

The Politics of Vocational Education

**A Study of the Introduction of the Basic Vocational Training
Year in the Federal Republic of Germany**

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ABSTRACT

The theme of the research is the developments in education, particularly with reference to vocational education in the Federal Republic of Germany. During the 1950s the FGR underwent an economic miracle in the area of reconstruction following the devastation of the war years. As economic stability returned to the Republic the move towards reform in the educational sector began to develop.

Whilst under occupation, the military authorities in each zone had supervised the reconstruction of the education system per se, but with little regard for the vocational sector, tending to leave that area to those who controlled its development in the past, namely the employers and their respective Chambers i.e. Industry and Handicraft.

As the debate progressed over the form that the new educational system should take, it became apparent that there were almost irreconcilable differences between the models favoured by the opposing political factions. Whilst the right wing looked to the past in the formation of its policies, as illustrated by the perpetuation of the old tripartite system, the left were seeking to broaden the educational choice of the majority who were restricted in their participation in higher education under both the existing and preceding systems.

As the balance of power in the Länder and Bund shifted during the late 1950s and early 1960s so the educational plans were modified. The left initially sought to influence general education in the political arenas, but later turned to the vocational education sector and the Berufsschule in order to increase the element of general education included in the curriculum. It was during this period that, on the one hand, the left were seeking to introduce the concept of equality of educational opportunity both in the general education system and the vocational sector, on the other hand, the right equally determined to maintain the status quo, that a further argument was being presented by the academics and social scientists. Namely, that the education system had lost sight of the traditional German values of neo-humanistic Bildung in its pursuit of a materialistic society.

It is in the light of these widely differing views that the introduction of the Basic Vocational Training Year and the corresponding legal and political arguments surrounding its introduction are examined to establish its validity as a solution to the problems of the various participants in the debate.

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INTRODUCTION

The systems of vocational education and training in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) are effective and comprehensive and, whilst built on laws¹ passed in the last 40 years, are rooted in much older traditions and a broad social support for systematic training. In the Federal Republic these systems and the attitudes that support them have brought about a situation where the majority² of young people are systematically trained and this is often seen as the basis of the economic miracle (Wirtschaftswunder) of the post war era.

Development, refinement and expansion were the keynotes of vocational education and training in the Federal Republic in the seventies. At a time when the bulge in the birth rate was at its maximum in terms of school leavers, the proportion of young people aged 16 who received systematic education or training was at its highest (over 92%) as part of a conscious creation of a reservoir of skilled labour for the future and also as a proper social policy towards the young.

The argument by the West Germans⁴ that, in this technological age, the gulf between school and work is becoming so wide as to necessitate the introduction of work-orientated studies (Arbeitslehre) into the Main school

curriculum, is difficult to repudiate. A course of lectures and practical experience in shops, offices, workshops and factories, to familiarise school children with the world of work which awaits them. Through such courses both the choice of vocation and the transition from school to work must be facilitated. In addition, the argument in favour of providing for the majority of youth who leave school at fifteen plus, some proportion of the education reserved for the minority who remain at school (in many cases until well into their twenties), also appears logical.

During the critical years from fifteen to nineteen when, as the Germans maintain⁵, adolescents are particularly receptive to advice and guidance in selected fields, the opportunity should be taken to provide, in the compulsory part-time vocational schools, in addition to trade theory, instruction in politics, the political parties and the trade unions, the nature of the economy and its importance for the well-being of the nation, social, cultural and religious subjects, music and sport⁶. Whilst attention directed at the organisation of vocational education in the Federal Republic proves instructive and useful, a study of the development of the system particularly since 1960 provides numerous insights into the nature of German society and political, economic, social and cultural traditions, tensions, pressures and priorities which exist therein.

The development is marked by the interaction of eight main aspects:

- a. the division of responsibility for education between the Federal Government and the Länder;
- b. the concern of the Germans for the character and personality of man under increasing trade specialisation;
- c. the reform plans of the socialist and conservative political parties;
- d. the struggle between the state and private enterprise for the control of training;
- e. government efforts, through vocational education, to restrict youth unemployment to a minimum;
- e. the desire of all political parties to provide all youth with trade training
- f. the overriding concern in the Federal Republic with the economic health of the nation, and
- g. the antithesis of education and training (Bildung and Ausbildung).

Of particular consequence for the system which prepares youth for work has been the division of responsibility, as required by the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) of 1949, between the Federal Government and the Länder for, respectively, in-plant training and in-school vocational education. Until the 1970s the co-ordination between the two and a neglect of the system in general were in part due to the cultural autonomy so jealously guarded by each of the Länder. An inheritance from earlier times is the conflict between Bildung and Ausbildung.

The division of the two concepts had its origins in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the developments in educational thought initiated by Wilhelm von Humboldt⁷. The concentration upon the cultivation of Bildung with its

Platonic undertones led to the relegation of Ausbildung to a position of secondary importance. This difference in the status has survived in many respects in a country that understands the importance of vocational training yet tends to underline the importance of the concept of Bildung in German thought.

An extension of the ambivalence displayed by the Germans over Bildung and Ausbildung is seen in the nation's attitude to transition from a craft-based economy to a modern industrial society. Whilst acknowledging the benefits which have resulted from industrialisation, the Germans continue to be concerned⁸ about the potential damage which the change can inflict on the individual. Whereas, in the German view, the practice of a craft, an integrated activity, leads to the full development of the character and personality, work in a highly specialised trade, which is considered as a partial activity, tends to result in the asymmetrical development of the self.

Vocational education reform debates fluctuated in the Republic during the decades following World War II. The publication of G. Picht's⁹ comments on the education calamity in the early 1960s, underlined the concern of many educators and trainers regarding what was seen as the inadequacies of the existing systems.

The concern¹⁰ of the Left, as represented by the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the trade unions, regarding the

monopoly of control over trade training traditionally enjoyed by the employers, increased from the 1950 s to the late 1970 s. During this period the SPD programmes¹¹ for the reform of education and training matured. The attempts to incorporate the shared responsibility for training in a vocational training law, where employer interests' in the Federal Parliament were represented by the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Socialist Union (CDU/CSU) and latterly by the Free Democratic Party (FDP), demonstrated the the power of the employers' interests (Wirtschaft) in the Federal Republic. These interests repeatedly and decisively affected the development of vocational training in the Republic between 1950 and 1980.

The opinion¹² of West German politicians, that all youth should receive trade training, reflects the view of the majority of the public. Although it may be contended that the Germans are over-concerned with qualifications, the economic strength of the Federal Republic attests that its citizens are skilful and productive workers. This may in part be due to so-called "national characteristics", but systematic and thorough trade training undoubtedly leads both to higher skills and productivity and a more willing and interested worker. Whatever changes may be contemplated to traditional systems in the Federal Republic, the main concern is for the economic prosperity of the nation.

When considering change in a vocational education system however, consideration must be given to the problems that will inevitably arise from the implementation of that

change, i.e. heightened aspirations, taken in consideration with prevailing practice.

The definition and identification of the problems associated with the introduction of change in a vocational education context requires a methodology or taxonomy to classify this information.

Professor Brian Holmes suggests¹³ that Dewey's five stages of problem solving procedure consisting of:

- a. problem identification and analysis,
- b. hypothesis or policy solution formulation,
- c. the specification of initial conditions of the context,
- d. the logical prediction of likely outcomes from adopted hypothesis,
- e. the comparison of logically predicted outcomes with observable events,¹⁴

provides a basis for the identification and intellectualisation of specific educational problems in defined socio-cultural settings and form the first basic component of an acceptable methodology.

The second basic component of Holmes methodology is a taxonomy based upon Karl Popper's theory of critical dualism, which Popper defines as being:

"the position reached when a conscious differentiation is made between the man-enforced normative laws or conventions, and the natural regularities which are beyond his power"¹⁵

Popper goes on to state that:

"norms and normative laws can be made and changed by man"¹⁶

by a decision or convention to observe them and consequentially man is morally responsible for them.

Educational problems, in Holmes's view¹⁷, arise from a synchronous change, a change in values, institutions, or the natural environment not accompanied by appropriate change in other spheres. The outcomes of a solution to an identified problem are worked out through deductive logic under carefully defined specific initial conditions. Then anticipated outcomes are compared with the actual unfolding of educational reform activity.

To further clarify the use of the general taxonomy;¹⁸ for the purpose of analysing a change (or innovation), change may be assumed to take place in any one part of any of the three patterns of the taxonomy the statements refer. Care should be taken to make clear whether verbal exchanges are no more than that or whether they reflect changes in mental states, institutions or the physical world. Some difficulties may be associated with the assertion that changes (or innovations) may be either:

- a. Normative or
- b. institutional or
- c. within the natural environment.

Having located an assumed change (innovation) in one of the three main categories above it should then be located in one or other of the sectors, the main ones being Political, Religious, Educational, Economic, Fine Culture, Other. Further intellectualisation of change and the problems

arising from it will require appropriate models.

It should be noted that problem analysis demands that no-change should be identified in relation to change.

To summarise, Holmes makes the following assertions:

- a. One or a small number of aspects in society change through one or a small cluster of innovations.
- b. the number of societal aspects immediately affected is bound to be large, some will be influenced strongly and directly, others weakly and less directly,
- c. a selection should be made of relevant no-change aspects which are regarded as important in identifying a problem, and
- d. this selection may well be based on a particular theory of social change.¹⁹

Critical dualism suggests that innovation may be normative or institutional but the former need not imply behavioural change. Institutional change, however, frequently implies there is need for behavioural change. The latter (either on the part of individuals or groups) implies change in residues (beliefs, deeply held sentiments, lower valuations).

In the political sector normative change may be identified by reference to any of the following statements. Statutory change or innovation occurs as a result of:

- a. legislation.
- b. judicial decision, or
- c. executive or bureaucratic decree.

Such changes may be mandatory or not and imply that policy

formulation and adoption has been undertaken by personnel within certain formal organisations. They do not imply that new political values have been successfully disseminated or adopted widely.

Non-statutory innovation or change may occur as a consequence of interest aggregation and allocation, the identification of which may be depend upon a taxonomy developed for political systems.

Institutional change involves the creation of a new agency, formal organisation, or institution. Change may be located in the public interest, managerial or technical levels of a formal organisation. Some institutional innovations may be achieved by legislation or by changes in a constitution, or they may be created by extra-institutional or extra-legal activity.

Behavioural change does not necessarily follow normative or institutional innovation. It may be recognised not by what people say, but by the way in which they behave. Such behaviour is recognisable at the public interest level of national, regional and local government. The patterns of behaviour are less obvious when policy is adopted by the executive branch, or at the managerial and technical levels.

To effectively introduce change it is essential that suitable models are produced in advance of the projected change in order to predict the intended outcomes of such

change.

To this end many people working in institutions in Germany are constantly examining alternative models of vocational training. Investigation of the inter-relationship between the design of the educational system and the structure of the employment system has been the main theme of numerous surveys undertaken at Munich's Institute for Social Science Research (Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung or ISF). A preliminary summary of the results of the surveys was presented by B.Lutz and other members of the ISF staff at a Sociological Conference in 1979.²⁰

In his presentation, Lutz examined possible reasons for the rapid expansion of the general school systems in a number of Western European countries in the 1960s and 1970s and attempted to discover connections between the general school system, the vocational training sector and the various forms of work organisation. Lutz opposed the widespread opinion that the expansion of education was a result of either reform policy or economic necessity. Expansion took place in countries with conservative as well as social-democratic governments; its emphasis was in the area of the arts and social science education rather than in the technical and scientific qualifications sector, as the theory of economic necessity would suggest.²¹

Lutz views the relationship between the educational and employment systems as one of 'complex

inter-dependence' and that:

"in its scope, both of these sub-systems possess a certain amount of autonomy, both time-wise and factually, towards each other, but ultimately must tend towards structural congruity"²²

According to Lutz, the process of educational expansion is a roundabout in which the firms act as consumers of qualifications, rather than initiators of this expansion, but at a later stage, merely intensify the pressure for expansion by reacting to the qualification structure previously produced by the educational system. The fact that the pressure became effective in opening up general education opportunities in various western European countries at different points in time and with different strength is explained by pointing to the different economic and social circumstances and the different structures in educational systems.

This pressure grew increased considerably:

"the larger the sociological in-equality, the more weakly that occasional increases in living standards were felt, and the less frequently that the opportunity for an individual to advance through the system became evident"²³

According to Lutz, the varying length of time required to build up the system of general education in different countries was due to the different strengths of the vocational qualification system. In countries like the Federal Republic of Germany where vocational training did not appear to lead to a dead end, because of the significant number of opportunities to ascend to positions like technician or graduate engineer, there was a considerably less pressing demand for the expansion of general education

schools. Within educational systems that do not provide opportunities for attaining qualifications for technical employment through on-the-job training:

"immediate workforce issues within the economy then press for a buildup of general education opportunities, as it becomes obvious that only university-level training can provide the necessary technical-administrative qualifications"²⁴

In countries maintaining a system of high-standard practical job training qualifications, whose graduates can take up jobs in firms with relatively few problems, the firms themselves appear to have a more 'professional' organisational structure, which according to Lutz, shows the following characteristics:

"Here the organisation of operational and work procedures can be limited to arranging the necessary tasks for the production process in such a way that the resulting work can be mastered by persons with customary job-specific qualifications (i.e. turner, toolmaker, draughtsman, chemical laboratory assistant). The firm can rely on these workers to carry out all aspects of their tasks according to the standards and routines belonging to their trades. Task planning, preparation and control are only interrupted by executive tasks and pulled together into special groups if disciplinary necessity arises or if it corresponds to job-specific division of work (i.e. between skilled workers and engineers).

This implies that in most cases a very limited horizontal and vertical division of labour exists, giving the firm ample flexibility in the use of the qualifications within its workforce. This is an important factor with regard to the issue of social in-equality as one of the main initiators of the expansion of educational systems, and allows flexible division of labour and minimal differentiation of wage and status in the different working groups to be compatible..."²⁵

According to Lutz, the 'professional' organisation of work is closely connected with an efficiently operating

vocational training system in which (as in the Dual System) job-specific theory and on-the-job experience are joined. This makes it possible for graduates to enter into a professionally organised structure with little or no risk.

The lack of workers who have had sufficient on-the-job training causes firms to change their organisational structures from 'professional' to bureaucratic. The firms bureaucratic organisational structure allows:

"workers with limited knowledge and skills to be put directly to work in a productive manner, by giving them strictly controlled, pre-planned tasks..." this hierarchy allows for "...the necessary control and the chance to awaken and reward interest in further job-specific qualifications by opening up opportunities for promotion. It goes without saying that such a system can only operate with inequality of pay working conditions, status, etc."²⁶

The extent to which firms react to expansion within the educational system by creating bureaucratic organisational structures is also the extent to which the interaction of the educational and employment systems has developed into a "vicious circle of merits"²⁷. Since in the circumstances described only a university degree can protect one from being tied to a job that is "...subordinate, badly paid and under constant disciplinary control..",²⁸ the demand for higher education is bound to keep rising. In this development, qualifications obtained through vocational training acquire the status of training for those "...who have been handicapped by heredity and deficits in the social sector and who already have the stigma of inferiority within the educational system..."²⁹

In the light of Lutz's statements it is advantageous to examine the vocational training model that had evolved in Germany over the past century. The so-called Dual System has, in recent years, been cited as an example of excellence in the vocational training field. However, it is not without its problems.

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CHAPTER 1

The Dual System in the Federal Republic of Germany

The model of vocational education and training developed and adopted by the Federal Republic is generally held up as an example, as indeed as a model for those intending to establish a system of vocational training. But, as an examination of the history and antecedents of the Dual System will show, the essentials of a successful vocational training system are more than the ingredients, i.e. schools, workshops, trainers, teachers etc., but depends upon what Holmes describes¹ as "the mental states" (i.e. deeply held beliefs about the nature of vocational training) of those involved in the administration of such systems.

(See Appendix B for the structure of the Dual System.)

In the 19th century, the apprenticeship in the home and the workshop of the master craftsman was complemented by a school for further education. It was the purpose of this school to be a continuation of the Volksschule and to give its pupils more extensive facilities than the latter provided in reading, writing and arithmetic. At the beginning of the 20th century, the school for the general further education of apprentices evolved² into a school for specialised further training in the various trades. This school in turn developed into the present-day part-time vocational school (Berufsschule).³

This type of school, which was defined and legally established throughout the German Reich by the Reich Law on Compulsory School Attendance of 1938⁴, now accompanies and complements apprenticeship training in the workplace with one or two days instruction per week in the school.⁵

Today the laws⁶ of the Länder compel all juveniles who attend neither a general, nor a full-time vocational school to attend the part-time vocational schools provided by the individual Land, even if they are not engaged in an apprenticeship. This compulsory part-time school attendance lasts until the age of 18, or until a juvenile has completed his or her apprenticeship. However, initial vocational training in the Dual System takes place primarily in the workplace; the additional instruction which apprentices receive in a part-time school complements their training in a firm. The exact division of time between factory and school is determined by the school laws of the particular Land and according to the occupation chosen by the trainee.

(N.B. The term "in-plant training" always refers to apprenticeship training in the workplace complemented by part-time attendance at a public vocational school.)

Since the 1960s, the term "Dual System" has entered into general use as the designation for in-plant vocational training. This title, however, has several meanings. First, it points out that the two learning sites, the school and the workplace are complementary. Second, the term expresses the fact that in-plant vocational training has two sponsors. The Länder governments establish and finance the

vocational schools, whilst the provision and finance of apprenticeships are the affair of the particular privately, or publicly, owned enterprise. Lastly, the term "Dual System" can refer to the twofold supervisory structure of in-plant vocational training. The Ministers of Culture (Kultusministerium) of the individual Länder are responsible for organising and superintending the training programmes in the vocational schools.⁷ Responsibility for training in the workplace lies with the individual firms and the industrial, commercial and craft chambers. The organisation and supervision of apprenticeship training by these chambers and the individual firms must remain⁸ within guidelines (Rahmenlehrpläne)⁹ laid down by regulations of the Federal government.

The institutional framework of the Dual System of vocational training.

The character of the education provided by the general secondary schools is determined by their status as institutions governed by public law. In contrast, initial vocational training in the Dual System is, to a large extent not subject to control by the state. Participants in this form of vocational training have a double status. They are both pupils and apprentices. The legal status of their training is correspondingly two-fold. In so far as it takes place within state sponsored schools it falls under public law, while the relationship between the apprentice and the firm training him falls under the jurisdiction of civil

law.¹⁰ However, training time is unequally divided, and the possibilities of exerting control over the content and the financing of the training are distributed unequally between the two partners in the system. As a result, vocational training in the Dual System is subject to the influence of the private and publicly owned enterprises which offer the apprenticeships, and to the influence of those persons who represent the interests of these enterprises.

These enterprises essentially determine what the apprentices learn and when and where they learn it. They finance the training workshops located on their premises, the training personnel and the teaching and learning material which they provide. The apprentices are thus primarily under the authority and control of the firms which give them their practical training. The Intra-Enterprise Labour-Management Relations Act, 1972¹¹ (Betriebsverfassungsgesetz) grants rights of decision making, with reference to affairs of the enterprise, to the representatives of juvenile workers (up to 18 years of age) and to the shop stewards who make up the works council. These rights of co-determination are limited in comparison with the power of the firms. Consequently, the views of the managers are predominant in the shaping of the vocational training they provide for the apprentices. The firms have two chief interests: first, that the apprentices develop the desired skills and virtues, as well as loyalty to their employer; second, that the cost of training the apprentices does not exceed a necessary

minimum. The latter goal is achieved by limiting the training to the specific skills required for the occupations in question, or to the requirements of the firm providing the training.

A firm's latitude to determine the vocational training it gives is limited by the training directives issued by relevant ministries¹² of the Federal government for the individual occupations, as well as more general Federal laws, such as the Vocational Training Act¹³ of 1969 (Berufsbildungsgesetz or BBiG) and the Employed Minors Protection Act of 1976 (Jugendarbeitsschutzgesetz or JasG.) This Minors Protection Act¹⁴ sets the length of work time, minimum vacations, and certain work conditions for minors, while the BBiG requires that the skills and knowledge necessary for the occupation in question be, in fact, imparted to the trainee. However, the Federal government's monitoring of in-plant vocational training is restricted to ascertaining whether firms observe the norms laid down by the JasG.

As for the supervision of the training itself, and of the maintenance of suitable training workshops and training personnel, it is the prerogative and responsibility of the chambers of commerce and industry¹⁵, of the crafts, and of the professions. These chambers, which are provided for by law¹⁶, are associations, the purpose of which is autonomous self-administration of the crafts, trades and professional groups in question. Members of these groups are legally

obliged to belong to the appropriate chamber. One of the most important functions of these chambers is to appoint the members of the committees that examine apprentices at the conclusion of their training. It should be emphasised that these committees include examiners who have been nominated¹⁷ by the trade unions, and who are equal in number to the examiners nominated by the employers. The Berufsschule are represented by a teachers' union nominee.¹⁸

In-plant based vocational training and the market economy.

Unlike the general school system, in-plant vocational training in the Dual System functions according to the laws of the market economy. The structural development of this kind of vocational training is not guided by comprehensive plans worked out to implement vocational training policy concerning the numbers of apprentice training in the various occupations. Rather it is regulated by supply and demand in a market of training opportunities. The supply of apprenticeships is, therefore, dependent on the willingness of the individual firms to provide training to apprentices. In other words, it is dependent on the cost-benefit calculations of the individual firms. Juveniles do not have a right to an apprenticeship, nor do the enterprises, whether privately or publicly owned, have an obligation to provide such training¹⁹. Thus a young person wishing to be trained within the Dual System must find a firm that is willing and authorised to provide training for apprentices in the occupation he/she wishes to pursue.

The state has only a slight influence on the supply of and

demand for apprenticeships. It can change the institutional and legal framework encompassing in-plant training, or it can, and does try to guide juveniles' choice of an occupation, and so regulate demand for apprenticeships. This is aided by the vocational counselling offered by the Federal Employment Offices (Arbeitsamt) on the basis of forecasts of the supply of, and demand for, labour by occupations.

The supply of apprenticeships is dependent upon not only the demand by the individual firms for new or additional workers in the occupations in question, but also on the costs and benefits of apprenticeships to these firms, on the trend of the economy, and on the regional economic structure, as well as the tendencies in the structural development of the various occupations and branches of economic activity. The influence which these factors exercise upon the decisions of the individual firms at a particular time determines the number of apprenticeships which they offer and the distribution of these among the various occupations. Ultimately, these factors also determine, through the firms' decisions the supply of skilled workers in the labour market.

The coordination between the economy's need for skilled workers and the supply of such workers provided by the vocational training system is, however, not completely successful. The consequence is that some of those who complete apprenticeships find that the firms which trained

them no longer have jobs for them, or that they cannot obtain employment at all in the occupations for which they have been trained.

The occupational character of in-plant vocational training.

In an apprenticeship, a young person is trained for a specific occupation, and this is usually accomplished through the execution of tasks that are typical of the occupation in question. An apprenticeship is possible only in one of the occupations which are officially recognised as requiring training; these numbered more than four hundred until the introduction of the Vocational Training Act²⁰, when they were reduced to two hundred and fifty.

After the Act the responsibility for determining what skills and knowledge are required for each occupation is taken by the Federal Institute for Vocational Training, (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung or BIBB) in collaboration with representatives of industry and commerce and of the trade unions. The resulting description of an occupation is codified in training directives (Ausbildungsordnung) issued by the Federal Minister of Education and Science, (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft)²¹ sometimes together with the Federal Minister for Economics (Bundesminister für Wirtschaft), or in consultation with other Federal ministers; these directives guide the enterprises in their training of apprentices. In addition to the skills and knowledge required for the occupation in

question, the training directives regulate the length of apprenticeships, give instructions on dividing the content of the training into time segments according to the nature of the material taught (a vocational training framework plan) (Ausbildungsrahmenlehrplan)²², as well as providing general instructions on examinations requirements. Training in an apprenticeship is of relatively long duration, lasting an average of three years, during which time complex packets of qualifications, which follow quite narrowly limited and standardised models, are transmitted to the trainees.

The occupational character of vocational training in the Federal Republic is a reflection of the occupational organisation of work there. Occupations are the fundamental building blocks of work organisation, and workers trained in the various occupations are the backbone of production in industry and in the crafts in West Germany.

This is because the methods of "scientific management" (i.e. Taylorism),²³ which include the scientific analysis of the labour process into its smallest constituent units, have not been adopted in the industrial organisation of labour to the same degree as in the United States of America.

Consequently, the specialised sectors of the overall labour market which are reserved for trained workers have maintained a greater importance than in the United States. For example, occupational certification in the form of the skilled craft worker's certificate (Facharbeiterbrief), the

journeymans, or the clerks equivalent qualification, is an essential prerequisite²⁴ for access to more privileged positions of employment, e.g. foreman, department head, (requiring the rank of master in the pertinent occupation, master craftsman, (Meister) or technically skilled salaried employee (Techniker).

However, certification in an occupation is by no means a guarantee of employment in that occupation, or of employment corresponding to the level of one's certification. This was made evident by the number of workers, highly trained in their craft or in a commercial occupation who had to change their occupation. Some occupations no longer required high degrees of skill. Some skilled workers were unemployed, or had to accept underemployment.

In recent years, technical innovations such as micro-processors and industrial automation, as well as modern, Taylorist²⁵, methods of work organisation seemed to be destroying occupational qualifications in the Federal Republic. The importance of the labour market for unskilled workers and of firms' internal labour markets seemed to be growing at the expense of the labour markets for particular occupations. In other words, the qualifications of workers that were specific to particular occupations were being supplanted in the labour process by the qualifications of the unskilled worker, and by qualifications which were specific to individual firms.

The declining importance of specific occupations in the work

organisation brought forth a call for a new conception of vocational training. Thus schemes for graduated vocational training, or training which qualifies workers for a wider range of jobs, have been introduced which organise training in a sequence of steps or phases (Stufenausbildung), with a corresponding sequence of certificates.²⁶ To acquire a complete vocational training, it is necessary for the skilled worker to progress through all the steps of the training programme, the initial certificates attesting only to the qualifications of semi-skilled workers.

The advantages of the system were enumerated at a trade union seminar sponsored by the OECD and can be quoted as a summary of the thinking behind the new trend in vocational training:²⁷

"a. It gives every adolescent a chance to receive training corresponding to his wishes and aptitudes. It therefore takes account of aptitude and the possibility of employment. Apprentices who at first sight seem unsuitable are no longer automatically excluded from training but given a chance to prove themselves. So-called "late developers" are thus at a lesser disadvantage.

b. Vocational training biased towards a particular trade will make a correct decision easier for a the adolescent. The grouping of similar trades also makes the choice of a specific job easier. Aptitude tests and examinations before training can largely be dispensed with, since during the first stage there is ample opportunity for the apprentices to show what they can do.

c. A broadly based training results in greater mobility later on. It therefore meets the requirements of adaption and continued further training for the more gifted employees.

d. Vocational training centres and firms can more easily be co-ordinated within a system of training by stages than could otherwise be possible in view

of the great variety of individual vocations and vocational training schemes.

e. The training system by stages is able to produce better results. A specific curriculum obliges the trainees to follow a systematic and methodical training and dispenses with any unnecessary irrelevant work. Since adolescents are admitted to each stage once they have proved their aptitudes, failure in a particular examination can be avoided. As no unsuitable candidates are accepted, training can proceed at a quicker pace.

f. Present day final apprenticeship examinations demand nothing but a display of a set skill. With training by stages where aptitude for basic skills has to be proved in the very first stage and mastery of more complicated tasks in the second, there is an opportunity for more meaningful and functional tests.

f. Each stage comes to a self-contained and definite end. this avoids the distinction made between vocational trainees and apprentices which has worked to the disadvantage of the latter."²⁸

Another innovation was motivated by the concern about the increasing incidence of change of occupation and by the growing importance of occupational mobility. These demands had made it imperative, in the opinion of many,²⁹ that a year long programme of basic vocational training be made available to young people to give them a broad fundamental preparation which they could use in a number of related occupations. Both this and the already mentioned training programme made initial vocational training less specialised. Their step-by-step introduction constituted, in effect an erosion of the system of occupations, or of qualifications which reflected changes in industry and lead to a weakening of the occupational character of enterprise-based vocational training.

The criticism that the Dual System presents a narrow choice

to the school-leaver is refuted by many⁸ in the Republic who point out that apprenticeship is not 'a blind alley' and that routes exist for progression to higher education. (See Appendix C also Appendix W)

The Dual System has developed over the last century into a model that the German industrialists favour against those models proposed in recent years. Whilst the structure, vocational training in the workplace coupled with attendance at the relevant Berufsschule, has been recognised since its inception, the title, Dual System, has only been in general use since the 1960s.³⁰

An examination of the historical development of vocational training in Germany reveals the the influences and philosophy that forms the foundation of the Dual System.

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CHAPTER 2

The Historical Development of Vocational Education in Germany

The origins in Germany of the provision of vocational training and education are evident in the medieval Guilds and their relationship with the recruitment and training of apprentices. Since the Middle Ages all trade training has been based on the three stages of apprenticeship, journeyman and master craftsman. This configuration has formed the accepted pattern for trade training in both the Federal and Democratic Republics until the present time. Whilst concerned with the handicraft and manual trades associated with the Guilds, the pattern has been adapted over the years, to the requirements of modern industry and commerce.

In the process of adaption in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during the rise of the princely states in Germany and the subsequent growth in trade, apprenticeships began to suffer an erosion in what was considered to be their moral and ethical elements.

Where the apprentice had previously been subjected to the influences of the master craftsman and his family together with the social requirements of the guild, the training that he received in the developing industrial environment was restricted to instruction in the specific skills required by his employer in the factory or mill.

With the trend towards the development of industrially

orientated schools together with changes in philosophical thought affecting man and society, began the growth of the practically orientated schools. In 1706 C. Semler founded¹ the first intermediate school (Realschule) specialising in science subjects, J.J. Hecker² founded a similar school in Berlin in 1747 and the emergence³ of technical schools (Fachschulen) contributed to the movement towards the education of the artisan classes. From these beginnings subsequently evolved the Continuation schools (Fortbildungsschulen) that were to be the forerunners of the part-time vocational school (Berufsschule) of the present day.

As the vocational schools began to emerge and form a viable and extremely important sector of education so began a debate that still continues to affect and influence the decisions concerning the status of vocational education (Berufsausbildung) with regard to general education (Bildung) including character training. (allegemeine-Menschenbildung).

(N.B. The interpretation of Bildung by the various participants in the debate and its application in terms of the then existing structure of vocational education still has relevance today. Bildung can be construed as 'education; knowledge; inner development; self-cultivation; culture; learning, the development of the 'inner man'; terms which appear constantly in the works of the major German philosophers)⁴

The history of German education is characterised by the opposing positions adopted by those involved in vocational training (Berufsausbildung) on the one side and those in general education on the other. This separation between vocational training and an education preparatory to study at

tertiary-level institutions is not the product of an internally coherent conception of education or of an educational policy based on such a conception. Rather, the separation is the result of historical development. Three factors have especially contributed to this development:

- a. a particular interpretation of the educational theory of neo-humanism, as conceptualised by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835)⁵
- b. the persistence and further development of the tradition of the master craftsman's training of apprentices in his trade, and the taking over of this type of training by industry,
- c. the elaboration of a system of vocational schools supported and administered by the state, which are attended concurrently with participation in enterprise-based training in an apprenticeship, and which complement the latter.

Von Humboldt's philosophical concept of the intrinsic value of education in the tradition of general education unaffected by vocational considerations (Allgemeinbildung), is reflected in the following words:

- "the concern in teaching is not with practical requirements of life but purely with the pupil himself, with knowledge for its own sake, with the cultivation of the feelings and in the longer term with the study of academic disciplines"⁶

Education was seen not as resting ultimately on the assimilation of something imposed from the outside, a particular accumulation of knowledge and skills necessary in order to earn one's livelihood in society but was characterised by something generated from within, the urge to cultivate the intellect and the aesthetic sense to the highest degree possible. Von Humboldt's policies⁷ for education, in which he ignored social reality in favour of the ideals forged by the German classicists in the Weimar Republic, can be clearly recognised in the draft of the

Prussian Education Act of 1819:

"The state will recognise as public and general schools those educational establishments whose aim is the general education of man and not his immediate preparation for a particular trade."⁸

Technical and professional training could find no place in a philosophy such as this, which approved only of a classical education. Thus, although the existing specialised vocational and technical schools continued to exist and even to flourish during the main part of the nineteenth century, they were scorned by the influential middle classes who saw them as possessing a purely utilitarian character and having no "educational value" whatsoever. During this period, the division between those establishments offering professional training and those imparting the more traditional general type of education became more pronounced, not least under the influence of von Humboldt and the classical-humanist ideal which he represented. He maintained, that vocational training gave a thoroughly narrow and biased view of life and should thus never be given an important place in the basic educational system. If vocational training must be given, it should y be imparted only after a broader general education.

These concepts dominated the curriculum of the nineteenth century until the 1870's when Germany had come to realise⁹ that it was important that some form of further post elementary school education should be given to all German youth, due to the increasing demands of a growing industrial society. In the following decade the debates¹⁰ as to which form it should take, pointed to the introduction of a

general continuation school (Fortbildungsschule).

These schools were a success and made their curriculum more relevant to the needs of 1870 society as the school regulations in Saxony in 1873 indicate:

- "It is the job of the continuation school to provide a further general education and especially to consolidate that knowledge and those skills that are of value in civic life"¹¹

It was these schools that were to develop through the application of Kerschensteiner's philosophy into the elementary 'activity' and work orientated continuation schools (Arbeitschulen).

Prior to 1897,¹² the apprentice was permitted to attend the continuation school on a part-time basis, at the discretion of his employer, a requirement more honoured in its omission than its observance. In response to growing concern for the re-organisation of the vocational education system, the Reichstag passed a bill¹³ which included requirements that only master craftsmen (Meister), examined under state regulations, could train apprentices and that attendance at the part-time continuation school should be compulsory. With the implementation of this bill, the Dual System of vocational education came into existence.

The Continuation school, as its title suggests, was an extension of the Elementary school (Volksschule) with up to six hours of instruction per week. Its relation to the main school system was the subject of extensive debate¹⁴ during the 1870's as to whether it was part of the general or vocational education system. German pedagogues showed no

interest in the discussion and made no contact with the trade-training system. This attitude resulted in the relegation of trade training to a position of inferior status vis-a-vis the general education system that was to exist until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Georg Kerschensteiner (1854-1932), a Munich school inspector, had determined, by comparing the Gymnasium and Continuation school curricula, that the absence of any element of general character training (Menschenbildung) in the latter school, tended to discriminate against those undergoing trade training. In order to overcome this omission, Kerschensteiner recommended the establishment of work schools (Arbeitschulen) in place of the Continuation schools, in which the apprentice would receive the necessary instruction and learning that would contribute to the development of his personality in his, and the communities', best interests.

Kerschensteiner, though had also argued that vocational training and occupational socialization were significant instruments in the social integration into society of the lower social strata. He advanced this theory in the context of an intensifying conflict between the government of Imperial Germany and a growing Social Democratic labour movement¹⁵. By teaching pupils and young adults to be good citizens, the vocational school was supposed to integrate the those who passed through it into the the existing political and social order, and to support the privately owned firms in the socialization of their apprentices.

Kerschensteiner's educational concepts were motivated by three principles:

"a. When a man completes a piece of really good work with his own hands and by the sweat of his labour and derives pleasure and satisfaction from his creative work as being the concrete expression of his intellectual fancy, he is educated in a sense. Thus the unfolding and regulation of man's efficiency and creative power through solid work according to Kerschensteiner's methods of application has been known as the "work principle"

b. The education of an individual is possible only through such a cultural level as will ensure that its intellectual structure is in conformity with the physical structure of the person concerned.

c. The co-operative work in school was the first step towards co-operative work in later vocational life.....Through the co-operative work principle, developed the idea of working with people rising above personal considerations".¹⁶

For Kerschensteiner, vocational education was as much education for life as education for a trade. In this stance he directly opposed von Humboldt's concept of a classical education as the only route to Bildung.

He maintained that self-cultivation, inner development, Bildung can also be achieved by way of Berufsbildung

"The way to Bildung is reached by work, to which in each case the individual is inwardly called or in which he may later find his calling"¹⁷

(N.B. The reference to 'being inwardly called' is an aspect of Kerschensteiner's¹⁸ philosophy that he had difficulty in justifying. The term has quasi-religious undertones and possibly relates to the medieval connotation as expressed by Luther and subsequently Weber.)

The process of Bildung, according to Kerschensteiner, was now open to all, for true character and personality training could not be gained through familiarity with the classics

but obtained only through work:

"Trade training is the door to general character training" (Menschenbildung)¹⁹

Based on these principles, the vocational school, in Kerschensteiner's view should not degenerate into an establishment providing narrowly based trade training. The way had been prepared by Kerschensteiner for the development of the Continuation school to a Berufsschule whose task would be to go beyond the mere provision of narrow trade training and participate in the moulding of the individual personality within the true concept (in Kerschensteiner's view) of Bildung.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the tasks of the Continuation school were seen as follows:

- a. to provide practical trade training (drawing, modelling, knowledge of tools and equipment and benchwork etc.)
- b. to provide theoretical trade training (knowledge of goods, business practice, German, arithmetic, bookkeeping), and
- c. to give instruction in citizenship, centred around the various trades and including accounts of important events in the history of the Fatherland, and of outstanding historical personalities of high moral character.²⁰

Practical training (a., above) was to be given by skilled craftsmen and the theory (b. and c. above) by qualified full-time teachers.

The system was largely maintained by the Chambers of industry, commerce and handicrafts, initiated²¹ by their concern for a continuous supply of highly skilled personnel.

Under the Chambers' influence the German Institute for Technical Workschools (Deutsches Institut für Technische Arbeitsschulen or DINTA) and a Sub-committee for Trade Training were set up.²² The latter, operating closely with the German Committee for the Technical School System (Deutscher Ausschuss für Technisches Schulwesen or DATSCH)²³ laid down a training syllabus for each trade and designed courses to provide systematic training for German youth.

The Reichsschulkonferenz of 1920²⁴ introduced compulsory attendance at the part-time vocational school for all young people under the age of eighteen years, subject to the passing of the appropriate legislation by the Länder governments. The system continued to develop, all be it slowly, during the 30's with the introduction of Chamber organised examinations for skilled workers and finally, after nearly forty years, with the passing of the Reich Law on Compulsory Attendance in 1938. The compulsory attendance clause of 1920 was re-affirmed and the Continuation school (Fortbildungsschule) now became the Part-time Vocational school (Berufsschule). The new title described more accurately the task of the school and expressed clearly the fact that the Berufsschule had an independent role to play in trade training.

Throughout the history of the vocational school, despite Kerschensteiner's theories,²⁵ there have been mis-givings about the educational status of the school in relation to the institutions offering general education. This concern centred²⁶ on those Continuation school teachers who felt

that the Continuation schools lay out-side the sphere of genuine pedagogy.²⁷

The pedagogic problem facing the teachers was solved and the way cleared for the establishment of the Berufsschule as an educational institution in its own right by the founding²⁸ of an vocational education theory, asserting that Bildung can be gained through the learning of a trade.

Eduard Spranger (1882-1963) had corresponded extensively with Kerschensteiner from the publication and adoption of Kerschensteiner's theories²⁹ relating to the Continuation school. In the theory of vocational education that Kerschensteiner, and subsequently Spranger, advocated, the separation between general education and vocational training, between an individual's education and his occupation, was overcome, at least conceptually. They considered occupations as the medium of education. According to Spranger,³⁰ Bildung is gained through a trade.

Spranger's theory states that the relationship between general education (Allgemeinbildung) and vocational education (Berufsbildung) is established through the definition of Bildung as the ascent of each person to the highest point of individuality of which he is capable. The ascent is understood as the process of differentiation and change of values which take place as he comes to terms with the world. Bildung is thus education, but for Spranger an educated (gebildete) person is not an intellectual, possessing encyclopaedic knowledge. According to his theory

possessing encyclopaedic knowledge. According to his theory basic education (grundlegende Bildung), as the first formal wakening of all basic mental and spiritual forces, develops, during a second educational stage, to trade training (Berufsbildung) in such a manner that in the trade the fundamental knowledge and skills are activated, modified and specialised and then form a centre of achievement and interest. On to this centre is then grafted general education (Allgemeinbildung), as the skilled worker follows lines of interest which emanate from his trade and so result in the person becoming educated (gebildet). The individual trade, Spranger maintained, should form the centre of education (Bildungszentrum) and Bildung may only take place through the medium of the trade:

"The way to higher general education (Allgemeinbildung) is through the trade and only through the trade".³¹

Spranger categorically denied von Humboldt's theory of the educational value (Bildungswert) of classical studies. For Spranger, vocational education was thus not merely trade training (Berufsausbildung) but education in its widest sense by means of a trade (Berufsbildung). Clearly, in according to the trade the function of Bildung, Spranger's theory was in many respects identical to that of Kerschensteiner.

Spranger's insights provided vocational education in Germany, where in general³², practice must progress from theory, with an acceptable³³ philosophical base. Vocational education could continue its development with a good

pedagogic conscience freed from the suspicion of utilitarianism.

The progress of vocational education and the development of the Berufsschule went hand in hand in the 1930s during the rise of the Third Reich. despite the fact that central, Federal government had usurped from the Länder the control of education, including vocational education and the Berufsschule.

That the Berufsschule concept survived the Third Reich and continued to maintain its influence in the vocational field is an indication of the faith that the German people had in this institution and the educational theories that it personified. In the next Chapter an analysis of how the concept survived between 1945 and 1960 will be made.



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CHAPTER 3

Vocational Education and Training

in the Federal Republic of Germany 1945-1960

During the re-construction period following World War II and preceding the formation of the Federal Republic, the Occupying Powers in the Western Zone concentrated their efforts on re-structuring the school system. Whilst the over-riding concern was to establish a democratic system, free from the influences that had dominated all schools during the period of National Socialism, their efforts were directed at the general education system and tended to ignore the vocational schools, according these a lower priority.

Under the Third Reich the control of vocational schools, in common with the general education sector, was organised under central government¹ and suffered a diminution of their ethos vis-a-vis the theories of Kerschensteiner and Spranger. The role of the vocational schools was to produce technical experts without the humanising element that had been striven for during the Weimar period. Much of the blame for this state of affairs was laid upon the attitudes of industry, by educationists in the main, for failing to realise that attendance at the Berufsschule should not be confined to the teaching of technical subjects exclusively, but should also be utilised for the character forming aspects inherent in the concept of Bildung.

In the period of self-analysis following the defeat of the

Third Reich, much of the responsibility for the debacle and the events which lead up to it, were seen by many² to have emanated from human failure, a failure of German character and of the pre-war education system to develop the character and personality in men that would have questioned, and possibly opposed more rigorously, the growth of the Third Reich.

This was of particular relevance to vocational education. That the system, at least from the middle years of the Weimar Republic, had produced qualified and efficient trade specialists could not be denied. Where vocational education had contributed to the German disaster was in its failure to provide the 90% of all German youth who passed through the system during the most critical period of their life, with character and personality training. Emphasis on trade proficiency had resulted in the production of one-sided personalities who lacked the ability to place their own activity in its proper perspective and to appreciate the wider issues that faced mankind.³

The first moves towards the inclusion of subjects calculated to re-introduce concepts of Bildung into the vocational school curriculum were initiated at a conference convened by the Minister for Culture for Hesse at Weisbaden⁴ in November 1948 and attended by vocational education representatives of the Länder in the Western Zone. At the conclusion of the conference it was resolved that vocational education must develop into a system of genuine Menschenbildung.⁵ Professor Dr. F. Schieper of the

University of Cologne, stated that the final aim of vocational education lay not in industrial and commercial activity and still less in the realisation of a particular economic system, but as with all education, in the forming of human personality.⁶ Although German vocational educationists were convinced⁷ of the need to provide character and personality training for vocational school pupils, there were no concrete proposals as to how this would be achieved.

Kerschensteiner had insisted that Menschenbildung could only take place through the medium of work or work preparation. Spranger's theory was in accord with that of Kerschensteiner, in that he considered the same goal was reached by transition from basic education through vocational education and trade experience. In 1949, however, the vocational educationists turned to the teaching of the traditional general education subjects: German, Religion, History and general cultural subjects to achieve their conceived aims.⁸ The main professional organisation of teachers⁹ (Bundesverband der Lehrer an Berufsbildenden Schulen or BLBS) at schools of vocational education was not convinced that these subjects provided the best medium for character and personality training and now called for wide debate of how best to accomplish Menschenbildung in vocational schools.¹⁰ Representatives of the employers also offered resistance to the idea of introducing general subjects into the Berufsschule. The Chamber of Trade and Industry at Weisbaden, for example, maintained¹¹ that such a

step would mean the loss to the firm of an additional one hundred and twenty working days over the period of a three year apprenticeship, during which the trainee should either be learning his trade or assisting in the production process. If Germany wished to produce highly-skilled craftsmen, it was maintained, then such a decrease in the time for in-plant training was out of the question.¹²

The objections voiced by the employers at this time to the vocationalists' desire to devote more instructional time in the schools to character and personality training echoed the concern¹³ of industry in the Weimar Republic with the production of high-grade technicians to the detriment of the whole man. This position has been maintained to a greater or lesser degree by industry through to the present day.

A further cause for concern for the vocational educationists was the status of vocational education schools with regard to the institutions of general education. The assertion by Kerschensteiner that vocational education deserved to be ranked equally with general education had failed to convince German educationists. The quality of the Bildung obtained through language and literature in the Höhere Schule could not, it was held¹⁴, be duplicated at the work-bench. This argument did not deter the vocational education lobby, many saw that the time was ripe for reform throughout the education system during the period of re-construction. As early as 1946 Dr. G. Weske of the Ministry of Culture in Lower Saxony asserted that vocational schools, as

educational institutions, deserved to be ranked with all other schools.¹⁵ At the conference¹⁶ in Stuttgart in February 1948 of the Ministers of Culture of all German Länder the main resolution affirmed that the German education system formed an "organic" whole.¹⁷

Despite the declarations of good intent by both general and vocational educationists, together with the SDP, regarding the integration of general and vocational education, it was some three decades before anything resembling integration became manifest. The subject was to become the basis of heated debate throughout the period of reform up to, and including, the present.

The German Education System and the Second/Alternative Route

The reconstruction of the general education system had taken place under the watchful eyes of the Occupying Powers and as the emerging Republic took over responsibility for its destiny, the pattern of the secondary system followed the traditional Weimarian Republic tripartite framework i.e. Gymnasium, Mittelschule and the Volksschule, preceded by the four year primary Grundschule. (See Appendix D)

Whilst the titles were to alter, the roles of the various institutions did not. The Gymnasium continued to provide the route for the 'high fliers' whose ultimate destination was the University and the subsequent rewards which followed academic success. The Mittelschule was for those whose jobs would involve practical and theoretical activity, in the role of technicians and middle managers. Whilst the

Volkschule was the recipient of the remainder who would predominantly constitute the manually employed.¹⁸

This view of differentiated school types clearly reflected the prevailing theory regarding its social distribution and contributed to the justification for segregation in the system.

The apparent discrimination by social origins was viewed with concern¹⁹ by the trade unions and their colleagues in the growing SDP, particularly in the light of the results of a survey in Schleswig-Holstein in 1951, showing the percentage of children who were in their seventh year of selective schooling in Gymnasien or Mittelschulen.²⁰

Parents Occupational Category	%age Boys	%age Girls
Upper class high managerial & professional	79.9	70.8
Upper 'White Collar'	39.6	31.5
Lower 'White Collar'	11.9	8.7
Upper Working Class	4.5	2.4
Lower Working Class	0.7	0.4
Total School Population	12.8	9.4

In an attempt to remedy this im-balance the concept of the Second Educational Route (Der zweite Bildungsweg) was introduced in North Rhine-Westphalia by Ministerialrat Conradsen.²¹ Conradsen's interests were threefold: to obtain for working class children some measure of social justice, to raise the status of vocational education and

provide an alternative route to university via vocational qualifications.

In the tradition of Kerschensteiner and Spranger, he considered that the best way to educate a young workman was to start from his occupational interests.

The standard route to university was via the Gymnasium with possession of the Arbitur or a certificate of maturity to attend university (Hochschulreife).

There were three ways open to members of the working class to obtain the latter qualification:

- a. attendance at the 'evening' Gymnasium;
- b. full-time academic education at residential Kollegs
- c. part-time education at the Berufsschule accompanied by vocational training leading to an intermediate qualification and from there to university.

With the latter the general education element was to be obtained either by a two-year course at a commercial school, a three year course of evening classes at a Berufsschule or one year spent in the Berufsaufbauschule attached to the Berufsschule.

Whilst this can be considered 'an alternative route' it is a long and time-consuming one, particularly from the point of view of those undertaking it. As Education Minister Rhoede was to express in the future:

"In the past one of the obstacles to educational reform has been the opinion that the academic road to Arbitur was the 'royal road' whilst the path via vocational training is no more than the 'tramps track' in the minds of many."²²

Although the majority of children left school at fourteen, their compulsory education continued for at least two further years at a Berufsschule, usually in conjunction with an apprenticeship; only a small minority began their working life as unskilled labourers without training of some kind. The system had grown out of the medieval tradition of apprenticeship, through the developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the larger industrial firms organised the training of skilled workers on a large scale, to the point where in the period of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) it became legally binding²³ on employers to release apprentices to attend the Berufsschule for one, in some cases two days a week. The interest of the trade unions²⁴ had contributed to the establishment of this legal position which ensured the co-operation of recalcitrant employers. The urge towards quality of workmanship that characterised vocational training was expressed in detailed surveillance of the progress made by apprentices at their place of work. Employers were under an obligation²⁵ to keep a work book, which was periodically inspected to ensure that adequate time was being spent acquiring all the skills laid down in the trade profile (Berufsbild). Throughout the system national standards were laid down²⁰ by the various trade councils, the examinations were conducted by the chambers of commerce, industry and handicrafts and the entire operation of the network was supervised at Federal level by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Its efficient working was guaranteed not only by the eagerness on the part of the apprentice to acquire

skilled status but also by pressure on the employers to ensure that an acceptable proportion of their candidates did in fact do so, failing which their entitlement to take on apprentices could be removed.²⁷ Thus a positive sense of achievement attached to the acquisition of a skilled qualification (Facharbeiterbrief), which greatly affected prospects of pay and promotion.

From an educational point of view the system was in some respects unsatisfactory, one day in the Berufsschule and four or five days in the factory amounted to a very demanding day for fifteen-year old apprentices. Despite the surveillance of their training there was always the risk that they were being used as cheap labour in the firms interest rather than their own. Their payment was small, technically regarded as a grant towards their education (Erziehungsbeihilfen). The German expression "Er hat viel hehrgeld zahlen müssen." literally "He paid dearly for his training" (Traditional) reflects the situation. In the Berufsschule, lack of facilities and staff often caused the statutory eight periods of instruction to be reduced to four.

Yet in the early 1950's there was little dissatisfaction²⁸ on these scores. A significant factor was the tradition of acceptance of low earnings as an investment for the future when possession of the Facharbeiterbrief would ensure considerable financial rewards. From the employer's point of view and from the point of view of the economy as a whole, there is no doubt that the traditional educational

system was serving the country well in providing an appropriate labour force. It is hardly surprising that in this respect there was little incentive to embark on any changes in the tripartite structure of Gymnasium, Realschule and Hauptschule. It is important to realise that throughout the 1950's the great majority of children left school to take up an apprenticeship at fourteen.²⁹ It was becoming steadily clear³⁰ that this was too early for a genuine vocational choice to be made. As evidence of this it was calculated at the end of the decade that only some 50 percent of apprentices were coming to work in the trade for which they had qualified.³¹

Therefore the recommendations of the German Committee for Education (Deutsche-Ausschuss für das Erziehungs- und Bildungswesen or DAEB),³² (which had been set up in 1955 to examine the Federal Republic's education system as a whole and make recommendations for its reform) to raise the school leaving age to provide for a ninth year of compulsory education assumed new relevance. The committee maintained that the rapid development of technology was causing the world of work to change constantly. Work specialisation in industry continued to increase. Additionally, a worker was now less likely to spend his whole working life in his original trade.³³

The committee held the view, shared by Ph. Behler³⁴ and Professor H. Schelsky³⁵, that training was now required to enable youth to grasp technical ideas, to adapt themselves quickly to changing work practices and to accept

responsibility. In modern industrial undertakings the educative and protective forces present in the workshops of the earlier industrial period no longer existed, thus the inculcation in the young of the knowledge and understanding of, and the right attitude to work were neglected. Moreover, the moral and spiritual development of youth was increasingly inhibited by adverse influences in a world dominated by technology. Thus, children of fourteen years were too immature to begin work. At this age, maintained³⁶ the committee, they were neither sufficiently mature to receive instruction in technology nor to accept responsibility nor mentally robust enough to meet the demands of the trade. Two additional reasons were given by the committee in support of their decision to recommend longer schooling: the need to educate the young in the use of their free time and the need for political education.³⁷ As mechanisation and thus trade specialisation increased, demands on the physical and mental capabilities of men at work decreased. Recreational activities increased in importance, in order to to compensate for the one-sided influences experienced in the trade. Finally, experience had shown that it was preferable that political education for children of fourteen remained elementary.

From these developments, the Standing Conference of Education Ministers (Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder or KMK) had concluded³⁸ that its curriculum should comprise a synthesis of general and vocational education with the object of making the choice of apprenticeship easier.

This in turn created a degree of apprehension³⁹ in the Berufsschule sector which saw suggestions regarding the increasing importance of the Volksschule as a partial threat to its existence. Whilst admitting the need to raise the school leaving age, the Berufsschule teachers (Geverbelehre) together with their commercial colleagues (Verband Deutscher Diplom-Handelslehrer) expressed disappointment that the extra year was not to be spent in the vocational schools as had been proposed in Baden-Wurtemberg.⁴⁰ Both associations maintained that they were particularly equipped to assist a young person in the choice of a particular trade.⁴¹

The Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (Deutscher Industrie-und Handelstag or DIHT) was not opposed⁴² to a ninth year but considered that further proposals for a tenth year would lead to radical changes in the educational system. They based their views on the developments occurring where the ninth year had already been introduced, namely the introduction of pedagogical experiments and the beginning of trade preparation within the school. In the DIHT's opinion the additional year could only be justified if it furthered the aims and objectives of the Volksschule, namely, the provision of good general education, deep character training and mastery of German and arithmetic.⁴³ Its views co-incided with the Federal Alliance of German Employers Association (Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände or BDA) who also emphasised that no trade training should take place

in the ninth year.⁴⁴ The insistence by the Wirtschaft that the ninth year should be devoted to improving general education coincided with the aim of the Wirtschaft to restrict wherever possible vocational education in schools and to retain exclusive control of the trade training of German youth.

The craft sector, however, rejected outright the ninth year.⁴⁵ Here the opinion had long been held that the earlier youth started training, the more the trade became part of the man.⁴⁶ Master craftsmen were reluctant to engage apprentices in their sixteenth or seventeenth year. The rejection of the ninth year by the craft sector could be attributed to the predominately manual nature of the work and the continued use by small business owners of young apprentices as a source of cheap labour.

The Federation of German Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund or DGB), on the other hand, was in favour of the introduction of the ninth year and emphasised that it should be used to further general education and provide the young with information and advice to facilitate vocational choice.⁴⁷ In agreeing that the additional year should form part of the course at the Volkschule and be supported by the vocational education system, the unions emphasised that both the ninth and later the tenth year should be organised and supported by the state.⁴⁸ Implicit in the union's demand was the criticism that control of the education and training of West German youth by the Wirtschaft was already excessive and the

requirement that state control in these areas must now be extended. However, although state concern for education and training was increasing, no sign⁴⁹ was yet visible that the Federal authorities were prepared to divest the Wirtschaft of any part of its control of vocational training.

In retrospect, the attitude of the authorities was understandable. In spite of criticism from the left and the unions, together with observations from foreign observers, the Wirtschaft could stand on its reputation. In 1952 George W. Ware, adviser on German vocational education in the office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, had published a report⁵⁰ entitled Vocational Education and Training in Germany. One paragraph in particular highlighted his view of the short-comings of the system of vocational education:

"Considering all factors, vocational education is essentially a part of the German economy rather than its educational system. Although the Berufsschule is under the administrative responsibility of the Ministry of Culture, the actual apprenticeship which involves approximately five-sixths of the child's time is under the control of such non-educational agencies such as the Ministry of Labour or Ministry of Economics and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry or Handicrafts. Consequently, the apprentices are inherently workers and not students. They are actually boys and girls at work and not pupils. In a very real sense the three year apprenticeship system, particularly in the productive work in the last year, is one of low cost labour and in toto constitutes a substantial part (more than 10%) of the whole German labour force. Strong economic forces persist against decreasing the working hours and increasing the schooling for apprentices".⁵¹

In answer to these criticisms the Wirtschaft could⁵² offer sound justification for the continuance of their role as the

nation's industrial trainers.

From the beginning of reconstruction, starting from the debacle left by the war, the Wirtschaft's efforts had been the major contribution to the Wirtschaftwunder. Starting with shortages in every conceivable area, raw materials, machines, manpower, they brought the Federal Republic back from an economic grave to become one of the leading industrial nations in the West. Whilst one could present the argument that generous economic aid⁵³ was a major factor, it can not be denied that economic success was due to the industry and skills of the German industrial management and workers.

Following the currency reform⁵⁴ in 1948 industrial production rose by 50% and in 1949 by a further 25%. By 1953 average living standards were higher than in 1938.⁵⁵ From 1950 to 1960 the average hourly output per worker almost doubled.⁵⁶ The position held by Britain in 1950 as Western Europe's major exporter of manufactured goods was overtaken in 1958 by the Federal Republic. By 1968 West Germany was second only to the United States in the value of her products sold overseas⁵⁷ and in 1979 the Federal Republic overtook America to become the world's leading exporter. With this sort of record one can understand the Wirtschaft's reluctance to undertake or contribute to any reform in the vocational education and training sector.

A further report⁵⁸ from the German Committee for Education

(Deutscher Ausschuss für das Erziehungs und Bildungswesen or DAEB) in 1959, the Outline Plan⁵⁹ for the Reorganisation of the General Public Schools (Rahmenplan zur Umgestaltung und Vereinheitlichung des allgemeinbildenden öffentlichen Schulwesens) was to confirm their earlier recommendations to reform and unify general education. Although vocational education was not considered in the report it was clear that if introduced, the reforms would markedly affect the system. The three major recommendations were: (See Appendix D)

- a. raising the school leaving age by one year to give nine years of compulsory attendance and by a further year as soon as practical,
- b. the conversion of upper elementary school classes Voiksschuloberstufe into separate secondary schools (Hauptschulen) and renaming the elementary school Grundschule and
- c. the postponement of selection from the age of ten to twelve for the majority, but retaining the traditional nine year classical Gymnasium for the very able under the new name of Studienschule.⁶⁰

In retrospect these recommendations appear very moderate.

Item c with its advocacy of a two year observation stage (Forderstufe) in years 5 and 6 was the most controversial.

A remarkable feature of the report was that the committee, in drawing it up for the reform of the school system of the Federal Republic, where trade training had contributed so much to economic reconstruction and where the importance of work preparation for continued prosperity was well understood, should have virtually ignored vocational education in all its aspects.

Despite this omission in the aims of restructuring the

Despite this omission in the aims of restructuring the education system, educational reform in the Federal Republic continued to gather momentum.

By comparison, the situation in the United Kingdom regarding vocational education and training was beginning to develop from the situation where it had stagnated for decades. This period of stagnation will be examined in the next chapter.

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Ch. 3

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CHAPTER 4

Vocational Education Reform in Britain

1960-1980

In the United Kingdom the debate on training during the 1960s hinged on whether Parliament should adopt any legislation at all on vocational training which would entail government intervention in what had always been strictly regarded as the employer's responsibility. That debate culminated in the passing of the 1964 Industrial Training Act¹ which brought in measures to promote vocational training by industry and, for the first time, introduced centralised control over a proposed national system of vocational training. The system, aimed at regulating training on an industry-by-industry basis and, to this end, the 1964 Act established² a structure comprising industrial training boards for each industry and introduced³ a training levy, accompanied by a system of⁴ grants and exemptions, to encourage expenditure by industry on training activities and to equalise the financial burden of such activities.

Before examining the implications of the Act and its effects upon industrial training in the U.K. it is necessary briefly to review the position of industrial training in Great Britain prior to the introduction of the Act.

Until 1964, the responsibility for training workers in industry and commerce devolved upon the industries themselves and was governed only by collective agreements

between the employers and the trade unions. The government played no part in this scheme of things except, through the colleges, to provide facilities⁵ for further education. The essence of this arrangement was that the onus of undertaking industrial training was left with the employer and employee.

That this situation had persisted for over a hundred years would possibly appear surprising to the layman, but to a student of British education history, it is a pattern all too familiar. Industry had failed to encourage the development of an education system suitable to its needs. Apparently trained personnel were less favoured⁶ than the practical man who learned on the job. Industrialists were less than keen on technical instruction, rejecting⁷, for example, the introduction of compulsory part-time education beyond the school-leaving age. Furthermore, whereas Europe largely relied on vocational schools for industrial training, Britain remained faithful to the apprenticeship system. Reliance on voluntary, religious and charitable institutions, laissez-faire attitudes, and the influence of Oxbridge and the public schools in encouraging the pursuit of 'gentlemanly' occupations, all resulted in the neglect of scientific, technical and vocational education, perhaps aided by a degree of complacency induced by Britain's still pre-eminent position⁸ as a manufacturing country.

The findings of numerous commissions⁹ emphasised Britain's poor comparative record and the lack of an educational system suited to the needs of industry. In the period up to

World War I, Royal Commissions in 1868, 1872, 1884, and 1895 investigated and reported on the inadequacy of technical education, the lack of science, and the poor general education of the industrial workforce.¹⁰

Little was achieved however through Acts of Parliament: for example when the Royal Commission on Technical Education of 1884 recommended the adoption both of technical higher elementary schools and of the German polytechnic and technical high school system, the Technical Instruction Act (1889) merely enabled local authorities, at their discretion, to expand provision within the limit of a penny rate. The results were uncoordinated and insufficient.

The first major attempt to systematise elementary and secondary education, the 1902 Act¹¹, perpetuated the failure of the education sector to respond to industrial needs. The Act strengthened the predominance of grammar schools, introduced a watered-down version of the grammar school curriculum in the elementary schools, took practical and technical subjects¹² out of the mainstream curriculum, and failed to foster the development of secondary schools with vocational objectives.

Technical institutions were brought into organisational relationship with primary and secondary education but technical education made slow progress and, in some respects, languished after the Act. The central assumption was that secondary education served principally to prepare

for a university education.

Despite more enquiries (eg the Malcolm Report on Education and Industry in 1928) very little progress was made in improving industry and education links during the period between the two major education Acts of 1902 and 1944. Compulsory day continuation classes, introduced under the 1918 Act, were removed by the 'Geddes Axe' in 1921. The financial constraints of the time may explain, in part, the delay in taking up the 1926 Hadow recommendation¹³ to raise the school leaving age, in order to give a form of secondary education for elementary school children not proceeding to academic secondary schools, such as grammar schools. Owing to the outbreak of World War II, this did not occur until 1947.

The many reports of this time, reports in 1927, 1928, 1929, 1938, 1943 and 1945¹⁴, were critical of the inadequate education of the majority, the undesirable dominance of the academic curriculum, and masked by pockets of excellence, the lack of interest in technical and scientific education from the university level down. The recurring emphasis of the reports was the continued paucity of technical and vocational education.

That the situation had not substantially altered in the immediate post-war period was reflected in the Carr Committee Report¹⁵ in 1958. The Report revealed that only a small proportion of school leavers entered some form of

skilled training, less than 20 per cent of the boys and only 3 per cent of the girls. Of these trainees, only a small percentage was granted block or day release by employers. The figure was approximately 50 per cent of all young boys employed in such industries as engineering, shipbuilding, chemical and allied trades, electrical goods and public administration and as low as 10 per cent in the distributive trades, agriculture, insurance and banking.¹⁶ In effect, relatively few school leavers were receiving any form of skilled training, and most were having to complete their further education in their spare time after work.

Nor were those who did enter some form of apprenticeship or training adequately catered for. The nature of the training and the length of time devoted to it were for the most part unsatisfactory, being mainly related to obsolete and, on some occasions, non-existent skills. Employers all too often regarded¹⁷ apprenticeships as a source of cheap labour and the trade unions were reluctant¹⁸ to expand them for fear that skilled young men would swamp particular industries to the disadvantage of the older workers. Small firms were reluctant to train their employees, fearing that once they were trained they would leave for better jobs with larger firms. Such industrial training that existed took little account of the rapid changes in technology which have been one of the most important features of the mid-twentieth century. In short, the British system of industrial training was, to a large extent, obsolete and out-of-date. It was failing to produce the goods and placing the whole

programme of economic expansion in jeopardy.

The Government of the day was concerned with the needs of the morrow and the needs of industry as a whole. Throughout the latter half of the 50s and the early part of the 60s a number of Royal Commissions¹⁹ had inquired into every aspect of education and training. From these came a spate of Reports and White Papers. The Carr Report (already referred to) on training young persons in industry; the Crowther Report²⁰ in 1959 on education for 16-18 year olds; the Robbins Report on higher education.

Finally, the Government 'grasped the nettle' and in December 1962 the Minister of Labour issued a White Paper entitled 'Industrial Training: Government Proposals', highlighting the serious weakness of the arrangement whereby industrial training was left to the un-coordinated decisions of a large number of individual firms lacking the economic incentive to invest in training workers who, once trained might leave them for other jobs. As a result, while the the benefits of training were being shared by all, the cost was being borne only by those firms which themselves decided to undertake training.

To remedy these weaknesses, the White Paper outlined new proposals which represented a fundamental and welcome reversal of Government policy. These proposals were duly given effect in the Industrial Training Act 1964.

The Act had three main objectives:

- a. to secure an adequate supply of trained men and women at all levels,
- b. to secure an improvement in the quality and efficiency of industrial training, and
- c. to share the cost of training more evenly between firms.

At this point it is necessary to examine the structure of the decision making process with regard to vocational education and training in the United Kingdom during the period covered by this chapter. As has already been indicated, training had remained the province of the employers with related vocational education provided by a variety of organisations and institutions.

With the absence of any legislation regarding training (prior to the 1964 Act) it is difficult to determine those involved in policy formulation with respect to industrial training. From the 1960s, however, further education in the U.K. has been equated²¹ with vocational education and it is the structure and administration of the further education system that provides a guide to the development of vocational education.

In order to identify the participants in the debate and the arenas in which the debate took place it is necessary to devise, or utilise, a model to assist this process. By using the Talcott Parsons theory of Formal Organisations²² it is possible to identify the areas associated with the following:

- a. problem identification

- b. problem analysis
- c. solution (policy) formulation, adoption
- d. policy implementation
- e. contextual features as constraints or facilitating successful innovation

Talcott Parsons Model for Formal Organisations

Parsons general theory is defined as follows:

A formal organisation in the present sense is a mechanism whereby goals somehow important to the society, or to various sub-systems of it, are implemented and to some degree defined. but not only does such an organisation have to operate in a social environment which imposes the conditions governing the processes of disposal and procurement, it is also part of a wider social system which is the source of the 'meaning', legitimisation, or higher-level support which makes the implementations' goals possible. Essentially this means that just as a technical organisation (at a sufficiently high level of the division of labour) is controlled and 'serviced' by a managerial organisation, so, in turn is the managerial organisation controlled by the 'institutional' structure and agencies of the community.²³

Here then are three levels of organisation - the technical, the managerial and that formal organisation that Parsons calls the 'public interest'. In looking at these three levels he is considering three different groups of people who are of interest in the study of institutions: the internal structure of organisations (differences between levels in the hierarchy of control and responsibility), their external relations and the different types of organisation that result from a conjuncture of these two functions within the structure and external relations). Diagrammatically, this structure can be represented as follows:

PUBLIC INTEREST

MANAGERIAL

TECHNICAL

Parsons asserts that:

within organisations, there is interaction (groups, individuals) between levels both upwards and downwards. Between organisations, there is interaction (groups, individuals) between the three organisations (by level). Between organisations and other sub-groups, there is interaction (groups, individuals) between any of the other organisations (by level) and organisations in any other social sub-systems.

Applying Parsons' formal organisation model to the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy relating vocational education and training in the United Kingdom it is necessary to expand the model to encompass the relationships between the policy developments at national, regional and local level.

The model therefore can be represented thus:

NATIONAL	REGIONAL	LOCAL
PUBLIC INTEREST	PUBLIC INTEREST	PUBLIC INTEREST
MANAGERIAL	MANAGERIAL	MANAGERIAL
TECHNICAL	TECHNICAL	TECHNICAL

Further clarification of the model is obtained by allocating

roles to the various headings. At the national level a diagrammatic view would appear as follows:

PUBLIC INTEREST Parliament (elected) and the
Ministries (appointed)

MANAGERS Officials and Inspectors
(appointed)

At this level it is unusual for policy to be implemented. Parsons therefore modifies the model to suit the situation.

At regional and local level the model reverts to the form:

PUBLIC INTEREST Local councillors (elected)

MANAGERS Chairman advisory council (appointed)
or Director of Education (appointed)
Staff Inspectors (appointed)

TECHNICAL Teachers (appointed)

Taking the model a stage further and examining the school in the context of a Formal Organisation:

PUBLIC INTEREST Governors

MANAGERIAL Principal or Head Teacher
Heads of Depts., Deputies

TECHNICAL Teachers

At national level, the structure of education in England and Wales is headed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science responsible for the Department of Education and Science (DES) who delegates responsibility for the further education sector to a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State. (see Appendix E for the national, regional and local structure of further education.)

In formulating policy, the Secretary of State relies on a

number of National Advisory Councils of which the most important in further education is that on Education for Industry and Commerce (NACEIC). This consists of 72 members, 52 who are nominated by the Regional Advisory Councils, the remaining 20, and the chairman being appointed by the Secretary of State.²⁴ Members include representatives of local authorities, teachers from further education institutions, universities and industry and commerce. Its terms of reference are very wide and cover virtually the whole field of further education, its policy and development.

The DES is represented by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) whose role extends across the complete spectrum of further education. On the national level they act as assessors on the NACEIC and other advisory bodies.

At the regional level in the Parsons model are the Regional Advisory Councils, nine of which were set up in England in 1947²⁵ serve two main purposes: they provide a forum where education and industry and commerce can meet to plan and coordinate the provision of further education within a region; and secure reasonable economy of provision particularly through the regional planning of advanced courses.

A typical Council will have a permanent secretary and staff to ensure day-to-day functioning. It will also delegate responsibilities to a Standing Committee, a Regional Academic

Board and various Advisory Committees and Panels. The Council, which is the overall body, acts in an advisory capacity and typically consists of about 90 members, over a third will be representatives of constituent local education authorities, customarily Directors of Education and Chief Education Officers. Major further education institutions are also represented together with industry and commerce, both employers and employed. The views of the DES are made known by one of the HMIs, referred to as a Regional Staff HMI, who acts as the assessor.

The Standing Committee is therefore concerned with the day-to-day running of the Council, its Regional Academic Board is concerned with the development and coordination of 'higher technological studies' both within institutions and the region as a whole. A typical Board has 33 members, 27 representatives from higher and further education institutions and the remainder from local education authorities.

Finally, there are a number of Advisory Committees and Panels whose function is to provide the Council with specialist advice on individual subjects or groups of subjects taught within the further education institutions.

A typical subject panel consists of members of the Regional Advisory Board, specialist advisers from the universities, senior staff of further education establishments involving in the teaching of the subject and representatives of the appropriate professional institutions and industry, with an

HMI who is a specialist in that particular subject as assessor. Such panels consider proposals about courses submitted to them by the constituent colleges and make recommendations to the standing Committee. Their decisions are based upon such factors as the likely demand for such courses and the teaching resources available. In so far as the subject committees consist of experts in particular fields, their recommendations carry a great deal of weight and it is unusual for them not to be endorsed by the Standing Committee.

The local level is represented by the Local Education Authority (LEA) which is responsible for the administration of education within its designated area. The 1944 Education Act²⁶ required LEAs to provide adequate facilities for further education within their areas. For this purpose, the education authority of an LEA sets up from its members a sub-committee with special responsibility for further education. The composition of the sub-committee is usually; elected members (councillors) from the Authority, nominated representatives from the LEA staff, teacher representatives and a senior member of the LEA professional staff. An Assistant Education Officer or Assistant Director of Education, is usually responsible for the day-to-day running of the sub-committee.

Whilst the main responsibility of the sub-committee is the administration of the institutions of further education within its authority (providing, staffing, equipping and

financing), its members, particularly in the case of the Assistant Director of Education (FE) and his staff, are concerned with liaising with the institutions at Governing Body level for the purpose of policy formulation, adoption and implementation.²⁷ A typical further education institution can be either a College of Technology, Technical College or College of Further Education. The designation, in descending order, is reflected in the level of academic work pursued within the institution.

The administrative machinery consists of the Principal, an Academic Board, Subject Advisory Committees and administrative staff all of whom are responsible, through the College's Governing Body, to the LEA. The Governing Body is normally constituted of representatives from the LEA, local industry and commerce, professional bodies, trade unions and members of the teaching staff.²⁸ Its functions are to oversee the management of the College, determine policy and future development and to make recommendations to the LEA on any of the above.

The function of the Academic Board is to advise the Principal on internal academic matters. Until 1970 it was usually constituted of the Principal and his Heads of Departments, but the publication of DES Memorandum 7/70²⁹ which recommended the inclusion of teaching staff representatives brought about a democratisation of the composition of the Academic Board.

The teaching staff in a typical FE institution are headed by the Principal who is the head of a management team consisting of his Vice-Principal, who accepts such

Next in the line management are the respective Heads of the Departments which form the academic structure of the institution. Their responsibility is the provision of suitable courses within the subject specialism of the department and the general administration of their departments.

Following the implementation of the Report of the Burnham Further Education Committee³⁰, the remainder of the teaching staff fall into five main categories: Readers, Principal Lecturers, Senior Lecturers, Lecturers 2 and 1. With the exception of Readers who are normally only found in those institutions which undertake a considerable amount of research, the remainder of posts are concerned with administration and teaching. The proportion of administration to teaching increases for a lecturer as he progresses up the teaching scale.

The academic requirements for entry as a teaching staff member into the FE sector are, generally, a recognised professional qualification and several years experience in the profession associated with that qualification. This can range from an honours degree to a City and Guilds of London Full Technological Certificate. Until the 1970s there was no requirement for a teaching qualification for applicants who aspired to teach in FE. However, two routes existed for

those wishing to obtain such a qualification: firstly the one year full-time course for mature students at a College of Education (Technical), secondly, the one year part-time course for serving teachers which involved two terms at the College of Education and the remainder of the year in the college where he was teaching under supervision. However, in recent years an applicant for a teaching appointment in Further Education is requested to either undertake a course of teacher training (full time) prior to taking up the appointment, whilst on full pay from the institution or, follow a similar course of training (part time) during the first year of the appointment.

Two organisations represent the views of principals and lecturers in FE. Whilst Principal's have their own union, the Association of Principals of Technical Institutions (APTI), they are still eligible for membership of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) which was formerly³¹ the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions (ATTI). This is a trade union open to all teachers engaged in the public sector of further and higher education. NATFHE represents its members on all major committees and councils associated with FE, including the RACs.

Finally, at the national and regional levels there are other interested bodies which influence the administration of further education. These include the professional bodies, the industrial and trade organisations, the examining bodies

and such bodies as the Regional Economic Planning councils. There are at present more than 150 professional bodies, principally in the fields of science and technology and commerce about half of whom award qualifications that fall within the remit of further education. Their chief functions are to maintain standards of training within their speciality and regulate recruitment. Their influence has grown and strengthened in the post war period so that they now play a very active part in the administration of further education.³² They are represented on specialist sub-committees both at the regional level and at the local level within colleges. Many of the 150 professional bodies have their own examinations for which students are prepared in further education institutions. Therefore they exert considerable influence over the types of course being run, the qualifications of the staff who teach such courses and the resources available.

A further influence upon the sector is the examining bodies represented by the Royal Society of Arts (RSA)³³, which is concerned with commercial and administrative qualifications. The chief function of the RSA is to act as one of the major examining bodies in FE particularly in business studies. Also at national level is the City and Guilds of London Institute (CGLI)³⁴ which is largely concerned with science and technology. At the regional level, there are six examining unions such as the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes (ULCI) and the Welsh Joint Education Committee³⁵ which offer examinations in a wide range of

subjects.

To recap, the structure of formulation, adoption and implementation for vocational education policy in the U.K., prior to the 1964 Act, was headed by the Secretary of State for Education who was responsible for the formulation of policy at national level. The adoption of such policy at regional level was the responsibility of the RACs and the implementation of policy at local level fell to the LEAs and their institutions. This description however, is a simplistic one, for as has been indicated, all the bodies previously mentioned have an influence on the policy process in their consultative and advisory roles. In addition, these roles may be seen to alter depending whether the body is concerned with formulation, adoption and implementation.

The situation in the U.K., thus described, contrasted markedly with that in the Federal Republic prior to the introduction of the Vocational Training Act of 1969 in West Germany. In Germany responsibility for industrial/vocational training was the province of the employers and the respective chambers, with vocational education via the Berufsschule the responsibility of the individual Länder. (See Chapter 1)

Policy formulation in training was largely at the local level depending upon the needs of local industry. The formulation of policy was the responsibility of the local chamber in cooperation with the employers and the education

representatives representing the Länder. However, it should not be overlooked that the chambers are part of a national organisation, with an interchange of information and representation at government level. As policy was the concern of the local employer, it follows that the employer was also responsible for adopting and implementing the agreed training policy.

For the Land, responsibility for policy formulation relating to vocational education devolved upon the appropriate Minister for Culture. Where the policy originated at local level, feedback to the Ministry would result in the development and formulation of policy to meet the local needs. Adoption and implementation were the respective obligations of the local education authority and the individual institution (Berufsschule).

The main areas of difference between the systems in England and Germany were firstly, the apparent absence of organisation in the U.K. training situation re employer involvement, secondly, the predominantly regional (Länder) organisation in Germany. In both countries, the projected legislation was designed to alter the policy development of the systems of vocational training and education.

The Industrial Training Act was passed in the U.K. on the 12th March 1964.³⁶ It had been preceded by examination in Parliament of a White Paper (Command Paper Number 1982, December 1962) which outlined the Government's proposals for the future structure of industrial training in Great Britain

and which gave rise to considerable comment throughout the country and in all spheres of activity.

The Act³⁷ empowered the Minister of Labour, after consultation with organisations representing employers and persons employed in an industry, to issue an industrial training Order setting up a training board for that industry or activity. Each industrial training board (ITB) was to be responsible for providing or securing the provision of courses of industrial or commercial training and training facilities for preparing persons over compulsory school age (in Scotland, school age) for employment in that industry. The facilities thus procured might include residential accommodation. An ITB was also periodically to make recommendations regarding:

- a. the nature and duration of training required for the different occupations within the industry,
- b. the qualifications of the trainees and instructors concerned with training, and
- c. the standards to be attained and the methods of testing the attainment.

An ITB could also:

- a. approve courses and facilities provided by other persons,
- b. apply tests or arrange for them to be applied, and award relevant certificates,
- c. assist persons to find appropriate training facilities,
- d. carry on or otherwise assist in research activities relating to training for employment in the industry,
- e. enter into contracts of service or apprenticeship with persons who intend to be employed within the industry and to undertake

approved training for it, and

f. provide financial assistance both to persons undergoing approved training and to persons providing the courses or other approved training facilities.

The law specified³⁸ that the members of an industrial training board were to be appointed by the Minister and that each board was to consist of a chairman who was to be a person having industrial or commercial experience, and (a) an equal number of persons representing employers engaging in the industry and persons employed in it, and (b) persons appointed after consultation with the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Minister of Education. A board could appoint committees to assist it, or join with one or more other boards in appointing joint committees for the same purpose, but such committees need not include members of the boards. Each industrial training board would be responsible for organising vocational training for persons employed or seeking employment in the branch of the industry concerned, or for seeing that such training was organised.

To raise money to meet expenses incurred in carrying out its functions, an industrial training board was to be empowered³⁹ to impose a levy on employers in the industry. Proposals for such a levy could provide for a system of exemptions in order to encourage further training activities.

The Act also provided for the establishment of a Central Training Council (CTC)⁴⁰ to advise the Minister of Labour on

the exercise of his functions under the Act and on any other matter relating to industrial or commercial training the Minister might refer to it. The Council was to consist of a chairman and twentyeight members; six members appointed to represent employers, six to represent employed persons and two to represent nationalised industry; of the remaining fourteen members not more than six were to be chairmen of industrial training boards whilst six others were to be appointed after consultation with the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Minister of Education.⁴¹ (The composition of the Central Training Council, as finally established, included twelve independent members, six of whom were to be appointed after consultation.) The facilities for further education provided by a local education authority were deemed to include facilities for vocational and industrial training.

Finally, the Act specified that the Minister of Labour might require an employer in an industry for which an ITB had been established, to keep such records and furnish such returns and information as might be necessary for the purposes of the Act. An ITB might also, if so requested by the Minister of Labour, exercise its functions (including the payment of allowances, grants or loans or fees) in connection with the training for employment of persons temporarily in Great Britain and employed or intending to be employed in the industry for which the board had been established.

The Industrial Training Act had also, in Parsonian terms,

created a Formal Organisation for policy formulation, adoption and implementation. At the national level, the Public Interest is represented by the Minister of Labour in the area of policy formulation. This policy, also at national level, is adopted and implemented by the ITBs. It should not be overlooked, however, that the ITBs are also Formal Organisations with a structure that lends itself to policy formulation, adoption and implementation at public interest, managerial and technical levels.

With the creation of a suitable legislative instrument, industry began the long haul to 'put its house in order'. By the end of 1968 there were 27 statutory ITBs in existence (See Appendix F for statistics of ITBs) with considerable variations in organisational structure and methods of operation. In general terms, however, each of the boards may be said to fall into one of two categories.⁴² The first consists of those which belong to industries which, like engineering, have a tradition of systematic training, and secondly, those boards which belong to industries such as construction, which have not customarily engaged in systematic training. As this latter type of industry is probably resistant to the idea of financing training, the boards first task was to break down prejudices and preconceived notions. It is not surprising that in some areas there was a volume of discontent and, in some cases outright hostility to the operation of the boards.⁴³

Criticisms of the industrial training board system have

centred on a number of points:

- a. that the levy grant system had failed to spread the costs of training more equally throughout industry and had penalised the small firms,
- b. that some of the grants encouraged training for training's sake,
- c. some of the boards covered too wide a field and had broadened the scope of their work too far, and
- d. that the administration of the boards had become excessively bureaucratic.⁴⁴

One of the hidden defects of the Industrial Training Act was that the boards were organised industry by industry. Nowhere in the system did it bring together a small group of experts and specialists to deliberate on the total training problem for industry at all levels. As time went on it was not so much a shortage of labour but its lack of mobility which impeded industrial progress. Another defect in the Act was the human element. It is difficult to legislate against what people want to do and in this case many people were opposed to mobility. The workers were reluctant to train or change jobs.

Concern⁴⁵ was also being expressed in Parliament regarding the implementation of the Act. Robert Carr stated:

"Enormous sums of money have been spent on industrial education, yet in spite of it all we have still failed to find out just how to go about the most important task of all, that of releasing abilities which we know are there, but which we have yet to tap successfully".⁴⁶

Enoch Powell put it rather more bluntly and described the Act as having:

"...ignited a prairie fire of bureaucracy and profligate spending.....I will say nothing of the chief training administrators, the regional officers, the secretaries and all the other job-holders in this new and growing industry of training levies, paying grants, claiming grants, analysing syllabii, producing manuals, organising courses, making reports, reading reports, sending out forms, collecting forms. Of these I will say nothing, except that if they could do something better at as good a rate they would not be doing what they are doing."⁴⁷

The Confederation of British Industries or CBI had also expressed concern over the operation of the Act and the role of the training boards⁴⁸ stating that:

'it is not working as well as might have been hoped or indeed as efficiently as it could'.

In spite of these criticisms the Act had a major impact on both industry and commerce and also throughout further education. In order to understand the nature of this impact it is necessary to be clear about the precise difference between further education on one hand and industrial training on the other. One difference is that they have different masters: the responsibility for further education lies with the Department of Education and Science, whilst that for industrial training lies, via the ITBs, with the Department of Employment. A further difference is that while further education can only take place in an educational institution, industrial training may occur either in a college or on the factory floor.

The main purposes of further education were laid down by the Central Training Council to be:

- a. to provide the knowledge and appreciation of techniques necessary to enable a trainee to

do his job,

b. to inculcate a broad understanding of relevant science and technology, so that the trainee appreciates the problems of those working in associated occupations,

c. to better equip a trainee to adjust to the changes in the nature of his work,

d. to widen the trainee's understanding of the society in which he lives and the development of his personality, and

c. to prepare suitable trainees for more advanced study leading to more highly skilled work.⁴⁹

The purpose of training for skill on the other hand is to inculcate in a trainee the necessary expertise to undertake a certain task or range of tasks on the shop floor or in the office.

The element of further education associated with craft training almost certainly originated from the City and Guilds of London Institute (or CGLI) or the Regional Examining Bodies and covered the requisite technology associated with the particular trade being followed. The CGLI, in attempting to conform with section (d) of the CTC's requirements, introduced the subject of General Studies to provide a platform of general education. Industry, however, felt that this was something of a luxury and it recommended⁵⁰ that General Studies would be allocated some 60 hours a year (from an overall 320 hours) to teach such subjects as safety at work, form-filling and basic communicative skills which would have a useful bearing on the trainees conduct at work.⁵¹

By the 1970s it was becoming apparent⁵² that there were certain shortcomings inherent within the administration of the Act and the ITBs. These shortcomings coupled with other problems, the rising level of unemployment, certain gaps in the provision of vocational training and pressure from the smaller employers over what they considered to be injustices in the levy/grant system, prompted the Department of Employment to publish a White Paper in 1972 entitled 'Training for the Future'.⁵³

Less than ten years after the passing of the 1964 Industrial Training Act, the Department of Employment was envisaging a reorganisation of the vocational training structure. The main proposals were:

- a. an expansion of the existing schemes of vocational training into a more comprehensive and widely available "training opportunities scheme" (TOPS)
- b. a phasing out of the industrial training board levy/grant system; the work of the boards would be limited to advisory services and standard setting,
- c. the creation of an independent National Training Agency to run the TOPS scheme and to both coordinate and complement the work of the boards; the agency would also be generally responsible for all training activities, and
- d. the setting up of a central advisory on manpower questions, including training.⁵⁴

If these recommendations were to be adopted then much of the work of the Central Training Council would gradually be phased out.

The Government then issued a Command White Paper 'Employment and Training' (1973)⁵⁵ confirming the proposals contained in

'Training for the Future' and rounding off the legislative developments, passed the Employment and Training Act (1973). Essentially, as explained in the Government's proposals for the reorganisation of the employment and training system, the purpose of the Act was to achieve better co-ordination of employment, training and counselling services and to ensure that the activities of these services, of the education authorities and of industry would help to promote the nation's general manpower policies.

To achieve these objectives it confirmed the proposal to set up three new advisory and executive bodies: the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and its subsidiaries, the Employment Service Agency (ESA) and the Training Services Agency (TSA). These bodies would work together with the industrial training boards, the local education authorities and the Agricultural Training Board. (See Appendix G for details of MSC structure.)

The Manpower Services Commission was given a tripartite structure, being composed of representatives of employers' and workers' organisations (3 each), two persons appointed after consulting organisations representing local authorities in England and Wales and in Scotland respectively, and one after consulting professional education interests.

The Act also confirmed the general structure instituted in 1964. The ITB's would remain responsible for vocational

training within their occupational sector but would no longer be obliged to raise a levy for training purposes. A board might decide to do so on its own initiative or be directed to do so by the newly constituted Manpower Services Commission. Any such levy should not normally exceed 1 per cent of payroll. Training proposals made by a board should be submitted to the Commission, once approved, their administrative costs would be borne by the Commission.

The Training Services Agency came into being on the 1st April 1974. Early that same year the TSA had drawn up a Five Year Plan⁵⁶ designed to:

- a. help the Commission decide on the on the TSA's role,
- b. determine the TSA's aims,
- c. provide a basis for discussion on the TSA's resource allocatio,
- d. determine the framework within which the Commission and the Agency could take decisions on individual issues,
- e. help the Agency clarify its own task,
- f. co-ordinate the work of the ITBs,
- g. focus national effort on improving training, and
- h. focus national effort on improving training and providing a basis for public discussion of national training priorities.⁵⁷

The Agency is only one of many bodies concerned with training. Its work therefore must be viewed as an element in a national training system which comprises the training activities of individual employers, the industrial training

boards, the Department of Employment and its network of training centres, the colleges of further education and other further education institutions for which the Department of Education and Science and the Scottish Education Department have statutory responsibility and, finally may other professional and voluntary bodies.

Against this background the TSA proposed that its role within the system should be that of catalyst and co-ordinator and in carrying out its role the Agency should essentially pursue three aims:

- a. to help secure, through training, the efficient and effective performance of the country's manpower,
- b. to help individuals, through training, to fulfill the needs and aspirations they have for their own employment, and
- c. to increase the effectiveness of training.

To these ends the TSA Plan proposed four major programmes:

- a. Meeting the training needs of industry,
- b. meeting the training needs of individuals,
- c. improving training effectiveness, and
- d. managing the TSA.⁵⁸

One of elements of the Five Year Plan⁵⁹ was the initiation of a research project by the Agency's Planning and Intelligence Branch designed to provide a means of relating people and jobs to each other in terms of knowledge and skills possessed or required. In practical terms, the project was designed to help develop vocational training in the United Kingdom in a unified way so as to meet the

economic and social needs of both industry and people at work. The research team explored classifications and systems used in the U.K. and overseas, examining vocational systems in France, Sweden, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, U.S.A., and Finland.

Concluding⁶⁰ that none of the systems examined was ideally suited to conditions pertaining in the United Kingdom, the report outlined a possible new approach and described a tentative model system which gives special importance to:

- a. providing more and better training for young people entering their first employment,
- b. increasing the quantity of training in skills which take a long time to develop,
- c. providing modular programmes of training so that individuals can select, at any stage in their lives, the programme best suited to their wishes and circumstances, and
- d. improving employment-specific training within organisations.⁶¹

The model was conceived as a unified whole, a framework to ensure the availability of an integrated service of training and education which would meet the economic and social needs of industry. It provided a classification which formulates descriptions of the ingredients (or dimensions) of occupational mobility and the levels (or categories) of knowledge and skill which can be used to relate to both the individual concerned and the job he/she seeks. Unlike most classifications, it includes the interests of the individual as an essential dimension.

The classification has eight dimensions of occupational mobility (grouped under two headings: knowledge and skills) and varying numbers of categories (or levels) and modules of skill and knowledge within them. The dimension of interests follows in sequence, although in any practical application of the classification it would serve as an entry point.

Under the general heading 'Knowledge', there are four dimensions of occupational mobility:⁶²

- a. academic
- b. industrial, occupational, materials,
- c. place of work, and
- d. technology.

These are based on the assumption that different types of technology call for different types of knowledge and skill, and that a particular technology cannot be assumed to be standard for any particular industry or occupational grouping.

The 'skills' heading covers four further dimensions of occupational mobility:

- a. basic abilities: the ability to read, write speak the language and to present oneself,
- b. reasoning ability and problem solving capacity,
- c. mental, physical and social skills, and
- d. attainment and responsibility.

In considering 'interests' as a dimension, the research team identified eight categories: scientific, social services,

general services, literary, artistic, computational, practical and natural. Assessment under the skills and knowledge dimensions will permit identifying a 'match' or a 'mismatch' between what is required in a job and what is possessed by an individual, but without an individual's interests, it will be impossible to tell whether the job is one which the individual will seriously consider, or aspires to.

Essentially, therefore, the classification when perfected should enable all concerned:

- a. to relate an individual to jobs he could do now (but which neither he or the employer might have realised he could do), and
- b. to identify the mismatch, if any, between an individual and a job and describe that mismatch in terms of interests, knowledge and skills possessed or required. thus identifying needs of various kinds as regards the planning and provision of learning and training.⁶³

This example of one of the projects initiated by the TSA under the auspices of the MSC is an indication of the application of the TSA towards the solutions to the many problems that faced them. The model produced (and described here) was used as the basis for a unified vocational preparation system (UVP) which was intended to provide more and better training for the young job entrants, but it would appear that, despite the constant efforts of the MSC and the TSA in the planning of long term vocational training programmes, the major problems of vocational education and training have yet to be solved⁶⁴ in the U.K.

When one examines the progression of the succession of programmes produced over the period in question (1960s to 1980s) it becomes apparent that a panacea for the ills of British industrial training still remains to be discovered. The initial scheme, produced in 1978, was the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOPS) but shortly after its introduction was criticised for the poor quality of its workplacements, for serving more as a source of cheap labour than as a training scheme and for the inadequacy of the MSC's monitoring procedures. The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was intended as high quality youth training scheme to replace YOPs due the collapsing confidence in the scheme and a recognition that a permanent training scheme for young people was needed. YTS was introduced in haste⁶⁵ and while significantly better than YOPs continued to have a number of quality control problems.⁶⁶ Many of these problems arise from the political and operational compromises that had to be made in order to meet the deadline⁶⁷ set by the MSC; the Youth Task Force charged with producing the plan had less than three months to to complete its task. But particularly interesting in light of the discussion of control was the way the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) rejected the model provided by the German dual system and chose an employer led system.⁶⁸

The CBI was initially enthusiastic for a scheme modelled on the dual system. However, this enthusiasm withered as detailed understanding of the scheme developed. The absence

of an effective existing local or regional mechanism similar to the German Chambers was one difficulty and the CBI did not wish to see the development of a major new role for rival representative organisations such as the Chambers of Commerce⁶⁹. A larger problem was the very strong opposition to a trade union role in YTS similar to that which the German trade unions had in the dual system. The CBI totally rejected the notion of co-determination in the field of vocational training. In addition, the CBI was in a powerful bargaining position on this because it was clear that the YTS would rely on the participation of small employers many of whom, it was argued, would not participate if unions were involved, a particularly likely outcome in view of the use by some employers of previous training schemes as an opportunity for job substitution. Nor was the CBI prepared to countenance a statutory framework underpinning youth training as used in the Federal Republic of Germany where training contracts are legal documents which set out in detail the rights and responsibilities of trainees and employers. The CBI was consistently anti-legislation, arguing for a voluntary system in line with their policy⁷⁰ of freeing industry from Government intervention. A further difficulty with the German model was that it was clearly founded in different attitudes on the part of the employers. In Germany employers provided the financial support for training, in 1980 the German Economic Institute calculated that the contribution of employers amounted to 80% of total expenditure on vocational training and education. (See Appendix H for breakdown of

costing for vocational training); in Britain employers insisted on government funding and opposed⁷¹ an effective system of monitoring.

In summary, the CBI insisted on an employer-led scheme with the work experience element being completely controlled by employers. Their preferred model was based on the Work Experience on Employers Premises (WEEP) element of YOPs, which had the added attraction of an early contribution to production by trainees. With the overriding priority of obtaining sufficient training places, the CBI was able to resist⁷² an effective mechanism for monitoring the new scheme.

The extent and growth of the YOP programme reflected the massive increase in youth unemployment of the period. In the first year of its operation, 1978-9, YOP catered for 162,000 young people; these numbers rose to 216,400 in 1979-80, to 360,000 in 1980-81, to 553,000 in 1981-82. This enormous growth is reflected in the increased funds allocated to YOP: in 1982-83 the total budget was 730 million pounds, an increase of 77% over the budget for the preceding year. Of the 553,000 young people who entered the programme in 1981-82, about half were school-leavers, compared to one in three the previous year and one in eight in 1978-79, the first year that YOP operated.

The essential difference between UVP and YOP is that the former caters for young people at work not normally in

receipt of education or training. One of the principles upon which UVP is based is the bringing together of education on one hand, as represented by the DES working through the local authorities and their colleges and the Department of Employment working through the TSD of the MSC. The most active of the bodies promoting these courses were the ITBs working in close cooperation with the colleges and employers. More than 50% of the total number of the UVP schemes operating in 1980 were run by the Distributive ITB, for young employees in working in shops and stores. The remainder of the schemes were run by the Rubber and Plastics ITB and the Air Transport and Travel ITB.

With the involvement of the ITBs in these schemes it must seem surprising that in November 1981, the then Secretary of State for Employment announced the government decision to phase out sixteen of the twentythree existing ITBs, leaving only the Clothing, Construction, Engineering, Hotel and Catering, Road Transport, Rubber and Plastic Processing and Petroleum ITBs as surviving institutions. Whilst the statement included the proviso that the ITBs would continue to exist "until satisfactory alternative voluntary training arrangements had been made, the costs of which would be borne by the industries concerned", the ITBs were wound up without the satisfactory arrangements as stipulated.

The period covering the demise of the ITBs was also marked by the growing criticisms of the standards of the apprenticeship programmes. The conventional method of training the majority of technicians and craftsmen has been

by apprenticeship, especially in the engineering, public utility and construction industries. During the years from 1960 there has been a marked decline in the numbers of apprenticeships as a result of the industrial recession.

In the 1960s, for example, 40% of sixteen year old boys were leaving education for apprenticeships, by the 1980s this proportion had halved. The number of apprenticeships in manufacturing declined from a peak of 236,000 in 1968 to under 150,000 in 1980 and continued to decline to around 100,000.

Much of the criticism of the existing apprenticeship system emanated from the MSC in its document, 'A New Training Initiative: An Agenda for Action' in which the MSC stated that it was essential to modernise apprenticeship training by replacing time serving by standards of training and ensuring that all those who reach the new standards are recognised and accepted as competent. It stated its belief that too little had been done to develop standards of practical competence and associated terminal tests; that in too many occupations access to jobs is determined not by the level of terminal achievement, but by the form of training; and that standards and syllabuses are in need of constant review because of technological and market changes.

However, the condemnation of the apprentice system has been by no means unanimous and the Engineering ITB, for example, has rejected the MSC view that apprenticeship is inadequate

and providing irrelevant skills. Whilst conceding that many schemes have shortcomings, it defends its own modular system of training and recommends its wider adoption as a means of modernizing apprenticeship.

It becomes apparent that whilst the leading agencies concerned with training of youth would appear to differ in their choice of models, there will be continuing problems in reaching a satisfactory solution.

The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI)

TVEI is altogether a different concept from the schemes previously produced by the MSC. It is intended to provide "full-time general, technical and vocational education including work experience"⁷³. Underlying the Government's sponsorship of the initiative, which came as a complete surprise⁷⁴ to the educational establishment, including the Department of Education and Science (DES), was a belief that strengthening technical and vocational education in schools would improve the education systems contribution to industry by providing a workforce with more relevant skills and improve the employability of young people.

A rather grander aim of TVEI may be to transform the negative social attitudes towards technology, industry and commerce that many have held are at the root of Britain's industrial decline and believe are reproduced in the educational system.⁷⁵ Again critical comparisons have been made with other countries which give higher status to

'practical capability' based, in the case of Germany, on the concept of Technik. This argument was presented by the Department of Industry (DI) during the Great Debate:⁷⁶

"The present situation may be partly explained by the influence of British institutions and ways of thinking as they have developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

a. Britain has a two culture system based on the distinction between arts and science, whereas continental society distinguishes a third culture in Technik (or the art of making things).

b. Partly because of the lack of a separate technical culture in Britain, pure science has a higher status than applied science and academic work a higher status than vocational.

c. The general mores of our society have favoured the amateur tradition. Compared with other countries our industry has tended to rely on pragmatism and rule of thumb than on formal training and special knowledge.

d. Lack of interest by the universities in vocational aspects has led to the proliferation of professional groups as qualifying bodies outside the university system on a scale not experienced elsewhere, (and often fragmented within the area they seek to cover).

One result is that we do not have technical or vocational institutions of the same kind as, for example, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Grand Ecoles in France or the technische Hochschule in Germany."⁷⁷

The distinction is important and it may be that TVEI will help to blur the boundaries between the two cultures. TVEI, however, in common with other initiatives continues to miss the key element in the German system that sustains the high status attributed to the vocational side of education. In Germany vocational levels, by law, are full equivalents of academic certificates, conferring on those students the same entitlement to progress to higher levels of education.

The anomaly in the comparison between the two systems is that on the one hand, German employers were quite prepared to finance and organise vocational training and resisted any attempt by the Government to 'interfere'. Their British counterparts, who did not want to finance training and agitated⁷⁸ for the disbandment of the ITBs, were adamant that vocational training was a national problem and therefore the responsibility of the British Government.

It remains to pose the question in a comparative context; if the Germans can operate an efficient and effective vocational training system, what are the problems facing Britain in attempting to establish a similarly effective system?

The first and most important obstacle must be the attitude of employers vis-a-vis training. Whilst the absence of a Chamber structure similar to that existing in the Federal Republic must affect the system development and direction, the infra-structure required for the operation of a successful training already exists in Britain. (See Appendix Z.)

The Ideal Typical Model as presented by John Talbot⁷⁹ utilises the existing institutions, but emphasises the need for improvement of the interfaces between these institutions to bring about the rationalisation of a British system of vocational education and training.

Bearing in mind the vocational developments (or lack of

them) in Britain during the last century, it is no surprise that Cantor and Roberts conclude their study on Further Education with the following words:

"...we cannot but reflect on the lamentable ignorance of the system which exists among politicians, at national and regional levels, about its functions and character, an ignorance which less forgivably extends to many educationalists in the schools and universities, not to mention some of those in further education itself."⁸⁰

Whilst this would appear to be a dramatic denunciation of the British system, and to some degree not without foundation, there are several aspects of the British system examined in this Chapter which compared favourably with the German system of vocational education and training.

Taking the stated aims of the Industrial Training Act 1964, whilst they were innovative as far as Britain was concerned, the German employers could say that those aims coincided with existing practice in Germany. Further to this argument, the German opinion could also be extended to the aims of the ITBs, although they were to disagree vehemently with the introduction of a similar model in Germany.

Regarding the operation of the ITBs, as L. Cantor and I. Roberts have observed⁸¹, the majority of the Boards in starting from scratch, initiated an effective system of training with a much improved end product. That the ITBs were to be phased out was not so much that they were not producing the goods, but rather certain influential bodies, (i.e. the CBI and many employers who had not previously

contributed to training in their particular industry), disagreed with the mode of provision.

It is to be regretted that, with the passing of the Employment and Training Act 1973, it was the intention that the ITBs were to be eventually phased out. Rather than allowed to operate until a viable national training scheme was able to replace them. As the Germans were able to achieve with the retention of the Dual System and the reforms that were to take place in next two decades.

Whilst the developments in the U.K., concerned with vocational training, had proceeded with what could be considered undue haste, and despite the planning by the MSC, had not met with a great deal of success, the debate in the Federal Republic continued and intensified throughout the 60s and 70s. The next Chapter will examine how vocational education and training was debated in the Federal Republic during the 1960s and identify the agencies, ministries and interested parties involved in the debate.

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CHAPTER 5

The Politics of Vocational Education Reform in Germany 1960-69

As the 1960s dawned on the Federal Republic so began a decade of intense debate centred around the proposed general and vocational education reforms. The Wirtschaftswunder was in the past, in effect the Republic was looking to further consolidate its position as one of the leading traders and exporters in the Western world. Under Chancellor Adenauer and the CDU the West Germans had achieved a stable society. Looking to the past, the CDU could see¹ no need for reforms in the educational sectors or in the training provided by the Wirtschaft for the young school leavers. So it was a period of both complacency and concern. The opposition, the SPD, at their Hamburg congress² in 1963 offered their specific proposals for educational reform. Their proposals reflected their commitment to egalitarian educational theories in the introduction of a common basic stage followed by a common stage from the seventh to the tenth year. With progression to either the three year Studienstufe based on the present Gymnasium or to the vocational education sector. To promote flexibility, the number of trades should be reduced³ and a widely-based one year basic trade training should be introduced. In addition, the subject of learning about work (Arbeitslehre) and vocational guidance should form part of the middle stage course. All aspects of preparing the young for work should be protected by law. In the following year the party

advocated emergency measures⁴ to overcome the educational deficit by the constitution of an advisory education council (Deutscher Bildungsrat)⁵

It was at this time that Professor G. Picht had forecast that the Republic would face an educational catastrophe (Die Deutsche Bildungs Katastrophe) unless steps were taken to increase the numbers of Arbiturienten from the Gymnasium. Supporting his view with statistics from Belgium, Finland, France, Norway and Sweden, all of whom were far ahead of the Republic in the numbers graduating from the higher education sector.⁶ His concern extended to the vocational sector for:

"the economic prosperity which we have enjoyed up to now will quickly come to an end if we lack the new generation of qualified manpower without which no system of production can achieve anything in the technological age" ⁷

Picht's findings and comments co-inciding with those of Professor R. Dahrendorf⁸ particularly with reference to the possible shortfall of teachers linked to the diminishing number of graduates served to increase concern in the apparent fallibility of the German education system to meet the increasing demands upon it.

Whilst the respective political parties were beginning to prepare their educational platforms for the future elections, other interested participants were presenting their arguments for vocational education reform.

The German Trades Union Congress (DGB) had long been

convinced that reforms in the sector were long overdue and had on many occasions attempted to present their views to the Federal parliament. In the 1950s⁹ they had tried to persuade the CDU Government of the need for a vocational law. The Government of that time had rejected the suggestion on the following grounds:

- a. the CDU had not been prepared to alienate the Wirtschaft, who controlled training,
- b. the CDU favoured a policy of decentralisation i.e. control by the individual Länder, and
- c. the "economic miracle" had testified to the efficacy of the system

In order to recreate interest in the legal regulation of apprentice training, in 1959 the DGB had prepared the draft of a suggested vocational training law¹⁰ and circulated it to the Federal and Länder Governments, political parties, the administrations and the Wirtschaft. The DGB maintained that the main reasons for the new legislation was the marked variations in the quality of vocational training and the inadequate legal framework within which vocational education operated; laws¹¹ affecting the system were not only on the statute books of each of the eleven Länder but also in trade, craft, citizenship, youth protection, factory and unemployment regulations.

According to the DGB¹², apprentice training in the larger companies was outstandingly good, but in the majority of the smaller companies it left much to be desired. As the majority of the apprentices received their training within the production process, their training was limited to the work in which the company was engaged. This aspect of in-

plant instruction was of further concern. In the smaller companies the master craftsman was concerned with production responsibilities which limited the time that was allocated to the instruction of apprentices. This area of concern could, reasoned¹³ the DGB, be alleviated by training in special workshops away from the plant and the expansion of the role of the vocational school. For these reasons, the DGB maintained¹⁴, a vocational training law was required that would maintain throughout the Wirtschaft trade training that was of a high and uniform standard. The final reason advanced by the unions to support their demands was the most important.

The Wirtschaft had set up and controlled the system of in-plant vocational training since the beginning of the twentieth century. This unequal division of responsibility, reflected in the power exercised by the chambers of commerce and employers' organisations at all levels of vocational training, disturbed the unions!¹⁵ For, as the DGB maintained, the best interests of the recipients of that training, the young apprentices, were their responsibility.

The basis of DGBs' argument rested on three main points:

- a. to unify the regulations on vocational training into one law and to establish areas of individual responsibility,
- b. to provide a legal basis for a uniformly high standard of training, and
- c. to ensure rights for the trades unions equal to those of the employers in the control and administration of vocational training. ¹⁰

The SPD reacted with commendable enthusiasm to the DGB's call for the reorganisation of training and initiated parliamentary action to obtain a legal basis for training. The reaction of the Wirtschaft to these developments was just as swift. They maintained, in a declaration¹⁷ addressed to the parliament, that the type of control envisaged by the SPD and DGB i.e. centralised and "bureaucratic", would seriously damage the system and have adverse effects on the training of youth. Regarding the reference to the legality of the existing system as highlighted by the DGB, the Wirtschaft insisted that this problem could easily be resolved by amending minor laws. Whatever legal regulation was considered the aim must be to maintain the flexibility and adaptability of the training system in order to ensure the continuing economic strength of the Federal Republic. The most important aspect of the proposed law from the union's point of view was the demand for equal representation on the organisations and committees that would be required to regulate and control the administration of training. This strategem, according to the Wirtschaft, was the unions' method of achieving co-determination throughout the economic and manufacturing sector, in effect, all the enterprises represented by the Wirtschaft.

Despite the concern of all the participants in the debate, the motion by the SPD calling for the Government to provide a draft vocational training law by 1. 10. 1962 was doomed to failure. Although the CDU had expressed¹⁸ the guarded

opinion that some reforms were necessary, time ran out in the Bundestag and it was not until after the 1965 elections that the issue was to return as the subject of parliamentary debate.¹⁹

Whilst the issue of vocational education legislation was in abeyance, the German Committee for Educational Theory and Organisation (Deutsche Ausschuss für Erziehung und Bildungswesen or DAEB) had published two complementary reports which were to have a bearing upon developments in the upper secondary sector and the reform of vocational education.

The first, 'Recommendations for the Structure of the Secondary School' (Empfehlungen zum Aufbau der Hauptschule),²⁰ was concerned with the reform of the upper stages of the Volksschule which would be a separate Hauptschule offering modern general education from the seventh to the tenth school years and would serve as an entry point to the second educational route based on an individual's trade. The presentation of the subject of Arbeitslehre would provide an introduction to the world of work. The aim of Arbeitslehre was not to provide a proficiency in any particular trade, but rather a familiarity with the basic principles of work and of the mechanised production processes of an industrial society.²¹ The successful completion of the course of Arbeitslehre would undoubtedly facilitate training in the vocational education system, the subject of the committee's second report.

This was entitled 'Expert Opinions on the Structure of Trade Training and School Organisation' (Gutachten über das Berufliche Ausbildungs und Schulwesen).²² In the report the committee considered the state of the vocational education sector and in particular the problems of apprentice training. In spite of calls in recent years, particularly by the DGB²³, to re-locate trade training in apprentice workshops, the Committee for Educational Theory and Organisation (DAEB) recommended the continuation of the dual system, in-plant training accompanied by theoretical instruction in the Berufsschule, but with two major variations, each apprentice was to receive a one year basic trade training course and only firms employing trained instructors would be allowed to recruit apprentices. The committee also recommended²⁴ an extension from eight hours to twelve hours for the period spent at the Berufsschule by all youth up to the age of eighteen years. In addition to the normal instruction in trade theory and knowledge, the subjects of German, religion, politics, art and physical recreation were to be introduced.

The reports of the DAEB on the Hauptschule and the vocational education sector displayed both progressive and conservative traits. The combining of the two reports gave initial emphasis to the committee's intention to reject the neo-humanistic assertion of the superiority of the Bildung over Ausbildung and thereby to confirm the educative nature of trade and professional training. The assertion would, it was hoped, raise the status of both the Hauptschule, the

future entry point to the second educational path and the vocational education system.

The final report that was to emerge from the plethora²⁵ of advisory and consultative bodies prior to the formulation of parliamentary legislation on vocational education was that of the German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat or DBR). Set up in 1965 under joint agreement between Federal and Länder authorities to produce plans for the reform and long term development of education in the Federal Republic²⁶ the DBR had applied itself to the longstanding problem of apprentice training.

The report of the Education Commission of the German Education Council (Bildungskommission of the Deutscher-Bildungsrat) entitled 'The Improvement of Apprentice Training' (Zur Verbesserung der Lehrlingausbildung)²⁷ reiterated the comments of its predecessors but with a particular advantage. It was possessed of considerably more "muscle" with respect to its recommendations as events were to prove.

The commission maintained that following the eradication of the antithesis between Bildung and Ausbildung the same pedagogic principles must apply to vocational training as applied to the Gymnasien or Realschulen. The apprentice must be given the opportunity to equip himself with basic general, social and trade knowledge in order that he might bring critical faculties to bear on and master the problems

in his professional life.²⁸

Along with a number of recommendations to improve the training of apprentices, the DBR wished²⁹ in particular to see greater public participation in vocational training, both in the interests of the individual and the state. In order to provide a fair alternative to the grammar and middle school for the majority of West German youth but mainly in view of the economic well-being of the nation, the commission wished to see the gap between Bildung and Ausbildung finally bridged. Although unstated by the DBR, the antithesis³⁰ of Kultur and Zivilization had at all times deterred German governments from increased participation in vocational training. Now the commission was prepared to accord to technology the esteem enjoyed by history, languages and literature.

A major task for the commission for the immediate future was the preparation of comprehensive plan for the reform of West German education. An over-riding priority in the light of the proposed legislation in the Federal parliament, however, was seen to be recommendations for the improvement of apprentice training. The three main reasons for haste were seen to be:

- a. attempts to raise training to an acceptable standard had been unsatisfactory,
- b. if efforts to improve training within a reasonable time were to be effective, they would have to be introduced at once, and
- c. if the Federal Government was to consider the findings of the commission with reference to

the proposed legislation, the recommendations must be produced immediately³¹

Although the commission was uncertain of the way in which the vocational training system was related to the vocational schools, the members were quite clear about the aims and objectives associated with apprentice training.

Assuming parity between general and vocational education; the demands of the economy and the needs of society these would be to provide equal opportunity for all to:

- a. entry to training and educational institutions,
- b. obtain a trade qualification,
- c. gain an understanding of technical, social and economic processes in order to facilitate mobility and
- d. facilitate transfer between the systems of general and vocational education³²

The performance of various parties and organisations associated with vocational education and training was also criticised and in some cases, lack of it. Whilst commenting on the positive side of the standard of training, the commission underlined the failure of many enterprises to provide a satisfactory standard, particularly in the craft sector and the performance of the vocational schools which had been neglected and accorded the lowest educational priority.

The commission's reform plan comprised four main aspects:

- a. the establishment of minimum training norms,
- b. the reform of the legal and organisational regulations governing the system and

c. the setting up of in-plant and external measures to control training

d. the reform of the method of financing the system³³

All this was to take place within the existing dual system of training. Inherent within this decision was the commission's apparent approval of the dual system.

In order to facilitate the reorganisation of training schedules, trade profiles, training plans and examinations, which had formerly been prepared by the chambers and the Wirtschaft, the commission recommended the establishment of a Federal vocational training institute that would undertake these tasks in addition to investigating and reporting on all aspects of training.

In the commission's view the increased responsibilities and tasks that would fall to the chambers of trade, commerce and handicrafts provided sufficient justification for employees to be accorded equal co-determination rights in the chambers, together with teachers acting in an advisory capacity.

With reference to the issue of co-determination, the commission now stated that;

".....if resistance by interested parties prevented implementation of this proposal then no alternative remained but to withdraw the present powers from the chambers and to establish an independent institution to organise and control apprentice training. Failing agreement in such an institution on equal rights of co-determination by employers and employees, the state should assume responsibility for the system."³⁴

Whilst the DGB welcomed the recommendations on co-determination, they stressed the point that they wished the training to be administered by the interested parties i.e. the Wirtschaft with a shift in the balance of power in the controlling organisations.³⁵ The Wirtschaft's reaction to the commissions recommendations however, ranged from disappointment to outrage. In a series of reports they maintained in succession, that the recommendations had offered no solutions to the problems of the trade training system,³⁶ that on the whole the German system compared favorably with their European competitors, that the report was based on a superficial investigation of the training system³⁷ and finally implied that the members of the commission were under Marxist influence.³⁸

In retrospect one can understand the concern of the Wirtschaft with these developments. In spite of all the faults identified by the commission, the system had produced a supply of trained personnel at a crucial time in the development of the Republic and had been financed and supported largely without government funding. Previous attempts at reform had been diverted under the CDU. Now, in the time of the Great Coalition it appeared that the Wirtschaft would be engaged in a long running political battle to retain control of the in-plant training of West German youth. This battle which was resolved in the debates over the Vocational Training Acts will be examined in the next Chapter.

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CHAPTER 6

The Vocational Training Acts

In 1966 the SPD placed before the Bundesrat the draft¹ of a manpower planning law also designed to regulate vocational training. The CDU/CSU, supported by the FDP, also laid a similar Vocational Training Bill² before Parliament. Whilst the two proposed pieces of legislation had areas of similarity,

there were two sections of the SPD draft that differed fundamentally from their coalition partners.

The first recommendation was the foundation of a Federal institute to observe and record economic and technological developments in the Republic and to assess their effects on the labour market. The second dealt with the adaption of trade training to the results of the research and the regulation of all aspects of in-plant trade training. It was apparent that the CDU/CSU supported the Wirtschaft in their control of trade training whilst also recommending the establishment of a Federal board to oversee the process.

Opposition to both bills came from persons in the craft sector³ who could foresee that the structure of apprentice allowances would change, with the employer being required to pay a more realistic wage to the trainee whilst under training. The teachers could find little in the bills that improved their situation with regard to participation on apprentice examining bodies⁴ nor were the vocational schools considered, a strange omission particularly as they formed

an essential part of the Dual System. The German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DHIT) welcomed the bills with some reservation, considering that it (the proposed Act) could only be effective if in-plant training remained under the control and administration of the Wirtschaft.

After discussion, a compromise vocational training law (Berufsbildungsgesetz) was passed in the Bundestag and ratified in the lower house, the Bundesrat June 1969, entering into force in the Federal Republic on 1st September 1969. The aim of the law was to provide a legal framework and an institutional basis for the regulation of vocational training, to improve the educational opportunities of the individual and to provide a reservoir of skilled, responsible, efficient and adaptable tradesmen. This was to be accomplished by the adaption and expansion of the existing Dual System.

The provisions of the Vocational Training Act of 1969 applied to initial training, further training, retraining, training of the handicapped and training by correspondence course. The four main aspects of vocational training covered by the law were:

- the initial training relationships of apprentices,
- the organisation of training at the place of work,
- the Federal, Länder, and local committees to control and administer training, and
- the establishment of a Federal vocational training research institute.

As stated in the law, the object of initial training was to

provide a broadly conceived, systematic basic training, and provide the specialist technical abilities, knowledge and work experience for those about to engage in a skilled occupation. The Vocational Training Act now provided comprehensive regulations covering the obligations of the apprentice and in particular those of the employer. To ensure a uniformly high standard of training, employers were now required by law⁵ to:

train according to schedules issued by the Federal Government,

provide competent instructors, and

provide suitably equipped training workshops.

Supervised by the appropriate local chamber of trade, training employers had no option but to conform to the law or lose the right to train.

At Federal level the law provided for the establishment of a Vocational Training Committee (Bundesausschuss für Berufsbildung) comprising six representatives each from the employers and employees and five from the Länder, three of whom were to be education specialists, and one representative from the Federal Labour Institute. The committee's objectives were to advise the Federal Government on fundamental questions of trade training, to make recommendations for the promotion of training and to further co-operation between in-plant, school and apprentice workshop training.

At Länder level a similar training committee was to be set

up under Land control consisting of equal numbers of representatives from the employers, employees and the Land administration. Half of the Land representatives were to be educational specialists. The duties of the committee were to advise the state government on vocational training questions, to foster co-operation between in-plant and school-based training in the re-organisation and expansion of the education system. Immediate control of training was to be undertaken by committees established by the competent authority in the chambers of trade.⁶

Each chamber was required⁷ to set up a committee consisting of six representatives each from the employers and employees and six vocational school teachers, the teachers having the right to debate but not to vote. The committee was to be informed of and consulted on all important matters associated with training, was empowered to decide on the regulations which the competent authority needed to make in pursuance of the Act for the better provision of training in its area of responsibility.

The creation⁸ of a Vocational Training Research Institute (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildungsforschung or BBF) whose role was to clarify the basic principles and determine the aims and methods of trade training and prepare plans to adapt training to modern technical, economic and social developments. Members of the Institute and its main committee were to be provided by the employers associations comprising the Association of German Employers (BDA), the

Association of German Industry (BDI), the Association of German Crafts (BFDH), the German Chambers of Crafts (DHKT) and the most influential, the German Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DHIT) and those of the employees comprising the Union of Staff Employees (DAG), the German Trades Union Congress (DGB), The Chemical Workers Union (IGChemie) and the German Metal Workers Union (IGMetal) together with one representative each from the Ministries of Economics and Labour and Social Order.

The Vocational Training Act of 1969, whilst introducing long over due regulation of the system of trade raining, had confirmed the confidence of all parties in the Federal Government of the efficiency of the existing Dual System, despite criticisms from foreign observers.⁹ The Wirtschaft with some reservations, approved the Act, seeing it as a conformation of their role in the training of German youth.¹⁰ The teachers as represented by the Union of Teachers in Vocational Schools (BLBS), maintained that the act ignored the vocational schools entirely¹¹ and were particularly incensed by the lack of teacher representation on the Federal and Land committees. In addition, the lack of voting rights of teachers in the chamber committees was deplored¹² The unions whilst accepting that they had at least gained some ground by their inclusion on the various committees, had hoped for further influence on the decision making process. In their view the continued exclusion of training from the vocational schools, failed to unify training throughout the Republic.¹³

An article by W. Linke analysing and criticising the Act¹⁴ highlighted some aspects of concern, which in retrospect proved to be almost clairvoyant:

"From the social angle, an attempt has been made to reconcile the traditional concept of training based on the goodwill of the employer with the view held by the workers' representatives, according to which training is a government function to be financed from taxes. Consequently, the guidelines are issued by the Government (i.e. the Federal Committee) but applied by the organisations traditionally concerned (the Chambers). This desire to compromise, coupled with insufficient knowledge of the legislative body about the highly specific and complex questions relating to vocational training and its possible future trends, will mean that the Act will need to be modified and supplemented.

Owing to its close links with social policy, training policy is frequently, but incorrectly, considered to be part of social policy. The provisions of the Act that actually deal with pedagogical questions are largely a repetition of earlier regulations and in many respects, inadequate. In particular:

at no point are either the trainers or the training research staff expressly given the right to take part in the decision making process, and the vocational schools teaching staff on the training committees of the chambers play only an advisory role;

the tacit recognition of the preponderant role of the Chambers and the apprentice masters in organising vocational training is likely to aggravate the position of the vocational schools, whose position is already being criticised. The Vocational Training Institute will have to define clearly the position of the vocational schools vis-a-vis both practical training and general education".¹⁵

Despite the criticisms, the Act had entered the statutes and was to become a base from which the SPD and the DGB were to initiate further reforms in pursuit of their stated

objectives, the integration of general and vocational education and the Federal control of trade training.

The initial move in the reform movement of the 1970's was the publication of the Deutscher Bildungsrat (DBR) report Structure Plan for the Education System (Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen)¹⁶ which was the culmination of four years' work. It was based on the hypotheses that compulsory education should begin at the age of five years, that a tenth year of schooling should be introduced, and that there should be greater opportunity for pupils in vocational streams to enter university.

Senior secondary education should be seen as a global system comprising various streams including general education as well as vocational education and training. Organisationally, the following principles should be considered: that vocational training syllabii should contain a greater component of general education, while general education should also contain some technical courses; pupils in vocational streams should be able to sit for both the junior secondary leaving certificate (Arbitur I) and the senior secondary certificate (Arbitur II); the whole system should consist of inter-related levels; differentiation should be achieved through providing optional subjects to supplement the main subject.

With reference to the vocational streams, it was recommended¹⁷ that these should comprise:

- a. a compulsory first year of basic training to be given in a school (consequently the first year of apprenticeship should take place outside production work); and
- b. initial vocational training, lasting a maximum of two years, leading to a first level qualification and providing a fairly broad range of skills and knowledge, to be given full-time in a school or through an apprenticeship; total integration of practical training into the school curriculum is not to be recommended as it would not allow for a continuing adaption of education to industrial evolution; and
- c. further specialisation, (particularly theoretical) should be given at a technical college (Fachschule)

The DBR had also included further recommendations¹⁸ on the duration of vocational training, vocational teacher training, which had already been the subject of criticism, the increasing development of further and continuing training after apprenticeship, as "lifelong education".

Whilst the Strukturplan could be considered a major step towards reform, the commission had certain reservations regarding the integration of general and vocational education. The pre-ponderance of in-plant training would only allow a limited integration of the two systems. In view of the problems the commission were unable to recommend full integration of courses in Secondary Stage II.

The performance of the Hauptschule pupils was a matter of concern to the members of the commission, who considered that an un-acceptable number of pupils were often ill-prepared to enter the world of work. The problem could be overcome if all youth leaving Secondary Stage I were to attend a one year basic trade training course, the Berufsgrundbildungsjahre or BGJ. (See Chapter 9) This was to

provide elementary trade knowledge across the width of a trade field, plus some general education, during the eleventh school year. This trade experience, which would count as the first year of apprentice training and be isolated from the production process, would permit a more accurate choice of occupation within the trade field and foster worker mobility.

Whilst the aim of the Strukturplan, to ensure greater equality of opportunity for youth in the vocational education system, was laudable in itself, the vagueness of the plan underlined the problems associated with integration. This is reflected in the recommendations of the commission that a series of pilot schemes be set up to test a variety of theories. Meanwhile, the Federal Ministry of Education (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft or BBW) published its first Report on Education²⁰ (Bildungsbericht).

The aim of the report was to outline the present education system, to elucidate current problems, and to formulate objectives for the reform of the system which the Federal Government hoped to achieve with the cooperation of the Länder. In the Government's view the primary aim of the future educational reforms must be to establish a flexible, efficient and democratic system open to all for their personal, professional and political education.²¹ Equality of opportunity, as guaranteed under the Basic Law,²² must exist for those desirous of education at all stages. In

order to achieve these aims the Government wished to see established throughout the Republic a comprehensive system of education into which would be integrated the vocational education sector.

As stated in the Bildungsbericht, the Federal Government considered vocational training to be a public task. It was clear²² that the SDP wished government to assume greater responsibility for training than had hitherto been the case and thereby reduce the power of the Wirtschaft. Admitting that the vocational education system had been neglected in the past, the Federal Government now intended to ensure opportunities for youth in training equal to those in the upper secondary sector by integrating the trade training system into the second stage of the secondary sector as recommended in the Strukturplan.

Whilst confirming that the present Dual System should continue, the Government²⁴ envisaged a considerable increase in training in the full-time vocational schools. The SDP was convinced that many trades in the commercial, catering and socio-pedagogic spheres could well be taught in schools. State control of training would thereby increase, with a corresponding reduction in the influence of the Wirtschaft over the system and achieve a more uniformly higher standard of training.

On the 5th November 1970 the Federal Government adopted a programme of action to pursue the reforms launched with

the Vocational Act and reinforced by the statements in the Strukturplan. Whilst initiating the reforms already included in the Act, the Government highlighted areas of immediate action that had to be undertaken to ensure implementation with a minimum of delay.

The salient points of the Aktionsprogramm were as follows:

Speeding up the preparation of new training regulations by:

modifying the part-time vocational schools syllabii;

including training by stages (Stufenausbildung); and

utilising the facilities of the Federal Institute of Vocational Training Research;

Improving related instruction in the vocational schools by:

concentrating related theoretical instruction over longer periods;

increasing the number of specialisation classes;

experimenting with ways of organising the first year of basic training; and

increasing the possibilities for transferring between vocational training streams and general education.

Updating vocational guidance by:

establishing information and guidance centres;

the use of doctors and industrial psychologists;

improving the initial training for guidance counsellors;

including occupational information in the last three years of general education; and

publishing a handbook on the rights and duties of trainees and training staff, on the prospects of upgrading and promotion and on vocational guidance bodies.²⁵

The Aktionplan embodied the recommendations of the Strukturplan and indicated the SDP's intention to increase the opportunities available for those leaving full-time schooling at fifteen. The proliferation of Federal Government reports, recommendations and reform programmes was continued by the publication in 1973 of the Bund-Länder-Kommission's (BLK) report, which was to have far-reaching effects on the structure of German education.

The Federal and State Commission for Educational Planning and Research or BLK had been formed under an amendment to the constitution²⁶ in 1969, which led to the establishment of the BLK which consisted of seven members of the Federal Government with eleven votes and one representative from each of the eleven Länder, each with one vote. The main tasks of the commission were to prepare a longterm outline plan for the development of the Republic's entire education system and to submit estimates of the cost and recommendations to finance the plan.²⁷

In July 1972 the commission submitted their proposals which once again reflected the recommendations of the Strukturplan. The proposal regarding vocational education concerned reforms to be implemented with some urgency and included:

- the introduction of the basic trade training year;
- the improvement of instruction in vocational schools;
- the alleviation of the teacher shortage;
- the improvement of in-plant and inter-firm

training;

the development of vocational courses which qualified for university entrance; and

an increase in the number of full-time vocational schools.²⁸

The final draft of the report was passed in June 1973 and agreed in November 1973 by the Federal and Länder governments. As the first outline plan conceived jointly by the Federal and Länder governments the General Plan for Education (Bildungsgesamptplan)²¹ established the principles on which the organisational and internal reforms to the educational and training systems were to be based.

The approach to the final draft had not been without problems. The political mix of the members of the commission had generated differences over the content of the report and the questions of financing the projected reforms were to prove a bone of contention that would continue to plague the implementation of educational change for some years.

The recommendations in the Bildungsgesamptplan regarding in-plant training provided for increased public control over the examination system, instructor standards and the suitability of training establishments.³⁰ Trade training in future would be divided into two components: basic training in a trade field, (Berufsgrundschuljahre) followed by specialist training; a special form of the BGJ, the Berufsvorbereitungsjahre (See Appendix V) would be provided

for those who had failed to complete Secondary Stage I. The Federal Government would financially aid the construction of inter-firm training workshops (Überbetriebliche-ausbildungstatten) to allow the smaller companies, particularly in the Handicraft sector, to meet the requirements of the increased training envisaged in the plan. An additional motive³¹ for the development of this area of training was to provide an alternative to the training places offered by the Wirtschaft in times of economic recession.

The Bildungsgesamptplan was received with varying degrees of enthusiasm by the parties involved in the areas of reform. The views of the CDU/CSU were represented by the Minister of Culture for Baden-Württemberg speaking in the Bundestag. Professor Hahn, a member of the KMK stated³² that the failure of the SDP and the Federal Government to consider costs before embarking upon these extensive reforms would condemn them to failure and agreement on reforms to vocational education could only be reached if the existing Dual System remained unaffected.³³

Professor D. Maier, KMK member for Bavaria, concurred with his CSU colleague whilst speaking at a trade training conference in Munich. He maintained that the integration of the two systems would result in the dis-orientation of vocational training. In its present form it was a viable alternative to general education in the preparation of German youth for their place in society.³⁴

A different opinion on the legislation was presented by Professor T. Dams, a political economist and member of the German Committee for Education (DAEB), who placed the discussion on the reform of training within the context of a market economy in his article "Reform in a blind alley".³⁵ On the basis of a statistical analysis he had examined the criticisms of the vocational education and training system and concluded that the majority of them were well founded. He disagreed, however, with the solutions offered within the Bildungsgesamptplan, whilst acknowledging the difficulty of obtaining a consensus on the overall objectives considering the differing opinions of those involved in the debate i.e. political parties, unions, employers, etc.

In his considered opinion two things were a threat to reform efforts:

"on the one hand there is a short-sighted, pragmatic view which has been characteristic of all the measures taken since 1969, and on the other side there has been a deluge of catch words and phrases such as 'equality of opportunity' or 'integration of educational streams'. Any attempt to improve the system of vocational training will fail so long as two fundamental problems have not been solved: the problems of public responsibility and finance. Until they are solved there will be no possibility of overcoming the conflict between the decisions taken by individual undertakings and the needs of the economy"³⁶

Professor Dams further suggested that in considering the solutions to the problems facing the reform of vocational education, the policy makers should lay down procedures for guidance for interested parties in a number of key areas, particularly: basic vocational education, prevocational

education, state intervention to ensure the adaption of the employment system, research into pedagogical methods, the respective competencies of the Federal Government and the institutionalising of co-operation between the parties concerned.³⁷

The views of the teachers organisations as represented by the German Teachers Association (Deutscher Lehrverband or DL) were becoming increasingly militant. Their dissatisfaction with the exclusion of the vocational schools from discussions in the previous legislation led to their demands for an amendment to the Vocational Training Law. They also demanded that the recommendations in the Strukturplan regarding the Secondary Stage II be implemented immediately together with introduction of an obligatory basic vocational training year (BGJ) within the vocational school system.³⁸ However, with regard to the integration of the two educational streams they were less forthcoming. Considering the question, the President of the DL stated at a vocational training conference that the vocational sector, and trade training in particular, would lose its identity under integration.³⁹

The apparent caution of the German Teachers Association (DL) regarding the reform was in contrast to the opinions of the DGB. At the Ninth Federal Congress in Berlin in 1972, whilst acknowledging that drastic changes were taking place in the educational system, they considered that the reforms did not go far enough. In addition to calling for changes

in the Vocational Training Act, they demanded sweeping reforms in the education system incorporating:

the introduction of the fully integrated comprehensive school,

economics and preparation for the world of work as part of the compulsory subjects in Secondary Stage I,

the integration of general and vocational education in Secondary Stage II, and

responsibility for trade training to be borne by the comprehensive school.⁴⁰

Amid this debate the Wirtschaft were growing increasingly concerned at the direction of the trends being mooted by the SDP and their supporters in the trade unions. The Wirtschaft's reaction to the Bildungsgesamtplan is reflected in the comments of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry (DHIT) regarding (in their opinion) the weaknesses inherent in the projected reforms.⁴¹

In the DHIT's opinion an overall education plan should provide the answers to three essential questions:

what changes in the supply of skills will be brought about by the individual demand for education, and how can one have some sort of control over educational policy?

what relationship is there between the individual demand for education and forecasts of employment opportunities?

what impact does long-term educational planning have on economic growth, national manpower and educational resources?

Furthermore, said the DHIT, the Bildungsgesamtplan contained neither detailed forecasts of training demand (and

therefore of the future supply of skilled manpower) nor an in-depth study of the relationship between vocational training and economic growth. Moreover, the reform gave only a minor role to in-plant vocational training in favour of an expansion of full-time training at school. Because of the limited capacity of vocational schools providing full-time instruction (Berufsfachschule) it was possible that school-based vocational training would have to be given by the colleges of further education (allgemeine weiterführende Schule).

It was the subsidiary role to be given to the Dual System together with the financing of the alternative schemes that caused most concern. The Wirtschaft were acutely conscious⁴² of the relationship between vocational training and the quality of goods, services and rates of production and consequently had no desire to lose control of the training system to what the employers considered to be inflexible, lethargic bureaucrats ignorant of economic realities and motivated by an egalitarian ideology, or to the unions, whose over concern with the rights of the employees, detracted from business efficiency. The Wirtschaft were unwilling⁴³ to put their own profits and thus the economic strength of the Federal Republic at risk by allowing radical reforms to the system which prepared workers to produce those profits.

It was apparent from the strength of these comments that the Wirtschaft were beginning to realise that the SPD, far

from resting on their laurels in the field of reform, were determined to continue to work towards their stated aims in general and vocational education. The situation was to develop into a series of confrontations between the Federal government on the one side and their political opponents, the CDU/CSU plus the Wirtschaft on the other. The appointment⁴⁴ of Dr. von Dohnanyi as Federal Minister for Education and Science in 1972 and the adoption by his Ministry of the responsibilities for the vocational training of youth, previously held by the Ministries of Economics and Labour, was to have a decisive effect upon the continuing debate.

By 1972 it was becoming apparent that there were certain shortcomings in the Vocational Training Act of 1969 and von Dohnanyi set about to revise of the Act in order to bring it into line with the developments in training and incorporate the recommendations of the various committees who had reported back to the Federal Government on the state of vocational training. The new legislation would be in the form of a new Vocational Training Law based upon general principles (Markierungspunkte) appertaining to the re-organisation of vocational training. On the surface it would appear that these covered ground that had already been well trodden, certainly in the various stages of committee. However it still remained for them to be included in the Statutes. The opening statement in the document clearly underlines the attitude of the Federal Government towards vocational training:

"The State is responsible for taking steps to rectify the imbalance between general education and vocational training, just as it is also the State's duty to accept responsibility for supervising the quality of both education and training. These two lines of action must be followed within a framework of collaboration between the Federal and State governments since, for historic reasons, the general and vocational education given within the school system is the responsibility of the States whereas the Federal Government is responsible for the vocational training given outside the school system" ³²

The Markierungspunkte contained, in effect, six major proposals:

- a. the integration of general and vocational education in Secondary Stage II,
- b. the co-ordination of instruction given in the training institution and the Berufsschule,
- c. the co-ordination of initial and further training,
- d. the improvement of instructor qualification,
- e. solutions of the problems of financing the system, and
- f. the state to supervise all aspects of the vocational training system. ⁴⁶

Among the most important provisions that the proposed law would embody was that training would be divided into a basic and a specialist stage. The basic stage was to be clearly separated from the area of production when the apprentice would be undergoing instruction. This was to be achieved by the provision of training areas within the large enterprises or, in the case of smaller craft industries, the use of the inter-firm training centres. With reference to the co-ordination of instruction between school and training place, the law stipulated that this would be achieved by the

production of in-plant training schedules (Ausbildungsordnungen) for which the Federal government would have responsibility, and the outline curricula (Rahmenlehrplan) for which the Länder would have responsibility. These developments would be organised and supervised by the creation of a new Federal organisation for vocational training which would incorporate the Republics' vocational education research institute (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung Forschung or BIBF), and the Federal Vocational Education Committee (Bundesausschuss für Berufsbildung).

Under the 1969 Vocational Training Act certain categories of employment had been excluded, notably the Handwerks sector. The new regulation would cover all aspects of vocational training.

The reference to the upgrading of instructors' qualifications was of particular significance. The supervision of apprentice training within a particular company or enterprise had been by a Meister, in the case of many of the smaller craft businesses this was often the employer. The added responsibility called for by the proposed legislation would substantially increase the training of the Meister, already from nine to twelve months, depending upon the particular trade, to cover the inclusion of pedagogic requirements. This situation would be further complicated by the increased demand for Meisters to staff both the proposed increase in schoolbased workshops and the

Ausbildungstatten as stipulated.

The question of financing the system was to prove one of the greatest problems and initiate the fiercest resistance from the Wirtschaft in the future debate. In 1971 the Federal Government had set up a Committee of Experts under Professor Edding⁴⁷ to inquire into the costs of vocational training and to assess the financial implications of the various proposals for the reform of vocational training. As the Committee had not yet presented its report by the time of publication of the initial draft of the Markierungspunkte the implications of the financing of the reforms were not yet fully apparent.

Reaction⁴⁸ to the proposals from the participants in the debate was varied. The German Trades Union Congress (DGB) welcomed the general principles but were disappointed that in their opinion there was insufficient support for the integration of general and vocational education. However, they were in favour of the assumption by the State for complete responsibility for training, particularly from the administrative aspect. The Association of Vocational School Teachers (BLBS) rejected the extension of Federal influence into the classroom and expressed its preference for the retention of Länder authority in the content of training. Otherwise they saw little advantage in the reforms contained in the draft.

The Wirtschaft on the other hand reacted with increased

determination to all aspects of the proposals, seeing a complete negation of their role in the preparation of youth for the industrial needs of the nation. The extent of feeling over the issue is reflected in the comments of the President of the DHIT, Herr von Amerong, at the annual conference⁴⁹ in March 1974 which was also attended by Dr. Frederichs, the Federal Minister of Economics. The President stated that if the proposed bill became law, the Wirtschaft could no longer accept further responsibility for training and the chambers would not act as agents for a state bureaucracy or participate in any capacity within the Act. As events were proving, 1974 was year of continuing crisis for the Federal Government. Following the opposition from the Wirtschaft and the CDU/CSU, the publication of the Edding-Kommission report on financing the reforms added further fuel to the debate.

The mandate of the Committee of Experts on the Costs and Financing of Out-of-School Vocational Training was to inquire into the costs of out-of-school vocational training, to assess the financial implications of various proposals to reform the training system, and to make proposals regarding a method of financing which would result in the effective application of general, minimal and qualitative standards applicable to training in industry.

For the 1971-1972 school year the gross over-all cost of out-of-school training (initial training as well as further training) was assessed⁵⁰ at about DM 11.1 thousand million

(i.e. 1.4 per cent of gross national product.) Of this total 94.1 per cent was for training in industry, commerce and the artisan trades, 1.8 per cent for agricultural training and 4.1 for training related to para-medical or para-legal professions.

The net global costs of this training i.e. the gross cost decreased by an estimated amount which could be attributed to the production output of the persons undergoing training, came during the same period, to DM 7.7 thousand million (69.6 per cent for initial training and 27.9 per cent for further training).

The quality of the training varied considerably according to the occupation taught, the size of the undertaking, field of economic activity and the geographic region. On the whole the number of training places offered by the undertakings was inadequate. In addition, the number of places usually decreased during a period of recession.

Starting from hypotheses established in relation to the proposed reform, the Committee prepared projections⁵¹ of training costs. It took the view that the training systems should give more consideration to the instruction given outside the undertaking (three years of training, the first being given entirely outside the undertaking and the other two years comprising, in line with the dual system of training, school based instruction of two days a week) and the adoption of standards modeled on those set by the undertakings operating the most intensive training programmes.

The conclusion of the Committee was to propose a reform of the (then) present system of financing, under which an undertaking financed its own training programme and recommended the creation of a central fund whose resources would be distributed according to a system of direct subsidies to approved persons or bodies providing training. The fund would be financed by a standard levy initially set at 1 per cent of the payroll and paid by employers in both public and private sectors. The levy would be increased as and when the fund accepted more financial responsibility for further training. In the Committee's view the establishment of the central fund was a pre-requisite for reforming vocational training carried out within an undertaking.⁵²

The DGB welcomed the Committee's proposals in general, which largely reflected their own views, in particular they found agreement with the proposals for:

reducing or eliminating the impact which costs had upon the availability of training places;

directing research towards training needs and planning, bearing in mind the long-term requirements of society whilst respecting the individual's freedom of choice; and

combating the trend towards excessive specialisation, against training which is too closely linked with the undertaking and against inequality of opportunity.⁵³

The Wirtschaft, as represented by the Chambers of Handicrafts (DHKT), whilst acknowledging the report made an important contribution to a better understanding of the situation regarding the cost and financing of vocational training in West Germany, had a number of reservations. For

example, the limited field of the enquiry, the reduced role given to the Dual System and the models and hypotheses adopted.

To quote A. Hegelheimer of the DHKT,

"The inadequate provision of training in relation to needs is related to the present financial system. The Committee has not been able to prove, however, that the existence in certain sectors of a surplus of trained workers was linked to a net income from training. The Committee itself acknowledges in its conclusions that this hypotheses was not confirmed. This contradiction stems from an erroneous assumption that vocational training strictly determines the worker's occupation. International studies show that diplomas tend rather to determine the level of occupational activity. Even if this hypothesis were admitted, the financial system proposed by the Committee would not solve the problem.

Because of the present financial system, training within the undertaking is assumed to be closely linked with the economic situation. Here again the Committee contradicts itself. Taken as a whole this hypothesis has not been verified: variations occur, according to sector, both in support of or contrary to current economic trends. Moreover, the influence of economic factors would not be reduced by a levy system, on whatever basis it might be calculated."⁵⁴

These comments actually seem to be a contradiction in terms in view of economic developments in 1973/4. The rise in oil prices had triggered a recession, resulting in an increase in the number of unemployed. According to the Federal Institute for Labour (Bundesanstalt-für Arbeit) there had also been a dramatic reduction in the number of apprenticeships and training places available for young people in the Federal Republic.⁵⁵

This reduction in training places was, to some degree, a result of the Vocational Training Act of 1969. Many employers, particularly in the smaller enterprises in the craft sector, had found that the formal requirements of the Act had increased the cost of training and had therefore ceased to train. In addition, the requirement that employers had to accept the Berufsgrundbildungsjahre (BGJ) as the first year of apprenticeship was acting as a deterrent to engaging apprentices, because, as many employers maintained, the standard of the BGJ graduates was below that normally associated with first year trainees. The Wirtschaft's apprehension regarding the Federal Government's stance on vocational education also contributed to a general reluctance on the part of the employers to train.

The resignation in May 1974 of Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt led to the formation of a new Cabinet by Helmut Schmidt and revision of Cabinet roles. Dr. von Dohnanyi who had inspired the Markierungspunkte and the draft of the vocational training law, lost⁵⁶ his appointment as Federal Minister of Education and Science together with his Parliamentary Secretary of State, Herr Zander, who had responsibility for the Department of Vocational Education.

The appointment of Dr. von Dohnanyi's successor, Herr Rohde, marked a change in the temper of the reform movement. Whilst Rohde still retained the brief for restructuring the 1969 Vocational Training Act in accordance with the

principles of the Markierungspunkte, it was evident that the SDP were prepared to moderate certain aspects of the bill.

In the revised draft there was no mention of the integration of general and vocational education. In view of the current economic state of the Republic, the issues to be considered were:

in order to provide sufficient training places a system of subsidies would be provided by the Federal Government to: persons offering training; persons providing training who have not previously received subsidies; assistance to maintain the number of training places under group training schemes;

the subsidies were to be financed by a levy, the amount being set by Federal Government decree;

an annual report by the appropriate ministry on the supply and demand situation of training places; and

the setting up of the Federal Institute of Vocational Training.⁵⁷

The operation of the subsidy would be initiated when statistics showed that 'the supply of training places exceeded demand by less than 12.5 per cent'.⁵⁸

The progress of the Training Places Promotion Act (Ausbildungsplatzförderungsgesetz) through its various stages before its subsequent implementation underlines the difficulty of introducing an innovatory Act in what can be considered a hostile environment.

The Federal Government (SDP), operating in a coalition with the FDP, with a majority in the Bundestag, but facing a CSU/CSU majority in the Bundesrat could expect a rocky ride with the progress of their latest vocational act. The

situation was further complicated by the FDP members of the Cabinet, who did not fully subscribe to the egalitarian policies of their SDP colleagues. Dr. Friderichs, the FDP Minister of Economics, had previously expressed⁵⁹ his concern to Dr. Rohde, his compatriot in the Education Ministry regarding the recommendations of the Edding-Kommission on the financing of vocational education and training. Friderichs view was that the Wirtschaft were adamant in their threats to withdraw facilities for vocational training unless the reform proposals were substantially modified, particularly with reference to the industrial levy.

The reformers at last began to look to economic reality and in the the initial draft of the new bill there was no proposal that would increase public control over vocational training, therefore the direction and administration of training would continue to remain the prerogative of the chambers of industry, commerce and the craft trades. In spite of the Minister of Economics' warning, the intention to establish a levy on all companies relating to the shortfall in training places was included.

The Wirtschaft considered the levy as a stifling influence upon training, maintaining that employers would in many instances prefer to pay the levy rather than train, and referred⁶⁰ to the British employers reaction in a similar situation. The DGB criticisms⁶¹ were restricted to the failure to establish a central fund to finance training as recommended by the Edding-Commission and the continuing

right of the chambers to control and administrate training.⁶² The teachers expressed⁶³ their comments in a similar vein to those bearing on the preceding legislation regarding the regulation of training in vocational schools, the co-determination rights for teachers and the construction and staffing of inter-firm workshops.

The Bundesrat received the draft of the proposed legislation on the 30th May 1975 and the CDU/CSU opposition majority in the Lower House promptly rejected it.⁶⁴ After almost a year of earnest discussion the Government re-introduced the draft on the 9th April 1976. It was passed⁶⁵ in the Bundestag and rejected⁶⁶ in the Bundesrat. The Bundesrat's objection to the draft was the Government's refusal to amend the bill after the first reading on the 30th May 1975 and the dismissal of CDU/CSU initiatives that had been proposed with regard to training.

Faced by the continuing stalemate between the two Chambers, the Minister of Education and Science re-structured the Government draft while retaining the sections relating to the financial regulation of training, the establishment of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung or BIBB), the planning of training and the provision of statistical data. The changes were in fact a legislative ploy, in that the approval of the Bundesrat was not required for the passage of the revised draft.

The bill was presented to both Chambers in June 1976 with the anticipated outcome, passed⁶⁷ in the Bundstag and rejected⁶⁸ in the Bundesrat. Due to the manoeuvring of the SDP/FDP however the Ausbildungsplatzförderungsgesetz received the President's signature and became law on the 1st September 1976.⁶⁹

The entry of the legislation into Federal law, however was to prove shortlived. The Land of Bavaria took action⁷⁰ in the Federal Constitutional Court on the grounds that the Act was un-constitutional in that the required approval of the representatives of the Länder had not been obtained. The Court upheld⁷¹ the motion of the Land with certain exclusions and the Act was subsequently abrogated.

The Federal Institute for Vocational Training therefore continued to function in its initial form until the passing of a similar law, the Vocational Training Promotion Act (Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz or BBfG) which was identical to the Ausbildungsplatzförderungsgesetz but with the omission of the provision for the creation of the funding levy for financing vocational training. The Vocational Training Promotion Act (BBfG) was passed⁷² by both Chambers of Parliament and enacted in 1982.

The record of the debates⁷³ of the Seventies serves to highlight the tenacity of the Wirtschaft and the Conservative Länder to protect, in the first instance, their vested interests in vocational training and in the second,

educational autonomy within the individual Land. The employers adherence to the Dual System of training is implicit within all the statements issued by the interested parties. The OECD Report of 1973⁷⁴ commented on the reluctance of employers and trainers to accept change in the Dual System that they regarded as a proven system of industrial training, which, in their opinion was in part responsible for the post war economic miracle.

The political debate outlined thus far has identified the positions of the various participants in the debate and the arenas in which the debate took place. Whilst the stances of the contributors i.e SDP and the DGB, CDU/CSU and the Wirtschaft and the teachers have been clarified in the preceding chapters, the bodies and institutions concerned with policy formulation, adoption and implementation have only received brief reference. The passing of the Vocational Training Act instituted a policy determination process that had not existed previously in the Federal Republic. These institutions in the policy determination structure were soon to be be involved in most difficult and hotly debated issues. The structure and responsibilities of these institutions and their role in policy determination will be examined in the next Chapter.

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CHAPTER 7

Policy Formulation, Adoption and Implementation with respect to Vocational Training in the Federal Republic of Germany

The debate over vocational training can best be analysed by applying Parsons' formal organisation model (see Chapter 4) to the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy relating to vocational education in the Federal Republic. To do so it is necessary to expand the model to encompass the relationships between policy developments at Federal (Bund) level and also at Länder level.

The model therefore can be represented thus:

FEDERAL	LAND	SCHOOL
PUBLIC INTEREST	PUBLIC INTEREST	PUBLIC INTEREST
MANAGERIAL	MANAGERIAL	MANAGERIAL
TECHNICAL	TECHNICAL	TECHNICAL

(See Appendix I for administrative structure)

Federal level

The Public Interest element at Federal level which is responsible for policy formulation is represented by the two houses of the Federal assembly, namely, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, supported by the various Ministries concerned with the elements of the intended policy formulation.

The Bundestag is composed of 518 Deputies from the major

political parties elected by popular vote across the Republic. The 22 Deputies from West Berlin under the present constitution are allowed a seat but are not allowed to vote.

Political majority in the Bundestag was held by the CDU/CSU from 1949 until 1966, when the Grand Coalition was formed with the SPD. From 1969 the SPD with the FDP formed the majority with the CDU/CSU alliance in opposition.¹ (See earlier Chapters).

The balance of representation in the Bundestag in 1972 was as follows:

Party	%vote	Deputies
SDP.....	45.8.....	242
CDU.....	35.2.....	186
CSU.....	9.7.....	48
FDP.....	8.4.....	42
Represented in the <u>Bundestag</u>		518 ²

It is apparent from the above that the SPD, in coalition, had a sufficient majority in the Bundestag to present the legislation required to bring about the changes in the system of vocational education that it desired.

The Bundesrat is the 'Second House' of the Legislature and was created as the "federative organ" of the Federation. Through it the Länder co-operate in the Federation's legislation and administration and the Bundesrat is formed by the delegation of 41 Members appointed by the Land

Governments as well as representatives from West Berlin who, as in the Bundestag, have a seat but without a vote. The Länder delegate three, four or five Members to the Bundesrat, according to the size of their population. Since the votes of each Land may be cast only as a block vote, the Land Cabinets take the decision regarding the voting beforehand and the Bundesrat Members are bound by the instructions and decisions of their Governments. In general, Federal laws can be passed only if the Bundesrat gives its express consent. They are the laws that effect the rights and legitimate interests of the Länder. In these cases the consent of both Bundestag and Bundesrat is necessary before a bill becomes law.

An indication of the political affiliations of the various Länder during the period from January 1970 to December 1974 is given in the table below:³

Political Representation in the Länder Parliaments (Ländtag)

<u>Land</u>	Total Deputies	CDU/ CSU	SDP	FDP
Baden-Württemberg	120	65	45	10
Bavaria	204	132	64	8
Bremen	100	34	59	7
Hamburg	120	51	56	13
Hesse	110	53	49	8
Lower Saxony	155	76	68	11
North Rhine- Westphalia	200	95	94	11
Rhineland- Palatinate	100	53	44	3

Saarland	50	27	23	-
Schleswig-Holstein	73	40	32	-
West Berlin	138	54	73	11

(N.B. The reason for the spread of dates is because the Landtag elections are not held simultaneously throughout the Federal Republic.)

Examination of the table above shows that eight Länder were controlled by the CDU/CSU, albeit with small majorities in some cases, but the overall picture reflects the political situation in the Bundesrat during the period covered by this research.

The Institutional element at Federal level responsible for policy formulation is represented by the relevant Ministries directly affected by the legislation. (See Appendix I).

The responsibilities of the Federal Ministries are laid down in the law for the allocation of responsibilities of 18th March 1975⁴ and the edict of the Federal Chancellor of the 15th December 1973⁵. Through these the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft or BMBW) has overall responsibility including co-ordination of vocational training, and also takes the lead in drafting the law. It is directly responsible for issuing regulations for vocational further education and for teacher training qualifications. It is responsible for the basic policy of vocational training and supervises the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (+Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung or BIBB). The appropriate Trade

Ministries (e.g. Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs (Bundeswirtschaftministerium or BWM); the Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry (Bundesministerium für Lebensmittel, Agriwirtschaft und Forst-wissenschaft) for the commercial and agricultural occupations and rural domestic science; the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialkund)) are responsible for the recognition of occupations requiring training, following the issuing of training regulations as well as the finance and equalisation regulations. They can issue regulations for training in addition to the above, but only in agreement with the Federal Ministry of Education and Science.

The Federal Institute of Labour (+Bundesanstalt für Arbeit or BfA) also has some responsibility within the vocational training system. The Federal Institute is a public jurisdiction body with its own administration and is directly subordinate to the Federal Government. In accordance with the law for the promotion of work⁶ it is responsible for career counselling, labour exchanges, promotion of vocational training, promotion of work for the disabled, granting of funds for job preservation and creation. In addition to these commitments, it is also required to carry out research into employment and occupations, for this purpose the BfA has its own research institute.

The final institution at Public Interest level responsible

for policy adoption is represented by the Standing Conference of the Cultural and Educational Ministers of the States in the Federal Republic (Standige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der - Bundesrepublik Deutschland or KMK) and its specialist committees and sub-committees. (See Appendix K).

Since the Constitution⁷ of the FGR guarantees freedom of movement within the Republic, freedom of choice of place of work or education, some co-ordination is essential. The current basis of this co-ordination is the Vocational Training Act of 1969⁸ which standardised statutory provision for all Länder and applies to training throughout industry, agriculture, the civil service, and professions. The Kultusministerskonferenz (KMK), which was in existence before the constitution of the present Republic, is the chief co-ordinating body. Significantly, it is not a statutory body, but one formed by common consent among the Länder.

The plenum of the KMK consists of the Land Education Ministers (or Senators in the case of Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg). The plenum makes resolutions on all matters pertaining to the KMK in so far as the matter does not lie within the jurisdiction or the competence of some other body. All resolutions requiring the assent of other Land bodies only become binding when each Land has accepted them.⁹ Each Land has one vote and all resolutions require a unanimous vote.

The Conference of Heads of Office (Amtschefkonferenz) is formed by the Ministers' deputies (Staatssekretäre), for the Länder, or Senatsdirektoren for the City States. This conference deals with the more routine matters of co-ordination and acts in an advisory capacity by preparing the ground for ministerial decisions.

The Schools Committee¹⁰ (Schulausschuss) is one of the various KMK sub-committees handling specialist areas, each with a Land representative. The committee chairman is elected by plenum on the committee's recommendation and convenes when the need arises. Experts can be co-opted onto the committee from outside organisations and special sub-committees can be set up for important priority areas. Voting is on a simple majority basis, with one Land one vote. Unanimous recommendations have to be submitted to plenum and/or to another committee or Land government within one month of making the recommendation; otherwise the recommendation becomes a valid resolution of the KMK.

The Sub-committee on Vocational Education (Unterausschuss für berufliche Bildung or UABB), as its title implies, is responsible¹¹ for co-ordinating all measures and policies designed to achieve a common approach throughout the Federal Republic in the field of vocational training and to co-ordinate the implementation of these measures and policies with the Federal and Länder Ministries. This is to ensure that members of the Committee have full

responsibility within their own Land for vocational training.

The identified need for change, (as seen by the Federal Government during the period covered by this research), is embodied in the Federal Government's response in restructuring basic vocational training, further training, and the vocational preparation element within the general secondary sector.

The main areas to which the Sub-committee on Vocational Education addresses itself are:

planning by the relevant authorities for the content and expansion of vocational training;

the number and types of vocational training relationships;

trends on the labour market which affect vocational training;

new training procedures;

changes in training procedures;

results of final examinations;

alterations to the public educational services with possible repercussions for vocational training; and

with the setting up and providing of guidelines for the individual curriculum committees.⁹

The most significant committee regarding vocational education is the Co-ordinating Committee (Koordinierungsausschuss or KA) of the KMK, concerned with the harmonisation of the training regulations (Ausbildungsordnungen or AO) produced by the Federal Institute for Vocational Education (Bundesinstitut für

berufsbildung or BIBB) and the framework curricula (Rahmenlehrpläne or RLP) produced by the Education Ministry (BMBW).

The Coordinating Committee (KA) was established on the 30th May 1972, by a joint decision of Bund and Länder) and a further resolution of the KA on the 8th August 1974 formulated the harmonisation structure. (See Appendix L for the details of procedural structure).

The tasks¹² of the Koordinierungsausschuss are:

to agree basic principles for harmonisation of the training schedules and the framework curricula,

to decide in which priority order training schedules and framework curricula need updating and which committee should be responsible,

to ensure proper feedback to the relevant initiating centre and bodies,

to carry out a final reconciliation between training regulations and framework curricula before recommending them for issue by the relevant bodies (i.e. the Länder Education Ministries and the Chambers concerned with the particular aspect of training).

To recap, these are the bodies representing the Public Interest, in Parsonian terms, in the formulation of policy at Federal level. However, it should not be overlooked that the Kultusministerskonferenz (KMK) is itself a Formal Organisation in the same terms and subject to the same influences that Parsons identifies in his model.

The Technical element at Federal level involved in the implementation of policy is the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB), formerly the Federal Institute

for Vocational Education Research (Bundesinstitut für Berufs-
-bildung Forschung or BBF)¹³. This Institute is a legally
authorised body, directly subordinate to the Federal
Government, and is supervised by the Federal Ministry for
Education and Science. The management of BIBB consists of :

the Main Committee,

the Secretary General.

The Secretary General is the legal and administrative
representative of BIBB. He heads the administration of the
Federal Institute and carries out its duties. In so far as
he is not bound by instructions and general administrative
regulations from the relevant Federal Minister, he carries
out his duties in accordance with guidelines from the Main
Committee. The Secretary General is appointed by the
President of the Federal Republic on the recommendation of
the Federal Government.

The Main Committee decides matters concerning BIBB which
have not been delegated to the Secretary General. The
committee is composed¹⁴ of eleven employers, employees and
Länder respectively, as well as five Federal
representatives. The representatives of the Federal
Republic carry 11 votes, which are used as one block. One
representative from the Federal Institute and one at the
Federal level from the senior local associations (i.e. DHIT
or other chambers) may take part in an advisory capacity.

A Committee for the Länder (Ausschuss des Länder or AL)

It has the special duty of working towards the harmonisation between the training regulations and the academic teaching programmes for the individual Länder, as far as they concern BIBB. The AL consists of one representative from each Land as well as three deputies each from the Federal Government, employers and employees.¹⁵ A representative from the Federal Institute of Labour may attend meetings in an advisory capacity.

In order to provide for specialist advice when handling individual cases, the Secretary General may set up Trade Committees (Berufsausschuss or BA) after making corresponding adjustments to the statutes. The Trade Committees should be composed of persons well versed in vocational training, especially teachers. Each Trade Committee should include trainees as well as teachers, according to the task which it may have to perform.

The Federal Institute for Vocational Training has the following functions:

to carry out research into vocational training, in accordance with a research programme subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education;

to advise the Federal Government on all important questions concerning vocational training;

to prepare legal regulations for for vocational training for issue by the Federal Government, i.e. training, further education, and financial regulations and procedures;

to hold common discussions and to harmonise training procedures for firms within the scope of training programmes which are, in addition, governed by an administrative agreement between the Federal and Länder Governments;

to finance vocational training;

to plan, develop, establish and provide support for further training establishments which are separate from industry;

to promote model trials for new training institutions;

to monitor the content of correspondence courses for vocational training and to maintain a list of the recognised occupations requiring training;

to assist with the provision of statistics and prepare the annual report on vocational training.¹⁶

Policy Formulation, Adoption and Implementation at Land Level.

The high degree of centralisation of decisions in the educational system is shown most clearly in the supervision of the schools: "The entire educational system shall be under the supervision of the state" (Article 7, para 1, Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany). Since the school system belongs in the Länder sphere of autonomy, the entire school system is subject to supervision by the Länder administration. As a collective term, school supervision historically has included the totality of the state's rights and obligations concerning the organisation, planning, direction and superintendence of the school system. These rights include establishing the way the schools and instruction are organised, as well as determining the learning objectives and content of the courses.

Both the parliaments and the Ministries of Culture of the Länder participate in the supervision of the schools. The

parliaments in as much as they are responsible for legislation on education and planning the budgets of the Länder. The Ministries of Culture issue regulations and directives and plan the development of school systems.

All of the Länder governments include a special ministry¹⁷ that is responsible either for the school system alone or for culture matters in general, including institutions of higher education. According to a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, all fundamental characteristics of the educational system of a particular Land are to be established by the laws passed by the parliament of the Land. Within the framework of these laws, The Minister of Culture is responsible for the more detailed regulation of all aspects of the schools, instruction and the internal affairs of the schools.

The Minister achieves this through ordinances that apply throughout the Land and that are formally binding on all public schools. The most important instruments at his disposal for directing the school system are the course schedules, which specify the subjects to be taught and their weekly time allotment for each type of school and each grade.¹⁸ The broad features of these schedules, which define the basic structure of a school system's educational programme, are discussed and approved for application throughout the Federal Republic by the KMK. The course guidelines, which set the goals and the topics to be treated for each subject, and give methodological suggestions, are

based on these schedules. Between 1965 to 1975, the course guidelines were revised and modernised¹⁹ in all of the Länder, taking into account developments in the relevant academic disciplines. This complex of general regulations is supplemented by rules concerning transfers, examinations and school certificates.

The legal domain of the Länder also encompasses the whole area of teacher training and personnel administration. Determining what form teacher training takes in the universities and teacher training colleges and prescribing what qualifications are required for the teaching profession, falls under the authority of the Länder parliaments and their Ministries of Culture, as does personnel administration. This consists of hiring the teachers, assigning them to schools, promoting and transferring them. Most teachers are tenured officials of the Land in which they teach and have concomitant rights and duties.

Enforcing the regulations and superintending the teachers is the responsibility of either the superior school inspectorate (Oberschulrat) or of the school inspectorate, (Schulrat) depending on the type of school. (See Appendix J) The school inspector is the official superior to the principals and the teachers of his allocated schools and is responsible for the general administration of all school personnel, together with supervising the teachers in the performance of their duties and ascertaining their

competence in their disciplines. This supervision is concentrated for the most part on important phases or points in the teachers' careers, particularly on the teachers' first appointment, assigning them to particular schools, promoting and transferring them. Primarily for these purposes, the the school inspector visits his allotted schools to observe the courses in order to evaluate the professional performance of the individual teachers. In addition, an inspector concerns himself with questions of school organisation, regional and local development.

As the Federal Republic is composed of eleven Länder whose educational autonomy is reflected in the variations to the basic education system found in each Land, the selection of one particular Land for examination in the context of this study would serve as a model of 'typical' Land government.

The Land of Baden-Württemberg lies in the South of the Federal Republic. It is traditionally Conservative, with a population of 9.1 million, making it the third largest Land after North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria. There is a concentration of light and heavy industry, which, together with agriculture and forestry, contributes to a healthy, thriving economy.

Following Parsons model, the Public Interest element relating to vocational education is represented by the Land parliament (Landtag) and the Ministry of Sport and Culture. (See Appendix J for the structure of the Baden-Württemberg

school system).

The Kultusminister and his/her staff, represented on the Kultusministerkonferenz (KMK) and its associated committees, with the responsibility for disseminating the information regarding the curriculum (Rahmenlehrpläne) to the interested parties.

The Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Culture, upon receipt of the "broad framework" of the curriculum, delegates the interpretation of the content of the curriculum to a department the State Agency for Education and Instruction (Landestelle für Erziehung und Unterricht). This department, the Department for Curriculum Development in Vocational Education (Abteilung für Lehrplanteilwicklung im Beruflichen-Schulwesen), consists of a series of Curriculum Committees (Lehrplankommission), which have the responsibility of "putting the flesh on the bones" of the skeleton framework. The Curriculum Committee is formed of five to eight members who are senior staff teachers, with relevant subject interests, from various schools in the State, plus representatives from the Abteilung and the Landestelle. Upon agreement, the curricula are sent to the Ministry of Sport and Culture for ratification and subsequently circulated to the regional Berufsschulen for implementation.²⁰

The Managerial element in the Parsonian context is the schools inspectorate. The inspector, whose duties and

responsibilities have been listed earlier, is the link between the Ministry and the schools.

The Technical element at Land level is represented by the schools. In general throughout the Federal Republic, the continuation schools (berufliches Schulwesen) responsible for technical/vocational studies are largely monotchnic, concerned with one particular subject area, i.e. mechanical engineering (Machinenbau), electrical/electronic (Electro-technik), building and wood (Bau und Holztechnik) etcetara. Once again, in general the continuation schools are divided into the following types:

Part-time schools (Teilzeit schulen) (apprenticeship and basic training year combined) in which, according to the combined principle, the school provides theoretical and practical knowledge (laboratory experiments) for up to 12 lessons (Stunden) per week,

Full-time schools (Vollzeit schulen) (continuation school and basic training year combined) for vocational training, in which the first year of the vocational training concerning theory and practical work in the school is taught. The second and third educational years are combined as in the part-time schools,

Full-time schools which in their theoretical and practical spheres lead to school qualifications and

Master schools (Meisterschulen) which, in collaboration with the chambers of industry and trade, prepare students for the master workmen certificate (Meisterprüfung).²¹

(N.B. For clarification, it should be noted that several schools are located within one particular institution.. See Appendix N for typical institution structure).

For example, a typical institution in Baden-Württemberg for mechanical engineering consists of the following:

part-time vocational school (Berufsschule),
full-time specialised vocational school
(Berufsfachschule),
part-time vocational continuation school
(Teilzeit Berufsaufbauschule),
advanced technical school for engineering
(Fachschule für Maschinenbau) and
vocational grammar school (Technische Gymnasium)²²

As the body responsible for policy implementation upon receipt of the RLP from the Ministry of Culture, it is advantageous to examine the school in an extension of Parsons model.

The Public Interest is represented by the regional body responsible for the school and the advisory body (similar to the Governing Body in a U.K. institution) composed of parents, industrialists and employees.

The Managerial element is the Studiendirektorskonferenz consisting of the institution principal (Oberstudiendirektor or Schulleitung) together with his/her Heads of Schools (Studiendirektor or Oberstudienrat depending on the size of the schools). This conference corresponds to the Academic Board found in the U.K. Further Education system with responsibility for academic policy within the institution.

The Technical element is represented by the teachers within the institution. In the situation described so far these

are represented by the following:

subject specialists (Fachleiter) who as their title implies are responsible for the organisation of individual subjects,

subject teachers (Fachlehre) concerned with teaching of theoretical subjects (Fachtheorie,

general education teachers (Allgemeinbildunglehre) responsible for teaching the general education subjects of the vocational schools curricula and

practical teachers (Praxislehre) concerned with teaching of practical subjects (Fachpraxis).

From the above it can be seen that vocational school teachers fall into two groups, (a) those who teach theory and (b) those who teach practical subjects.

Training for the Fachlehre or (Hoheres Lehramt mit-Schwerpunkt Sekundar II: Lehrbefähigung für Fachrichtungen des beruflichen Schulwesens to give them their full official title), presupposes that applicants have already obtained the Abitur and in addition, 12 months practical experience.

The eight term (four year) course of studies at a university and universities of technology, follows the pattern of main areas in vocational school curricula. They are: domestic, agricultural, industrial, commercial and in isolated cases socio-educational subjects.²³ Depending on the locality, domestic science can be combined with subjects such as German, English or biology since subjects of a general education nature are part of the curriculum at the majority of vocational schools.

In some Länder graduates of a three year course of study at a Fachhochschule can obtain a teaching post (Lehramt) at a vocational school by completing a type of post-graduate course (Aufbaustudium) lasting two terms.

On completion of the first state examination, a probationary period (Referendariat), takes place at a vocational educational seminar (Studienseminar). Following the second state examination, (Zweite Pädagogische Prüfung), successful candidates acquire the academic title of Studienrat (in several Länder they are styled Gewerbeoberlehre or Handelsoberlehre) and receive the same salary as their colleagues at Gymnasium.²⁴

The training for the Praxislehre, who account for about one tenth of the teaching body at vocational schools, is on the other hand, varied in nature.²⁵ Most have, as a rule, their Meister Prüfung, considerable professional experience and educational aptitude; others come from Fachhochschulen and Fachoberschule (see above). These teachers are also trained for their future responsibilities in the special seminars (berufspädagogische Fachseminar) mentioned above. Their salary is lower than that of the Studienrat. (See Appendix M for structure of teacher training.)

Teachers' rights in the classroom are laid down in very broad terms. Similar to "academic freedom", freedom of research and teaching, at universities in the Federal Republic, "pedagogical freedom" (pädagogische Freiheit) is also guaranteed to teachers in most of the Länder where it

is anchored in law.

This grants a free choice of method of instruction and teaching content within the framework of the curriculum as laid down by the education authorities, it also grants freedom of choice of textbooks, and assessment of pupils' performance. From a pedagogic point of view the teacher is very much his/her own boss. This freedom is restricted by the need to work in collaboration with colleagues within the bounds of staff meetings (Lehrerkonferenzen). Resolutions approved by such meetings are binding for both the school principal and the staff as a whole.

The participation of teachers in school legislation takes place, as a rule, within the terms of the regional (Land) consultative committees (Landesbeirat), convened by the education minister.

The teacher's commitments include the usual civil service requirements of allegiance and obedience (including allegiance to the constitution) which are directly associated with his/her educational brief, i.e. the obligation to conduct orderly lessons, plus preliminary and subsequent preparation, the commitment to in-service training laid down by legislation in several Länder, the commitment to collaboration with pupils and parental bodies and the obligation to undertake supervisory duties designed to shield the pupils from harm. Dereliction of duty can result in disciplinary measures.²⁷

The right of the teachers to set up organisations (Lehrerverbände) of their own choice is guaranteed by the constitution without pre-conditions, formalities, or restrictions. Some 64% of the teachers in the Federal Republic are members of the following unions:

the German Teachers' Association (Deutscher Lehrerverband or DL) which is affiliated to the World Association of Teachers and the Education and Science Union (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft or GEW) which is affiliated to the German Trade Union Federation (DGB).

As teachers have civil servant status they are not allowed to strike. However, the GEW supports²⁸ the view that teachers should have this right when it concerns the question of their working conditions.

The bodies, institutions and authorities described thus far are concerned in policy formulation, adoption and implementation at Federal and Länder level with regard to the introduction of the vocational education element of training.

In consideration of the training element of this innovation it is necessary to examine the role of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Their role as the statutory bodies representing the business and industrial communities in the Federal German Republic adds an interesting dimension to the politics of vocational training.

The Chambers of Commerce, Crafts and Industry (Handelskammer, Handwerks and Industriekammer) are both defined by the Vocational Training Act of 1969 as the competent bodies charged with the principal tasks of determining the suitability of firms to enter into contracts for apprenticeships, registering these contracts and approving (or amending) their terms, supervising training programmes, and examining apprentices at the completion of training.

Membership of the Chambers is compulsory for all enterprises which pay the trade tax (Gewerbesteuer). There are 73 Industrie und Handelskammer in the Federal Republic supervising (in 1981) some 643,000 contracts in 132,000 qualified enterprises: the 43 Handwerkskammer supervise a further 505,000 trainees in 170,000 firms.²⁹ Additionally, there are 170 similar bodies concerned with agriculture, public administration and professions. The central authority for the industrial and business Chambers is the Deutscher Industrie und Handelstag (DIHT), which, founded in 1861, has retained that title since 1918 in the Federal Republic. (See Appendix D for organisational structure). The DIHT aims are to ensure further co-operation between Chambers and develop a regular exchange of experiences, to defend the interests of business, and to represent those interests to all the Federal authorities.³⁰

The basic vocational training functions of local Chambers are therefore to advise, administer and examine. The

Chambers, through their vocational training committee and examining boards set the final practical, written and oral tests and certify the occupational qualifications such as skilled craftsman, technician, or clerk, without which people cannot practice their trade. The composition of the vocational training committee is as follows, six employers, six employee representatives and six vocational school teachers. The latter may contribute to the discussion in an advisory capacity, but have no vote. The examinations committee has a similar construction, but with the teacher representatives role as equal partners.

The Chambers are subject to public, Federal law and implement the statutory regulations governing the practical implementation at local level. Since out-of-school training is in the hands of the employers, who also provide the necessary training places in business and industry, employers virtually decide whether they will provide training, in what trades, and how many young people they will train. The employers, through their representation in the Chambers, have definite views about the desired previous form of schooling and the standards of attainment required which affect the admission tests they set for would-be apprentices. Less able and less well qualified young people frequently find it difficult to obtain a training place. However, the Chambers have to act in concert with the Land and Federal government concerning the content and length of training programme.

In the Parsonian context therefore, the Chambers have an

input at all levels of the policy formulation, adoption and implementation process with regard to the training regulations (Ausbildungsordnen. From the Public Interest by their involvement in the committee stage at the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB) together with the Vocational Coordinating Committee (Koordinierungs Ausschuss). At Managerial level by their role at the local Chambers together with their representation at the Land vocational training committee (Berufsbildung Ausschuss) and at the Technical level at the delivery point i.e. the local employers and their training instructors.

The Trade Unions in the Federal Republic are also active participants in the policy process. Parsons comments on the external and internal influences that affect his Formal Organisation model at each level. It is in this context that the Trade Unions input should be examined. Excluded from the official formulation stage at Federal (Public Interest) level, the unions exert influence on the political parties responsible for such formulation. Their inclusion in the Chamber vocational training committees gives them a voice on policy adoption and through participation on the employer/employee works committees, an input on the implementation process.

Trade Unions in the Federal Republic, it is claimed³¹, are the pillars of "social stability". Party-politically and denominationally neutral, their free collective bargaining roles are as a contract partner (Tarifpartner) with the

employers and they are organised on the basis of one industry - one Union. Whatever craft, trade or skill is present in an enterprise, one Union represents all workers. Unions are therefore large; the Federation of German Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) (DGB) which represents 17 Unions has nearly 8 million members. There is no forced "closed shop" policy and in its relations with the Unions, the Federal Government remains neutral. Whilst members have the right to strike, employers have the right to lockout. The power of trade unionism in the Republic is relatively weak. Within what the Federal Republic calls a "socially responsible market economy", the political parties, Unions and employers are committed to the view of being social partners, a view which has helped to stabilise the economy. In a booming economy with worker co-determination and participation established by an Act³² established in 1976, and with party politics just right and left of centre, trade unionism in the U.K. sense has not really emerged since 1945. Since vocational training is hence not tied to emotive issues, trade unions give positive support to change in the vocational education sector without feeling threatened. The central agency for the Unions is the DGB, and it has a sub-committee whose prime responsibility is to represent union views on vocational training within the Dual System at all levels of government in the Federal Republic.

The identification of the participants in the debate relating to the reforms of vocational education and the arenas in which the debate was undertaken must be the first

step in identifying and analysing the problems encountered during the implementation of an educational innovation.

The following chapter examines the roles of the various bodies and institutions in the context of the problems arising from such an implementation.

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CHAPTER 8

The Politics of the Development of the Basic Vocational Training Year 1972-1982

In the debate on vocational training in the Federal Republic the Basic Vocational Training Year (Berufsgrundbildungsjahre or BGJ) had been discussed in great detail by the interested parties described in the preceding Chapter. Firstly in terms of the concept of elementary vocational training that lies behind it, and secondly in terms of its practice - and the criticism that has been levelled at both, forms part of that debate.¹

There still exists no real exposition of the inter-relationship between politics and the law with regard to to the practical implementation of the BGJ. The way politics and the law inter-relate has had the effect of undermining the original concept of the BGJ, following a course not untypical of plans for reform, particularly where vocational training is concerned.

Even though there was a general absence of desire for reform, particularly in the politics of vocational training, the experiences and insights gained from history should none-the less give impetus to new attempts at reform, and the reform of elementary vocational training will continue to be an important element in the politics of education.

The structure and function of the BGJ

The concept

The demand for elementary vocational training arose as early

The demand for elementary vocational training arose as early as the start of this century.² By the end of the sixties, during the general debate on education, the demand for broad-based elementary vocational training gained acceptance. This led to the birth of the concept of the BGJ by the early seventies. The factors decisively the debate at this time were:

defects in the existing apprenticeship schemes;

changes in the employment system;

rapid technological change;

a much-feared tendency for qualifications to be devalued;

an expectation that equality of educational opportunity would be inherent in the near future.

These factors gave rise to the notion that the BGJ, so-called "elementary vocational training", could become a lever towards an improved system of vocational qualifications and the integration of the (hitherto separate) areas of general education and training.

(N.B. Separately defined in law)

The legal premises for the implementation of elementary vocational training were established in 1969 (still under the Great Coalition) with the passing of the Vocational Education Law (Berufsbildungsgesetz) or BBiG, though the letter of the act only relatively vaguely refers to a "broad-based elementary vocational education" (BBiG 1, para 2).

The recommendations³ of the Federal German Education Council (Deutscher Bildungsrat) gave an important impetus to ideas

and plans for a BGJ in their Structure Plan of 1970. The concept of an elementary base for vocational training took concrete form when the same council produced its recommendations⁴ for the reorganisation of Secondary Level Education II (Sekundarstufe II) in 1974, the educational reform plan of the Federal State Commission in 1973 and its Graduated Plan (Stufenplan) in 1975.

Originally, the BGJ was to perform the following functions, some of which were didactic, others based on principles of educational theory:

the concentration (sic) of basic professional and other job qualifications for didactic purposes;

the encouragement of mobility and flexibility by creating a unified basic education for related categories of employment (Berufsfelder),

the cross-sectional qualification (Querschnitts-qualifikation);

a move towards a stronger theoretical base; and

the systematic award of basic qualifications independently of industrial production (i.e. free of technical and economic pressures).⁵

Above all, the wide range of categories of employment offered in the first year of training, the re-structuring of the course contents and teaching methodology, and a stronger theoretical base, were to produce the so-called "cross-sectional qualification". The stronger theoretical base was to be applied not only to specialist subjects but also to so-called "general training" subjects covering the whole range of employment categories. The latter was meant to prepare the way to extensive integration with the standard secondary level II (Einheitliche Sekunderstufe II). School

students were thus to have a better start and better chances of development at school and of getting a job, even at this early stage.

A full teaching programme in schools was to ensure that the BGJ had a systematically coherent syllabus and remained independent of production targets. Later co-operative schemes of the BGJ led to greater demands on companies' training standards, these being meant to guarantee BGJ students suitable employment by way of the insistence on broad-based vocational training (flexible vocational training).

Stages of development in the history of the BGJ

The 1971 agreement and its loopholes

The Federal Committee for Vocational Education, comprised of representatives of employers, employees, Federal government and Länder, formulated the 1971 agreement which outlined the BGJ's two main tasks:

The BGJ is the first year of vocational training and teaches material of a general as well as of a specialist nature, both practical and theoretical;

The BGJ is sub-divided into ranges of employment categories (Berufsfelder), and not into individual schemes specific to one skill. It offers a career-oriented education of an elementary kind, and as such offers a foundation for subsequent specialist vocational training across several apprenticeships and areas of industry" 6

Further articles by the committee discussed the BGJ as being a part of the "dual" system as well as part of full-time secondary education. The BGJ was to be available to pupils

in all types of school. For a transitional period, pupils were to be admitted who had completed their ninth school year, in essence it was intended for those coming into their eleventh year, and who wanted to use it as a second chance at passing their secondary level I (Sekundarstufe I).

The first Federal ruling came into effect for commercial trades, industrial and tax consultants, on the 1st July 1972. An earlier law had laid the general basis for the compulsory BGJ as the first year of vocational training.⁷ From then on, the first year of the BGJ/s was to count as the first year of vocational training:

"as long as the curriculum provided by the school gave at least 24 lessons per week over to specialist subjects, in a school year of 40 weeks, with the possibility of their being reinforced by optional subjects (Walhfacher)."⁸

Initially, 232 employment categories were identified and grouped into eleven occupational fields (Berufsfelder).

The BGJ-AVO counted for a full year of vocational training; other professional courses were to count for half a year, as recommended originally by the Federal Committee, but by this stage this last point had been omitted.

The BGJ was to be introduced by the Länder one employment category at a time, in such a way that the first year could be seen to cover the full range of subjects and pre-suppose a "commitment" to a continued training period along the lines of the traditional Dual System. If the BGJ, in its two main forms (s and k, school-based and co-operative) is

missing today the outcome of these plans was in any case disappointing.⁹

The establishment of the BGJ

In the academic year 1981-82, there were 92,731 young people enrolled on a BGJ, (See Appendix P) of either form, in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. Some 45,000 of these were "committed" to further training in some way, that is their training was not an offer without some form of obligation. But it was also the case that these statistics, which were compiled by the Federal Institute of Vocational Education (Bundesinstitute für Berufsbildung or BIBB), included young people with neither a job to go to, nor any prospect of a job, yet these statistics were given for graduates of the "compulsory" BGJ (verbindliches BGJ).¹⁰

(N.B. "Compulsory" may be an inadequate translation of "verbindlich", which perhaps implies mutual obligation on the part of the students and companies in this context).

In actual fact, these young people were only going in order to fulfill their obligation to attend some form of vocational training. "Obligation" in this instance is therefore being defined in terms of the young people's duty, and not in terms of a mutual commitment entered into by the firms and the young people they help to train.

The total number of BGJ graduates has rose continually during the period from 1971 to 1980. (See Appendix P) This would lead one to expect a further increase in the number of places at school based BGJ/s, particularly in the "compulsory" form, and particularly in years with high age

cohort. (See Appendix Q for statistics for the period 1975-84.) This will be so as long as the original plan to introduce the BGJ as a commitment and as a properly recognised system is not rendered obsolete as a result of legal and political opposition. Only if this situation develops will it be possible for the BGJ to remain in the concept in which it was originally conceived.

One inherent problem in the way the the BGJ was established lies in the legal definition of the "obligation" of the firms taking part. In latter years, the very definition of the BGJ itself has also raised legal problems. The legislative bases for a "compulsory" BGJ have been in dispute since its inception. Some of the initiatives taken to establish it in the Länder were badly hindered as a result. Only in Lower Saxony were laws passed which, from the beginning, opened the way for the full establishment of a "compulsory" BGJ in the school curriculum. Other Länder have only recently begun to define the question of obligation between the BGJ/s and /k, and even then in accordance with their own interpretation, since it became clear that the help they expected (and indeed had been agreed) from the Federal government was not to be forthcoming. The Federal government had decided that the general and compulsory introduction of the BGJ should be withheld until the BGJ had been put into practice in most areas.¹¹ A few Länder tried to put aside this contradiction in terms by drafting their own internal legislative bases.

The establishment of legal definitions of "obligation" (Verbindlichkeit) by individual Länder, without a firm anchor in Federal law, is judicially risky. In Lower Saxony alone there have been many court cases, their number alone being sufficient evidence that for a Land to proceed without Federal assurance was bound to cause trouble in the courts. Lower Saxony's laws withstood the courts' inspections,¹² but this was not a foregone conclusion. The result of these legal encounters was that the Länder voted for more caution, and for greater concessions to industry.

For example, the format of the BGJ/s was determined at the expense of the second day (zweiter Berufsschultag) in the specialist level (Fachstufe) at the Berufsschule, and of the tenth year (Zehnte Klasse) of general secondary education. This was the case even in Lower Saxony. As regards the obligations vis a vis industry, these were to some extent limited to categories of employment where there was a Federal monopoly, such as "specialist skills in the postal services" (i.e. postman), or in such areas as agriculture, where there is a tendency on the part of employers to be responsible for training.

Where the Länder tried to introduce the "co-operative" BGJ/k rather than the school based one, they found themselves constrained as to their definition of broad trade fields (Berufsfeldbreite) in training schemes run by businesses. As a result, firms where the BGJ/k had been introduced did not need to run any broader training

BGJ was conceived.

Only in a minority of cases does the BGJ in fact have any compulsory status in companies. Most BGJ graduates attended¹¹ the BGJ because the training was offered without obligation, or in order to fulfill their duty towards compulsory vocational education, (with no (specialist) training and no job). Still other youngsters, in the same district, are trained for the same kind of employment with the "compulsory" aspect understood on all sides (rather along the lines of "dual" education, both offered (Angebot) and obligatory (Verbindung)).

Thus for most young people the BGJ appears to be nothing more than a waiting room with few realistic prospects. Firms and schools alike tend to see such youngsters as the low achievers of the general education system, who, because of their poor academic performance, cannot qualify for "dual" training positions (apprenticeships) in firms. Finishing the BGJ, for some young people, seems just one more situation in which they are discriminated against. This state of affairs, and the proximity of some BGJ teaching to a kind of special education directly resulting from the selection process (for "dual" training, the traditionally established system), had a negative effect overall on public and political assessment of the BGJ, especially on the BGJ/s.

Pressure from chambers of commerce and trades unions in favour of the Berufsschule, and the criticism that the BGJ teaches too much theory and too little little practice, only make its reputation worse. Business associations have in consequence called for the abolition of the Anrechnungspflicht.¹⁵

(N.B. Anrechnung refers to the extent to which the BGJ, in Federal law if not in the the law of the Länder, "counts" towards compulsory vocational education, e.g. whether a BGJ counts as one year or just half a year of training.)

Developments in certain areas of the BGJ had made their mark on the acceptability of the BGJ as a whole. The original concept behind its legal definition and its initial problems in becoming established had radically changed, so that today it may be even unrecognisable from what is was in the initial stage of its implementation. The actual form of the BGJ in future will depend more on political and economic developments than on its original theoretical base.

The undermining process which had taken place might not have been reached so easily if the interested parties had been more consistent and open, and less afraid of conflict, about their aims when they came together for the reform agreement (Reform Konsensus). Structural and legal questions should have been considered in terms of what the interested parties thought the reform should contain. Instead, far too much was left undecided and thereby prey to the various power interests of the negotiating parties. This may well be typical of many political negotiations, but the points left

undecided in this case were crucially important to the consistency of the reform both in terms of its educational and political theory, and in terms of its effectiveness.

The fact that such central principles as obligation (Verbindlichkeit) and the range of employment categories in the curriculum (Berufsfeldbreite) were not put into practice in all schools and colleges detracted from the very worth of the BGJ as it was implemented.

The Conference of Culture Ministers (KMK) of 30th May 1972 had laid down guidelines for the school-based part of the BGJ curriculum (which was under the jurisdiction of the Länder) and for training regulations (under Federal jurisdiction). The essential reform was to be in the hands of the Federal Institute for Research into Vocational Education (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildungsforschung), which was to subsequently become the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung) or BBiB.

The initial agreement arrived at by Federal government and the Länder, employers and employees, was therefore characterised by three aspects:

- a. a relatively vague definition of the tasks and structure of the BGJ;
- b. the school-based part of it was to count fully towards the still mainly "dual" system, but through it, school-based and private enterprise-based training were to be given equal weighting;
- c. a strategy for the BGJ's general introduction via revision of the Federal training regulations.

This overture of reform gave rise, however, to critical loopholes in the BGJ's practical and legal enforcement. The first aspect outlined above, in particular, opened the way for more questions than answers. The BGJ was even at this early, supposed to "be held in full-time schools as well as in the context of the dual system".¹⁶ Yet in what ratio this was to occur, and how a broader curriculum for industry-based training was to be financed, was not explained.

The "Strukturplan"¹⁷ of the German Council for Education (Deutscher Bildungsrat) or DBR, agreed in Bonn in 1970, had envisaged the BGJ as a "year of vocational education which remained separate from (industrial) production".¹⁸ The DBR were thinking primarily in terms of a full-time school-based training programme. Yet this principle (of keeping vocational education apart from industrial production) was still supposed to hold good for the "co-operative" forms of the BGJ, i.e. only firms which had training centres away from the shop floor were to provide such a "co-operative BGJ". So, many firms lost the right to train young people for the BGJ/s, and many small to medium-sized firms were similarly hit as regards the BGJ/k.

The right to train is guaranteed to employers in Article 12 para 1 of the Federal Constitutional Law (Grundgesetz), but this may be restricted where "reasonable grounds of public interest" justifies it, according to a ruling by the Federal Constitutional Court.¹⁹

One Lawyer (H. Moller in "Betriebsberater", May 1977)²⁰ did not think that this ruling applied in this case, since (said Moller) the BBiG's "guarantee of continued existence" for the dual system stood in its way.²¹ Overall, however, the improvement and broadening of vocational training were generally recognised in the Seventies as good reason for the State to encroach upon the BGJ. For this very reason, a binding statement of principle to this question in the initial agreement would have been perfectly possible, and would have clarified matters.

In the years that followed, the BGJ's structure was more clearly defined by an outline agreement made by the KMK (in 1973, updated in 1978) and in two discussions between Federal Government and the Länder (in 1976 and 1977). The fundamental problems of how far the State should encroach upon the dual system were still not clarified.

The BGJ/s counted towards a dual comprehensive training, as laid down in the 1972 Federal ruling, and this was indeed a first step towards equality between entirely school-based training and dual training schemes.²² Yet, not all subject areas were covered by the ruling. The breadth of the basic curriculum first proposed by the reformers of education and by the trades unions, soon appeared too broad from the employers point of view²³. It was therefore to be expected that the findings of the employers and certain branches of industry were more likely to lead to a restriction of

"Anrechenbarkeit" (the extent to which a course counts towards compulsory vocational training), and this tendency made its mark on the update of the BGJ "Anrechnungsverordnung" of 1978.

The BGJ's breadth therefore was not agreed upon. Rather it was left to theoreticians of vocational education to decide what it might be, and to the negotiations which continued to take place between the four parties involved (Federal Government, Länder, employers and employees). There was at the same time a general drop in reformatory zeal in matters educational, and a worsening industrial situation, so a retrospective agreement on a far-reaching course of reform was looking more and more unlikely.²⁴ Nobody denied that there was a need to re-structure the old training systems. Some categories of employment were disappearing altogether, or appearing for the first time, or becoming subsumed under the umbrella of others. Overall, the number of training categories was falling considerably.

Then there was the question of the "anchoring" in Federal law of a compulsory BGJ (s and k), about which nothing appeared in the original agreement. The only connection between the restructuring of vocational education and the introduction of the BGJ, was that a BGJ could only be integrated into a form of training that was divided into basic and specialist training, and even then, only within the framework of a first year in which the curriculum was broader than before. Furthermore, the "exclusivity clause"

(Sect 28 para 1 BBiG) insists that the BGJ be excluded from Federal training regulations, whether directly in the newly structured regulations, or in alternative ones. The need for the BGJ (both s and k) to be "anchored" in Federal law demanded an answer to the question as to which basis of law (Federal or Land) should be used to introduce the BGJ in such a way as to make it binding for companies. The initial agreement contained no decision on this, though the aim of a verbindliche introduction of the BGJ was never in doubt.

These problems of anchoring (Verankerung) the BGJ in Federal law later led to occasional delays in the restructuring of Federal training regulations. The vast majority of new regulations which were issued were specific one employment category only. The essential broadening effect of the reform was thus severely limited.

The initial agreement therefore had many loopholes, while the four interested parties were split into innumerable sub-factions at a time of declining industry and increasing unemployment among young people. Added to these problems was that of the "pupil mountain" as a result of an increased birth rate in the preceding decade and a half.

Overwhelming legal opinion was that the Länder were dependent on Federal government for legislative measures, but had to plan for the BGJ's introduction on their own when it came to timing, capacity, planning, finance and theoretical definition. In this dilemma, the Länder faced the alternative of claiming an independent

power to authorize the BGJ/s introduction (as Lower Saxony had done with the BGJ/s), or of back-peddalling and offering the BGJ just "for the time being" as an extra educational option, or as a compulsory schooling measure.

Experience shows that provisional arrangements can develop into permanent solutions. Berlin is an example of the second alternative. The BGJ was the foundation of their new model for Oberstufenzentrum²⁵ (literally sixth form centres), in which general and vocational education meshed. The original plan to have the BGJ as the first year of all vocational training (entirely school based in Berufsfeld 1, and co-operative in all other Berufsfelder) in the vocationally orientated sixth form centres, ended in a "rump BGJ" which was largely a net for young people with no apprenticeship or job.

The trades unions were also dissatisfied with the way that the BGJ had developed.²⁶ From its inception they had seen it as a vital instrument towards the improvement and upgrading of vocational training. At first they favoured the entirely school based version. After the BGJ Anrechnungsordnung of 1978 left the BGJ devalued, the unions were divided as to whether they should support the BGJ/s in its stunted form. Alternative positions have since been represented by the (Gemeinschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft or GEW) and the Industrie Gemeinschaft-Metall or IG-Metall.²⁷

The GEW supports the BGJ/s, whereas IG-Metall prefers a dual

basic training system (duale Grundbildung) via a stronger form of provision (Mitbestimmung) or planning (Mitgestaltung),²⁸ an even broader-based basic training programme in the form of a small number of basic categories of employment (Grundberufe).

The employers' side went more and more for the interests of industry, and this not least at Federal level in the lead taken by the Federal Trade and Industry Ministry.²⁹ The worsening industrial situation and the diminution in the number of apprenticeships being offered meant that the Federal government had to respect the interests of industry which, though not unanimously opposed to the BGJ, nevertheless tried to reduce the more stringent obligations attached to BGJ measures. This strategy consisted above all in an upgrading of and preference for the BGJ/k, and in a simultaneous reduction of the range of employment categories in the curriculum, which meant a reduction in its innovatory effect.

The 1978 BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung

This reductive tendency became most apparent when a new version of the 1972 Anrechnungverordnung was produced. The initiative for change came from the employers.³⁰ Industrial factions had long complained³¹ about what they saw as too little specialist content in the BGJ/s, and the over-broad range of employment categories in the curriculum, particularly in the BGJ/k. The Anrechnungspflicht was thus often avoided, with only young people without the BGJ being

taken on for industrial training, or being advised to cut short the BGJ/s in order to obtain an apprenticeship (which would then, moreover, count for the full training period).²⁶

Against the background of far reaching demands for change from the employers, and a proposal from the Federal Trade and Industry Ministry which would severely limit "Anrechnung" (in vocational education), a summit meeting took place in November 1977 between Federal Government, Länder, employers and unions.³³ This meeting resulted in restrictions on the "Anrechenbarkeit" of the BGJ/s which were palatable to both Länder and unions.³⁴ However, employers then opposed the negotiated compromise and further pressurised the body that issued government decrees, the Federal Ministry for Trade and Industry. The Ministry issued another decree in April 1978 which renewed strong criticism of the Deutscher Gewerkschaft Bund or DGB.³⁵

A new bill was presented to the Bundesrat in May 1978 which differed little from the proposals inherent within the decree of April 1978. Despite an impassioned plea from the DGB for a decision which "corresponded to the spirit of the summit meeting of 7th November 1977"³⁶, the Bundesrat made the bill even worse, on the initiative of the departments of industry. This occurred even in Länder led by the FDP or SDP. such as Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia. Arguing that time was not on their side and that room for negotiation had been exhausted, the bill was passed by Federal Government on

the 1st August 1978.

This new ruling:³⁷

- a. raised the number of lessons per week which were devoted to practical specialist instruction from 12 to 18 (as recommended by the KMK of 19th May 1978);
- b. laid emphasis on certain employment categories whereby, if a student changed from one to the other after completing the basic part of the BGJ, it only counted as half a year;
- c. created two new employment categories (by splitting one up), making 214 in 13 groups;
- d. only allowed certain employment categories to count as half, i.e. all 2 year courses, car mechanics, car electricians, radio and T.V. technicians and sales people.³⁸

The rapid changes in technology were said to justify the last measure, i.e. training for these categories of employment in the BGJ/s was not thought to be equal in value to that provided by the employers. The reasons given for this were that technical equipment and methods used in schools were not always as up-to-date as on industrial sites. This argument cannot be substantiated when one considers that the theoretical basis for broad-based training is that a proper basic education would be of more lasting value than narrow specialist training with particular equipment, or the individual requirements applying in industrial trades. The whole tenor of the ruling was to belittle the BGJ/s importance in favour of specialisation at the technical level (Fachstufe). It leads one to believe that the employers were not prepared to cut back any more on their specialist interests and thereby "devalue" the training qualifications gained.

There were other restrictions on the Anrechenbarkeit of the BGJ/s. They occurred soon after the Federal ruling came into effect, and further diminished the value of basic vocational education by laying great stress on specialisation in a single trade or profession, and on the latest technology. Specialist learning of a practical nature expands at the expense of general education. There was a current shortage of apprenticeships, and a consequent lack of freedom of choice between different apprenticeships. This means that specialising in one trade or profession, and the emphasis laid on certain categories of employment at the expense of others, serves only to lengthen the time it takes to train an individual, with burdensome consequences for young people.

The BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung was reformed³⁹ for commercial trades and excluded tax and business consultants. The school-based BG Handelschule (literally, commercial school or stream relating to commerce) therefore lacked the competitiveness and ability to stand the test of time that earlier training schemes had because of this exclusion. The BGJ/s thus became, in effect, a disadvantage to the school-leaver who was ultimately seeking an apprenticeship in commercial subjects. Certain Länder, such as Bavaria, Saarland, Rhineland-Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein, made the BGJ/s seem even less attractive than the BGJ/k, by giving priority⁴⁰ to the latter over the hitherto favoured BGJ/s.

The Bundesrat stated that both forms of the BGJ were "to be formed by businesses and schools working together, and to be an integral part of the dual system".⁴¹ Here were answers, after the event, to vital questions about how the BGJ was to relate to the dual system. questions which had remained undecided in the original agreement between the four participants in reform. The main exception now was that they all favoured one side. The room for manoeuvre of those still in favour of the original concept of basic vocational training was considerably reduced, and the possibility of the BGJ/s becoming a binding fixture in Federal law appeared to be remote, even if the legal aspects of the obstacles in its way were only a cover for a lack of political will to compromise.

The legal problems of the BGJ (s and k)

The legal conflict occurred due to the fact that both parties, the Federal Government and the Länder, had their own legislative jurisdiction over schools and training. However, the matter partly reflects a shift in emphasis on both sides of the conflict of interests, between employers and the trades unions. Federal Government and the Länder had somewhat differing views about what steps were needed to reform vocational training, i.e. of their responsibility towards the job and the training markets, and tended to favour one or another interested party at any one time, or had their own vested interests. The support of the Länder for a stringent implementation of the BGJ continued for a long while quite independently of the party-political

orientations of their governments.

Of the Bonn ministries involved, the Federal Ministry for Economics (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft or BMWi, the Federal Ministry for Education and Science (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft) or BMBW, the Federal Ministry for Youth, Family and Health (Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit) or BMJ, it was the Ministry of Trade and Industry which led the way both in actions and ideas, with the result that the disputes on the Federal side were largely characterised by the industrially orientated politics of the FDP in the Social-Liberal coalition.

The anchoring of the BGJ in Federal Law

The school-based vocational training year or BGJ/s)

There has been no clear consensus of opinion among lawyers as to how the line should be drawn between the Federal Government and the Länder as to their relative responsibility for a binding introduction of the school-based BGJ.

The Länder have legislative responsibility for schools (Grundgesetz, article 70), whereas only Federal Government has the authority to pass laws on training in companies (Grundgesetz, article 72, para 1, and article 74 nos. 11/12). A compulsory BGJ/s introduced by the Länder would disempower the BBiG, and it is here that the legal problem about responsibility lies. This would mean State law

infringing Federal law, and so contradict article 31 of the Grundgesetz.⁴² The Länder could not, therefore, introduce a compulsory BGJ/s without measures being taken by the Federal Government, since the latter could impose limitations on industry so that companies could no longer sign their own training contracts. Commercial training comes under the authority of Federal Government (via the BBiG), and this is generally true of all dual training. A year's vocational training at school is allowed in this system to count fully or partly towards the total training period (made possible in S29 para 1 of the BBiG). The BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung currently in force for commerce was then joined by others for agriculture, home economics and public service.

All this was a matter of legal controversy well before the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung of 1978 was reformed. H. Möller⁴² and J. Neumayer/M. Blank⁴³ were both of the opinion that the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung of 1972 would enable Länder to introduce a compulsory BGJ, their arguments hinging on S29 para 1 of the BBiG and the guarantee of continued existence (Bestandgarantie) to the dual system. Where both writers arguments fail is in their assumption that the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung amounted to a declaration from the Länder offering the BGJ/s that it was already compulsory (verbindlich), the criteria by which the Länder would implement it being the only factor not clarified. They also assume that the Länder need to have a compulsory BGJ "anchored" in Federal law in order to introduce a compulsory BGJ/s, whether in stages or right across the board.

There is an opposite point of view, namely that the Länder have autonomy over the introduction of a compulsory BGJ/s.

This is based above all on §2 para 1 of the Vocational Training Act 1969⁴⁵ (Berufsbildungsgesetz or BBiG) in which the BBiG is said to apply only to training "insofar as it is not given in schools which provide vocational training, these being subject to State law".⁴⁶ Those Länder which have since introduced a compulsory BGJ/s hold that view, principally Lower Saxony, Bavaria and Saarland, where the precise attitude to the legal basis of it all remains unclear,⁴⁷ apparently because these States had supported the establishment of the Federal training regulations at the KMK meetings of the seventies.⁴⁸

There was a general impression at Federal level that some Länder were making a virtue (autonomy over the introduction of the BGJ) out of necessity (its lack of establishment in Federal law). It is possible that it was the only pragmatic way that the BGJ/s could be gradually introduced, since the Federal government was arguing in circles to the effect that the BGJ/s could not be made compulsory at all.

Most of the Länder had in fact demanded a BGJ/s in the first year of vocational training through the KMK, one which they would be able to make compulsory by passing their own legislation.⁴⁹ The Federal Government refused autonomy over the introduction of such training unless it was established

in Federal law, yet at the same time did not see itself as being in a position to legislate over vocationally orientated schools (these being, so the Federal Government reasoned, under the jurisdiction of the Länder). This contradiction in terms only conceals the the difficulties in the way laws are formulated, a result of the constitutions refusal to allow "mixed" legislation i.e. (Bund and Land)

But even when a clause had been found which solved the problem for certain categories of employment, even to the satisfaction of both sides, the Federal Government still did not put aside its fundamental reservations. This clause reads:

"Vocational education lasts for years. Prospective trainees who are to attend a school-based BGJ, as laid down in State law (the law of individual Länder), are to count this as the first year of vocational training, according to the provisions of §29 para 1 BBlG, and begin their company-based training in the second year of training".⁵⁰

The clause offers a solution to the problem described above, by leaving the introduction of a compulsory BGJ/s to the Länder, and by providing the link between it and Federal legislation by way of the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung. Nonetheless, its most important function was to make sure that steps taken by companies were to be made legally binding on them and have a clear legal definition.⁵¹

The Ministry of Trade and Industry (BMWl) took a lead of a different kind (in contrast to the equivocating stance of the BMJ) by opposing the "anchoring" of the BGJ/s in Federal

regulations concerning vocational training, which the Länder were demanding. The Ministry argued that the BGJ did not coincide conceptually with the idea of "broad-based training" (S1 para. 2 BBiG).

This meant that to mention the BGJ in the Federal regulations would go beyond the jurisdiction of S25 BBiG, and thus in turn go against Article 80 para 1 of the Grundgesetz. The Länder counter-argued that basing the BGJ across a broad band of employment categories was intended to give concrete form to the concept of "broad-based vocational training", i.e. that it amounted to a dutiful extension of S1 para 2 BBiG, and that there was nothing in the regulations that spoke against the concept of the BGJ in general.

At this point the question could be posed as to why the BBiG could not be changed to accommodate the fact that all sides were in agreement as to the introduction of the BGJ's as an officially accepted system. The Federal Government had concurred, both in official statements and in the "Common Protocol" of 1972.⁵² This would indeed have been the simplest solution to the further problem of how the new ruling could then be enforced. Here, however, legal considerations come up against political reality.

Efforts were made by the SPD and the unions to direct the BBiG move towards training schemes run by private enterprise, and towards increased participation on the part

of companies in the financing of industrial training. These efforts were seen to have failed as early as 1976. This meant that every single proposed change to the law that would have "anchored" the BGJ in the BBiG even before it was implemented, was now unable to command a majority in the Bundestag.

The Federal Government first showed signs of moving away from the introduction of a compulsory BGJ/s when it indicated⁵³ that the traditional dual training system would continue in the first year of vocational education. It was argued that it was un-acceptable for young people who had not passed the through BGJ/s to be excluded from further dual training.⁵⁴ It seems scarcely credible that the BGJ/s should fall at such a hurdle in terms of becoming the established system.

The Länder intending to offer the BGJ/s proposed, unsuccessfully, a transitional specialist training course which was job-specific and could not be tagged onto the end of the BGJ/s without some modification. Federal Government has nothing in principle against such alternative regulations, but considered that the legislative effort that would be required of it would be wasted, in that most new training regulations contained a "flexibility clause" anyway.

This "flexibility clause" states that after a broad based course of elementary vocational education, or for reasons

pertaining to business practices, the training regulations could be waived in individual cases when it came to dividing up the curriculum (Fachstufe).⁵⁵ Specialist training, therefore, may be altered and adapted to the basic training that precedes it. However, industry sees this as further evidence of the fallibility of the BGJ/s.

When one considers that the BGJ/s graduates are already at a disadvantage because of the way the BGJ/s was introduced, as yet non-compulsorily, in competition with graduates of traditional systems, this state of affairs serves only to discriminate still further against BGJ/s graduates.

The cooperative vocational training year or BGJ/k

As far as the introduction of a compulsory BGJ/k is concerned, the hands of the Länder are undeniably tied. If it is to be introduced in such a way as to make companies train only on a broad basis in the first year of vocational education, this must be "anchored" in Federal law.

Basic training stays "dual" in the BGJ/k, which means that The Federal Government is responsible for the industrial part of the training, as laid down in the constitution. As a result, the Länder asked the Federal Government to "anchor" the BGJ/k in the Federal training regulations, so that its gradual introduction by the Länder would make broad-based vocational education binding on companies. This was, according to the Länder, to be achieved with alternative regulations as foreseen in § 25 BBiG, which

refers to a transitional period being in order for regulations governing individual categories of employment. Here, the Länder would have the legislative power to validate individual regulations, judging each on its own merits.

The Federal Government considered such a juxtaposition to be legally inadmissible, and was of the opinion that the BGJ/k should be "offered", "in order to try out and develop new training methods" (S28 para 3 BBiG). It should under no circumstances be made compulsory.

A BGJ/k clause was introduced as a compromise, the text of which is discussed later, but this merely opened up the possibility of a voluntary BGJ/k run by companies, thereby excluding all chance of its becoming compulsory. The Federal Government's offer to "anchor" the BGJ/k in the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung, is also unconvincing from a juridical point of view where the BGJ/k is seen as something "offered" rather than compulsory.

A further problem is the contradiction between the range of employment categories (Berufsfeldbreite Grundbildung) and broad based vocational training (Breit angelegte Berufliche Grundbildung). The question is posed: should the former (a key concept in the theoretical base of the BGJ) be regarded as an extension, or further development of the latter (the concept used in the BBiG), bearing in mind that the dual form of the latter involves schools as well as

companies, thus making its compulsory introduction by the Federal Government seem an infringement of the authority of the Länder. These problems are about definitions of terms, and a compromise agreed on by Federal Government and the KMK was reached only at the expense of the concept of broad vocational training (Berufsfeldbreite), which became itemized and so lost its unity of concept.

The shortage of apprenticeships

Together with the legal and juridical reasons against "anchoring" the BGJ(s and k) in Federal law, the Federal Government has always put forward the argument⁵⁷ about the continuing shortage of apprenticeships (or training places). Were the BGJ to be "anchored" as an established system in Federal law, before being implemented throughout the Federal Republic, there would still be the problem of the falling number of training places. With BGJ/s graduates staying for shorter periods with companies, their training is less worthwhile, and the breadth of the BGJ/k curriculum would demand more investment from small and medium-sized businesses than would be profitable for them to provide. While this argument was being used to postpone measures on the part of the Federal Government, the situation regarding training places was steadily getting worse.

From industry, there were demands⁵⁸ for a further dismantling of regulations which "hindered training". This pressure had an understandable effect on plans to introduce the BGJ. Those concerned, particularly the Federal

Government and the Länder, were at first in agreement that the BGJ should be introduced as an established part of the education system, replacing the Dual System's first year until about 1985. In 1978, the Federal Government heavily qualified this statement of intent. The time scale involved was extended to an unspecified point in time, and continued existence for the traditional training system agreed upon (die Bestandsgarantie).

The reduction in the range of employment categories

Numerous factors contributed to the deviation of the concept of the BGJ from its original form:

- the sluggish re-draftings of the Federal training regulations:

- the total failure of the government (led by the FDP-dominated Ministry for Trade and Industry, still in the days of the Social-Liberal coalition) to "anchor" the BGJ in Federal law;

- the axing of equal status for the BGJ/s caused by the Anrechnungsverordnung of 1978;

- and last but not least: the distortion of the BGJ/k by the Federal Government.

One example clarifies this point. According to a Federal Government statement, the BGJ/k could be run by any company, even by a small workshop.⁵⁹ In the original concept of the BGJ, this was impossible, since such a company had no way of providing a real breadth of categories. The reformers (proponents of the BGJ) had intended the BGJ/s or, alternatively, attendance at a workplace training centre (Lernortverbund) for such businesses as these, together with an appropriate subsidy.

The clearest indication of the Federal viewpoint is given in the reference to the BGJ/k mentioned earlier in this chapter.

The clause reads:

"Training in the first year provides a basic education which covers all categories of employment: if the training provided by the company after this first year is completed, and the training in the vocational school in accordance with State (Land) regulations, follows that year."⁶⁰

The first year training programme outlined in the Training Outline (Ausbildungsrahmenplan) and referred to as Basic Education (Grundbildung), now allows for a somewhat broader base. But that base is nowhere near that originally inherent in such concepts as broad occupation fields Berufsfeldbreite or Schwerpunktbreite.

(N.B. Schwerpunkt is a main category of employment within the vocational curriculum. Students normally switched from one related category to another, if at all, and special conditions affecting the accountability (Anrechnung) applied if a change in employment category also meant a change in main category, or Schwerpunkt. The term often means "main subject")

Indeed, it would be surprising if it were, since the clause was intended for regulations concerning traditional training schemes geared to individual trades or professions. These regulations also contain a "flexibility clause" to enable them to adapt more easily to business practices, by allowing time spans and individual subjects to be divided up in different ways, at both basic and specialist levels of training (Grund und Fachstufe). This makes the question of whether businesses follow the letter of the Training Framework (Ausbildungsrahmenplan) more difficult.

If industrial training is not defined along the lines of the Berufsfeld, and regulations drawn up accordingly and only the school-based part has to conform to the rulings that apply to the BGJ, the concept of broad based training (Berufsfeldbreite) has to be limited to the Berufsschule or any school which offers vocational education. Yet the concept was originally intended to cover all places of learning. The Berufsschule itself is under heavy pressure from the professional associations (Kammer) and firms, with regard to material for examinations, and the breadth of the BGJ/s can often be constrained by this pressure.

If the BGJ/k were re-defined in the terms suggested above, its effect on the BGJ/s would be to limit the aims of the BGJ/s, for the general aims of both schemes of BGJ are supposed to agree. Less and less breadth would be given to the BGJ/s curriculum, a tendency which had already become apparent when the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung of 1978 was reformed. In that reform Schwerpunkte were introduced into certain Berufsfelder and the year was only considered to count as half a year towards the full period of vocational training,

- a. if a change of employment category meant a change of main subject (Schwerpunkt), and
- b. in the case of a few special categories of employment.

The historical development of BGJ, both legal and political, is not yet over. It began with a relatively vague initial

agreement (Anfangskonsens) between the Federal Government, the Länder, employers' associations and the trade unions. This showed signs of a readiness on all sides to re-think basic educational theory in such a way as to lead to the reform of vocational training. Questions of qualifications and democratisation were crucial elements in the concept of the BGJ. An increase in the influence of the Länder on vocational training was an integral part of the original concept. The initial agreement, however, contained decisive loopholes when it came to fundamental questions of a legal and political nature, and this fact led in turn to a gradual withdrawal of co-operation by the employers and, in consequence, by the Federal Government as well.

The Federal Government did not pursue the demand for an anchoring of the BGJ/s in Federal law as a foundation for new measures in State law (Ländergesetze). This Nicht Verbindlichkeit led to BGJ/s pupils being disadvantaged in the scramble for scarce training places, and to a devaluation of the BGJ/s in comparison with the BGJ/k and traditional dual training schemes. The changes to the BGJ Anrechnungsverordnung which were made in 1978 went the same way. This limited the Anrechnung of the BGJ (i.e. how many years of vocational education it counted for), yet the very existence of Anrechnung at all further disadvantaged pupils of the BGJ, as so often happens when protective measures are introduced in the interests of certain groups of employers.

As the BGJ/k became de facto upgraded as a result, relative to the BGJ/s, its innovatory effect on industry nevertheless plummeted wherever it was introduced, almost to nil. In particular, there were changes made in industrial training regulations which were geared to individual categories of employment, and not to the Berufsfeld concept.

Legal measures were taken to reform the BGJ by moving it away from its original concept. First, there was the failure to anchor it in Federal law. Second, the concept of the range of employment categories (Berufsfeldbreite) was split up into those offered by the Berufsschule and those offered by industry as basic training within a single category of employment. It is not simply a question of taking those categories which were not accepted earlier, to make the original concept of the BGJ reality. Rather, the non-implementation of these categories, and the statements which have been issued in place of these categories, have produced a dynamic of their own, which as industry has developed has led to a deformation of the original concept. One result of this has been that the trades' unions and Länder have to some extent turned away from the original aims. Thus it is hard to imagine at present how the BGJ might be fashioned into becoming the established system for the first year of vocational training, and even harder to see a true realization of Berufsfeldbreite in all places of learning.

This means, however, that even the BGJ's theoretical

educational functions which were defined at the beginning, are largely unattainable, in particular the systematic awarding of a cross-sectional qualification (Querschnittsqualifikation) independently of industrial production targets.

This conclusion, whilst it may sound defeatist, is intended to spur those interested in reform to look more thoroughly at the way legal problems and institutions interact with politics, and so anticipate them. Then, as far as possible, take the appropriate steps to counteract them.

The Basic Vocational Training Year in both its forms, school and cooperative, was implemented in the face of determined opposition from the Wirtschaft and the associated employers and the legal arguments and delaying tactics have been illustrated in this Chapter. The successes and failures of the Basic Vocational Training Year together with the arguments surrounding the pedagogical concept of the BGJ, referred in the following chapter, is another area of contention with those intending to retain the existing system of vocational training.

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CHAPTER 9

The Success and Failure of the Basic Vocational Training Year

The preceding chapter has been concerned with the legal problems associated with the implementation of the BGJ. The concept of the BGJ and its pedagogical content were also to be the target of certain criticisms.

There was agreement to provide for 13 basic vocational fields (Berufsfelder). (See Appendix R.) Each of these Berufsfelder includes the educational and training requirements of a cluster of the defined trades associated with modern industrial and commercial practice. The remaining combined trades only contribute a small minority of all apprenticeships provided and are either of a highly specialized nature or include many old traditional trades where little has changed in terms of skill requirements or product. Agreement was reached on the outline syllabuses for each of the Berufsfelder and "satisfactory completion of the Basic Vocational Training Year would be recognised as granting exemption from the first year of apprenticeship".¹

The 13 Berufsfelder had not been determined on the basis of a careful analysis of tool skills or operations with the subsequent assembly of like skills into generic clusters. On the contrary, vocational educational politics demanded

that the areas be assembled with what may be regarded as undue haste. Consequently traditional views² on methods of grouping by raw material or industrial classification by product substantially influenced the outcome. The very fact that the existing provision was highly compartmentalised in accordance with traditional thinking would have made it very hard to implement a more radical approach based on skill analysis to build new generic categories.³

However, although Berufsfelder owed less to logic and educational research than to political pragmatism and expediency, Most of them stand up well in terms of relevance for the young participants, the appropriateness of curricula, and in providing the young participants with a satisfactory foundation in tool skills. The least satisfactory Berufsfeld in these respects, would appear to be that of Business and Administration (Wirtschaft-and-Verwaltung), where in spite of its division into three defined areas (Sales and Servicing the Public; Office Administration; Law and Public Administration) there were clearly problems⁴ in its suitability for use with a very large and very diverse population.

According to Dr. Manfred Kaiser⁵, of the Federal Ministry of Labour (BundesArbeitsamt), the Basic Vocational Training Year or BGJ, in both schemes, is intended to provide a general occupational training as well as a human and political education. The training elements were designed to progress from the general to the specific.

(N.B. All BGJ-Berufsfeld-Metal participants undertake some

bench fitting ie hand tools, filing exercises, etc., before proceeding to the specialist fitting in toolroom work or welded fabrication or motor vehicle units).⁵

Manfred Kaiser also claims⁷ that the BGJ allows for:

- a. room for manoeuvre prior to selection of a specific occupation within the selected Berufsfeld
- b. an initial taster experience to be obtained;
- c. a streamlining in the presentation of basic content to take place;
- d. the broad occupational base necessary for potential advancement to higher qualifications (or for transfer to other occupations) to be provided; and
- e. the participants to enjoy more flexibility in the work situation and enhance their opportunity to change jobs.

It is also claimed by supporters⁸ of the BGJ/s scheme that the system is particularly suitable for 'non-committed' leavers at the first stage secondary school, for slow learners, and for those leavers who are regarded as too immature to benefit from early exposure to the world of work. There were increasing attempts⁹ to make the BJJ/s in effect compulsory. Both the Federal Post Office (Bundespost) and the Federal Railway System (Bundesbahn) regarded it as the normal method of entry for young people. By agreement with the appropriate Chambers some Länder made entry to Agriculture and Motor Vehicle work as normal through the BJJ/s.

The Training Regulations¹⁰ (Ausbildungsordnung) of the Federal Government were altered to allow the participant exemption from the first year of apprenticeship in the Dual System upon satisfactory completion of the BGJ provided that

the specialised apprenticeship is recognised as being within the Berufsfeld of the BGJ. Six months remission of time was made available for those moving to a related area or those entering into a training contract for some of the less demanding and consequently shorter apprenticeships. Some employers tended to avoid this requirement by recruiting BGJ/s participants before completion of the first year and thus were able legally to require them to complete the normal length of apprenticeship. Many employers were uncertain of the value of the BGJ/s scheme, regarding it as an acceptable scheme of completion of general education (i.e. as a 'tenth' year of compulsory school), and a good orientation and diagnostic period, but not necessarily as a means of shortening specialist training.

The development of the BGJ should be seen in the context of other developments in the structure of vocational training in the Federal Republic.

Three related areas are:

- a. in a number of Länder there was a general politically orientated drift from the provision of Secondary Modern Schools (Hauptschulen) to Technical Schools (Realschulen) and Comprehensive Schools (Gesamtschulen):- thus the Realschule and Gesamtschule became a more usual recruiting ground for the Dual System
- b. there was a growth of full-time provision in the Full-time Vocational School (Berufsfachschulen); often recruiting from the Realschulen, and
- c. the 'academic drift' tendencies, particularly in Realschulen or with lower-middle-class parents, had a danger of leaving the BGJ/s scheme as a 'rump' provision for those who failed to achieve Berufsfachschule, or an apprenticeship

with the more highly regarded employers.¹¹

The respective merits of the two schemes of the BGJ can be assessed by examining the objectives of interested parties. These are, on the one hand, the employers represented by the Wirtschaft and the Conservative parties, namely, the CDU/CSU and the right wing FDP and on the other, the alliance of the SDP and the German Trades Union Congress or DGB.

The Wirtschaft and the Conservatives, briefly, were seeking¹² to retain control of the training of skilled workers with minimum interference from Federal or Länder governments. The SDP and the DGB by the introduction of the BGJ/s into the Berufsschule, were intending to introduce a further element of general education linked with vocational education in order to increase the mobility of school leavers.

The advantages for the participants in the schemes, as seen by the interested parties, seemed to be:

1. For the BGJ/s scheme (favoured by the SDP and the DGB)
 - a. the school base allows for a reasonably smooth transition from Berufsschule-based preparation courses (Berufsvorbereitungsjahr) for non-German speakers, or slow learners, onto the BGJ;
 - a. it allowed a 'stepped' transition from the secondary school classroom of the compulsory school to a real work situation;
 - c. it implied means tested Land grants with a maximum of 70% of appropriate first year apprenticeship rates;
 - d. it encouraged motivation to learn: the BGJ/s scheme encouraged pupils to continue in full-time education to improve their formal qualifications, or even continue to Berufsfachschul; and

e. it provided readily available opportunities for balancing studies, counselling and remedial studies.

2. For the BGJ/k scheme (favoured by the Wirtschaft and the CDU)

a. trainees have already entered into a training contract and will be supported in their position by a sense of security;

b. trainees will progress smoothly from the BGJ into a guaranteed company based traineeship with the contract already signed;

c. normal first year apprenticeship wages will be paid; and

d. works discipline and work hours would contribute to acquisition of work skills

Target Groups

The general area of recruitment into the respective schemes of BGJ was intended to be from those in the Hauptschule who were unable to obtain training places or apprenticeships upon completing compulsory education. This could be due either to a shortage of places offered by employers or as a result of low achievement by school leavers, resulting in their not qualifying for the Leaving Certificate (Hauptschulabschluss).

(See Appendix Q for the distribution of BGJ/s and BGJ/k schemes and Berufsfelder offered in Länder in terms which reflect the relative enthusiasm for the respective schemes of the BGJ.)

Furthermore, there are important variations by industrial sector. There were in 1983/1984 no BGJ/k schemes in

Berufsfelder I (Commerce and Administration), V (Woodworking), VI (Textiles and Garments), VII (Chemistry, Physics and Biology), IX (Colour Technology and Furnishing), XII (Food and Domestic Science), XIII (Agriculture). More than half of all such schemes were in Metalltechnik (53%) and most of the rest (37%) in were in Bautechnik (Building). (See Appendix R for Berufsfelder)

Unemployment

The pressures on training places, the recession, and rising, youth unemployment have deflected the BGJ, (at least in the BGJ/s scheme) from its original objective to cope with unemployment. The BGJ/s scheme is now being used consciously as a buffer forming a reservoir of trainable young people who have been unable to secure a training place in a company. Some will enter the second year of training; but clearly, with the awareness of the Länder authorities a steadily growing number of less-able youngsters are held off the labour and training market for eleven months with the reservoir concept. In situations where the BJK/k scheme is preferred, this has a long term effect of diminishing the status of the BGJ/s scheme. The BGJ/s then becomes confused in status with the Basic Vocational Preparation Year (Berufsvorbereitungsjahre or BVJ. (See Appendix V)

Funding

The status of the BGJ as a pilot scheme allows the Federal Government to make grants of up to 90% to cover plant, curriculum development or staff training costs in the

training firms, in ways which would be hotly contested by the Länder in other circumstances. Since direct funding of education and training is a rare activity for the Federal Ministry of Education (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft or BMBW) it is not yet in competition with other activities for funds. Funds from the Ministry of Labour (BFA) for the establishment of Vocational Training Centres (Überbetriebliche Ausbildungsstätten) can also be used to encourage the development of the BGJ/k scheme. These two opportunities can be considered good practice for a number of years in the future. Despite this the BGJ/k scheme has not been growing as fast as the BGJ/s scheme. It is difficult to estimate whether the very expensive BGJ/s scheme will continue to expand in the current general pressure on finance of all publicly funded activities in the Federal Republic. However, a minority¹³ of small employers would welcome a growth in the BGJ/s to relieve them of the costs of first-year training.

There was pressure¹⁴ to extend compulsory schooling for a tenth year in all Länder, although there was no agreement as to what form the tenth year would take. Some SPD Länder proceeded to implement the tenth year and because of the political leaning of the local Land, the employers saw this as inevitable in the long term and expressed¹⁵ the desire that the tenth year should be in the scheme BGJ/s, although doubts were expressed about the recognition of the year as the full equivalent of a year in the Dual System.

On the other hand, the Trade Unions were in favour of an additional year of schooling. They saw the tenth year being used as an extension of general education and of the Arbeitslehre programme, which they wished extended to all schools. The unions did not present a united front on the choice between the BGJ/s or the BGJ/k schemes. Most unions preferred the former to be compulsory but in recent years the Metal Workers Union (Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall) changed its mind in favour of the latter, because it believed it could effectively influence the curriculum via works councils in cooperation with employers. The curriculum in the BGJ/s scheme is the province of the Kultusministerium of the various Länder and the unions influence would be negligible. The German Trades Union congress (DGB) was not in favour of the Dual System for the first year, believing that it restricted mobility. Nevertheless, they recognised that it was favoured by young people because wages were higher (varying in 1979 from DM180 to DM600 per month depending on trade) compared with means-tested grant available for the BGJ/s scheme (approximately DM240 per month). The DGB placed great emphasis on general education (including political studies, employment law, etc.) in the tenth year, both in the BGJ and the Dual System, and less on technical theory studies which are favoured by employers.

At this point the character of the Dual System (see Chapter 1) needs to be re-stated as consisting of training from an employer, and education from the Land Berufsschule. The

training by the employer must be within the Training Regulations (Ausbildungsordnungen) laid down by the Federal Institute for Vocational Training or BIBB on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs (Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft), and there is a basic supervision of this by the Chamber with which the employer is registered. The Chamber will also set and administer the final examinations. The Ausbildungsordnungen tend to be defined in terms of the terminal skills required. As a result employers embarking on the BGJ/k scheme, although they can seek advice from the advisers from the Chamber, are fundamentally very much on their own in changing the training they provide. This may be the result of a lack of enthusiasm for implementing a BGJ by small employers. Conversely, large firms, with large professional training departments, may feel extremely competent in this area. The educational components will be within a Outline Curriculum (Rahmenlehrplan) agreed between the Länder to co-ordinate with training. Rahmenlehrpläne exist for all 13 Berufsfelder and are published by the Kultusministerkonferenz, thus establishing an area of commonality in the 'education' element of the BGJ.

The three main components of the Rahmenlehrplan are:

- a. Technical Theory subjects
- b. General Education subjects
- c. Practical Work

The allocation of Stunden (teaching sessions of 50 minutes duration) for the Berufsfeld Metal per year is as follows:

Technical Theory Subjects	<u>Stunden</u>
Technical Theory	120
Physics/Chemistry	40
Technical Drawing	80
Maths & Calcs	80
Total	320

General Education Subjects	<u>Stunden</u>
German	80
English	80
Economics/Social Science/Law etc.	80
Sport	80
Total	320
Grand Total (session)	640

The rest of the time available is spent on practical work in both schemes. The amount of time in the BGJ/s scheme varies according to the length of the Berufsschule day, and the length of session (usually 40 weeks). Critics of the BGJ/s scheme estimate this as low as 540 hours whilst it is officially¹⁶ stated as high as 720 hours. In all cases it compares poorly with the BGJ/k scheme with around 1100 hours. In the larger firms the apprentices may spend the majority of their time in special training workshops whilst the smaller employer, particularly in the Handwerks sector, may have them in production, 'learning on-the job'.

A substantial amount of 'Craft Theory' is taught in factory training centres (Ausbildungszentrum) before any practical work is started, which is often repeated in the Berufsschule. This has the effect of minimising the difference between the two schemes of BGJ. In practice both schemes give specialist training from about two thirds of the way through the first year.

Employers have been dissatisfied¹⁷ with a number of aspects of the BGJ/s scheme. A consistent complaint has been the lack of understanding of the realities of the work situation by BGJ teachers particularly to what might be regarded as the socialisation of students within industry. The modes of assessment within the BGJ/s have been criticised as being less objective than in industry. Industry makes greater use of nationally devised and designed tests emanating from central agencies, often in the form of objective tests, whereas the Berufsschule teachers use a method based on a six point scale. In the opinion of persons in industry the value of a grade depends as much upon the overall performance of a peer group as on the individual student. Research¹⁸ in this area by H. Salzgitter has shown that students from the BGJ/s scheme are better than the BGJ/k student in theory studies and no worse in practical tests in which they have a better approach to the planning of tasks, although they were somewhat slower in their execution. As may be expected, industrialists dismiss these experiments and counter with their own claims that the end product of their method is better suited to industrial requirements,

also pointing out that "no educational pilot scheme has ever been known to fail"¹⁹ but its successful transfer to a universal situation is problematic.

The BGJ was conceptualised and introduced in the early 1970s, a period of optimism and buoyant expansion. In its conception it was never intended to apply to any special or small group, but to be a pilot scheme for all the apprenticeable trades. In vision and ever since, the objectives have been to provide a better and later career choice, and a broad training base to ensure adaptability and flexibility for all workers.

The SPD and the DGB saw it as a vehicle for the less able to achieve an increase in general education provision: the employers as an unwanted and unwarranted intrusion into an area that they had considered to be exclusively theirs. In practice, over nearly two decades, the project proceeded slowly and unevenly with unprecedented developments surrounding its implementation.

In common with the associated educational reforms, the problems encountered in implementing the BGJ and the changes within the system continue to be 'a bone of contention' within the Federal Republic. The changes and associated problems initiated by these developments are discussed in the succeeding chapter.

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CHAPTER 10

Conclusions and Analysis

The end of the two decades between the '60's and the '80's saw the educational reforms of the Federal Republic begin to assume something resembling normality. The efforts of the SPD to impose their concepts of egalitarian education had been modified by the combination of the CDU and the Wirtschaft, together with economic reality. In retrospect, particularly in view of the SPD's aims, it could be considered as a classic example of the problems facing a government, an institution or a party attempting to implement an innovation.

The legislation that the SPD had proposed could be seen as almost contradictory when one considers the main elements of their platform:

the equality of opportunity for all to access to higher education,

the integration of vocational and general education,

the parity of status between vocational and general education, and

the Federal control of training.

Each of these elements was bound to bring about conflict with the Länder, bearing in mind the educational autonomy of the Federal States. The route for the first element was to be based on the introduction of the Comprehensive School (Gesamtschule) which had met with opposition in the

traditionally conservative Länder and suffered a mixed reaction from the remainder. The two models of Gesamptschule that were offered in the various Länder were:

the integrated school, in which the three traditional types of secondary school, Gymnasium, Realschule and Hauptschule, are abolished and replaced by a one stream all through a school.

the comprehensive school in which the three traditional schools are housed in one institution with provision for transference between each stream.

(See Appendix S for distribution of Gesamptschule school models within Länder.)

Initially, Gesamptschulen were introduced as a pilot scheme throughout the Republic. As could be expected, the experiments were carried out by the the various Länder with quite different political goals in mind. In the Länder governed by the SPD or by SPD/FDP coalition, the policy on Gesamptschulen clearly had the long-term aim of standardising Secondary Stage I. The central purpose of these experiments was therefore conceived to be obtaining information which would be useful for gradually changing the structure of the school system from vertically differentiation to a horizontal differentiation one. Or: if the experiments were not intended from the outset to be part of the de facto introduction of the comprehensive school, they were supposed to have allowed the development of a defensible and generally applicable organisational model.

In contrast, in the conservative Länder comprehensive schools were established as an open experiment, in accordance with the recommendation of the

Deutscher Bildungsrat.¹ The integrated comprehensive school was supposed to prove its superiority, or at least demonstrate that it was a vehicle for attaining important educational goals, for example, optimal conditions for the self-development or social integration and mobility of its pupils. Only then would an expansion of the comprehensive school be considered. The differences in the goals of the various Länder with respect to the comprehensive school led to the development of different policies and to the emergence of four groups in the development of comprehensive schools.

In Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse and North-Rhine Westphalia the comprehensive school has the legal status of a standard educational institution. Bremen attempted to avoid a dualism between the system of comprehensive schools and the traditional schools by establishing only a few experimental integrated comprehensive schools. The long term plan was to link the traditional schools by making curricula more similar to one another and by the establishment of school centres. In the third group consisting of Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate and Schleswig-Holstein, the comprehensive schools functioned as a stimulus to the traditional school system with a political guarantee of their continued existence, but neither their number or importance would be increased. The final group consists of the South German Länder or Bavaria and Baden-württemberg which are considered to be conservative strongholds. These Länder were unanimous in their opposition to the school

experiments and intended either to eliminate them or to transform them into school centres after the required experimental period.

One Land that had assimilated the Gesamtschule into its existing system was West Berlin.² Whilst retaining the traditional tri-partite system, the Senator für Schulwesen had introduced the integrated model to run parallel with current provision.³

With reference to the integration of vocational and general education, the response of the majority of the Länder had been negligible with the exception of North-Rhine Westphalia and Baden-Wurtemberg. Although the concept of integration had been dropped from the revised Draft Law,⁴ the two Länder proposed in 1972 to create pilot schemes with a number of Kollegs⁵ wherein the separate sectors of vocational training and preparation for the Arbitur be merged. As a result, trade training courses would contain a larger element of liberal, social and political studies and courses leading towards university education would be more strongly orientated towards a vocation. It was hoped that the combination of education and vocational training in the Kollegs would bring about the abolition of the dichotomy between Bildung and Ausbildung that existed in the Federal Republic. (See Appendix W for progression, curriculum and mode of attendance relating to the Berufs Kolleg.)

It is interesting to note the means by which this was to be

achieved. The creation of a new institution with a curriculum containing the classicist subjects i.e. languages, art, history etc. (See Appendix W) that had always been considered essential for the achievement of Bildung in the Humboldtian model. This amendment of the curriculum is also reflected in the extension of attendance at the Berufsschule, with the inclusion of similar subjects. This begs the question: does this raise the status of vocational education, and if so by what degree? Conversely, if Bildung is only attainable by the study of the classics, does the "vocationalisation" of the curriculum diminish it?

The problem of the concept of Bildung is one of definition coupled with that of the dichotomy between vocational and general education. Referring to the latter in B. Holmes' terms:

"The dichotomy between general and vocational education has its ideological origins (in Europe) in Aristotle's distinction between the kind of education appropriate to a gentleman and that needed by the artisan. In practice, conditions of work, economic rewards and social status have in the past confirmed opinion that mental work has more prestige than manual labour, and the types of education preparing individuals for the two branches of education have been placed in the same hierarchal order."⁶

The dichotomy as defined by Holmes appears to a smaller degree in the status awarded to the institutions that carry out the educative process and the indicators of success associated with them. The clearest example is that of a degree awarded, in Britain, from Oxbridge as compared to the so-called "red-brick" university, or indeed from a

polytechnic. In this context, the Kolleg would equate as a second class route to higher education, or as Rhoede⁷ referred to it "the tramp's track of the Zweiter Bildungsweg".

Returning to the concept of Bildung, the arguments of Kerschensteiner and Spranger that this education state can only be achieved through a trade based investigation. The Humboldtian model originated some 200 years ago, Kerschensteiner and Spranger's modification of this philosophy during the earlier part of the twentieth century is now difficult to substantiate, considering the changes in society over the past decades. Kerschensteiner and Spranger, as revealed in their correspondence⁸, expressed doubts regarding the validity of their original interpretation of Bildung and its applicability in light of the changes in industry and modes of training. Spranger writing to Kerschensteiner in 1913 said:

"Our time has to advance beyond the individualist temper which has so far made us great. The time has come when only the individual incorporated in a super-individual organisation receives from his age all that it can give him The free development of the personality is no longer the final goal in our civilisation of today, but the personality which receives its finest values from the social totality, and gives back its own in return"⁹

Inherent within these words is the recognition that change was inevitable and the model would have to change to be relevant in a changing society. That Kerschensteiner concurred with Spranger is evident in the following extract from their later correspondence in 1928:

"Our way and our time have changed. We too, certainly are seeking a humane ideal of life, a life worthy of a man for all members of society. But it is no longer this humanism of a purely aesthetic type, but a way of life to be worked out on the basis of a true sense of reality.... in which productive effort of every kind will be a source of satisfaction. A fully human existence can result from this too, not for self-enjoyment but for work with a will in the spirit of the Wanderjahre, in which I find all the types of men of our new age prefigured.... What we are looking for is the content of a humane ideal for our time. For Humanität is really only a formal concept, which every age fills out with its own living substance."¹⁰

Clearly, both Kerschensteiner and Spranger were prepared to modify their philosophy in the light of change and this poses the question of the validity of their original concept.

In W. Bruford's opinion:

"The classical idea of Bildung inherited from Weimar met with obstacles of many kinds in the nineteenth century. It was progressively externalised and watered down, if not completely distorted by Neitzche. It seems doubtful whether such an ideal in its pure form can survive in an industrial and politically conscious society".¹¹

The problems facing the SPD with regard to the equal status of general and vocational education can only be exacerbated by the changing state of Bildung plus the element of doubt regarding the theories of Kerschensteiner and Spranger.

The preceding chapters have high-lighted the political and legal problems that faced the SPD in their efforts to legislate their proposed changes in general and vocational education. To recapitulate, the introduction of the Vocational Training Act of 1969 created a series of changes,

problems and solutions associated with the following:

- a. the SPD and its supporters, namely the unions as represented by the DGB,
- b. the CDU/CSU and their supporters as represented by the Wirtschaft and the employers various Chambers i.e. Handelstag and Handelskammer.
- c. the Länder education ministries and
- d. the Berufsschule sector.

Applying the Holmesian methodology¹² to the situation in the Federal Republic so far discussed, the initial change to be identified is the success of the SPD in the 1969 elections, a political change which resulted in the forming of the first socialist government in the new Federal Republic. In coalition with the FDP, the SPD were able to introduce the 1969 Vocational Training Act (Berufsbildungsgesetz or BBiG), a legislative change, the draft of which had been submitted in the period preceding the election.

As discussed in the earlier chapters, the SPD were concerned with the equivalence of vocational education with general education and their projected solution to this problem was contained within the framework of the BBiG. The no-change element is reflected in the political attitudes of the CDU/CSU in opposition who, whilst acknowledging that the vocational sector was in need of reorganisation, disagreed with the solution proposed by the SPD.

Contained within the Act was the provision for the creation of a new institution, the Federal Ministry for Vocational

Research, one of whose responsibilities was for the production of the training schedules (Ausbildungsordnung) required of the reorganisation of training throughout the Republic. During this process some 450 trades involved in training apprentices were identified. This number was subsequently reduced to 250, at first sight a substantial alteration in provision. However, examination of the apprenticeship classification system tends to clarify the situation.

Taking engineering as an example in a comparative context. In comparing the German training system, incorporating the BGJ, with that of the U.K., initially it would appear similar. A first year off the job training i.e BGJ/s or k. followed by specialisation in a particular aspect of engineering skills together with subsequent development and attendance at a Berufsschul over the requisite period. However, when one examines the skilled trades associated with engineering, i.e. fitting, machine setting and the operation of lathes, milling machines, drilling machines, welding and other practical applications, engineering draughting etc., in the Federal Republic each of the skilled operations mentioned above involved a separate apprenticeship, generally over a period of three to three and a half years, with two years for a draughtsman. This process of dividing an industry into individual specialist trades is reflected throughout the Republic and could be considered an indication of the narrowness of a standard apprenticeship. Examination of the German Ausbildungs-

ordnung¹³ for these engineering trades reveals a degree of subject duplication that would enable a certain degree of rationalisation between trades in the Berufsfeld Metal.

By comparison, in the United Kingdom after the implementation of the 1964 Industrial Training Act, an apprentice would undertake an initial year of basic training, 'off the job' i.e. in a specialist training centre, separate from the production processes. At the end of the first year, an apprentice craftsman must chose at least one of six basic Stage 2 modules each of which provides two to three months' training in elements common to a group of specialist skills. (See Appendix T for details of the structure of craft training modules.) Trainees then proceed direct to one or more Stage 3 modules, each lasting six months and covering one of the specialist skills dealt with in Stage 2. to be followed by periods of relevant experience. Finally, at Stage 4, there are facilities to develop skills to a more advanced level if required. The minimum combination necessary after the completion of Stage 1 is one Stage 2 module and two Stage 3 or 4 modules. In addition, paid day or block release for further education must be given throughout the training.

The advantages of the British system consist of the wide range of skills open to the trainee and the fact that the time scale is adjusted to his capabilities and what he is required to learn. The training, which is more broadly based than was previously undertaken, can in many cases

result in an apprentice reaching a satisfactory standard by the end of his third year, however the average time taken is nearer four years.¹⁴ This makes it possible to reduce substantially the previous apprenticeship period of five years.

Returning to the BGJ, towards which these re-classifications of skilled trades had been directed in order to establish an agreed thirteen fields (Berufsfelder), it became apparent that the fields would have to be extended by the creation of sub-groups in order to cover additional categories that had not been included within the original fields. (For clarification see Appendix R)

The creation of a further institution, the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft BMBW) not within the Act, but by legislative decree, is a further identified institutional change. This is a ministry with limited responsibilities and executive power which the predominantly Conservative Länder regarded with some suspicion¹⁵, considering it a creation of the SPD controlled Federal Government. Because the BMBW's brief was the oversight of education in the Republic, the Länder saw this as evidence of a further erosion of their autonomy in educational matters within the individual Land¹⁶. An additional responsibility of the BMBW was the preparation of the draft Rahmenlehrpläne, the theory element of the Ausbildungsordnung produced by the Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung Forschung or BBF, each of

which was to be implemented in the Berufsschule, falling within the Länder jurisdiction.

Under agreement with the Konferenz der Kultusminister or KMK, both Ausbildungsordnen and Rahmenlehrpläne were to be debated and approved by the Vocational Committee before adoption. (See Appendix L for adoption procedures.) Whilst the procedure tended to be a 'rubber stamp' operation it was not without its problems. According to Herr Heinz Wirtz, secretary to the Vocational Committee of the KMK:

"They (the Land representatives) agree to everything on the table and then go home and do their own thing!"¹⁷

In Wirtz's opinion,¹⁸ this is how the BGJ came to be offered in its two forms, school and cooperative.

Another bone of contention regarding the Ausbildungsordnung and Rahmenlehrpläne was the attitude of the Chamber representatives. The development in this sphere had been, as they saw it, an erosion of their responsibility in the field of vocational training. Consequently, any reference to the influence of either Ministry tends to be regarded with a derision¹⁹ that could be considered a typical businessman's reaction to what he saw as bureaucratic interference in an area where the chambers had a wealth of experience.

A further series of problems arose from the implementation of the BGJ in the Berufsschulen.

The standard mode of attendance at the Berufsschule in the

Dual System is one day per week, from 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. The curriculum consists of trade/craft theory, general education and some practical laboratory/workshop (not training) to re-inforce the theory.

WEEK



Standard mode of attendance for the BGJ/s. Five days per week from 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. The curriculum consists of trade/craft theory, general education and sport for two days per week and simulated industrial training three days per week.



Standard attendance for the BGJ/k is two days per week from 8.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. The curriculum consists of trade/craft theory, general education and sport.



The duties of the teachers (Fachlehre) and practical instructors (Praxislehre) have been covered in the preceding chapters. However, with the implementation of the two forms of the BGJ there were resource problems to be considered. The obvious equipment requirements for the teaching of the industrial training element in the BGJ/s could be overcome by further investment in this area. The major problem was in the staffing required in the BGJ/s. Firstly, there is a

legal requirement for double staffing (i.e. one theory teacher plus a practical teacher in all classes with an element of practical work) which, in a situation where was an acknowledged shortage of teachers in the Berufsschule sector. Secondly, the reluctance of many subject teachers to teach what they considered a lower level/grade of student, particularly in respect to the increased numbers in the BGJ/s. In effect the teachers saw what they considered to be a loss of status in teaching the new intake in the BGJ/s. This situation is reflected in the Länder where the Basic Vocational Preparation Year (Berufsvorbereitungsjahr or BVJ (See Appendix V) was introduced.²⁰

The BVJ was largely attended by lower achievers who had not obtained their school leaving certificate, handicapped children and the children of guest workers with language difficulties. The teachers of the BGJ/s saw this situation being repeated in BGJ/s recruitment, since most of the young candidates would be unable to obtain a contract with an employer they would be regarded as of lower ability.

The tenacity with which the Wirtschaft defended their interests in vocational training influenced the decisions that were made by the Federal government, particularly with regard to the perpetuation of the Dual System as the preferred mode of vocational training.

Problems in the Dual System

The combination of increasing unemployment,²¹ a decrease²² in the number of firms capable of offering on-the-job training, and the entrance of the peak birth-rate years into the labour market in the mid-1970s did more to uncover the problems and short-comings of the Dual System than did the danger of expansion in the system of general education. Whilst the Wirtschaft complained²³ of the difficulty of recruiting school leavers into apprenticeships, the media reported, for the first time in 1973, the lack of apprentice placement opportunities.²⁴ Halving the number of apprenticeships available was interpreted as a decline in qualified vocational employment through the new technology and new forms of work organisation. It was assumed that firms would reduce their provision in job training because fewer qualified workers were required.²⁵

However, while experts were forecasting the end of on-the-job vocational training, in 1975 the number of job training opportunities increased. This increase did not occur equally in all trades. The number of training opportunities continued to stagnate in the more demanding technical and commercial occupations, in which during the previous years the number of training opportunities had dropped considerably. On the other hand, there was a large increase in training opportunities in the craft sector. (See Table below) ²⁶

Changes in the number of trainees in selected vocational training programmes from 1973-1983

Trade	Trainees	Trainees	Changes %
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	1973	1983	

Male Trainees			
Electricians	60.447	56.248	-7
Engine fitters	42.185	47.053	+12
Painters/varnishers	22,368	36,140	+62
Toolmakers	26,259	21,650	-18
Bakers	9.710	26,982	+178
Butchers	11.013	22,121	+101
Female Trainees			
Hairdressers	43,088	62,510	+45
Grocery assistants	13,986	62,510	+221
Bank employees	25,817	28,063	+9
Housekeepers	10,290	14,518	+41
Wholesale merchandise	35,352	36,126	+2

Total Number of trainees	1,331,239	1,721,686	+29

The explanation can be found in the fact that on-the-job training has two functions: it has the purpose of satisfying the firms' need just for junior staff, and secondly for production work. These two groups vary in significance depending on the type of firm and trade and fall into two categories. The first type of firm is the one which trains young people in order to qualify them to fill its own demand. A commitment of this kind from a firm also brings certain risks, since the better the training offered (which in industry generally means higher costs) the better are the chances for the trainees to find employment on the open job

market after completion of the programme.

For the other type of firm, the trainees' capacity for work predominates even during the training programme. The trainees' inferior efficiency, qualification and job experience as compared to adult, qualified and experienced employees, is compensated for by the considerably lower costs they incur. For these types of firms training programmes pay off if the work produced far exceeds the training costs. This is usually the case in areas where a training qualification can be obtained within a relatively short period of training. Here, vocational training only partly has the purpose of satisfying the demand for future skilled workers. For the most part, it fills an immediate demand for workers at relatively low cost.

Young workers are trapped between the vocational training system's intended objectives and the qualifications required for the job market. Those most likely to be forced to change jobs are those who are least prepared for this change because of the low quality of the training initially received. On the other hand semi-skilled and un-skilled jobs are particularly endangered by technological change and company rationalisation. The training of young workers certainly did not provide them with the theoretical foundation that experts see as a pre-requisite to occupational change or employment at all, in the so-called 'industries of the future'.

When the Dual System is compared for efficiency in securing the award of qualifications with other types of occupational and labour preparation, the Dual System does show certain strong points. One positive point is the status of its graduates in the labour market and the recognition by all the social partners of its contribution to the economy. The tendency of Gymnasium graduates in recent years to undertake an apprenticeship rather than progress to university in view of the declining job market serves to underline the status with which the dual system is regarded. In areas where high quality training is offered, there is evidence that the 'professional' type of work organisation referred to by Lutz will be able to meet the demands of modern technology.²⁷

The concept of the BGJ, together with its legal and political problems, was discussed in Chapters 8 and 9. The basic structure of occupational fields and the theory from which it is derived requires further elaboration. The concept has been employed in several Western industrial countries²⁸ to enable re-grouping of the traditional classifications into occupational and educational fields.

Whilst the original division of the BGJ into its thirteen fields was prompted largely by industrial classification and/or raw material, further research by Dr. Manfred Kaiser²⁹ in the area of generic clusters as applied to the BGJ fields, serves to reinforce, at least in the German opinion, that the original classification was vocationally sound, and provided a basis for occupational mobility. (See Appendix

X for clarification.)

The purpose and aims of occupational basic training are developed from the following considerations. Economic growth incorporates economic change. Economic change alters the conditions of economic and occupational activity. As changes in these conditions vary they call for new skill requirements for the labour force due to:

the technological component of structural change.

the increasing sophistication of technological processes, new means of production, new basic materials, resulting in new jobs emerging requiring higher skills on one side and, due to automation, lower qualifications on the other,

the organisational component of structural change.

the increase of establishment size which implies that work has to be better organised, a further division of labour ensues, and problems of communication increase.

the economic component of structural change, and

the fact that competition requires an efficiency orientation. the streamlining of production leads to a substitution of human capital by real capital. i.e. men are replaced by machines: and secondly, to the exchange of low productivity jobs by higher productivity jobs.

In the wake of the technological, organisational and socio-economic progress discrepancies between the job requirements and the skills of workers arise. Four contradictory theories can be discerned:

a. the deskilling theory implies

increased automation i.e. assembly lines and mechanisation of the traditional occupational activities, the introduction of new means of production, production methods and new products lead to the requirement for less-skilled jobs, existing skills become redundant or de-valued and are no longer in demand, i.e. in transporting,

storing, filing.³⁰

b. the up-skillisation theory implies

an opposite hypothesis to the previous one: increased automation creates new activities i.e. planning, communication, controlling, research, requiring precision, responsibility and reliability, in particular in industries producing highly sophisticated apparatus with requirements for research, development and control needs.³¹

c. the polarisation theory,

is a composite of the two previous hypotheses: technological, organisational and socio-economic progress entails higher skills on one side and lower skills on the other i.e. repetitive manual work, simple machine control operations on the other. The polarisation of job skills corresponds with a polarisation of the qualification requirements for the workforce, and

d. the new-skill theory implies

that with increased technological, organisational and socio-economic progress specific skill and job requirements are abolished. On the other hand, the resulting vacuum is compensated for by new skill requirements: the worker has to acquire additional skills of the same, higher or lower level compared to the previous one.

From these hypotheses it is possible to construct a model for an occupational training structure to meet the identified aims.

Occupational training should be accomplished in broad occupational categories, enabling and facilitating further specialisation or later occupational change. The apprentice should not be trained in one specific job (as in the Dual System) but undergo a basic approach to his selected trade. In other words the underlying theory of the Basic Vocational Training Year. A further model which would meet the requirements is that used by the Engineering Industry Training Board as mentioned earlier in this Chapter. This

was introduced in a different form in Chapter 1, as Stufenausbildung (training by stages).

This, together with a strong theoretical base should guarantee job security and maintain status and income for the worker and establish him in a position to cope with the changes in occupational requirements. Training for a broad range of occupational opportunities, for sets of inter-related occupations, according to occupational families, would produce a system of polyvalent training that would meet the following aims:

enable and facilitate a subsequent occupational change within the same occupational or training family,

enable the worker to perform several activities related with each other,

make it possible with the help of the basic training programme to specialise in a range of occupational activities,

facilitate the attainment of more and higher skills,

give the possibility for workers to change at a later date their occupation and compensate for the educational decision initially taken, and

enable the worker to cope with occupational change.

From the requirements of these stated aims one is faced with the problem of the adoption of a model that will meet these requirements. Whilst Lutz defends the Dual System (See Introduction) as being an Ideal Model and supports his argument with his research into the French vocational system,³² it is difficult to imagine the original concept of the Dual System meeting the aims mentioned above. However,

using the BGJ as the first year of apprenticeship in the Dual System would appear to be the ideal solution to the problem. Similarly, the Engineering ITB scheme would, and does, meet all the requirements for the aims stated above.

This then poses the question "where is the vocational training problem?" In Germany the employers' arguments against the BGJ have been covered in the preceding chapters, and twenty years after the BGJ's implementation it still takes second place to the formal Dual System. In Britain a similar situation exists with the remaining Training Boards meeting all the requirements of the original aims as stated in Chapter 4.

A further aspect of this debate which tends to be overlooked by those comparing the two systems is that selection in the German schools is a contributory factor to the success of the vocational sector. The study by S. Prais and K. Wagner³³ underlines the differences in ability in the secondary sectors in both Britain and Germany. When one considers the recruitment of the two systems it would appear that the German employer has a distinct advantage over his British equivalent in the standard of academic achievement in apprentices. Furthermore, the general education content of the Further Education College course in Britain cannot compare with that of the Berufsschule syllabus.

Returning to the aims of the contrasting systems, in Britain initially the concern was over vocational training, or the lack of it, whilst in Germany as far as the employers and

the CDU/CSU were concerned there was no problem to be solved. This contrasts with the aims of the SPD in Germany who, to put a fine point on it, were pursuing more egalitarian aims, in that the SPD wished to achieve parity between vocational and general education. This situation has never arisen in debates in the British system until quite recently.³⁴

It is a far cry, however, from the construction of an Ideal Typical Model to the successful implementation of an educational innovation based on that model. Many of the problems associated with the introduction of the BGJ in both its forms have been covered in the preceding chapters. It remains only to assess the BGJ's effect on the training situation in the Federal Republic.

Whilst the initial aims that were stated in the model are relevant and commendable, it remains to be seen whether it achieved them. Many³⁵ in the Republic consider that the unwritten aim in the model, namely, that the BGJ was conceived as a remedy for the 70s 'bulge' in school leavers. To provide them with a 'worth-while' occupation until the economic recession was alleviated. In spite of that somewhat cynical comment, many of the Länder have assimilated the BGJ into their existing system. West Berlin successfully incorporated the BGJ/s into the tertiary sector. The conservative Länder who primarily operate the

BGJ/k maintain that they have minimal problems in relations between employers and the schools. However, it should not be overlooked that the BGJ/k is in effect the Dual System 'writ small' and consequently favoured by those chambers who fought to keep the Dual System in its entirety.

Regarding the end product of the BGJ and the training sector per se, there have been numerous comparative studies on the efficiency and productivity of the Federal Republic's manufacturing sector.³⁶ The comparisons, particularly with Britain, show an unbelievable lead in productivity and particularly, the application of new technology. All the observers consider that this performance is directly attributable to the system of vocational training together with the attitudes and abilities of the end product.

In summary: as in every developed country, the training provided by industry and business in Britain is very significant, though exactly how much there is, and of what quality, it is impossible to say as there are no accurate statistics. In order to fill this gap the MSC undertook the first complete survey of training in Britain. In a preliminary report³⁷ it estimated that employers are currently spending about 5 billion pounds on vocational education and training. This sum applies to the 2.5 million employees (10% of the total workforce) who are currently receiving training.

In November 1985, a further report³⁸ concluded that few

employers considered that training was sufficiently central to their business to be a main component in their corporate strategy; many of them showed a complacency, a lack of concern, and in some cases, a distressing lack of knowledge about their training needs and provision; and that changing this situation would be an uphill task. A report in similar vein³⁹ concludes that too many of Britain's middle managers are positively antagonistic towards training, and in many companies apathy and ignorance are widespread. By comparison with the German system Britain also suffers from a relatively under-skilled workforce and from serious skill shortages. A survey for the Engineering Industries Training Board⁴⁰ revealed that one in five of British engineers and technicians has no qualifications at all, and only one in fifty has a degree or equivalent qualification. A recent comparative survey⁴¹ of British and German firms concluded that the superior training of German foreman and chargehands was one of the most significant differences between the two countries. Attempts by the Gauge and Toolmakers' Association in cooperation with the City and Guilds of London to provide courses that would meet this obvious deficit in British training have received minimal support. The gap between British and German provision of skilled personnel shows little signs of closing, with Germany annually qualifying between twice and three times as many fitters, electricians and building craftsmen as Britain. A major reason for the skill shortages which are holding back Britain's industrial development is that, compared with their equivalents in Germany, Britain's managers are

themselves short on skills. A recent report⁴² reveals, only 21% of top British managers have degrees or professional qualifications of any kind, while 36% of middle managers have had no management training at all since they started work. One result is that too often they fail to recognise the need for training, for themselves as much as for their employees.

In comparison with the German situation where some 600,000 people annually enter a three year programme leading to a nationally-recognised qualification, the British apprenticeship system has substantially declined over the past decade and the Youth Training Scheme has only recently become a two year programme with a substantial job-specific content. From these observations it can be convincingly argued that in order to produce a highly-skilled workforce, the foundations must be laid in the school system and that higher standards of basic education, especially of literacy and numeracy, are a pre-requisite. In addition, this basic structure needs to be supplemented by a much higher participation rate in full time education after compulsory schooling. Therefore, a successful system of vocational education and training in Britain is likely to be one which recognises and promotes a "dual mandate",⁴³ namely the education and vocational training of the individual both in his own interest and that of the economy.

In retrospect, when one considers the intensity of the debate outlined within these chapters, between Bund and

debate outlined within these chapters, between Bund and Land, Chambers and Unions, employers and employees all contributing and interacting, it underlines the commitment to and the concern of the West German people with the preparation of their youth for assimilation into the economy and society in contrast with the prevailing attitudes in Britain.

The concluding comments must be addressed to the problems existing in the British system and the possible solutions. The identified shortcomings have already been discussed in this Chapter. It should not be overlooked, however, that in spite of these criticisms, there are areas of excellence in the British training system. Those British apprentices who compete in the International Apprentice Competition frequently outscore their German colleagues. If this area of excellence could only be extended to include the remainder of the system the problem would begin to be alleviated. It is interesting to note that the majority of the British entrants come from the trades covered by the remaining Training Boards.

The Manpower Services Commission and the Training Services Division with their insistence that Britain should have a voluntary scheme of training have much to answer for. In the absence of the commitment to training in the British employers, found in their German counterparts, the solution must be, as in the developments covered in this research indicate, a legally enforced system of training, based on the German Model.

References

Ch. 10

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U.S.A.: fifteen occupational families: business and office; marketing and distribution, communication and media; construction; manufacturing; transportation; agri-business and natural resources; marine science; environmental control; public services; health; hospitality and recreation; personal services; fine arts and humanities; consumer and homemaking.
Finland: sixteen occupational families: electricity; construction; industrial sewing; office work; motor vehicles and transport; food; footwear and leather; rubber; heavy earth moving; metal; service industries; process industries; woodwork; peat industry ; storage; upholstery.
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Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (BDI) Federation of German Industries.

Kuratorium der Deutschenwirtschaft (Wirtschaft) Council of German Employers.

Deutsche Industrie und Handelstag (DHIT) German Industry and Trade Convention.

Deutsche Industrie und Handelskammer (DIHK) German Chambers of Commerce.

Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks (ZBH) Central Association of German Handicrafts.

Unions

Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) Federation of German Trade Unions.

Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall (IG-Metall) Metal Workers Union.

Industrie Gewerkschaft Chemie (IG-Chemie) Chemical Workers Union.

Bundesverband der Lehre und Berufsbildung Schulen (BLBS) Association of Teachers in Vocational Schools.

Deutscher Lehrerverband (DL) Association of German Teachers.

Land Level

Landtag Regional State parliament.

Kultusminister Minister of Culture (Education).

Kultusministerium für Kultus und Sport Ministry for Culture and Sport. (N.B. The titles of education ministries may vary from Land to Land)

Technische: technical.

Technische Hochschule: technical university.

Ungelernt: unskilled worker.

Universität: university.

Verankerung: to 'anchor'. create a legal basis/precedent.

Verband: association. alliance.

Verbesserung: improvement.

Volkschule: elementary school.

Weit: world.

Weltanschauung: philosophy of life.

Wirtschaft: industry, commerce, the craft sector.

Wirtschaft und verwaltung: economics and administration.

Wirtschaftswunder: economic miracle.

Wissenschaft: science. field of academic study.

Wissenschaftsrat: Council for Education and Science.

Zivilisation: civilisation. the Western world.

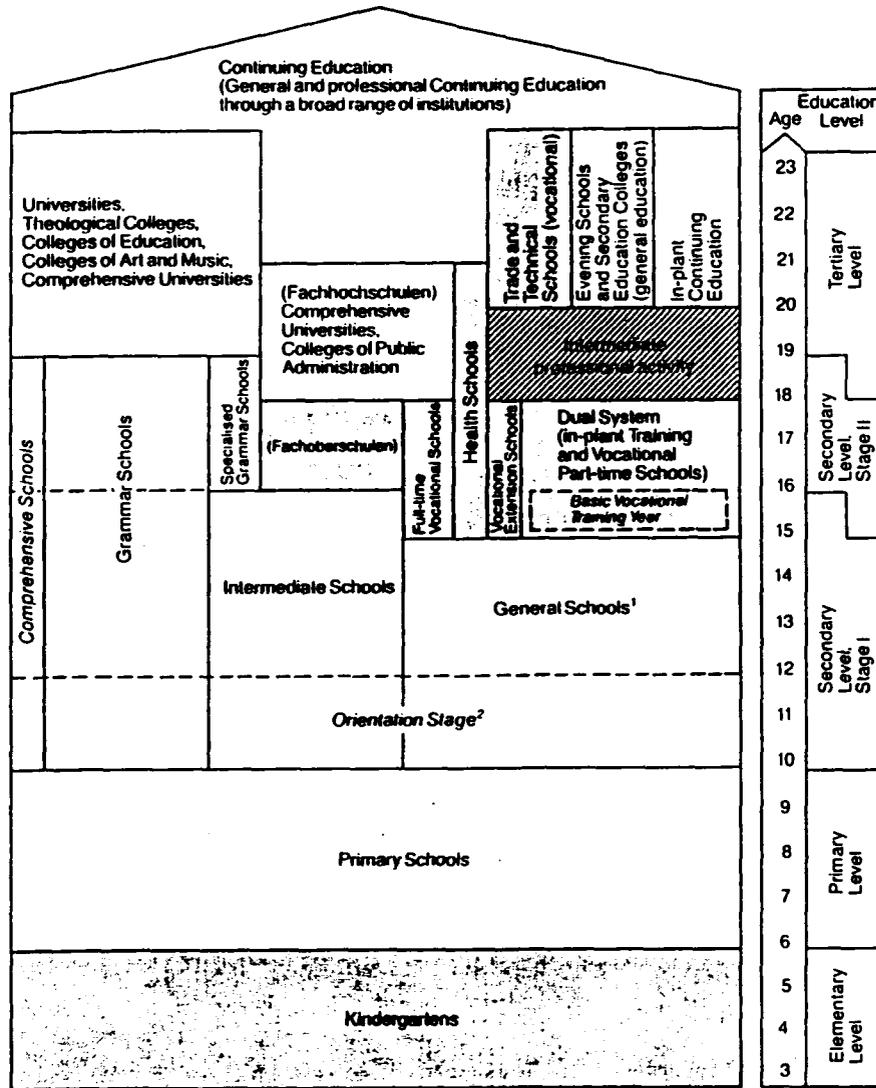
Zweiter Bildungsweg: second or alternative route to higher education.

APPENDIX A

The School System in the Federal Republic of Germany

1984

Basic structure of the education system in Germany*



¹ About 20 per cent of pupils in General Schools in addition attended an additional tenth school year.

² About 64 per cent of pupils in fifth and sixth school years attended the Orientation Stage.

* There are slight differences within the individual Laender.

Figures in the right-hand column show the earliest possible age of entry in an uninterrupted progress through the education system.

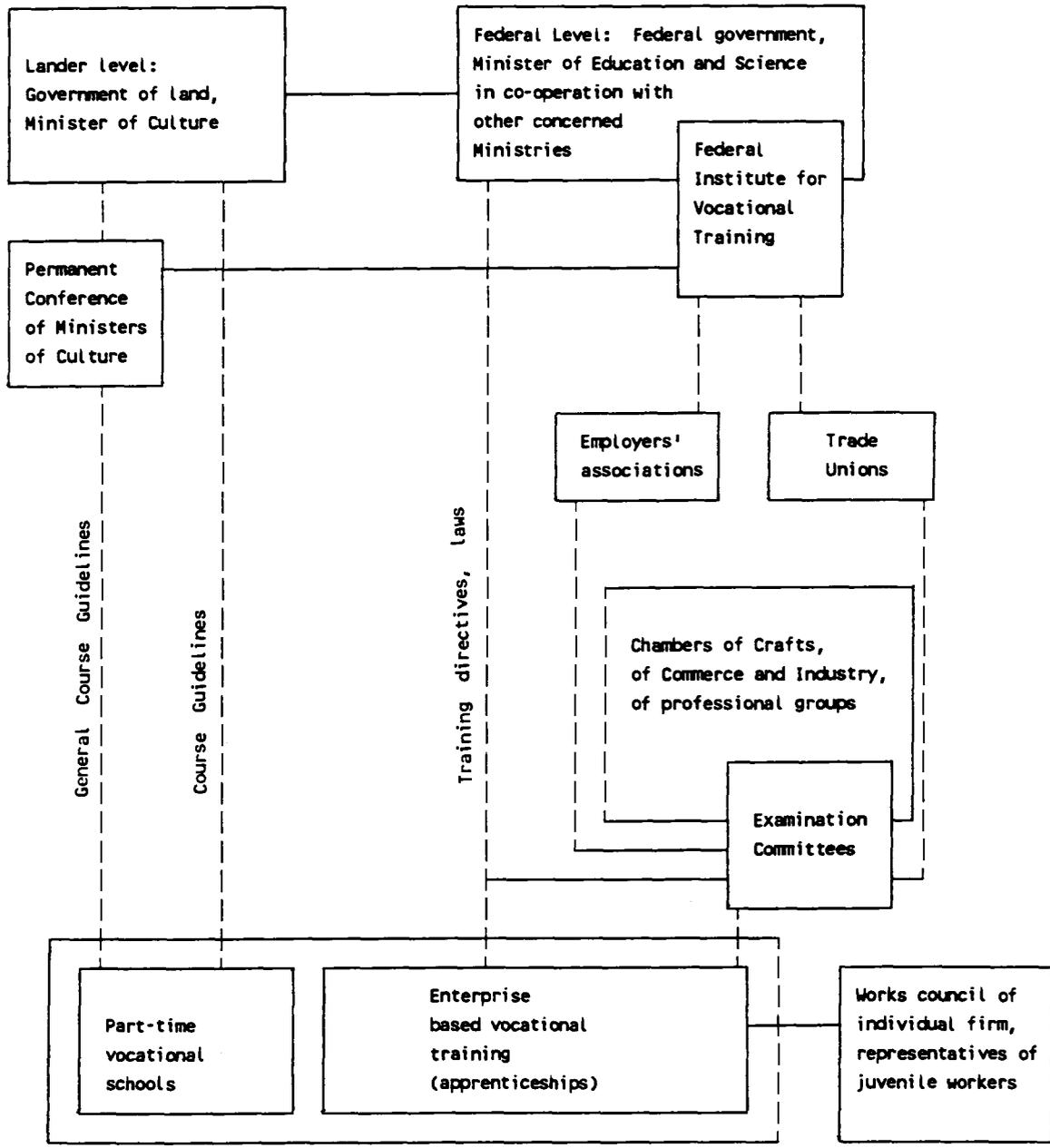
The size of the rectangle is not proportional to the numbers attending.

Source:
Grund- und Struktur Daten 1983/84: Der Bundesminister fuer
Bildung und Wissenschaft

APPENDIX B

The Dual System of Vocational Training

**SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE DUAL
SYSTEM OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING**



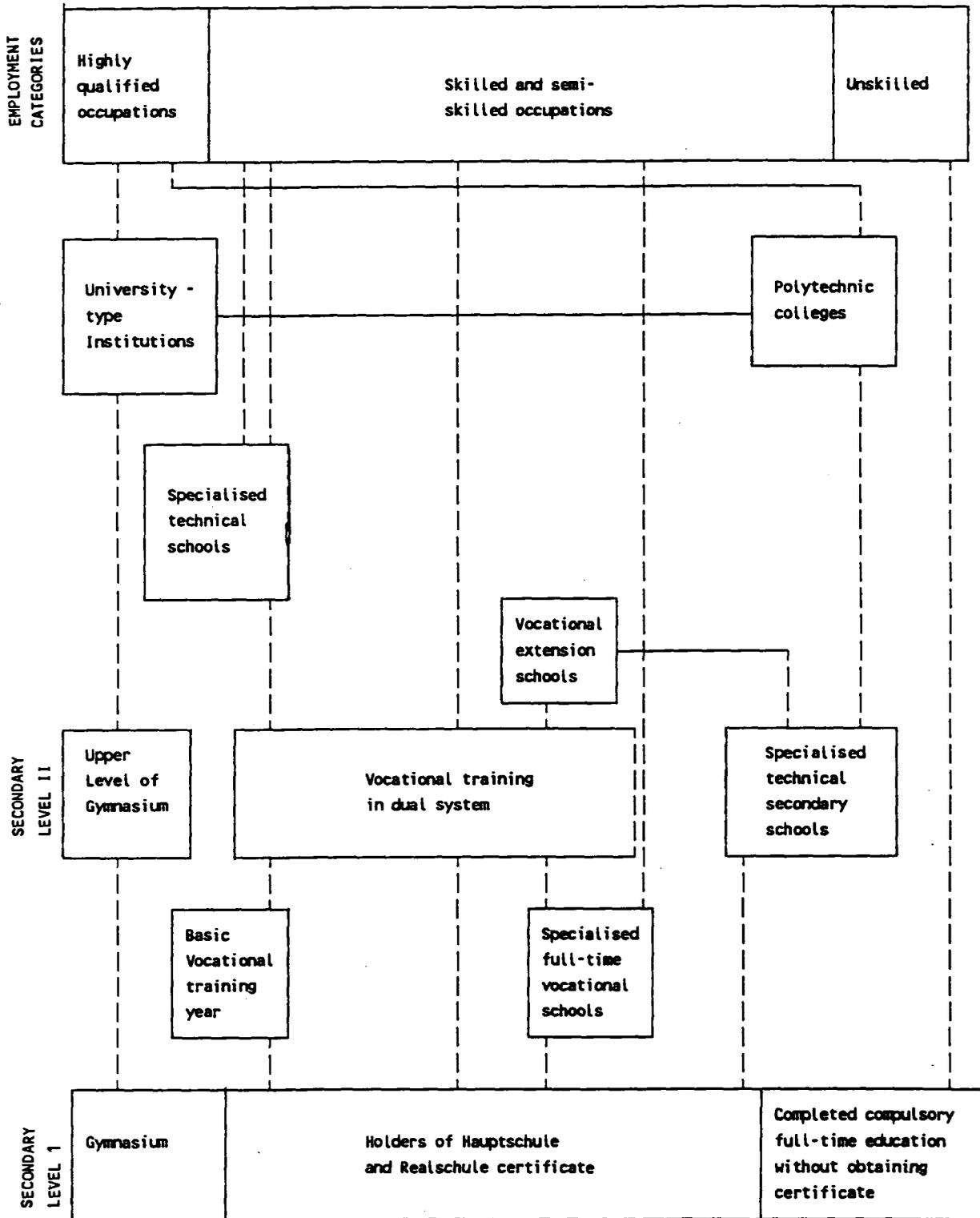
Dual System of Vocational Training

APPENDIX C

Selected paths through education and vocational training

SELECTED PATHS THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL

TRAINING SYSTEMS



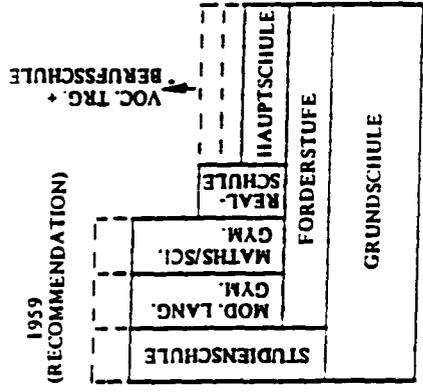
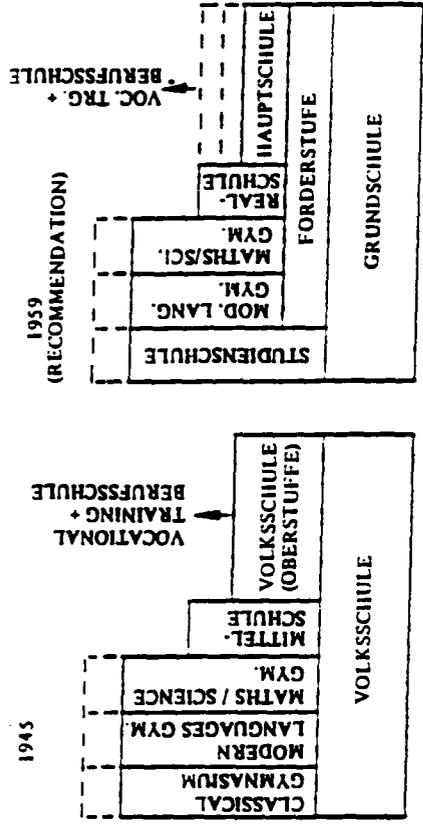
APPENDIX D

The School System in the Federal German Republic
pre and post 1964

AGE | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6

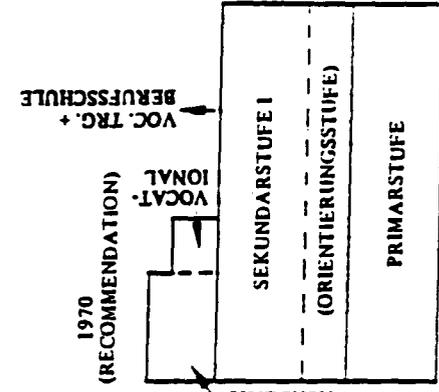
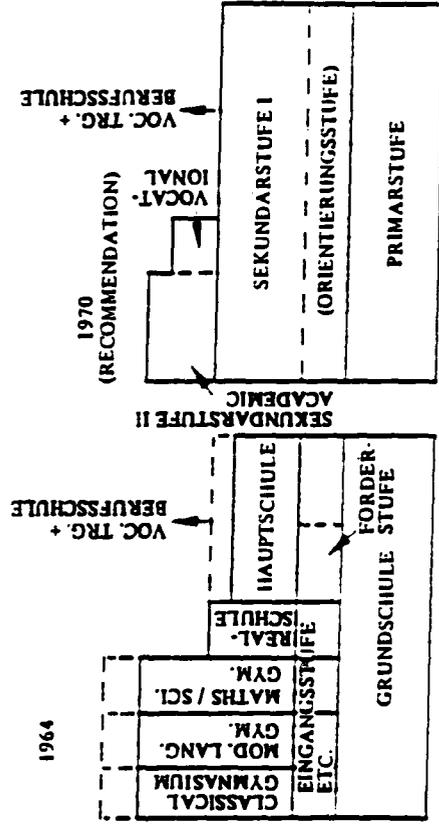
SCHOOL YEAR | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1

POST-WAR EVOLUTION OF WEST GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM



AGE | 20 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6

SCHOOL YEAR | 15 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1



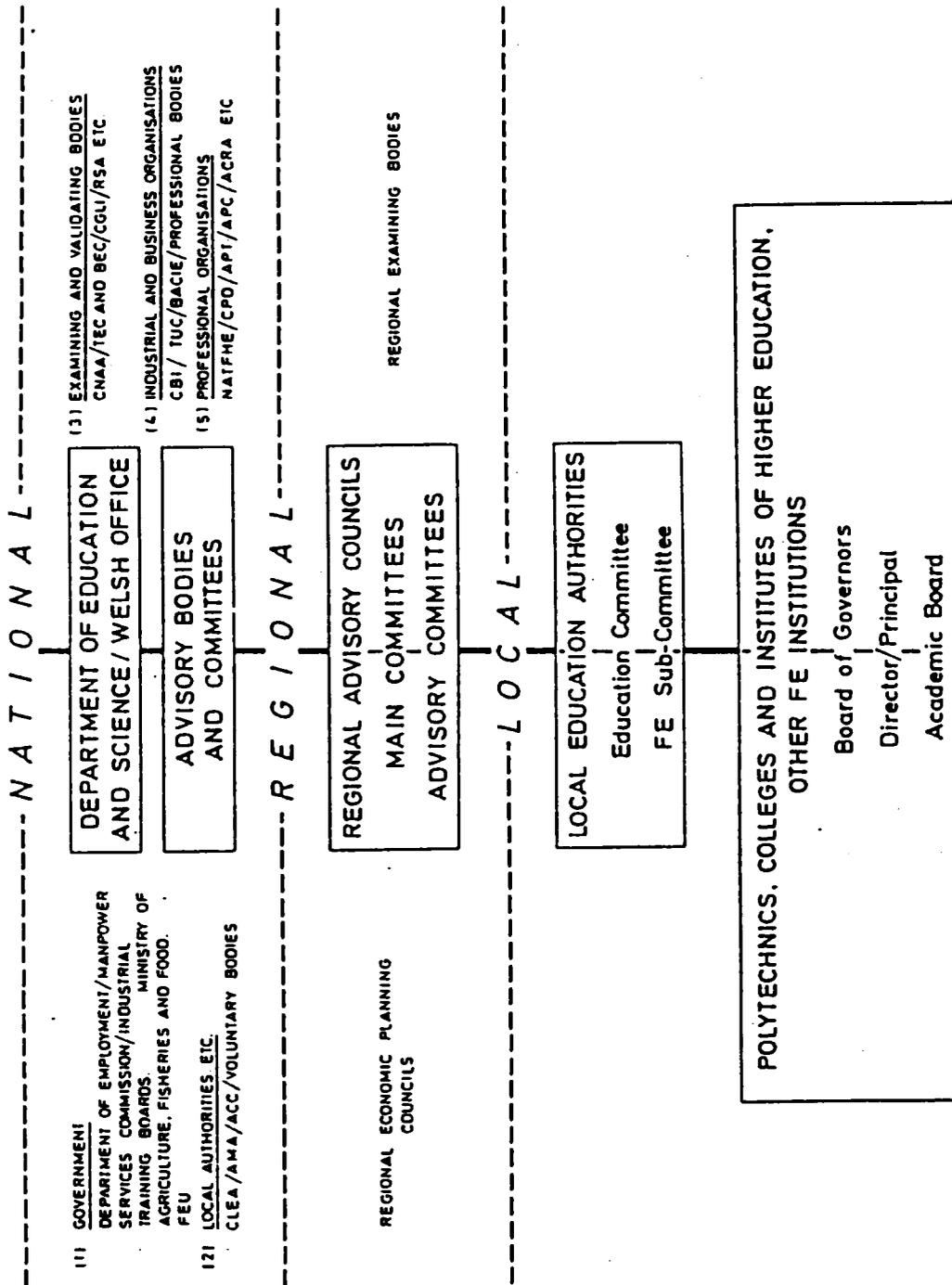
NOTES

APPENDIX E

The Administrative System of Further Education in England

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

The administrative framework of further education



APPENDIX F

Statistics of the Industrial Training Boards

THE TRAINING FRAMEWORK

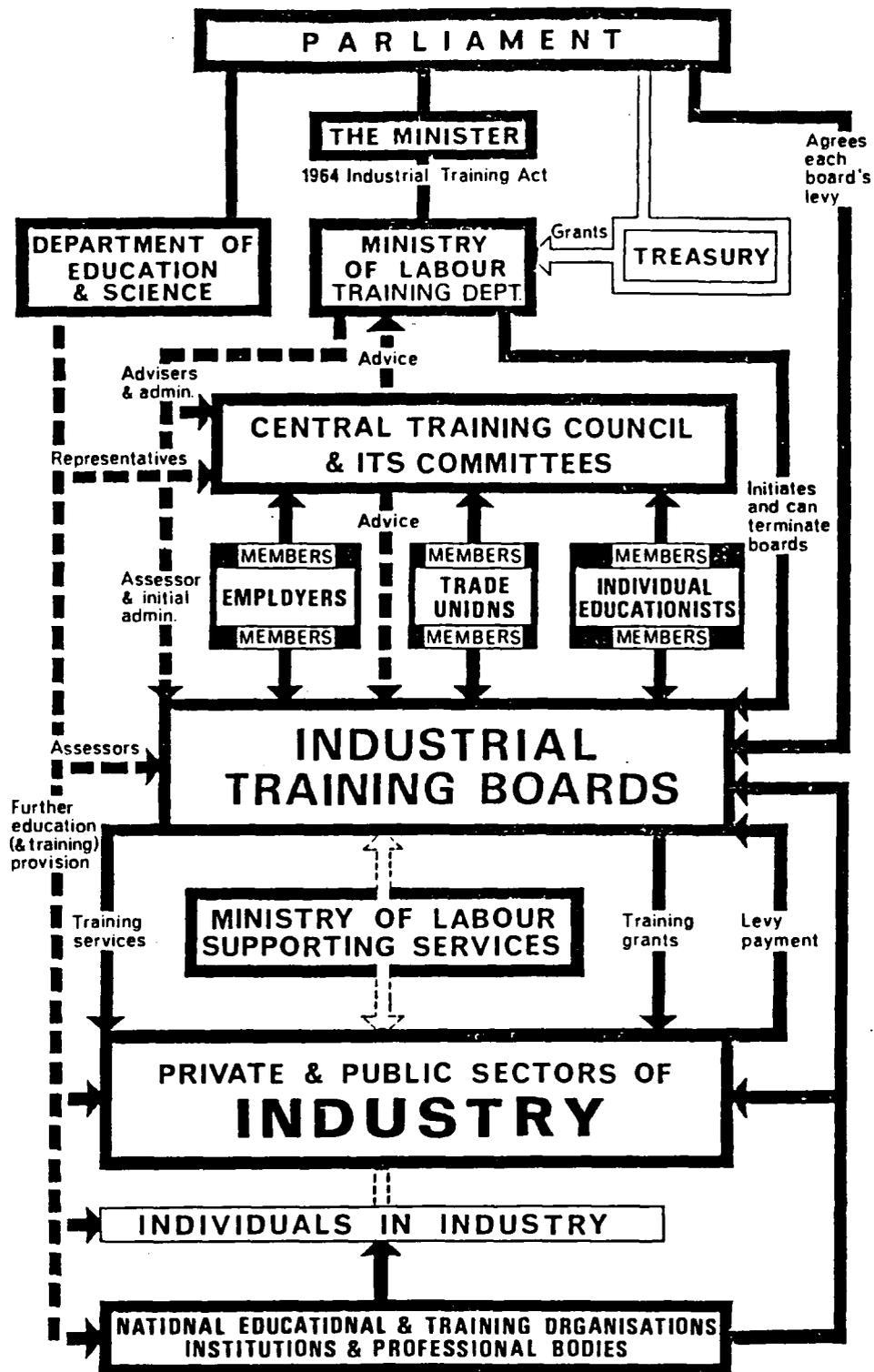


Table A Industry Training Boards 1979-80

	<i>Employ- ees in scope (000s)</i>	<i>Operating costs (£000s)</i>	<i>Total MSC contributions¹ (£000s)</i>
Air transport & travel	109	978	1,646
Carpet	38	137	155
Ceramics, glass & mineral products	289	1,702	1,976
Chemical & allied products	439	1,735	3,553
Clothing & allied products	252	801	1,018
Construction	959	3,819	15,164
Cotton & allied textiles	161	887	1,016
Distributive	2,250	4,474	7,275
Engineering	2,974	7,559	21,121
Food, drink & tobacco	1,200	2,111	2,585
Footwear, leather & fur skin	114	492	704
Foundry Industry Training Committee ²	123	855	1,450
Furniture & timber	212	1,287	1,841
Hotel & catering	1,510	2,626	2,703
Iron & steel	258	800	1,264
Knitting, lace & net	135	519	639
Man-made fibres producing	37	90	203
Paper & paper products	195	975	1,146
Petroleum	95	967	1,128
Printing & publishing	341	2,030	2,067
Road transport	731	5,164	8,483
Rubber & plastics processing	273	1,074	1,480
Shipbuilding	110	770	3,543
Wool, jute & flax	102	617	660
Total	12,907	42,459	82,820

¹ Financial figures are provisional. Total contributions include operating costs: training for skills and residual grants. ² Statutory committee of the Engineering ITB.

Sources: Table 15 MSC Annual Report 1979-80. *Outlook on Training MSC 1980.*

APPENDIX G

The Structure of the Manpower Services Commission

Manpower Services Commission Headquarters and regional organisation.†

MSC COMMITTEE FOR WALES

Chairman - SIR MELVYN ROSSER

Members	
R. J. Bul MBE	P. J. Summers
Dr J. D. Davies	T. D. Williams
D. M. Evans	I. M. Kestell
	G. H. Wright MBE

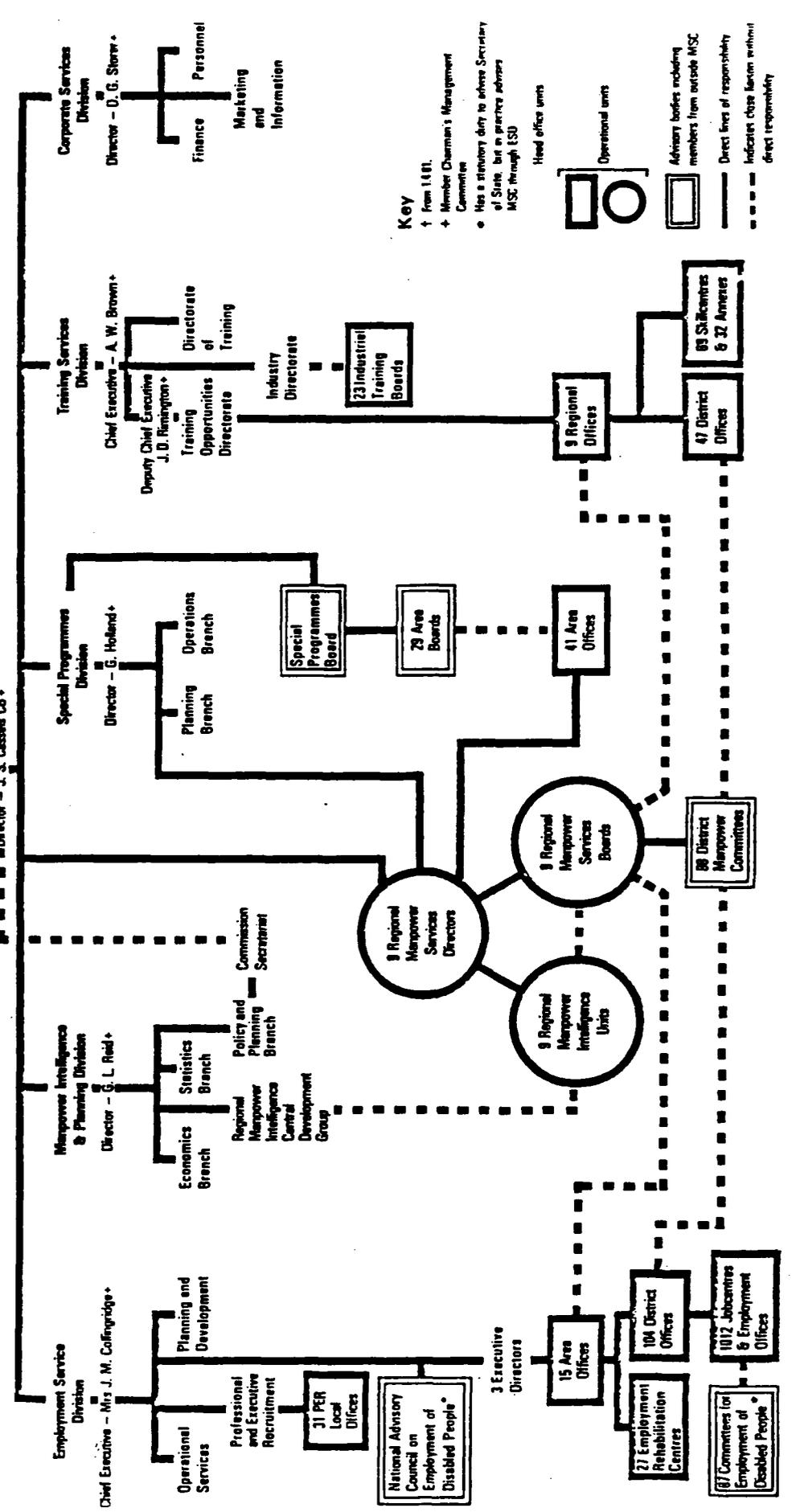
MSC COMMITTEE FOR SCOTLAND

Chairman - SIR RICHARD O'BRIEN

Members	
F. A. Baker CBE	T. P. Lyons
M. O. Bury OBE	D. G. Stradling
Miss E. Carnegie	R. Thwaites
	W. H. Keys
	R. L. Holmes CBE

Chairman - MISS E. CARNEY

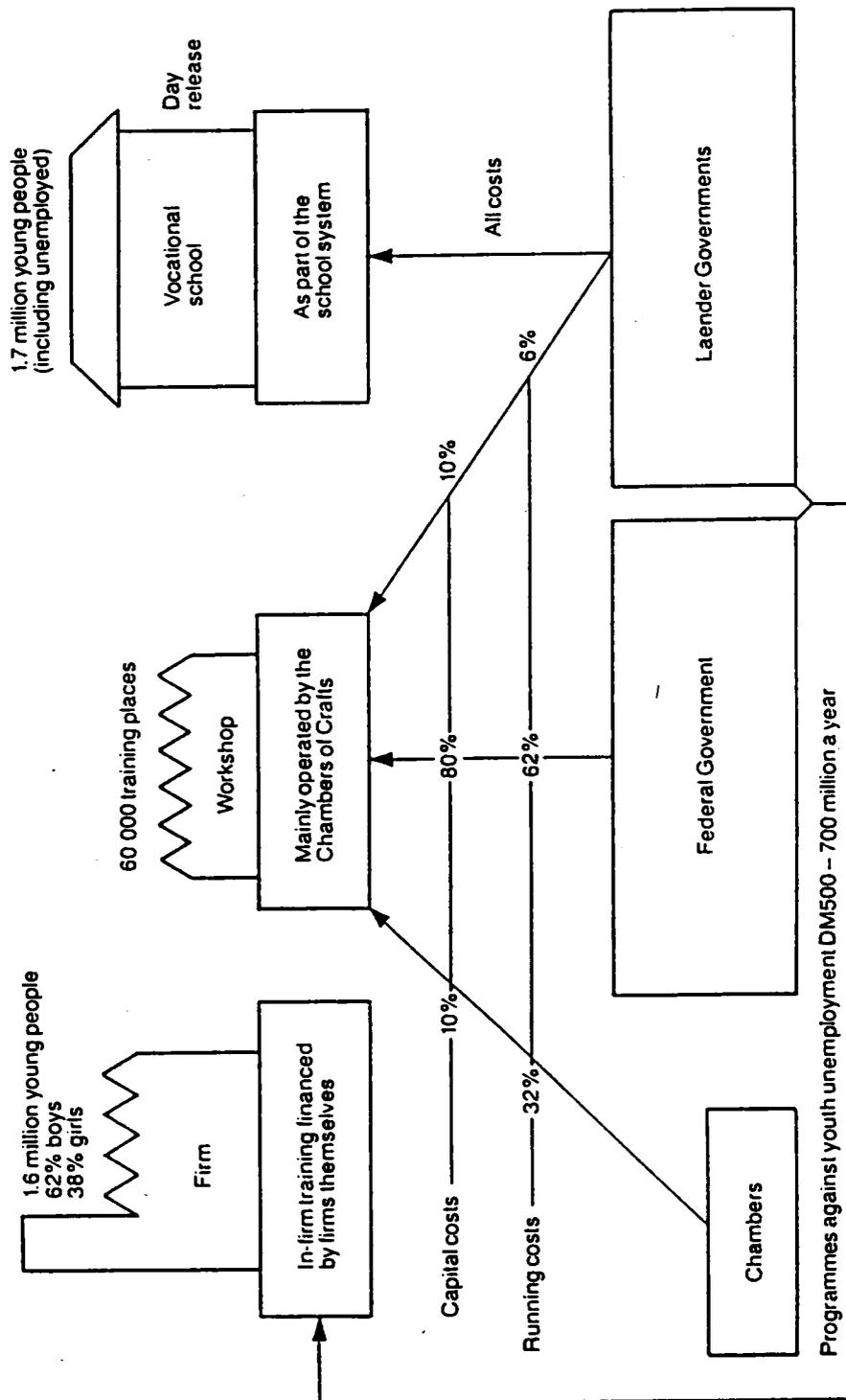
Members	
J. C. Campbell	A. Inglis
J. Davidson	J. Milne
W. Harley	Dr J. Wishnie
	G. R. Carter
	J. Morrell
	J. D. Pollock



APPENDIX H

Financing the Vocational Education and Training Structure in
the Federal Republic of Germany

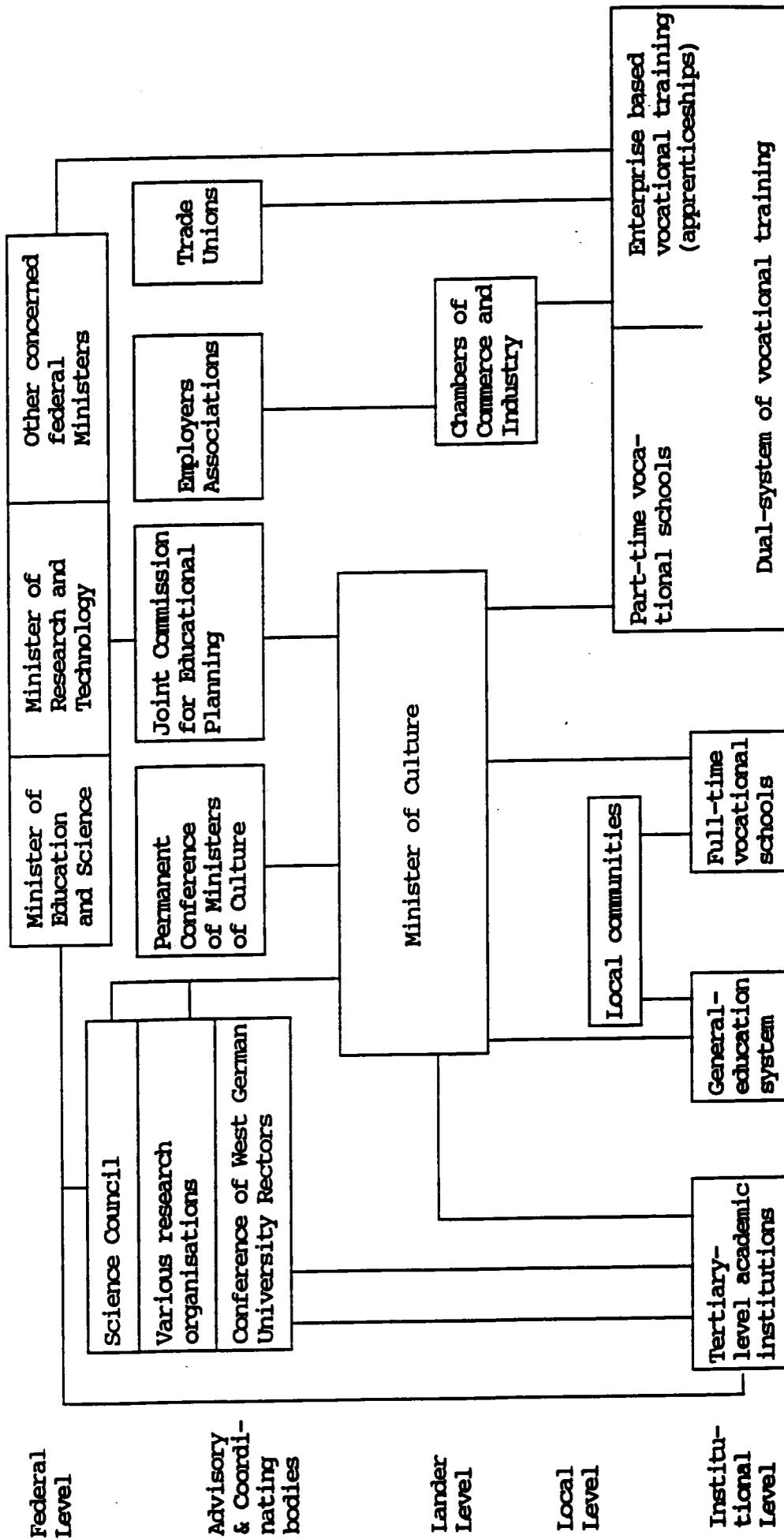
Vocational education and training in Germany: financing system



Source: Federal Training Institute

APPENDIX I

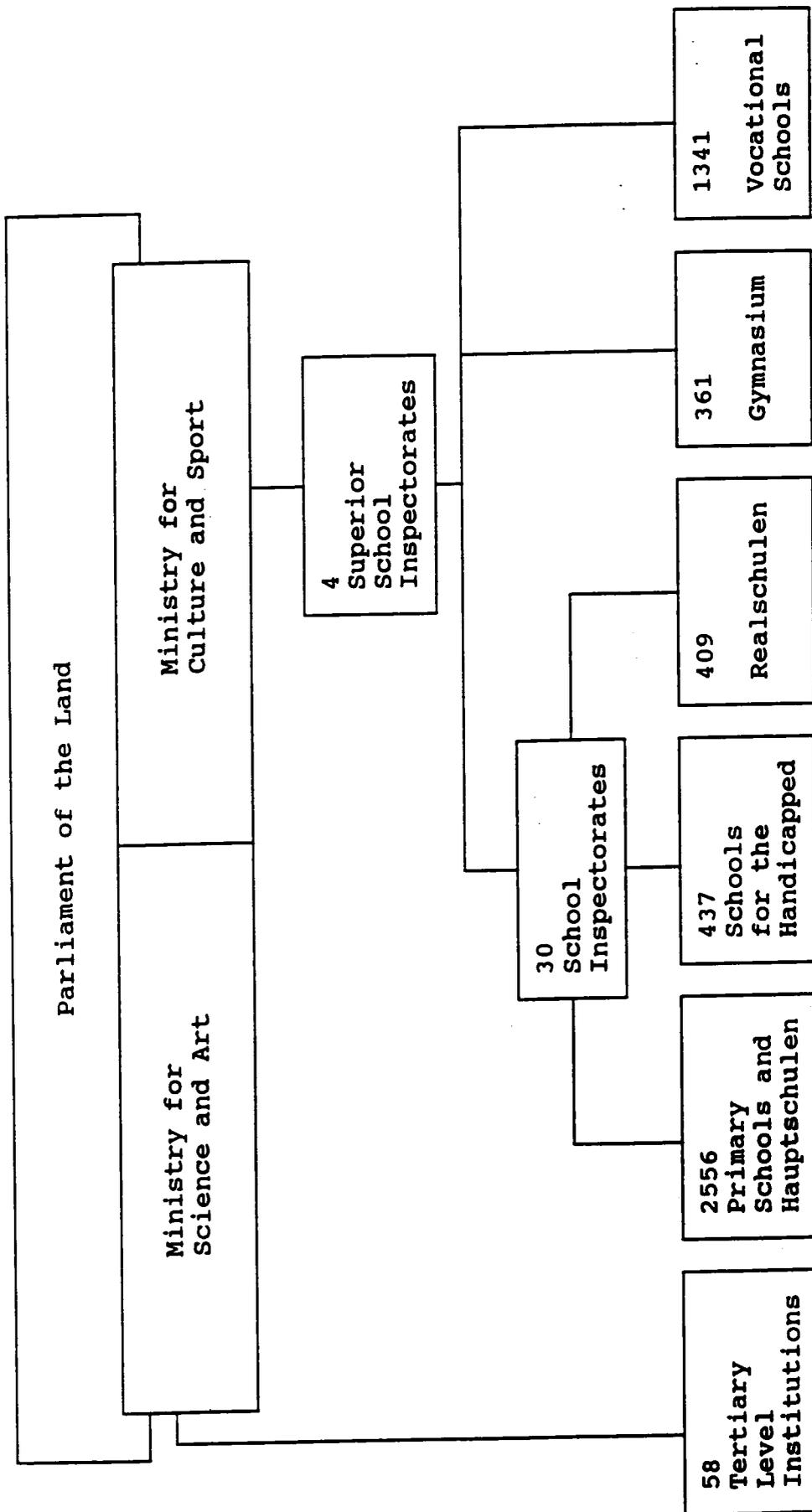
The Administrative and Decision-making Structure in the
Federal Republic of Germany



Decision Making and Administration in Education and Research Policy

APPENDIX J

The Administrative Structure of the School System in Baden-
Wurtemberg

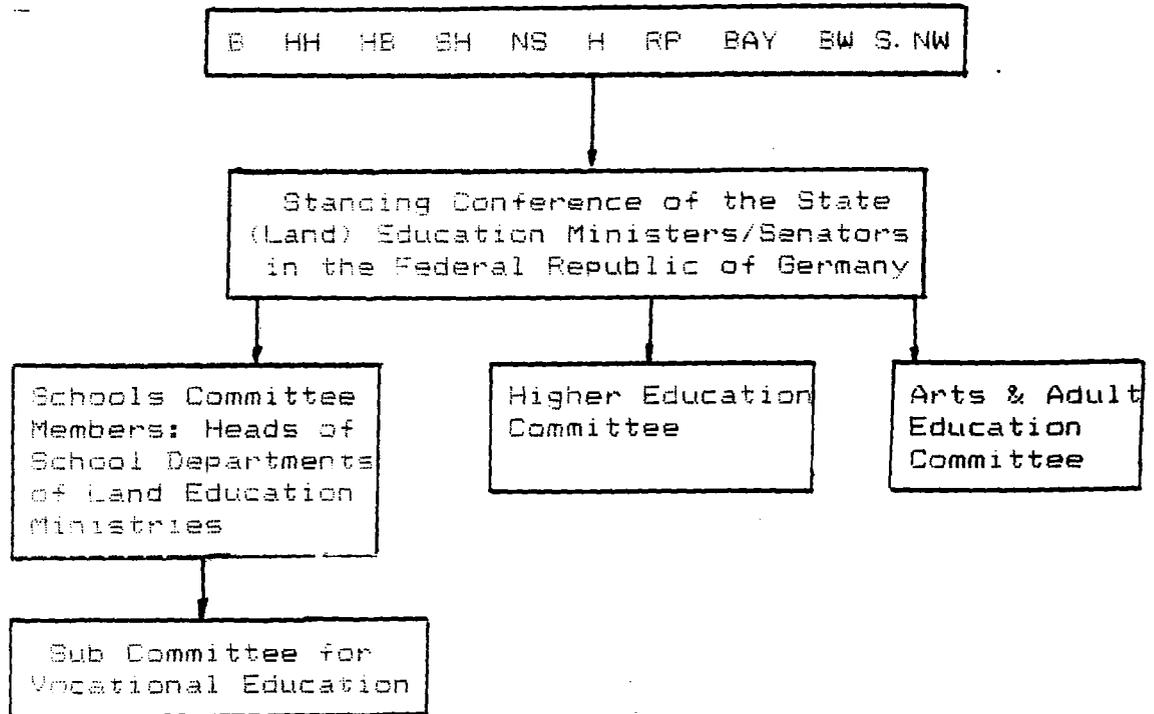


Supervision of the School System and Tertiary Level Institutions in Baden-Württemberg

APPENDIX K

The Structure of the Standing Conference of the State
Education Ministers (KMK)

The Structure of the Standing Conference of Land Education Ministers



Key

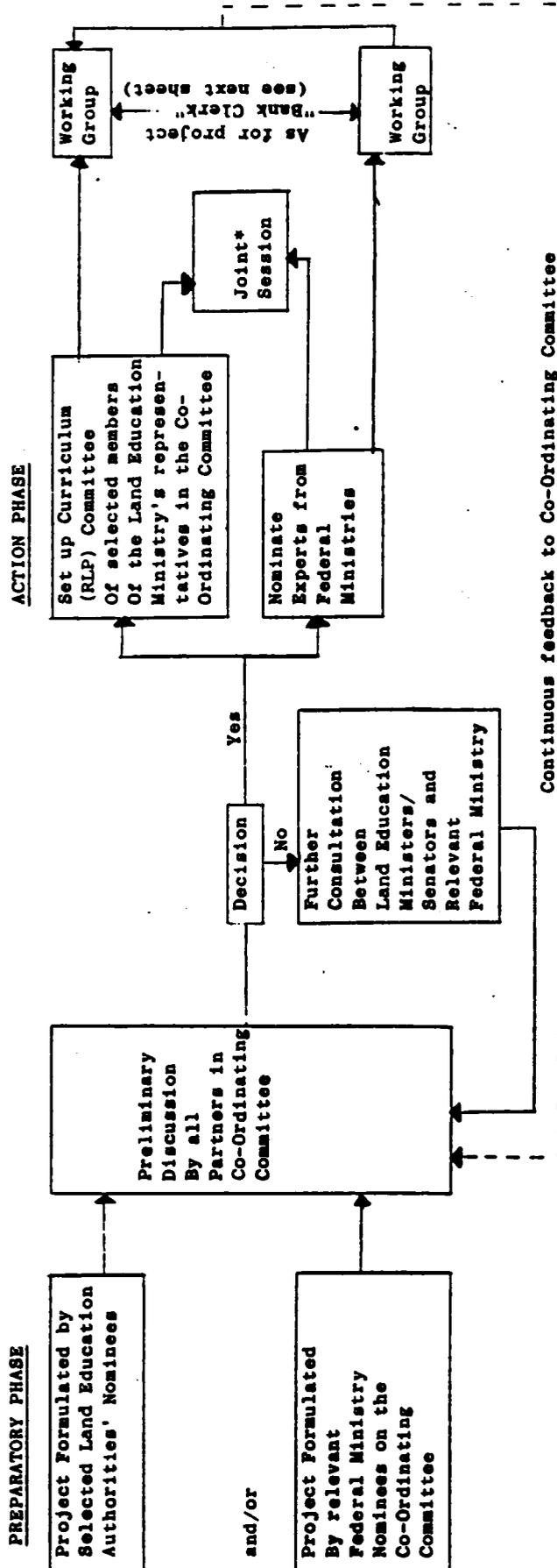
B	Berlin
HH	Hamburg
HB	Bremen
SH	Schleswig Holstein
NS	Neidersachsen (Lower Saxony)
H	Hesse
RP	Rheinland-Pfalz (Rheinland Palatinate)
BAY	Bayern (Bavaria)
BW	Baden-Wurtemberg
S	Saarland
NW	Nordrhein-Westfalen (Northrhine Westphalia)

APPENDIX L

The Curriculum Creation and Adoption Procedure of the KMK

APPENDIX L

The Process of Harmonisation of Training Regulations (Ausbildungsordnungen) and Framework Curricula (Rahmenlehrpläne) Bund und Länder Decision of 30/5/72 and Co-Ordinating Committee Resolution of 8/8/74.



*Joint Meeting of Experts: (Gemeinsame Sitzungen)

Ensure proper harmonisation of AO and RLP. Research carried out by BIBB provides a basis for discussion. The Länder are represented by their own experts and the Federal Ministry can nominate experts from BIBB to represent them. During separate working party meetings on AO and RLP, each side can send an observer to advise the other.

Contact Meetings (Kontaktgespräche) between Bund and Länder representatives take place between sittings to ease the process of harmonisation.

APPENDIX L (Continued)

ACTION PHASE (Expansion of previous page)

Project (e.g. Bank Clerk)
Approved by the Co-Ordinating
Committee

LAND SIDE (Standing Conference of the 11 Länder
Education Ministry KMK)

FEDERAL SIDE

1. Stage:

KMK Sub-committee for framework curriculum (RLP)
including:
(SH) 1 leading Land
(HA) 4 other Länder
(BR) (direct involvement)
(NS) remaining Länder
(BB) informed

Observers

Separate Sessions to work out:
Curricula
e.g.
- Economics
- Business
- Administration

Training Regs. (AO)

Experts from national (Federal) bodies

including:

- Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs (BMW1)
- Federal Ministry of Education & Science (BMBW) (about 15 participants)
- Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB)
- Employers' Associations (AG)
- Trades Unions (AN)

(about 15 centres of 10-20 teachers and other experts)

2. Stage:

KMK Committee and experts from Federal bodies together agree what shall be taught, when and where.

Exchange of minutes
KMK Secretariat

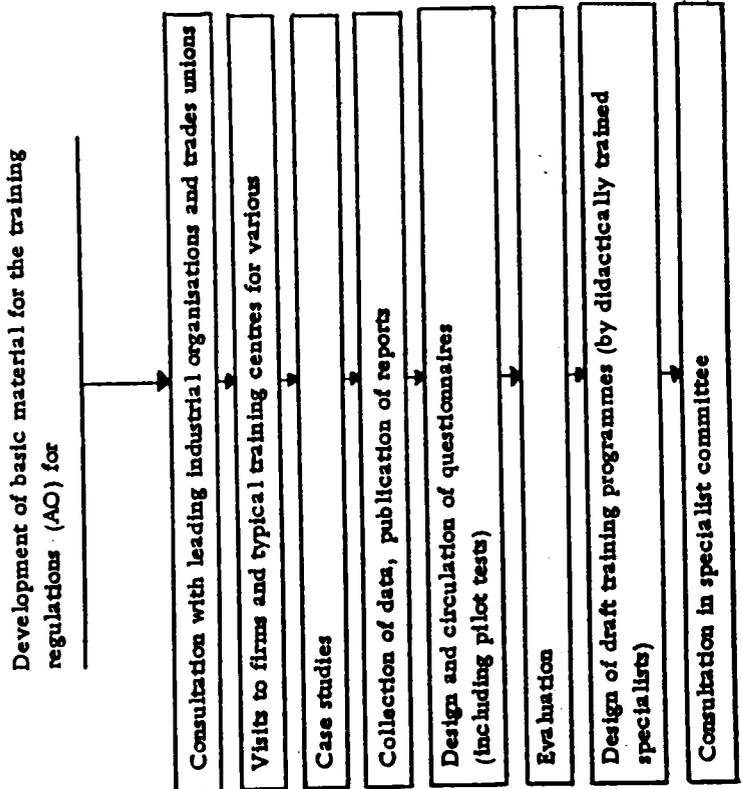
3. Stage:

Issue of agreed RLP framework Curricula (harmonised with AO) for all Länder by each Land Kultus Minister

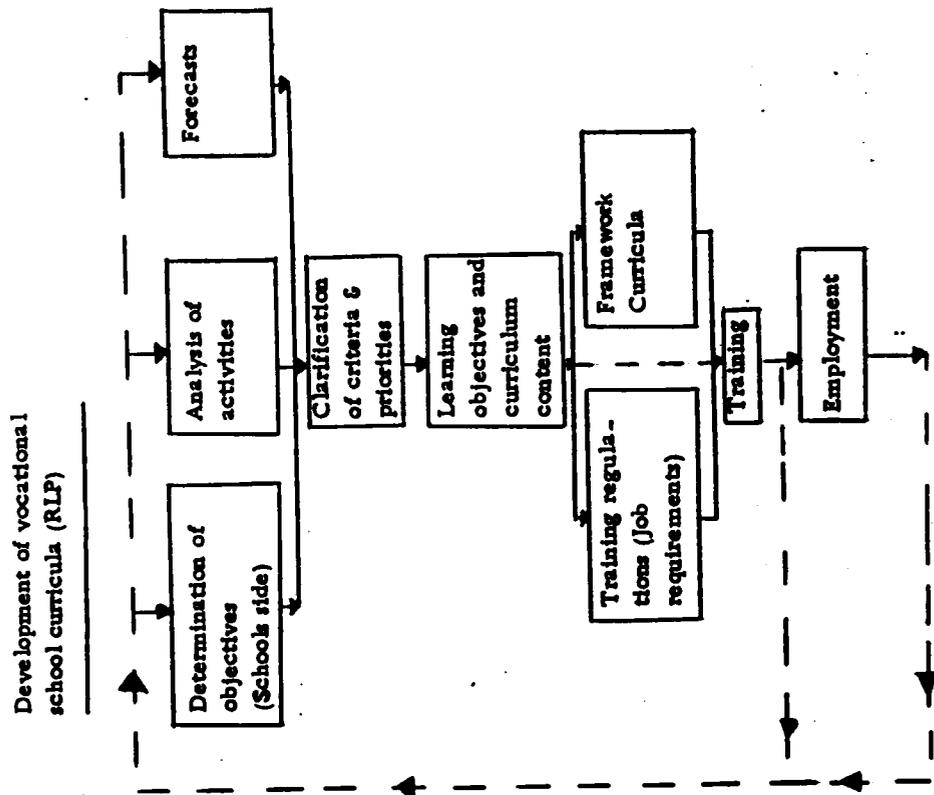
Issue of Federal Training Regulations (AO) (harmonised with RLP) by the approved Ministry

EXPANSION OF PARTS OF ACTION PHASE

FEDERAL SIDE



LAND SIDE



APPENDIX M

Teacher Training courses in the Federal Republic of Germany

Synopsis of teacher training courses in the Federal Republic of Germany

	I Final exam	II Study period (minim.) ¹	III Institution	IV Admission requirement	V Studies' course
1. Volksschule teachers Subject teachers for technical and liberal arts areas (non-applicable in future)	Teacher exam for Grund- and Hauptschulen	6 terms	Pädagogische Hochschule University	Abitur	Basic studies course, didactics course, practical course, First State Exam, 1-3 years Vorbereitungsdienst Second State Exam
2. Realschule teachers	Teacher exam for Realschulen	6-8 terms ²	University Pädagogische Hochschule	Abitur	2 teaching subjects 6 terms specialized study in subjects 2 terms pedagogical studies Practical course First Teacher Exam, 1-3 years Vorbereitungsdienst, Second Teacher Exam
3. Sonderschule teachers	Teacher exam for Sonder- schulen	6 terms 4 terms additional study	Therapeutic institutes at Pädagogische Hochschulen, Pädagogische Hochschulen, therapeutic institutes	Second Teach. Exam, Probationary teaching in Sonderschulen	Special course in general therapeutics, educational theory, 2 specialized teaching subjects, practical courses, First Teacher Exam, 1 1/2 years Vorbereitungsdienst, Second Teacher Exam
4. Gymnasium teachers	Teacher exam for Gymnasien	8 terms	university	Abitur	2 specialized teaching subjects, educational theory course, First Teach. Exam, ca. 2 years Vorbereitungsdienst, Second Teach. Exam (pedagogical exam)
5. Berufsschule teachers	State exam (Diploma)	8 terms	university	Abitur, in some cases professional training or experience	Specialized study course, educational theory, practical course, diploma exam, Vor- bereitungsdienst, State Exam, Second State Exam
- Practical instruction teachers	no stipulated training course				Several years professional experience, master craftsman's cert., 12 months full-time Fachschule or final qualific. at Fachhochschule

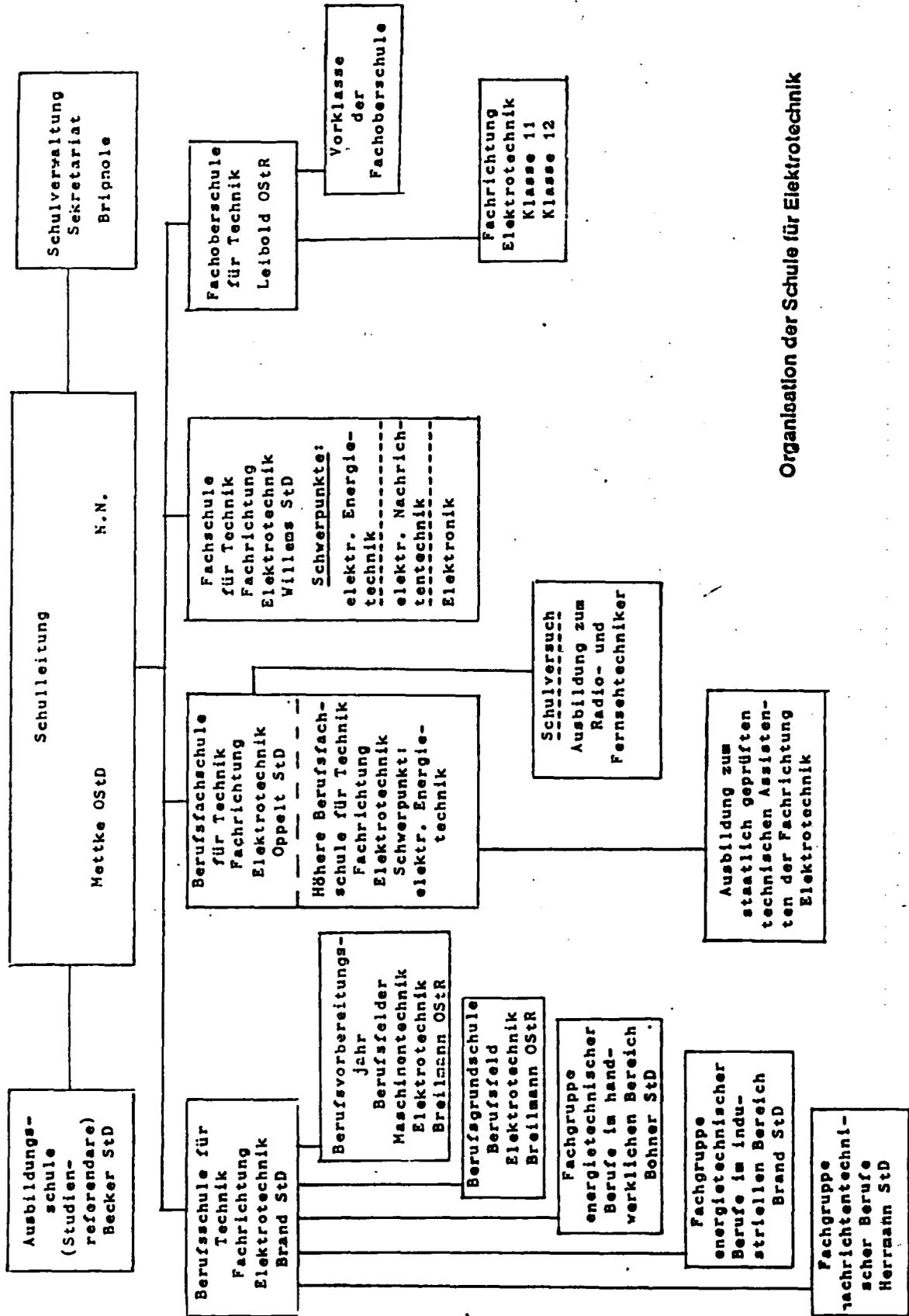
¹ no state exam

² varies according to Land

Source: Published series by the Federal Ministry of Education and Science, Nr. 3 "Bildungswesen im Vergleich".

APPENDIX N

Organisation and Administrative Structure of the Schul für
Electrotechnik Essen, North Rhine-Westphalia.

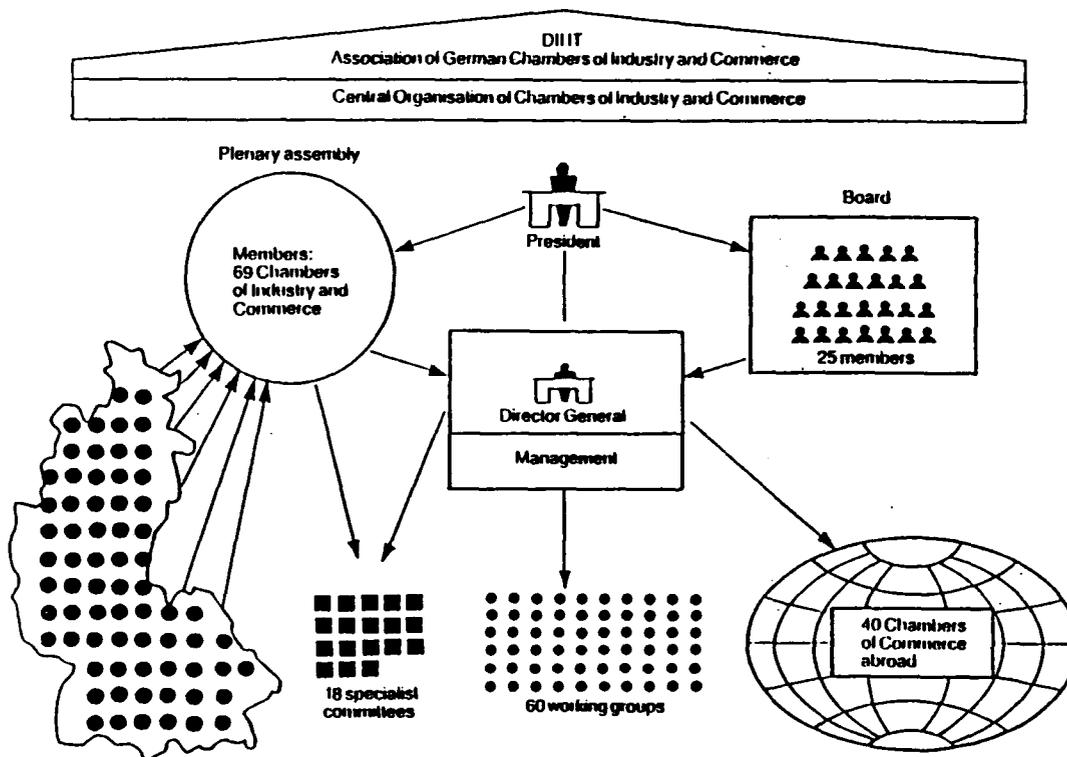


Organisation der Schule für Elektrotechnik

APPENDIX 0

The Structure and Organisation of the German Chamber of
Industries and Commerce (DHIT)

German Chambers of Industry and Commerce



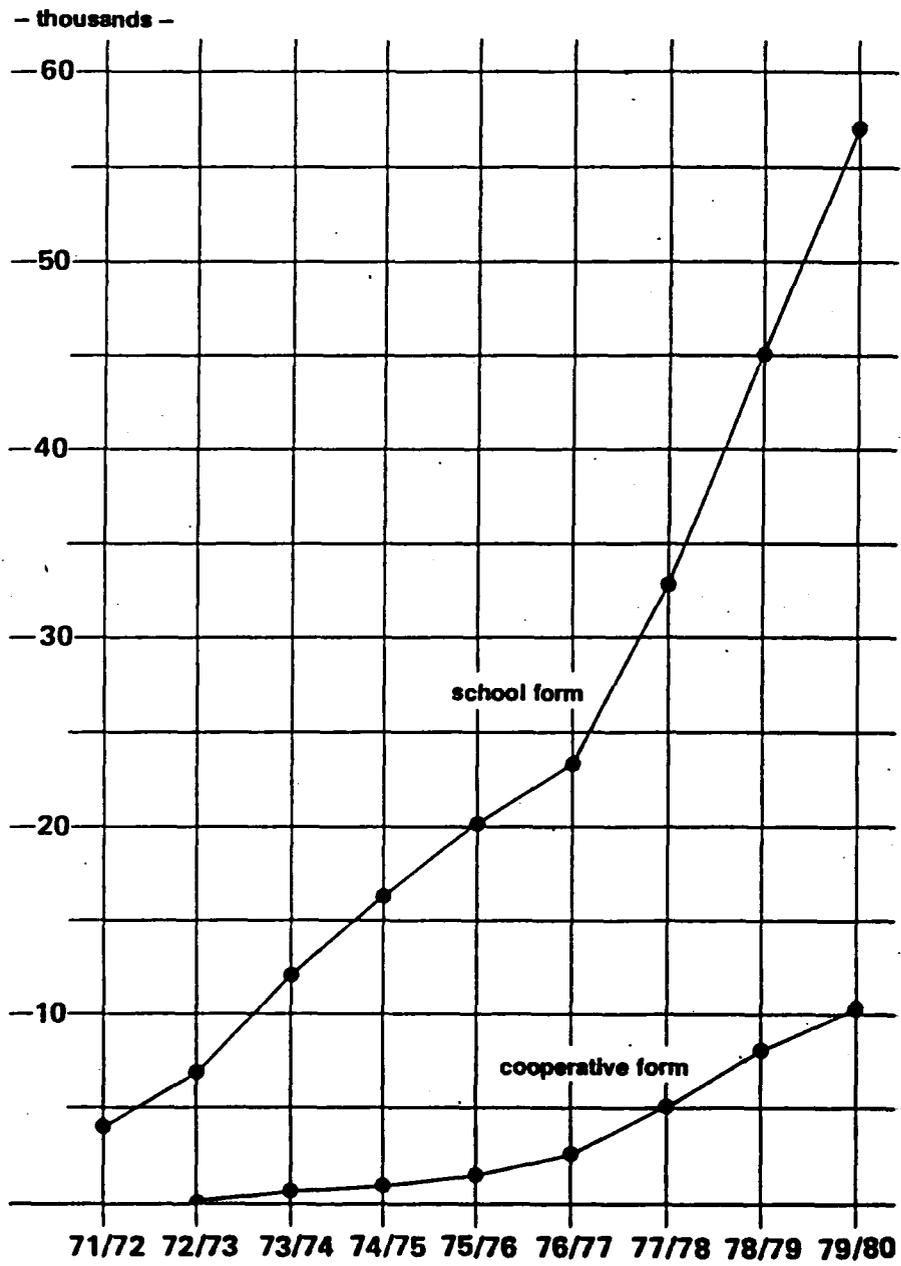
Source: Leaflet of Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce

The DIHT is the largest of the associations of German chambers and is the organ of self-government of industrial enterprises (excluding handicraft) and represents the interests of industry and commerce as a whole. Pursuant to the 1956 "Law on the Provisional Regulation of the Rights of Chambers of Commerce", their status is that of public corporations with compulsory membership.

APPENDIX P

Graph of Students in the BGJ/s and the BGJ/k
1971/1980

Development of pupil figures in the BGJ



bj
bb

APPENDIX Q

Distribution and numbers of students in the BGJ/s and BGJ/k
by Länder

STUDENTS IN BGJ/S AND BGJ/K TOGETHER WITH STATISTICS FOR THE BVJ

YEAR LAND	STUDENTS IN		TOTALS FOR										BGJ/K	BVJ
	BGJ/S	BGJ/K	THE FGR ENROLMENTS BY BERUFSFELD											
			Commerce	Metal	Electr.	Construction	Food	Agri- Forestry						
BUNDESGEBEIT														
1975	20136	4732	5520	2502	1143	4531	179	1427	13030					
1976	23145	5395	6189	2458	1835	5048	227	2635	24751					
1977	32767	6636	7893	2899	3238	8141	1385	5137	30175					
1978	45063	6866	9029	3262	13865	6564	2234	7930	44797					
1979	57004	11008	9448	3456	16273	6867	6380	10301	50493					
1980	62649	12008	10776	4103	18217	5705	6714	14468	46787					
1981	76938	14171	15515	5160	19720	7804	8286	15793	45378					
1982	83036	14724	16609	5332	21236	10108	8871	15861	46146					
1983	86082	15739	15826	4868	21807	11218	9863	17490	47253					
1984	84986	14234	15596	4642	21826	11609	9645	16780	41675					
LANDER 1984														
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1752	717	99	39	424	117	-	4436	3874					
BAVARIA	14982	1556	862	120	9945	227	1969	780	5784					
HESSE	7560	1375	1396	255	1116	1873	1135	3795	4289					
NIEDER SAXONY	29328	4473	7596	2230	8160	435	4605	-	6537					
NORD RHINE WESTPHALIA	16823	2583	3232	1041	1233	4141	1797	-	12737					
RHINELAND PALATINATE	6101	1608	900	253	344	2639	21	4086	2120					
SAARLAND	2945	1073	468	121	107	1040	-	827	866					
SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN	2283	332	356	240	256	633	41	1832	1173					
BERLIN	497	89	62	-	-	196	17	-	2171					
BREMEN	1073	269	363	104	161	89	-	255	468					
HAMBURG	1642	159	262	239	80	219	60	769	1656					

APPENDIX R

Table of Occupational Fields (Berufsfelder) for the BGJ

The Basic Vocational Training Year Occupational Fields

Occupational Field: Commerce and Administration

- A. Sub-group: Retail business and customer advisory services
(e.g. retail selling, petrol attendant)
- B. Sub-group: Office procedure and commercial administration
(e.g. office worker, secretary, PA)
- C. Sub-group: Law and public administration.

Occupational Field: Metal Technology

- A. Sub-group: Manufacturing and metal work technology
(e.g. turner, machine mechanic)
- B. Sub-group: Metal technology and fitters (e.g. blacksmith, sheet metal worker, pipe fitter)
- C. Sub-group: Motor vehicle technology (e.g. vulcaniser, motor vehicle mechanic).

Occupational Field: Electrical Technology

(e.g. electrical fitter, television technician).

Occupational Field: Building Technology

(e.g. concrete worker, plasterer).

Occupational Field: Woodworking

(e.g. carpenter, boatbuilder).

Occupational Field: Textiles and Clothing

(e.g. men's tailor, ladies fashions).

Occupational Field: Chemistry, Physics and Biology

- A. Sub-group: Laboratory technology (e.g. biological laboratory assistant, paint laboratory assistant)
- B. Sub-group: Production technology (e.g. skilled chemical worker, material tester).

Occupational Field: Print Technology

- A. Sub-group: Type setting and pressure mould making
(e.g. typesetter, stamp maker)
- B. Sub-group: Printing technology and print processing
(e.g. bookbinder, printer).

Occupational Field: Colour Technology and Furnishing

(e.g. painter, window dresser).

Occupational Field: Health

Occupational Field: Physical Culture

Occupational Field: Food and Domestic Science

- A. Sub-group: Hotel and catering (e.g. waiter, cook)
- B. Sub-group: Baking and confectionery manufacture
(e.g. baker, assistant baker)
- C. Sub-group: Meat preparation (e.g. butcher)

Occupational Field: Agriculture

- A. Sub-group: Animal husbandry
- b. Sub-group: Horticulture

APPENDIX S

Distribution of Gesamtschule models by Länder

Basic Data for Comprehensive Schools

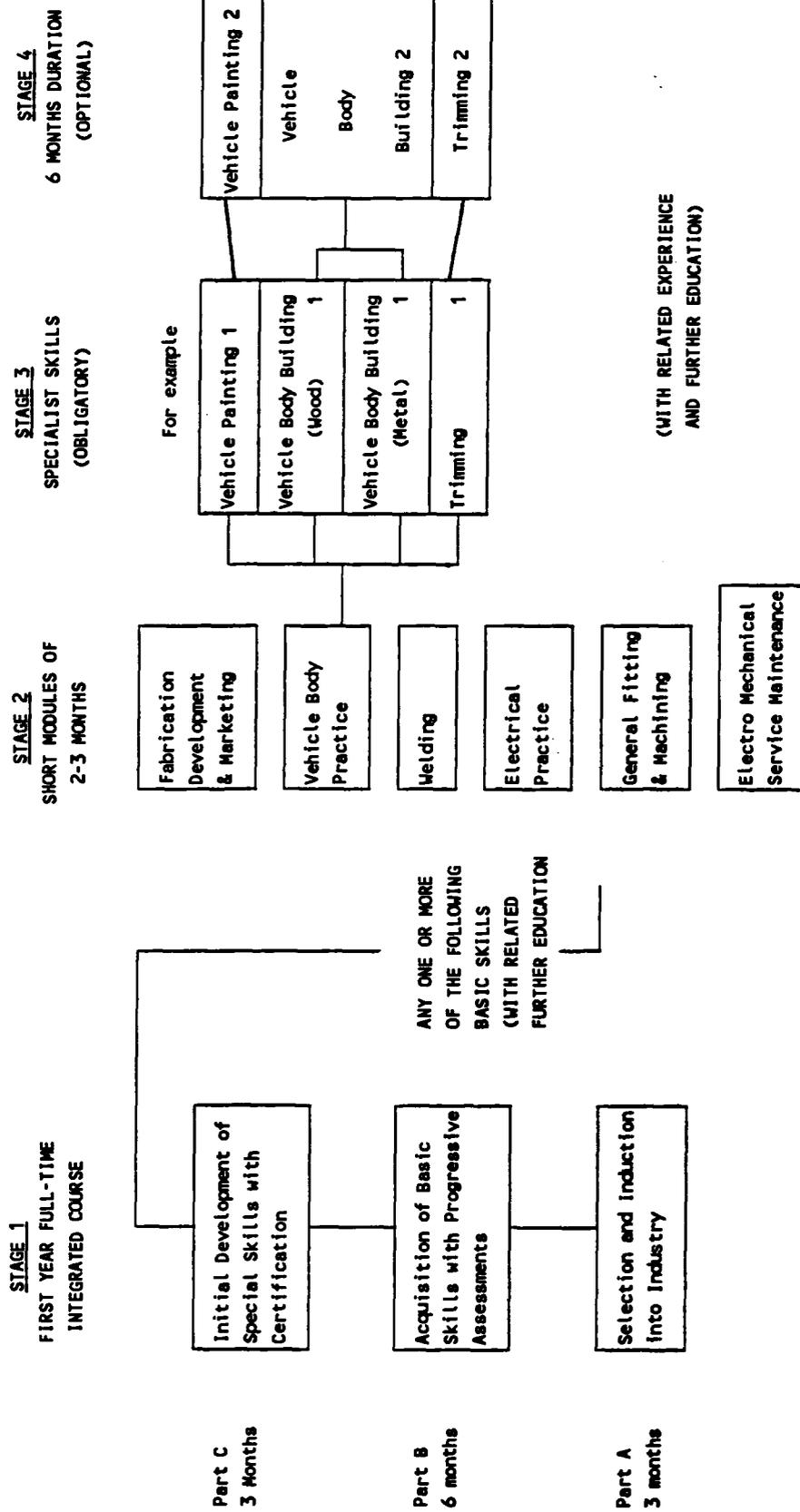
<u>Länder</u>	Integrated Comprehensive Schools		Cooperative Comprehensive Schools	
	No. of schools	% 7th grade pupils	No. of schools	% 7th grade pupils
Baden-Württemberg	6	1.2	5	0.9
Bavaria	2	0.5	11	2.0
Bremen	5	9.1	39 ¹	76.0 ¹
Hamburg	23	7.3 ²	1	0.8
Hessia	65	16.0	103	27.5
Lower Saxony	13	2.4	17	3.9
North Rhine-Westphalia	34 ²	2.9 ²	-	-
Rhineland-Palatinate	3	0.6	3	1.6
Saarland	2	2.4	-	-
Schleswig-Holstein	2	0.9	3	1.8
West Berlin	30	23.5	-	-
Total FGR	185	3.8	182	4.3
all-day schools	80 (43.2%)		9 (5.0%)	
schools with upper level of Gymnasium	73 (40.5%)		52 (28.6%)	

1. In Bremen secondary schools of the traditional type are being joined together in co-operative school centres.
2. Expected to increase in the next years due to new schools or expansion of old ones.

Source: Gesamtschul-Informationen, Vol. 13 (1980)

APPENDIX T

The Engineering Industry Training Board's scheme of Craft
Training



THE STRUCTURE OF CRAFT TRAINING MODULES

APPENDIX U

The Concept of Arbeitslehre

The Concept of Arbeitslehre

A process of vocational orientation has been introduced into the Hauptschule and the Gesamtschule in the Federal Republic. The title Arbeitslehre is a generic term meaning 'work theory', or literally 'learning about the world of work'.

Its aims and objectives were defined by agreement between the Länder in July 1969. They are:

to impart insights, knowledge and abilities in the technical, economic and socio-political sectors which constitute essential elements in the basic education of every citizen:

to new impulses for co-operation; and

to provide assistance in choosing an operational area and preparation for choosing an occupation, but not to provide vocational training itself.

The agreement divides arbeitslehre into three areas or phases:

a general orientation on the industrial and working world;

the development of 'work habits' and

choosing an occupation.

Practice varies from Land to Land. In Baden-Württemberg, the orientation scheme is Arbeit-Wirtschaft-Technik - literally, Work, Economics and Technology. This subject is introduced in the seventh grade and is allocated five hours a week. This covers technical studies, domestic and social care and commercial economics. Technical studies is a mainly practical course designed to familiarise students with materials and other aspects of manufacturing industry. Domestic and social care includes practical elements of home management and some study of the social and caring services

of society. Economics covers finance, budgeting, law and civics at a level suitable to the students' understanding.

Students follow all three courses in the seventh and eighth grades, but in the ninth grade they take economics and only one of the other two options. The choice is meant to reflect the students prevailing occupational interest.

In Berlin the programme is compulsory in the seventh and eighth grades and optional in the ninth and tenth, and is taught in mixed ability groups across the ability range. However, the ability range is not fully comprehensive and, furthermore, those students who aim to get an Arbitur from the Gymnasium after the age of 16 have to drop the subject at the end of the eighth grade in favour of studying a second foreign language. In general, the course caters for largely for the Hauptschule and the Realschule and only caters for part of the Gymnasium ability ranges.

The compulsory first year includes modules of cookery and nutrition, dressmaking, electronics and mechanical technology, which are followed as options within the programme in the eighth grade. Alongside this optional element is a compulsory core of typwriting, office practice, technical drawing, economics and commerce and consumer affairs.

In the final two years the specialised study of these components is fully integrated with education in life and

social skills, careers counselling, and industrial visits and work experience organised in co-operation with the Careers Information Centre (Berufsinformationzentrum).

The Arbeitslehre provides the major school initiative in the formal vocational guidance area. However, it is effectively confined to the Hauptschule and the Gesamtschule. The Länder have the authority to introduce it into the Realschule and the Gymnasium but problems ranging from weightier academic traditions to teacher training have proved a resistance to innovation.

Where the programme is developed the interpretation of its aims are probably as varied as the number of actual programmes.

The Arbeitslehre experience has proved that many of the anxieties to be found in Britain with regard to the maintenance of a rigorous academic and professional expertise can be satisfied in an integrated course of vocational orientation. Such a course can be complementary to the work of the school as a whole and, it is claimed, improve the motivation of students in mathematics and other discrete subject areas.

The allocation of subjects in the final four years of study in the secondary school is shown in the table overleaf.

The curriculum in German secondary Schools

Subject	Year 7			Year 8			Year 9			Year 10		
	H	R	G	H	R	G	H	R	G	H	R	G
German	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	6	4	3
Foreign Lang.	4	4	8	4	4	8	4	4	6	4	4	6
Sciences	3	4	3	3	4	3	4	4	5	4	4	5
Hist/Geog ¹	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
Music/Arts	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	2
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
P. E.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Arbeitsl.	3			3			3			3		
Options ²	2	3		2	3		2	3	4	3	3	4
Totals (Stunden)	31	31	31	31	31	31	32	32	32	32	32	32

H = Hauptschule R = Realschule G = Gymnasium

1. May be offered as Social Studies

2. Compulsory electives, e.g. a second foreign language in the Gymnasium.

Source: Bildung und Wissenschaft 6/1978.

APPENDIX V

The Concept of the Berufsvorbereitungsjahre (BVJ)

The Basic Vocational Preparation Year (BVJ)

The BVJ is a one year full-time course which can be attended following the 9th class (form) or a secondary school as the established obligatory 10th form, or subsequent to the 10th form as a form of vocational preparation. Students leaving their school without a certificate of termination (Hauptschulabschluss) can obtain this qualification by enrolling for this course.

Apart from general education subjects including an additional language (usually English) the students all receive practice orientated in two to three vocational fields which are chosen by the students from a choice of twelve. They are:

Business and Administration
Metal Working
Building Trade and Construction
Electronic Engineering
Woodwork
Textiles and Clothing
Chemistry, Physics and Biology
Print and Paper
Design and Decoration
Health and Hygiene
Food and Home Nursing
Agriculture

Whilst the fields are similar to those in the BGJ schemes they are not studied in any depth and can be regarded as being in effect 'taster courses'.

APPENDIX W

The Berufskolleg and the Zweiterbildungsweg

The Berufs Kolleg

The introduction of the Berufs Kolleg in the '70s by the Länder of Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia was to serve two purposes:

- to provide an alternative route to higher education for those possessing vocational qualifications i.e. the Zweiter Bildungsweg, and
- to provide an institution that would offer the newly conceived qualification of state examined technician (Staatliche Geprüfter Techniker).

Industry and commerce in Germany (and England) had been faced with the growing demand, due to the developments in technology, for a qualification that would bridge the gap between the skilled craftsman and the technologist.

The Meister qualification in Germany had been the natural progression for the skilled worker wishing to progress to foreman or middle management status, or to form his/her own business.

It was envisaged that the Techniker would liase between the skilled worker and the higher management as represented by the designer, director etc., as an employee with a greater depth of education and training than that possessed by the Meister.

The normal progression for the Techniker (See diagram below) is to complete a normal apprenticeship in his/her chosen field, spend a pre-determined time in practice before enrolling at the Berufs Kolleg or the Techniker Schule.

The mode of attendance is either full time or part-time.

The full time course was to be over two years duration and was recruited from either the skilled craftsman wishing to improve his qualifications (and subsequent status) by the

route mentioned above or directly from the school leaver with the requisite qualification. For the former i. e. the qualified worker, there is a grant, normally 75% of the previous years salary whilst studying. The latter has no state aid.

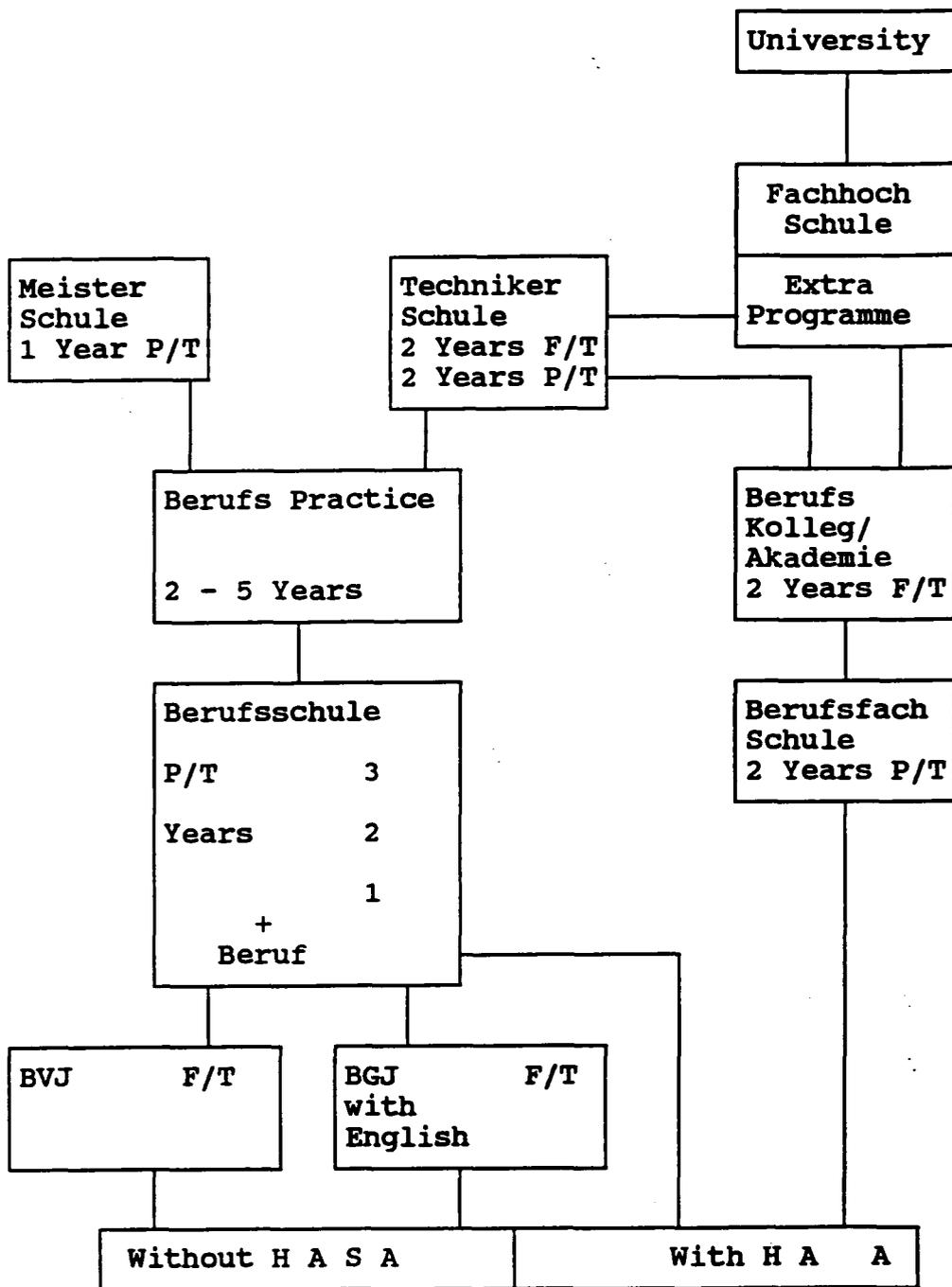
Part-time attendance is either by two day, weekly attendance (as per normal Berufsschule) or by block release from their employer, over a period of three years.

The curriculum for Mechanical Engineering, shown below, is identical for all types of attendance.

Semesters (Half an academic year)

SUBJECT	1	2	3	4	Total Periods*
Religion	3	3	3	3	240
German	3	3	(2)	(2)	120 (200)
Industrial sociology and civil law	3	3	-	-	120
English	4	4	(2)	(2)	160 (240)
Mathematics	7	7	(4)	(3)	280 (420)
Physics	3	3	-	-	120
Technical mechanics	3	3	-	-	120
Chemistry	2	2	-	-	80
Materials science	1	1	3	3	160
Electro-technology	3	3	-	-	120
Technical drawing	2	2	-	-	80
Mechanics of machines	-	-	4	4	160
Strength of materials	2	2	-	-	80
People in management	-	-	2	2	80
Industrial management	2	2	5	5	280
Production engineering	2	2	7	7	360
Construction	-	-	5	5	200
Instrumentation and control	-	-	4	4	160
Totals	40	40	33 (38)	33 (38)	2800 (3100)

THE ZWEITER BILDUNGSWEG



H A S A = Hauptschulabschluss

BGJ = Berufsgrundbildungsjahre

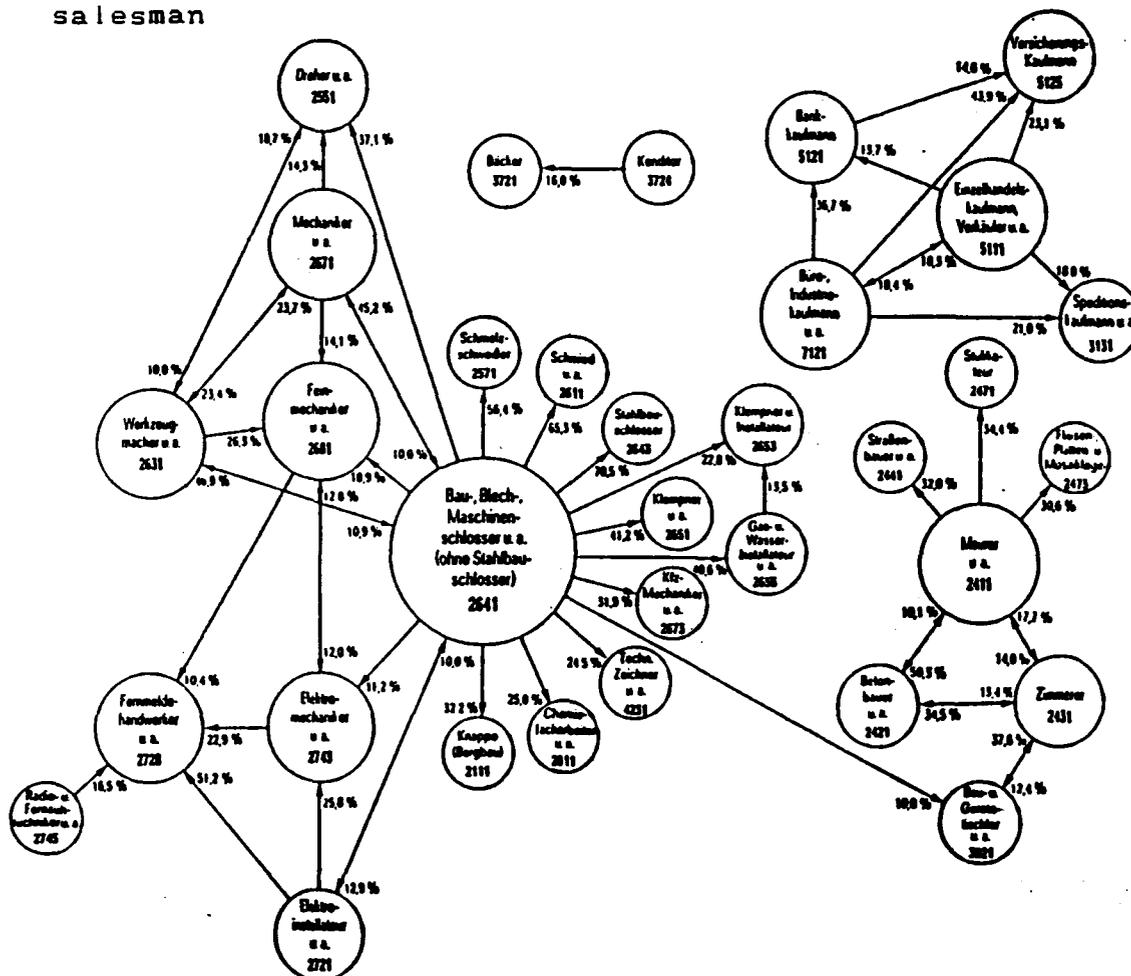
BVJ = Berufsvorbereitungsjahre

APPENDIX X

The Theory of Occupational Families and their Relation to
Occupational Mobility

Occupational Families in relation to occupational mobility

The diagram below illustrates the relationship of selected trades using the concept of occupational families. Taking the main, or parent, trades of fitter, bricklayer and salesman



These trades are broken down into elements of skill and technical knowledge requirements for each trade and then compared with the target occupation to determine the degree of mobility. A correlation of 10% plus is considered to indicate that transference is possible.

In the main largest diagram, the parent family of machine fitter, sheet metal worker and building fitter contains the necessary elements to indicate that mobility between the surrounding occupations is statistically possible.

The diagram in the lower right indicates the relationship between a bricklayer (as the parent family) and the associated trades of road maker, plasterer, cement worker and window fitter.

APPENDIX Y

The Meister in Commerce and Industry

T

The Meister in Industry and Commerce

The progression of a skilled apprentice who has successfully completed his/her final examination can be achieved by undertaking a period of study leading to the award of Master of Industry, Commerce or Handicrafts (Industrie Meister, Wirtschaft und Verwaltung Meister or Handwerks Meister) depending upon the discipline in which the apprenticeship was originally undertaken.

When an industrious worker has completed a period of approximately five years following his/her apprenticeship, a decision may be taken by him/herself and the company to commence the process whereby he/she will become a Meister.

Whereas the apprentice examination was conducted by the relevant Chamber, the training and examination of a Meister is controlled by the Government of the State (Land) within which he/she works.

The eventual examination and therefore also the training and intermediate work is divided into two parts:

Section I Practical

Part a. Preparation of a Masterpiece (Meisterstück); this involves the making of a complex part where most of the practical problems are included.

Part b. On-the-job examination of two of the elements of work involved in the Meisterstück, these elements being defined by the examiners.

Section II. Theoretical

Part c. A written test covering five aspects of manufacture/commerce/handicrafts in the related area (for example Toolmaking) as follows:

technical mathematics,
technical drawing,
technology related to the skills of his trade,
materials technology, and
costing and estimating.

Part d. A written test in:

communication,
teaching, and
practical legal matters.

If the results of the above are borderline, an additional oral examination is held.

During the period that the candidate is studying to prepare for the Meister's examination, he has two options of study:

a. he attends a part-time course after work, usually evenings and Saturday mornings, and his employer also ensures that he gets practical experience in the physical planning of work and in the mechanics of cost control, during which time he is paid by his employer, or

b. by resigning his post and enrolling for the Meisterkurs on a full-time basis, during which time he is paid approximately 70% of his last salary by the Land government.

Surprisingly, a number of would-be Meisters opt for the latter course of study because of the time factor involved. The part-time route can take up to three years study whilst full-time attendance is between six months to a year depending on the discipline involved. The Länder operate a form of numerous clausus during periods of high employment (when there is more probability of recruitment for these courses) by reducing the grant to 50/60% of the former

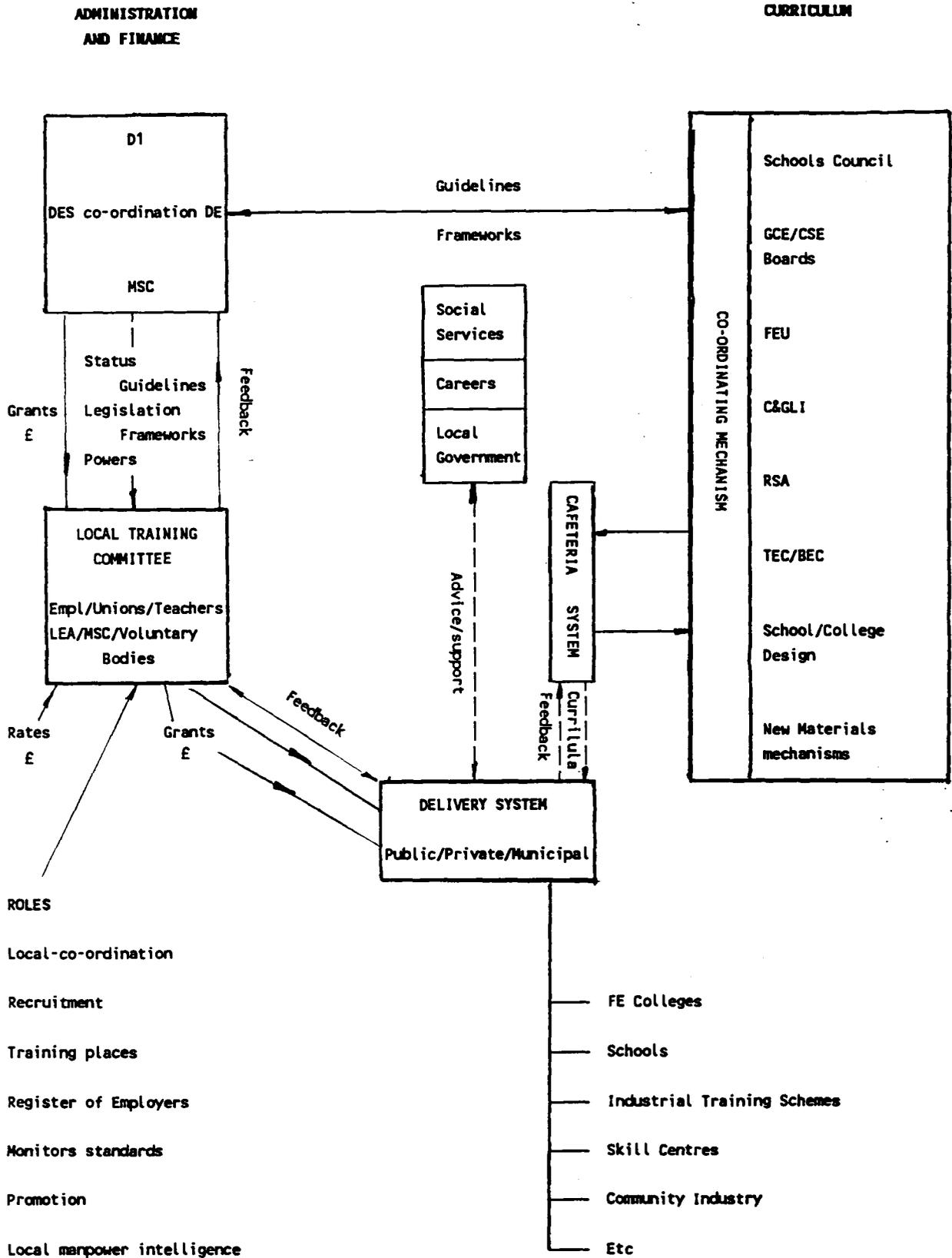
salary.

When a candidate has completed his/her learning process, he/she receives a formal certificate, usually presented with some ceremony. This is displayed at his/her business or place of employment, particularly in small companies. Upon qualifying, the successful candidate will take a position as a Junior Meister. The next objective, over a period of years is to become an Obermeister although this is a position formalised by the company rather than the Land. A really good candidate can reach the first Meister by the early thirties, but would be at least forty before they could fill a position as an Obermeister.

APPENDIX Z

Suggested Ideal Typical Model for the British Vocational
Education and Training System

STRUCTURE



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