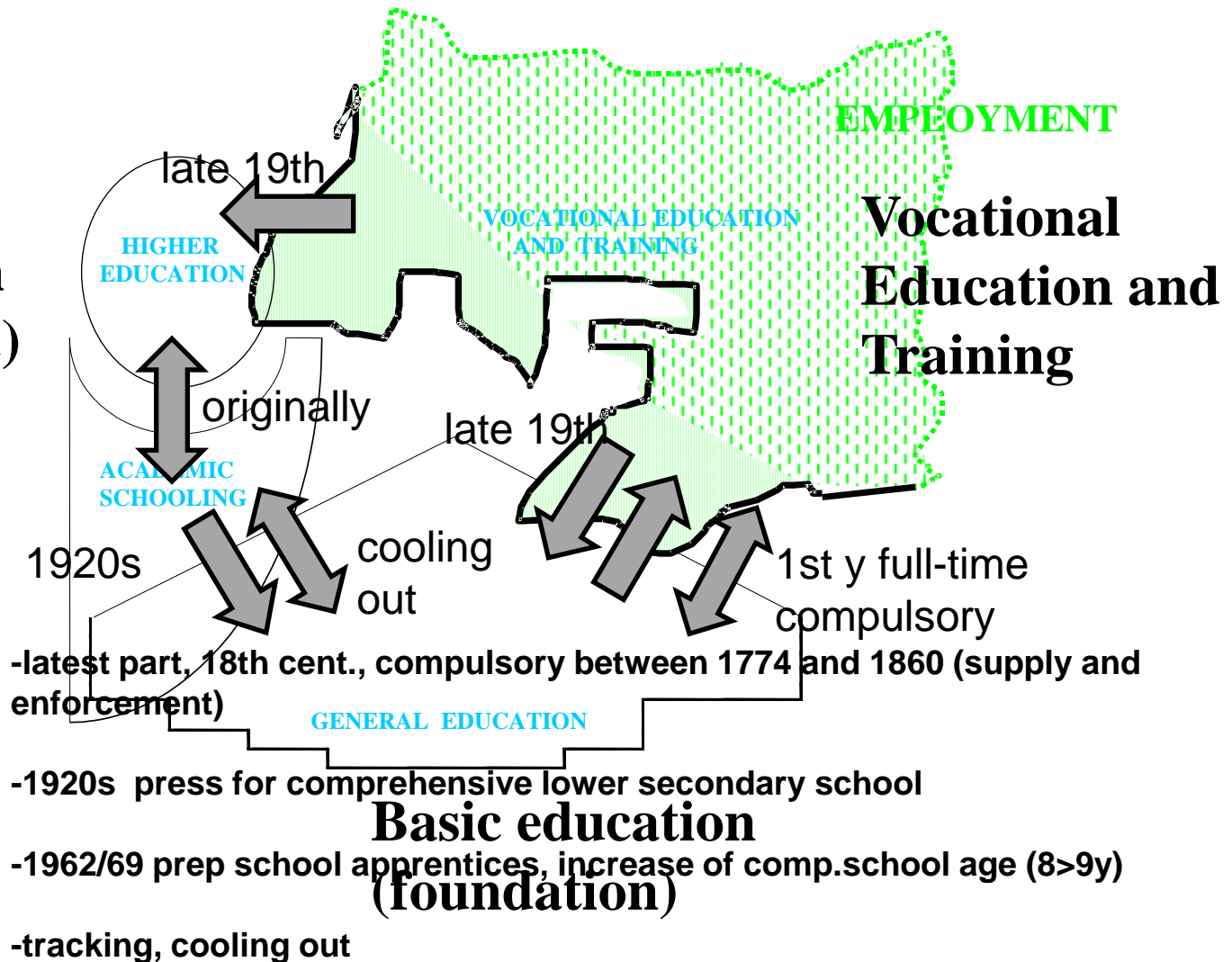
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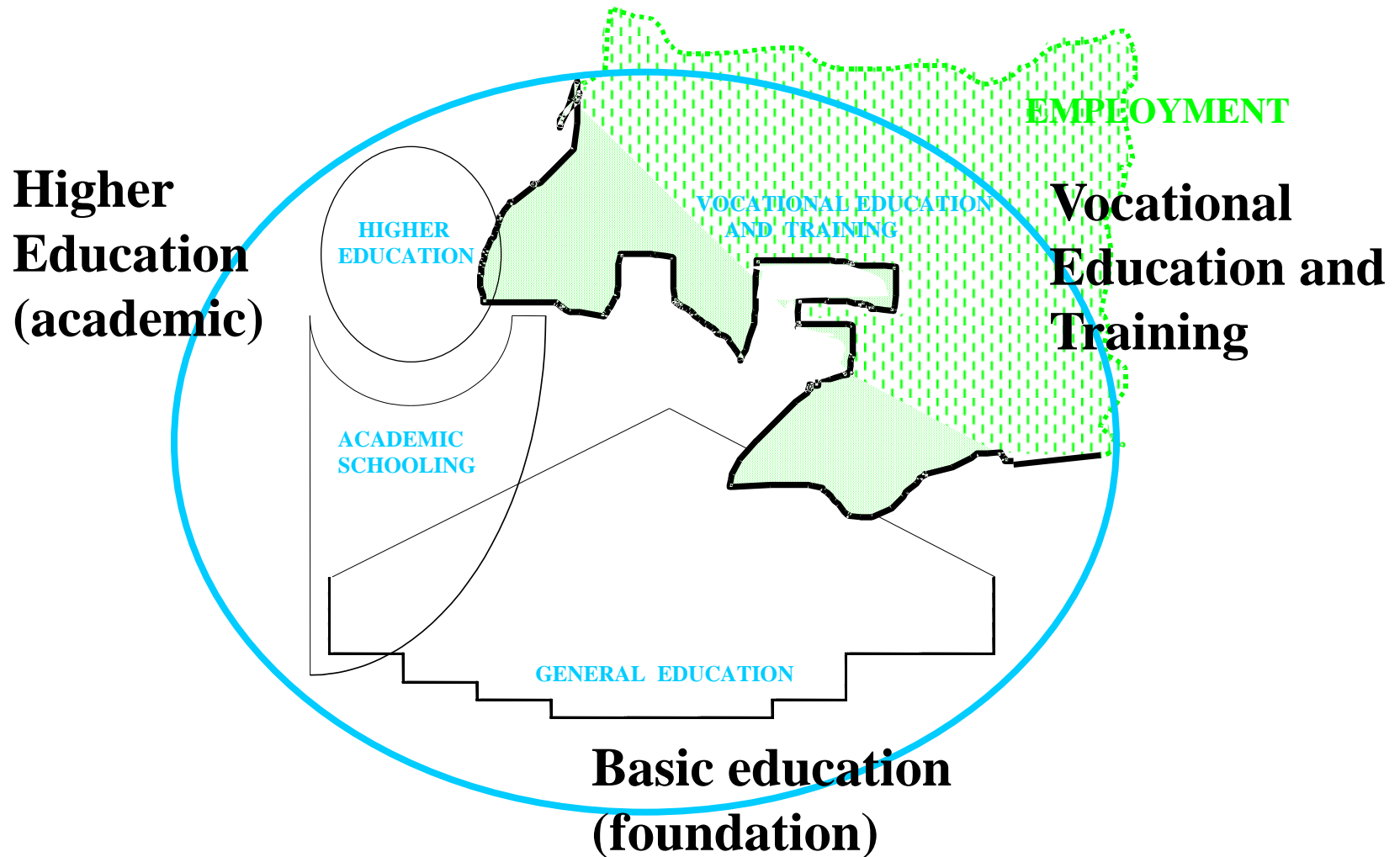
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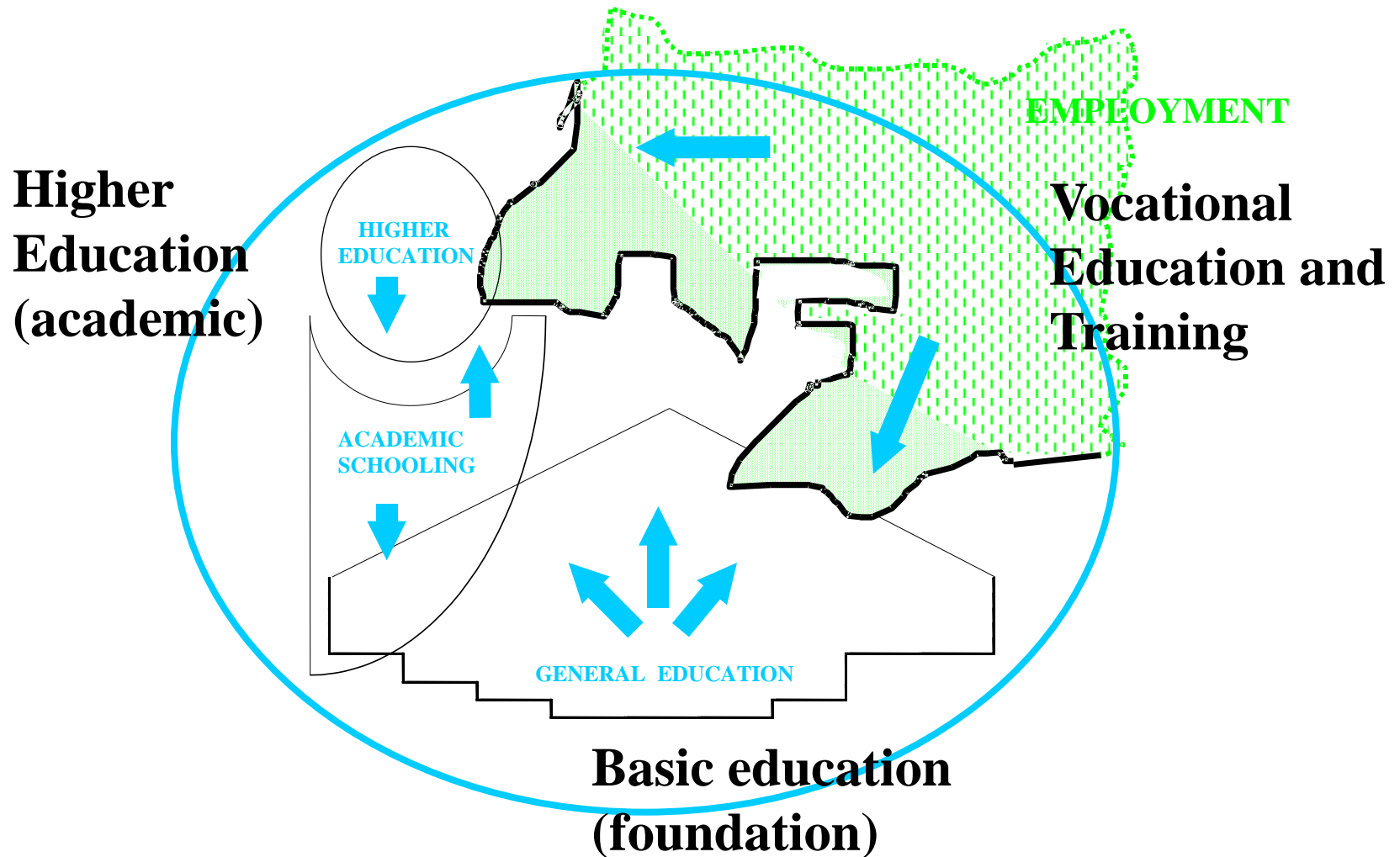
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Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

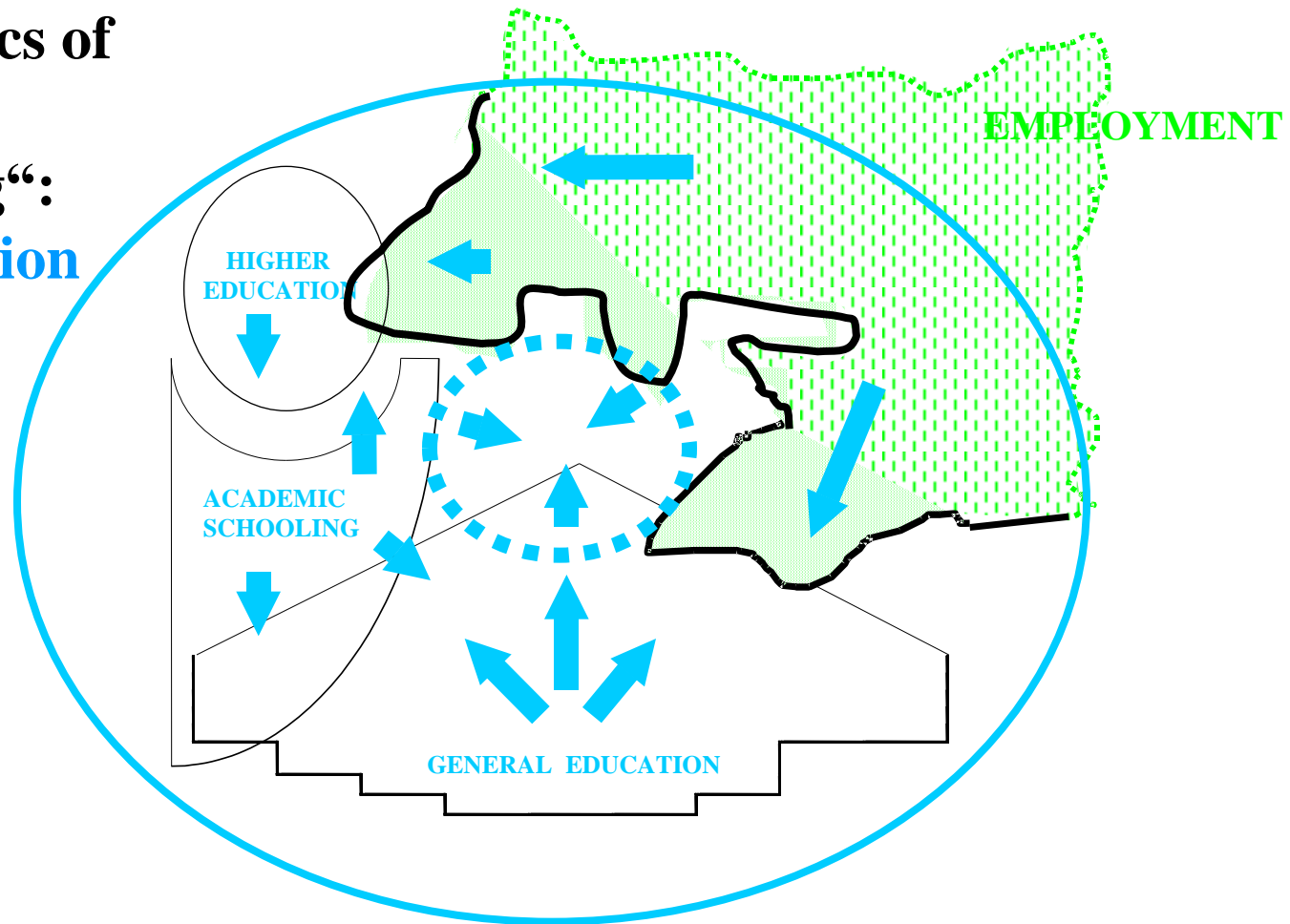


Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions



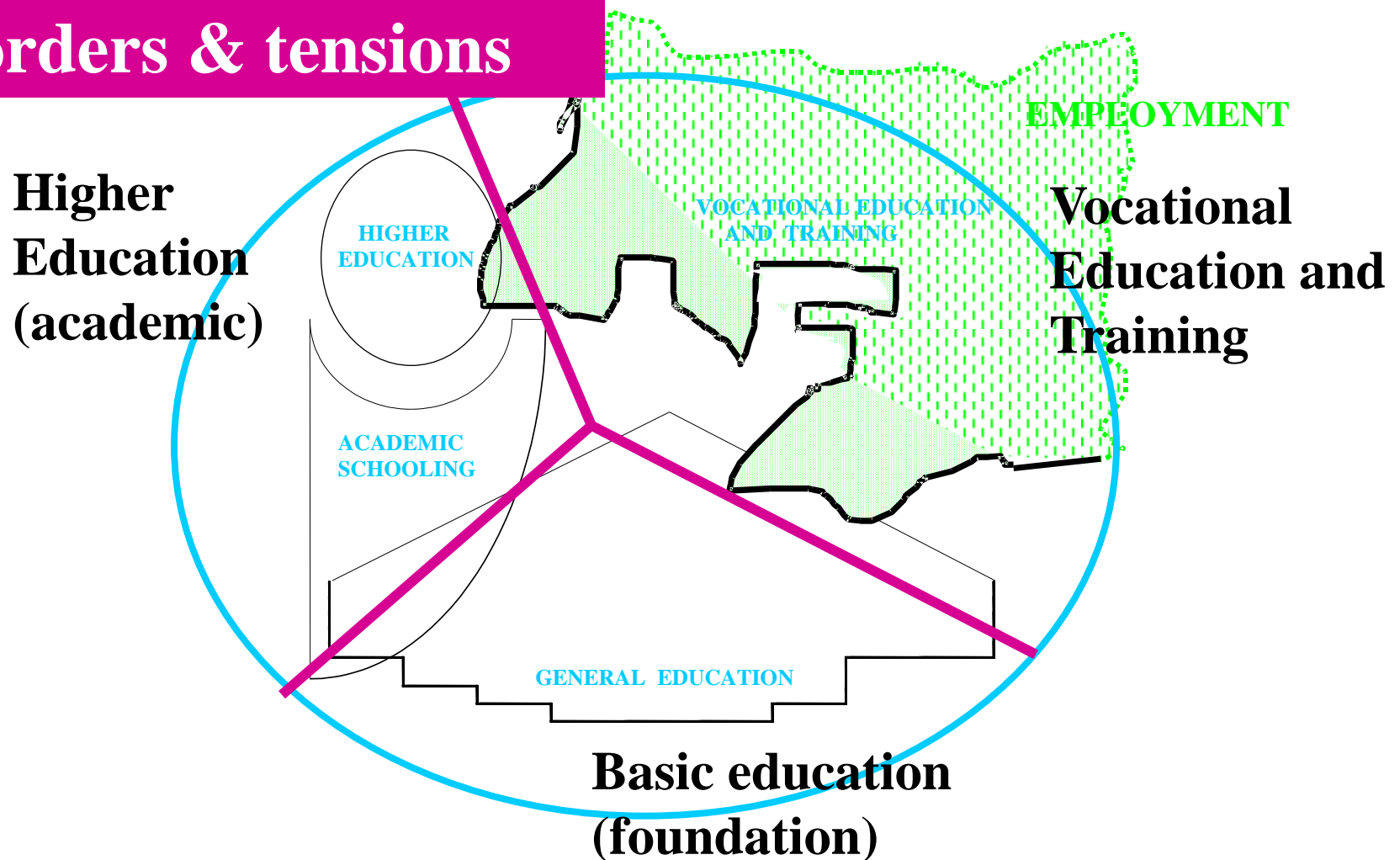
Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

Dynamics of
„system
building“:
Unification



Process of structuration and integration of originally separate institutions

Borders & tensions



Explanations, ,muddling through', institutionalism

- Muddling through: logic of decision making that brings incremental change to the fore
 - Basic idea: administrators do not make their decisions ,technocratically' on basis of the scientific ideals (considering all possible values, and all available knowledge (today: ,evidence based')...
 - ...but based on past experience ,successive limited comparison'
 - Much critique, then forgotten, since 2010 some revival: uncertainty, systematic trial and error policy as alternative to broad based reforms

- Institutionalisms, rational choice, sociological vs. historical
 - Quite remarkable differences
 - ,Muddling through' might be complementary to rational choice institutionalism
 - Historical institutionalism much wider concept...
 - ...also emphasis on incremental/gradual change...
 - ...main mechanisms:
critical junctures and positive feedback
 - ...identified five modes of change...
...displacement, layering, drift, conversion, exhaustion

exemplary modes of institutional change, superficially ,the same‘ institutions

- Displacement
 - traditional institutions may become discredited or marginalised
- Layering
 - layers of new institutions may be added to old ones
- Drift
 - old arrangements may atrophy and cease to operate as intended
- Conversion
 - institutions may be converted into functioning in a different way
- Exhaustion
 - patterns of behaviour permitted under institutions may eventually undermine these institutions

(see Gospel/Edwards 2011, 3-4)

Preliminary conclusions

explanation of dualistic system

- critical junctures
 - academic: 1790s-1840s: long form of gymnasium
 - vocational: 1880s separate framework of higher level trade schools, 1947 integration of full-time vocational school sector, 1960s making 1st year compulsory 1970s expand upper level vocational schools
 - question somehow open: sustainability of apprenticeship
 - separation from school sector,*
 - change of selection regime from school to firm;*
 - collecting pond / 2nd alternative for drop-outs from full-time schools*
 - positive feedback from employment*
- modes of change
 - Layering: long term process, network of trade schools (1880s), integration of full-time sector (1947)
 - Conversion1: 1st year of full-time vocational schools part of compulsory school
 - Conversion2: upper level vocational schools as transition agency to higher education (business, service more than engineering)
 - ?Exhaustion: stick to early selection to academic school (sponsored ,elite' selection')

- Howard Gospel and Tony Edwards (2011) Transformation and Muddling Through. Industrial Relations and Industrial Training in the UK. SKOPE Research Paper No. 106 (December)

The End



Material

