

Szenarien und Strategien für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung in Europa: ein Projekt von CEDEFOP/ ETF ; deutscher Bericht

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Philipp Grollmann
Dr. Wilfried Kruse
Prof. Dr. Felix Rauner

**SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIES FOR VET IN
EUROPE / SZENARIEN UND STRATEGIEN FÜR DIE
BERUFLICHE AUS- UND WEITERBILDUNG IN EUROPA
A Project by / ein Projekt von CEDEFOP/ETF
GERMAN REPORT / Deutscher Bericht**

Birgit Klein, Wilfried Kruse, Gertrud Kühnlein

Berufliche Bildung:

Horizont 2010 – Ergebnisse aus NRW



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I Ergebnis - Übersicht

I.1 Vorwort

Gegenwärtig bestimmt die *Pisa-Studie* die öffentliche Bildungsdiskussion in Deutschland und damit sind die Probleme der Berufsbildung (zunächst) in den Hintergrund getreten. In den Jahren zuvor gab es allerdings in Deutschland geradezu eine *Welle* von Gutachten zur Zukunft der Berufsbildung. Der vorliegende Bericht stellt zu beidem eine *Ergänzung* dar. Er kommt nämlich zu der ernüchternden Erkenntnis, dass dem Erfordernis einer „besseren Verzahnung von Bildungsbereichen und Bildungswegen“ (Forum Bildung 2001) als Hemmnis eine *starke Abschottung der verschiedenen Bildungsbereiche gegeneinander* entgegensteht. Dies gilt insbesondere für das um die Betriebliche Berufsausbildung angesiedelte „*Duale Kernmilieu*“ als arbeitsmarkt- und betriebsnahen Sonderbereich von Bildung. Eine erfolgversprechende Reformstrategie müsste demnach gezielt und systematisch *milieuübergreifend und -lockernd* angelegt sein. Dezidierte Vorschläge hierzu sind in letzter Zeit lediglich vom *Forum Bildung*¹ und insbesondere vom *Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung (1998a)* vorgelegt worden.

Der vorliegende Bericht also stellt die Ergebnisse der deutschen Teilstudie des Projekts „Szenarios und Strategien für Berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung in Europa“ vor, das vom CEDEFOP in Thessaloniki und dem ETF - der *European Training Foundation* - in Turin gemeinsam initiiert und begleitet wurde. Neben Deutschland waren als EU-Mitgliedsländer Belgien/Luxemburg, Griechenland, Österreich und das Vereinigte Königreich, von den Kandidatenländern Estland, Polen, Slowenien, die Tschechische Republik und Ungarn beteiligt. Für die Methodologie und die europäischen Syntheseberichte zeichnete das Max Groote Kenniscentrum der Universität Amsterdam verantwortlich. Mittlerweile liegt der europäische Abschlussbericht in Kurzform vor². War an der ersten Phase von deutscher Seite nur das IT&B in Bremen (Grollmann, Rauner 2000) einbezogen, so wurde die zweite Phase dann gemeinsam vom IT&B und der Sozialforschungsstelle Dortmund durchgeführt. Die Szenario-Methode und die Vorgehensweise für die zweite Phase haben wir zu deren Beginn in einer Broschüre³ erläutert, die auch allen Gesprächspartnern ausgehändigt wurde. Diese Erläuterungen finden sich erneut im englischsprachigen deutschen Abschlussbericht, der als Teil II in dieser Veröffentlichung zu finden ist.

Der Umfang der deutschen Studie war bescheiden. Neben der Förderung durch das CEDEFOP und der erheblichen eigenen Beteiligung unserer beiden Forschungsinstitute standen dem Projekt aber zusätzliche finanzielle Unterstützungen durch das Bundesminis-

¹ Siehe Arbeitsstab Forum Bildung 2001.

² Siehe Sellin (2002).

³ Siehe Grollmann, Kruse, Rauner (2000).

terium für Bildung und Forschung (bmbf) und - vor allem - durch das Ministerium für Arbeit, Qualifikation und Technologie (MASQT) des Landes NRW zur Verfügung. Dadurch wurde es zumindest möglich, in der zweiten Phase eine erhebliche Anzahl von *High-Level-Experten* auf der Bundesebene und in zwei Bundesländern, nämlich in Brandenburg und *insbesondere in NRW* zu befragen. Insgesamt wurden mehr als 20 Experteninterviews auf der Bundesebene und Brandenburg durchgeführt, und noch einmal knapp 20 im Land NRW. Die Befragungsergebnisse aus NRW wurden gesondert ausgewertet und sind auch in einem eigenen Kapitel (siehe I.3) in diesem Bericht dargestellt. Von der Tendenz her sind die Ergebnisse aus beiden Befragungen gleichlaufend.

Wir hielten es nicht für nötig, für die deutschen Interessenten den gesamten, in englischer Sprache auf der Abschlusskonferenz in Tallin Anfang Oktober 2001 vorgelegten Bericht ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. Er findet sich in der - leicht redigierten - Tallin-Fassung im Teil II dieser Veröffentlichung. Eine Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse in deutscher Übersetzung bildet der Teil I.2. Im Teil I.3 finden sich die Ergebnisse aus der Sondererhebung in NRW, die im Tallin-Bericht nicht enthalten sind.

Der Bericht zur 1. Phase, der im Jahr 2000 erschien, enthielt eine längere Abhandlung zum deutschen Berufsbildungssystem, die bereits ein Jahr zuvor schon als Inputtext für die Expertenrunden verwendet wurde. Zum Zwecke der Prozessdokumentation wurde dieser auch Bestandteil der weiteren Berichte und findet sich hier nun ohne Aktualisierung als Abschnitt II.2 wieder. Da die verwendeten Statistiken schon vor dem Jahr 2000 enden, haben wir für diesen Abschnitt aber - um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden - eine kleinere Schrift verwendet. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit aktuellen Tendenzen der Entwicklung in der deutschen Berufsbildungspolitik findet sich vor allem im Teil II.6 des vorliegenden Berichts.

Wir möchten uns beim bmbf und beim MASQT NRW für die zusätzliche Förderung bedanken. Unser Dank gilt aber vor allem den vielen Expertinnen und Experten, die nicht nur bereitwillig zu einem Gespräch eingewilligt haben, sondern mit denen vielfach die engagierte Erörterung die Zukunftsprobleme der Berufsbildung sehr ausführlich ausfiel, so dass die vorgesehene Gesprächsdauer weit überschritten wurde.

I.2 Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse der deutschen Teilstudie des Projektes „Szenarien und Strategien für die Berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung in Europa“

I.2.1 Aufbau der zweiten Projektphase in Deutschland

Die Arbeit der zweiten Projektphase erfolgte in Kooperation zwischen dem ITB Bremen, und der sfs Dortmund und wurde finanziell von dem jeweiligen Bundesland für die Durchführung einer Teilstudie für Nordrhein Westfalen unterstützt.

Schwerpunktmäßig sollten folgende Fragestellungen geklärt werden:

- Welche Experten schätzen welche Szenarien als wahrscheinlich und welche als wünschenswert ein? Bestehen Spannungen?
- Welche der Strategien aus dem europäischen Strategien-Arsenal wurden in Deutschland umgesetzt/nicht umgesetzt und in welcher Art und Weise?
- Welche Strategien sind für welche Szenarien als „robust“ einzuschätzen? Bestimmung ihrer allgemeinen „Robustheit“.

Angesichts der ergiebigen Ergebnisse der zweiten Projektphase trafen wir - obwohl der europäische Teil des Projekts bereits vorzulegen war (bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren 22 Experten interviewt worden) - die Entscheidung, die Interviewarbeit fortzuführen.

I.2.2 Ergebnisse der ersten Projektphase als Ausgangspunkt und die deutschen Szenarien für berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung

In der modernen Managementliteratur wird nicht nur der Nutzen der Ergebnisse, sondern vor allen Dingen auch der Nutzen des *Prozesses des Entwurfs* von Szenarien und der Abwägung möglicher Handlungsstrategien hervorgehoben. Diese Prozesse verhelfen den Mitgliedern von Organisationen, gemeinsame Vorstellungen über Organisationsziele zu entwickeln bzw. zumindest eine gemeinsame Sprache zu finden und mögliche Problembereiche oder Interessengegensätze zu kommunizieren. Szenarioplanung ist damit – in zeitgemäßer Terminologie – auch ein Beitrag zur Schaffung bzw. zur Aufrechterhaltung einer „Lernenden Organisation“ (vgl. Heijden 1996 u. 1997, Schoemaker 1991).

Bei der Vorlage der Ergebnisse der ersten Projektphase auf nationaler aber auch auf europäischer Ebene wurde deutlich, dass die in dieser Phase angewandte Methode sehr hilfreich war, um einen gemeinsamen Dimensionskatalog aufzustellen, an dem die teilnehmenden europäischen Länder verglichen und auf den die nationalen Ergebnisse bezogen werden konnten. Andererseits waren die Ergebnisse jedoch aufschlussreich und regten die Diskussion auf dem nationalen Seminar an, blieben allerdings in gewissem

Maße hinter dem einigermaßen hoch entwickelten und institutionalisierten Expertensystem zurück, das für Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich charakteristisch ist. Wir unterstützten die Anwendung qualitativer Methoden in der zweiten Phase, wie es von der Koordinierungseinheit und von verschiedenen Projektpartnern zum Ende der zweiten Arbeitsphase vorgeschlagen wurde. Dieses Vorgehen führte nicht nur inhaltlich zu interessanten Ergebnissen, sondern auch in Hinsicht auf strukturelle Hindernisse bei der Erstellung einer „gemeinsamen Vision“ für das deutsche System der beruflichen Aus- und Weiterbildung.

1.2.2.1 Die Struktur der Szenarien

In den letzten zehn Jahren wurde in umfangreichem Maß Literatur zum Thema „Die Krise des dualen Systems“ veröffentlicht und insbesondere in den letzten Jahren gab es mehrere Reformvorschläge diesbezüglich. Dies lässt bereits auf die Bedeutung schließen, die zahlreiche und sozial wichtige Gruppierungen der Aus- und Weiterbildung und etwaigen Reformen beimessen. Ein Umstand, der nicht ignoriert werden darf, zumal da sich in Deutschland der Diskurs über Reformen des Ausbildungswesens hoch institutionalisiert darstellt. Daher verwendeten wir relativ viel Zeit und Ressourcen in den Entwurf von Szenarien, die für die in der zweiten Projektphase zu interviewenden Personen, allesamt Mitglieder des oben genannten Expertensystems für berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung stichhaltig waren. Um nachvollziehbare und gültige Szenarien für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung zu entwickeln, legten wir einen ersten Entwurf auf einem kleineren nationalen Seminar vor und nutzten die Diskussionsergebnisse zur Weiterentwicklung und Bearbeitung der Szenarien. Dies führte uns zu den im Folgenden aufgeführten Alternativdarstellungen im Bereich Berufsbildung für das Jahr 2010. Um etwaige strukturelle Unsicherheiten, die sich aus dem Zusammenfügen der Ergebnisse der Fragebögen und des vorliegenden Materials über das duale System ergeben könnten, zu vermeiden, haben wir im Folgenden drei Szenarien in Übereinstimmung mit diesen Dimensionen evaluiert (man könnte hier, um innerhalb der Szenario-Terminologie zu bleiben, auch von Deskriptoren reden):

- Verhältnis von allgemeiner und beruflicher Bildung
- Verhältnis von beruflicher Aus- und Weiterbildung
- Beruf, Arbeitsmarkt und Beschäftigung
- Institutionen, Trägerschaft (öffentlich/privat) und Finanzierung beruflicher Aus- und Weiterbildung

1.2.2.2 Der Inhalt der Szenarien „2010“

Eine der grundlegenden Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung des Berufsbildungswesens in den nächsten zehn Jahren ist, ob die meisten Vorschläge zur Verbesserung der beruflichen Aus- und Weiterbildung nur vereinzelt und bruchstückhaft umgesetzt werden, oder ob es zu weitergehenden Veränderungen kommen wird.

Weiterhin stellt sich die Frage, wie die verschiedenen Reformoptionen innerhalb des Aus- und Weiterbildungssystems zu verorten sind. Angesichts der Forderung nach lebenslangem Lernen ist die Fragestellung wichtig, ob Veränderungen hauptsächlich im Post-Sekundarbereich und im Bereich Weiterbildung stattfinden werden, oder ob es weiterhin eine starke Integration der Berufsausbildung in der Sekundarstufe II geben wird (wie es typisch für „duale“ Bildungssysteme wie das deutsche ist). Diese Frage ist besonders angesichts der europäischen Vereinigung von Bedeutung. In diesem Kontext scheint eine analytische Polarisierung der Konzentration der beruflichen Erstausbildung oder Weiterbildung besonders hilfreich. Ausbildung ist auch immer eine Frage der Inhalte: die beiden sich gegenüberstehenden, empirisch unterscheidbaren Modelle sind einerseits eine verstärkte „Arbeitsprozess-Orientierung“ von Aus- und Weiterbildung und andererseits eine eher „akademische“ Ausrichtung. Das erste Szenario bildet eine Situation ab, in der sich aktuell bestehende Tendenzen überzogen darstellen, im zweiten erfolgt ein Wandel der gegebenen Institutionen im Bereich Berufsbildung und im dritten Szenario findet beruflich verwendbare Ausbildung zunehmend im nachschulischen Bereich statt.

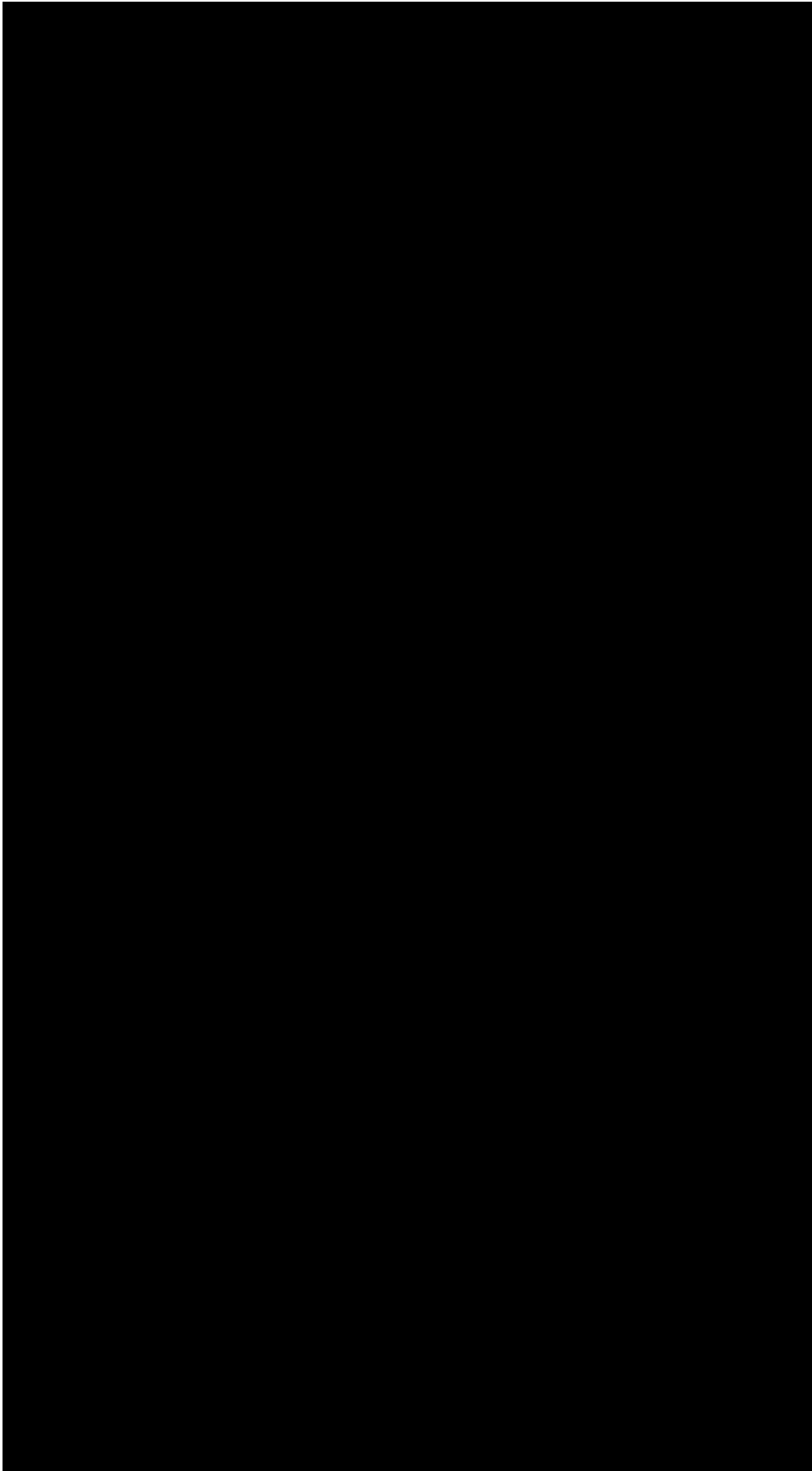


Abbildung 1: Die Szenarien im Überblick und Perspektiven in der zweiten Phase des Projektes

Die Kontext-Szenarien

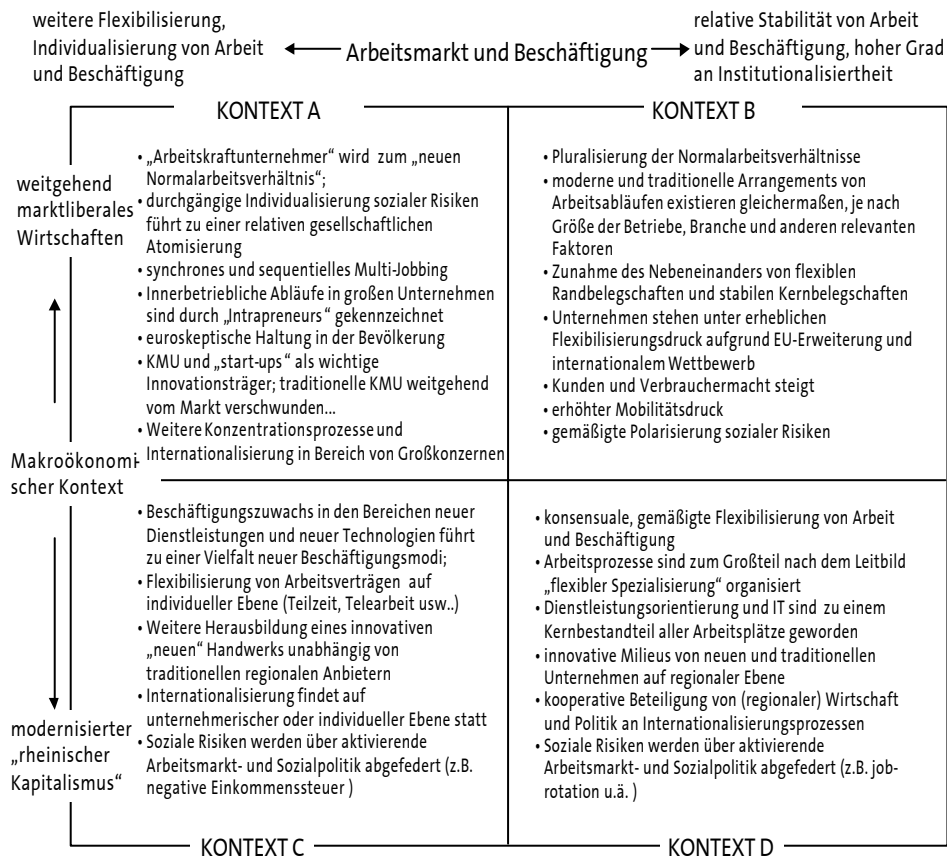


Abbildung 2: Die deutschen Kontext-Szenarien

Um einen Rückbezug der Ergebnisse des deutschen Ansatzes auf die allgemeinen Europäischen Ergebnisse zu ermöglichen, haben wir zudem Meta-Szenarien entworfen, die sich den Szenarien innerhalb der anderen Teilnehmerländer annähern. Unter Rückgriff auf zwei unterschiedliche, in der politischen Debatte in Deutschland vorherrschende Polarisierungen kamen wir zu den in Abbildung 2 beschriebenen Kontext-Szenarien. Diese waren auch in einer Broschüre aufgeführt, die den Befragten noch vor der tatsächlichen Durchführung des Interviews übermittelt wurde. Ihnen wurde die Frage gestellt, welche der Szenarien für berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung sie in einem Verhältnis zu dem Kontext-Szenario sahen. Es ist offensichtlich, dass das Szenario A (oben links) eher unüblich für den deutschen Kontext ist, denn es übertreibt zwei grundlegende Tendenzen im politischen Umfeld, die in deutlichem Gegensatz zu der traditionell stark korporatistisch orientierten, deutschen Bildungspolitik stehen.

1.2.3 Expertenmeinungen und Konzeptualisierung der Szenarien

Will man die Beurteilungen der Experten bezüglich der vorgeschlagenen 2010-Szenarien zusammenfassen, wird deutlich, dass eine

relativ enge Beziehung zwischen dem *Strategiebündel*, das auf Explizität und Implizität ausgelegt ist, und der Beurteilung der drei 2010-Szenarien besteht. Die Szenarien für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung können als vermittelnde Brücke zwischen den eher abstrakten europäischen Szenarien und den spezifischen Erfordernissen, die an Interviews mit Akteuren des deutschen institutionalisierten Expertensystems gestellt werden müssen, gesehen werden. Wir werden daher in der vorliegenden Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse nicht detailliert auf das Bündeln von Strategien eingehen, sondern einen ausführlichen Überblick über die Meinungen und Reaktionen der Experten hinsichtlich dieser vermittelnden Szenarien für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung geben. Beim Bündeln der Strategien anhand des wesentlichen strategischen Schwerpunktes und bei der Analyse der Expertenaussagen im Verlauf der Interviews ergab sich, dass unterschiedliche Diskurs-Milieus für strategisches Denken bestehen, die sich nicht notwendigerweise mit der Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Gruppierungen gegensätzlicher oder verschiedener Akteure, wie beispielsweise der Sozialpartner, Verwaltung usw., decken. Der Schwerpunkt ihres strategischen Denkens ist häufig in ihrem jeweiligen Arbeitsfeld begründet und stimmt nicht zwangsläufig mit dem allgemeinen Standpunkt der betreffenden Einrichtung überein. Häufig gibt es einen Mangel an Artikulation.

Drei Diskurs-Milieus können unterschieden werden:

- die korporatistischen Modernisierer
- die „Inklusionisten“
- und die Anhänger von „life-long learning“.

Die Erstgenannten setzen ihre Erwartungen hauptsächlich auf die strukturelle Anpassung des dualen Systems, ohne dass irgendwelche wesentlichen Veränderungen verfolgt werden. Wenn die Anhänger des zweiten Diskurs-Milieus in die Zukunft denken, wird eine von sozial- und arbeitsmarktpolitischen Perspektiven durchsetzte Argumentation ins Feld geführt. Die dritte Gruppe stellt innerhalb des deutschen Expertensystems ein relativ „neues“ Lager dar, in dem vor allem der Bedarf an Flexibilität und Individualisierung von Ausbildungsprozessen als lebenslange Tätigkeit hervorgehoben wird. Wir beabsichtigen die Durchführung weiterer Befragungen mit der Erwartung noch ein oder zwei weitere Milieus, die zu diesem Zeitpunkt der Arbeit noch nicht erkennbar geworden sind, identifizieren zu können. Der Entwurf von Szenarien kann in diesem Sinne also auch als ein Instrument des „theoretical sampling“ bei der Erstellung inter-subjektiver Theorien über die zukünftige Entwicklung eines spezifischen Themas verstanden werden.

(Szenario 1) „Vom dualen zum pluralen System beruflicher Bildung“ – auf diesem Szenario liegt bei den Experten der hauptsächliche Schwerpunkt. Zunächst erklärt sich das daraus, dass das Szenario 1 als eine Ist-Beschreibung, als Ausgangsszenario, aufgefasst wurde. Für einige der Befragten gilt aber auch, dass dieses Szenario - mit einigen Modifikationen, die vor allem aus dem Szenario 2 entlehnt werden, und in anderer Bewertung - auch als wünschenswertes *Zielszenario* 2010 bestehen kann. Dies hängt vor allem

davon ab, wie *enggeführt* auf das bestehende institutionelle Set die *Modernisierungsperspektive* gedacht wird. Vor allem diejenigen, die für das strategische *Modernisierungsbündel* optieren, können sich mehr oder weniger mit den Grundlinien des *Szenarios 1* als Zukunftsszenario identifizieren.

Die meisten Einwände, nicht nur von Seiten der *Modernisierer*, sondern nahezu unisono, richten sich gegen die schon im ersten Satz des Szenarios formulierte Annahme, dass - aus der Perspektive von 2010 - der *Attraktivitätsverlust*, der sich schon Ende der 90er Jahre abzeichnete, weiter *zugenommen* habe. Hiervon, so die Experten, könne keine Rede sein und dies sei auch nicht zu erwarten, jedenfalls nicht im größeren Umfange. Natürlich wird klar gesehen, dass das Szenario mit der Annahme arbeitet, dass gerade für die höher qualifizierten Bereiche sowohl von den Individuen als auch von den Betrieben das Interesse an der traditionellen Berufsausbildung abnehme, weil sie sich für beide als zu eng, zu spezialisiert und zu wenig optionshaltig erweise. Zwei Argumente sind es vor allem, die diesen Annahmen entgegengehalten werden. Erstens gäbe es keinerlei Anzeichen dafür, dass die Attraktivität der Berufsausbildung für Jugendliche abnehme. Die Nachfrage nach Ausbildungsplätzen sei hoch und es sei überhaupt nicht erkennbar, dass es eine Umorientierung in Richtung auf einen direkten Weg zum Hochschulstudium gäbe - eher im Gegenteil. Berufsausbildung als für die Mehrheit eines Jahrgangs normaler und üblicher Weg der qualifikatorischen Vorbereitung auf das Arbeitsleben sei etabliert. Die öffentliche Skandalisierung des Ausbildungsplatzmangels sei Ausdruck davon, dass sich so etwas entwickelt habe wie eine „gesellschaftliche Anspruchshaltung“ auf einen Ausbildungsplatz für die Söhne und Töchter. Dies sei das Gegenteil von Attraktivitäts- und Legitimationsverlust, und die gezielte Bekämpfung des Ausbildungsplatzmangels - einschließlich des *Sofortprogramms* der Bundesregierung - habe erheblich zu einer Re-Legitimierung des bestehenden Systems der Berufsausbildung, letztlich zu ihrer erneuten Stärkung beigetragen.

Dies betrifft aber eher den schulisch schwächeren Teil der Berufsausbildungs-Anwärter, für den nach dem Szenario 1 die traditionelle Berufsausbildung ohnehin erste Wahl bleibt. Der Attraktivitätsverlust drohe, so das Szenario, eher von „oben“: Die Gegenargumente verweisen zum einen darauf, dass auch in neuen Beschäftigungsfeldern, wie z. B. IT, nach einer gewissen Zeit des Experimentierens auf geregelte Berufsausbildung zurückgegriffen werde - das Ansteigen von Trainees oder anderen Formen von Quereinstiegen eher also ein Übergangsphänomen sei. Vor allem aber wird mit der inneren Modernisierungskraft des Berufsausbildungssystems argumentiert, mit der zunehmenden Modernisierungsgeschwindigkeit und -dichte, deren beschleunigter Rhythmus auch mit der Wirkung des Bündnisses für Arbeit in Verbindung gebracht wird. Nach Auffassung einiger Experten seien in den letzten vergangenen Jahren so viele Modernisierungsprojekte angefasst worden, dass man nicht von einem Reform-, sondern mittlerweile eher von einem Umsetzungsstau sprechen müsse.

Mit Verweis auf diese beiden zitierten Entwicklungen wird davon ausgegangen, dass sich die vielen gutachterlichen Positionen, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Ausbildungsplatzmangel eine allgemeine Funktionskrise der Dualen Ausbildung diagnostiziert hatten, weitgehend widerlegt seien.

Als weiterer Beleg für die anhaltende Funktionsstärke der deutschen Berufsausbildung wird darauf hingewiesen, dass sich das „Duale Prinzip“ weiter ausbreite und nun auch im erheblichem Umfange die tertiäre Bildung erfasse (hier werden dann Elemente aus dem 2. Szenario als zukunftssträchtig identifiziert).

Diese konstatierte Re-Vitalisierung wird allerdings je nach dominanter strategischer Option unterschiedlich bewertet und sie offenbart auch im Lager der *Modernisierer* erhebliche Differenzierungen. Aus der Sicht der *Inklusionsstrategie* und der *Lebenslang-Lernen-Gruppierung* ist diese Re-Vitalisierung mit einer Festigung der Abschottung des Teilsystems Berufsausbildung verbunden, oder jedenfalls hat sie deren Lockerung erneut erschwert - mit langfristigen Folgewirkungen, die durchaus den Erwartungen von negativen Effekten, wie sie das Szenario 1 nahelegt, entsprechen. Die starke Stellung der Sozialpartner im System der beruflichen Bildung, noch einmal unterstrichen durch die Etablierung des Bündnisses für Arbeit, bedeute auf der einen Seite ein geringes Deregulierungsrisiko in diesem Teilsystem, auf der anderen Seite eben eine erhebliche Starre und Inflexibilität sowie ein hohes Maß an Abschottung - nach oben wie nach unten. („Nach oben“: Vergleich Europäische Hochschulentwicklung „Bologna-Prozess“).

(Szenario 2) Das Szenario 2 „Arbeitsprozessbezogene, gestaltungsorientierte Berufsbildung“ findet im Kreis der Modernisierer im Grunde beträchtliche Zustimmung, allerdings vor allem in Weiterführung der schon für das Szenario 1 reklamierten Weiterentwicklungen der traditionellen Berufsbildung. Diese Position vertreten diejenigen Akteure sehr stark, die eng mit dem betrieblichen Teil der Berufsbildung verbunden sind. Die Idee von offenen, dynamischen Berufsbildern findet eine recht breite Unterstützung - vor allem im Sinne einer zunehmenden inneren Flexibilisierung von Berufsbildern auf der Grundlage einer berufsfeldbreiten Grundausbildung. Wesentlich kritischer wird vor allem von jenen Experten, die eng mit dem betrieblichen Teil der Berufsausbildung verbunden sind, die Aussagen zur steigenden - oder in der retrospektiven Perspektive von 2010 gestiegenen - Bedeutung der Berufsschule eingeschätzt. Diese kritische Distanz teilen auch nicht wenige der gewerkschaftlichen Experten.

Ob eine Modernisierung von Berufsbildern und Prozessen beruflicher Erstausbildung (und Weiterbildung) eine andersgeartete Rolle der Berufsschule und eine veränderte Kooperation zwischen den Lernorten erforderlich mache und ob die Berufsschulen eine veränderte Rolle aufgrund ihrer institutionellen Verfasstheit und ihrer begrenzten und unflexiblen personellen und sachlichen Ressourcen überhaupt übernehmen könnten: dies ist nach unserem Eindruck einer der zentralen aktuellen Punkte der Auseinandersetzung um die Zukunft der beruflichen Bildung. Diese Kontroverse

macht sich gegenwärtig an der Revision des Prüfungsverfahrens fest, deren Notwendigkeit in der Vergangenheit von allen Beteiligten betont wurde. Hier machen die Länder eine Verstärkung des Gewichts berufsschulischer Noten geltend.

Vor allem von Seiten derjenigen Experten, die eng mit dem betrieblichen Teil der Berufsausbildung verbunden sind, namentlich bei den Arbeitgebervertretern, stoßen Überlegungen zu einer verstärkten *Regionalisierung* der beruflichen Bildung auf Bedenken. (Stoßrichtungen: (1) Bundeseinheitliche Regelungen, Rolle der Verbände, Nähe zum Tarifvertragssystem, etc. (2) Abweisung einer veränderten Struktur von Zuständigkeiten und Verantwortungen).

Die im Szenario 2 hinterlegte Idee *Regionaler Kompetenzzentren* wird vor allem von den Sozial- und Arbeitsmarktpolitikern, insbesondere in den Neuen Bundesländern, aber auch anderswo (Beispiel: Modellversuch NRW), gestützt.

Für sie geht es dabei um die Ausbringung *multifunktionaler* Entwicklungszentren, in denen Qualifizierung eine zentrale Komponente ist. Vor dem Hintergrund der besonderen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Situation in den Neuen Bundesländern ist dort besonders evident, was aber auch für viele Regionen in den Alten Bundesländern gilt: Das System der Berufsausbildung hat sich dort jenseits seiner rechtlichen und ideologischen Fixierung als wesentlich betriebs- und Ausbildungsvertrags-basiertes Sondersystem faktisch weiterentwickelt. Es ist lernortbezogen zu einem pluralen, und unter Aspekten von Verantwortung und Finanzierung zu einem *Mischsystem* geworden, das es anzuerkennen und zu strukturieren gilt. Damit ist eine (Wieder-)Annäherung von Berufsbildung und (auf Reformierung angewiesener) Allgemeinbildung verbunden, zunächst erst einmal institutionell, wie das Beispiel der *brandenburgischen Oberstufenzentren* zeigt.

Besonders kontrovers am Szenario 2 aber ist die *Annahme einer Novellierung des Berufsbildungsgesetzes im Jahr 2007*. Diese Annahme löste bei fast allen Gesprächspartnern z. T. heftige Reaktionen aus.

Ein wichtiger Grund hierfür ist sicherlich, dass sich die unterschiedlichen Positionen nicht nur entlang der Linien zwischen *Modernisierung*, *Inklusion* und *Lebenslang Lernen* finden, sondern in diesem Falle im Lager der Modernisierer selbst aufeinander prallen.

Angesichts der Re-Vitalisierung der „Dualen Ausbildung“ und des Tempos, in dem Vereinbarungen zu Teilbereichen heute möglich sind, wird die Notwendigkeit einer Novellierung des 1969 verabschiedeten Gesetzes vor allem von den Vertretern der Arbeitgeber und Kammern, aber auch aus der Bundesadministration in Zweifel gezogen. Referenzpunkt ist in vielen Fällen der Fortschritt an substantiellen Vereinbarungen, der im Rahmen der entsprechenden Arbeitsgruppe des *Bündnisses für Arbeiter* erzielt werden konnte. In Frage gestellt wird, ob es dringende Reformen im Sinne einer Modernisierung und Flexibilisierung im System der beruflichen Bildung gäbe, für die wirklich eine Novellierung erforderlich sei. Insbesondere die Arbeitgeber sind gegen eine Novellierung, weil

diese die Tür für Veränderungen bisheriger Ordnungsprinzipien im Teilsystem Berufsausbildung öffnen könne. Dem gegenüber bestehen die Experten der Gewerkschaften, die in diesem Feld hauptsächlich der Modernisierer-Gruppe zuzurechnen sind, auf der Notwendigkeit einer Novellierung. In ihrer Kritik am bestehenden Gesetz stehen sie in der Kontinuität ihrer eigenen Positionen, die sie schon 1969 bei der Verabschiedung formuliert hatten. Im Zentrum ihrer Kritik steht dabei die bisherige ordnungspolitische Definition eines der prozessualen Kernbereiche des Berufsausbildungssystems, nämlich des *Berufsbildungsausschusses der Kammern*. Die Kammern als Zusammenschlüsse der Betriebe nehmen im System der Berufsausbildung, so weit es im Berufsbildungsgesetz geregelt ist, zentrale Funktionen ein. Bei ihrer Ausübung dominieren die Arbeitgeber, weil sie im Berufsbildungsausschuss die Mehrheit haben und die Finanzen dieses Ausschusses von der Entscheidung der Vollversammlung der Kammermitglieder, also der Arbeitgeber, abhängig ist.

Im Interesse der Arbeitnehmer und einer dynamischen Weiterentwicklung des Gesamtsystems beanspruchen die Gewerkschaften hier eine *paritätische Lösung*. Für sie sind die Fortschritte, die im *Bündnis für Arbeit* auf Bundesebene auf verschiedenen anderen Ebenen erzielt worden sind, geradezu ein Beleg für die Produktivität und Funktionsgerechtigkeit paritätisch gefundener Lösungen. Insofern sehen die Gewerkschaften in einer Novellierung des Berufsbildungsgesetzes in ihrem Sinne eher eine Vervollkommnung und Vollendung des schon weitgehend etablierten Korporatismus, während die Arbeitgeber darin eher eine Systemänderung sehen. So betrachtet, handelt es sich hierbei eher um eine interne Auseinandersetzung über wirksame Modernisierungspfade im Teilsystem der Berufsausbildung, die in größerer Nähe zur laufenden Debatte um die Novellierung des Betriebsverfassungsgesetzes als zu Überlegungen über eine umfassende Bildungsreform anzusehen ist.

Anders akzentuiert ist die Forderung nach Novellierung, wie sie von Seiten des eher berufsschulbezogenen Teils der *Modernisierer* formuliert wird, hierin tendenziell unterstützt aus Positionen des *LebenslangLernens* heraus. Ihnen geht es (siehe oben) um die Erhöhung des Gewichts der Berufsschule im Gesamtzusammenhang dualer Ausbildung, um damit u. a. integriertere Lernprozesse zu ermöglichen und ein systematisches Gegengewicht gegen die einzelbetriebliche Spezialisierung beruflichen Lernens zu bilden. Der Weg aus der ergänzenden Rolle in gleiche Verantwortung und Stellung (ordnungspolitisch die Dualität nicht nur der Lernorte - die sich mittlerweile pluralisiert haben -, sondern der zwischen Wirtschaft und Staat geteilten Verantwortung) würde die Sonderstellung des Teilsystems der Berufsausbildung schwächen und es stärker an das Bildungssystem insgesamt heranrücken (was freilich materiell nur gelänge, wenn die Berufsschulen im Bildungssystem auch eine Aufwertung erfahren - dies ist die Position der Bildungsgewerkschaft, die sich an dieser Stelle in einem - noch - ungelösten Widerspruch zu den Industriegewerkschaften befindet).

Es scheint also so, dass die Ziele derjenigen, die auf eine Novellierung des Berufsbildungsgesetzes drängen, selbst im Lager der *Modernisierer* (noch) nicht kompatibel sind. Weitere Überlegungen zur Novellierung sind eher sozialpolitisch (*Inklusion*) motiviert: hierbei geht es vor allem darum, die Verantwortung des Berufsbildungssystems gegenüber Problemgruppen in der einen oder anderen Weise rechtlich zu verankern. Bei genauerer Prüfung zeigt sich jedoch schnell, dass es hier Unverträglichkeiten zum im privatwirtschaftlichen System der Berufsausbildung verankerten Prinzip der Entscheidungsfreiheit und -verantwortung der ausbildenden Betriebe gibt. Eine systematische Stärkung *sozialpolitischer Funktionen* des Berufsbildungssystems (und nicht nur solcher, die sich aus Marktmechanismen plus Einfluss der Interessenvertretung der Arbeitnehmer plus traditioneller sozialpolitische Verantwortung von Betrieben quasi naturwüchsig ergeben) setzt Fragen ihrer Finanzierung auf die Tagesordnung. Wir befinden uns also in der Debatte um Fondsfinanzierung, Umlage und/oder staatlicher Finanzierung/Subventionierung, die während der Jahre der Knappheit von Ausbildungsplätzen eine erhebliche Rolle gespielt hat und mittlerweile aus der *aktuellen Auseinandersetzung* verschwunden ist.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser komplizierten Konstellation ist zu erkennen, dass -jedenfalls zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt- der Weg in das *Bündnis für Arbeit* die Entscheidung implizierte, die Novellierung des Berufsbildungsgesetzes nicht auf die Tagesordnung zu setzen; und dies bei einer Regierung, bei der man dies aufgrund ihrer politischen Zusammensetzung am ehesten erwartet hätte. Da das *Bündnis für Arbeit* gesetzgeberischen Prozessen nicht systematisch zugeordnet ist, sondern sich auf Vereinbarungen zwischen den Sozialpartnern orientiert, spielen auch die Fraktionen des Bundestages gegenwärtig in Fragen der Berufsbildungsreform kaum eine Rolle. Damit wird die Sonderstellung der Berufsbildung im gesamten Bildungssystem eher gefestigt.

(Szenario 3) Bei der Mehrheit der befragten Experten trifft man die stärkste Distanz zum Szenario 3 „Aufwertung formaler Bildung und lebenslangen Lernens“ an.

Besonders deutlich ist diese Distanz bei der Kerngruppe der Modernisierer im betriebsbezogenen Teil des Systems der Berufsausbildung.

Aber diese Experten, wie auch die wenigen, die dem 3. Szenario eher positiv gegenüber stehen, teilen gemeinsam Zweifel an der richtigen Zuordnung eines Weiterbildungsgesetzes zum Szenario 3. Das liegt vor allem daran, dass die Idee des Weiterbildungsgesetzes in das Szenario 3 in der Art und Weise eingeführt ist, wie diese Frage bislang in Deutschland diskutiert wird. Weiterbildung wird nämlich bislang in enger Verbindung mit dem System der beruflichen Bildung, im wesentlichen als dessen Erweiterung und Flexibilisierungs-Voraussetzung verstanden. Mit Flexibilisierungs-Voraussetzung ist gemeint, dass mit Weiterbildung vor allem auf die sich rasch wandelnden Anforderungen reagiert werden müsse, die durch die Neuordnung spezialisierter Ausbildungsberufe nicht

mehr ausreichend einzufangen seien. Entwickelt und systematisiert sich Weiterbildung in ausreichender Weise, dann wirkt sie folglich auch in der Weise „entlastend“ auf die berufliche Erstausbildung im Sinne einer möglichen weiteren Entspezialisierung zurück: ein Ansatzpunkt, der bei den neueren Verfahren der Neuordnung von Ausbildungsberufen bereits eine wichtige Rolle spielte.

Dies lässt sich deutlich sowohl an der tatsächlichen Entwicklung betrieblicher Weiterbildung („Neuer Typ von Weiterbildung“) als auch an den vorliegenden Vorstellungen zur Regulierung von Weiterbildung erkennen, die sich eng an aus der beruflichen Erstausbildung bekannte Modelle oder Modellansätze orientieren. Folglich wiederholen sich in bezug auf die Frage nach der Regulierung von Weiterbildung die positionellen Differenzen, die auch im Rahmen der beruflichen Erstausbildung bekannt sind. So, wie berufliche Weiterbildung bisher diskutiert wird, wird sie den Sonderpfad beruflicher Bildung in den Zeitraum nach Abschluss einer anerkannten Berufsausbildung fortschreiben. Von daher ordnen Befürworter und Promotoren wie Kritiker eines solchen Weiterbildungsmodells das im Szenario 3 erwähnte Weiterbildungsgesetz mit seiner angedachten Fondsfinanzierung dem ordnungspolitischen Repertoire zu, wie es im Szenario 2 mit der Novellierung des Berufsbildungsgesetzes angeboten wird. Diejenigen, die von den drei angebotenen Szenarien dieses 3. Szenario nicht für das Wahrscheinlichste (im Kreis der von uns Befragten gibt es niemanden, der in der Perspektive 2010 dieses Szenario irgendwie für realistisch hält), aber für ein Wünschbares halten, verfolgen primär die strategische Option auf *Lebenslang Lernen* (Strategiebündel 3).

Interessant ist, dass es bei dieser Gruppe eine Renaissance zweier gesellschaftlicher Leitfragen gibt, die eine Zeitlang fast in Vergessenheit geraten sind: die der *Gerechtigkeit* und die der *Bildungspotentiale*. Es scheint so, dass sie allerdings den Blick für die an die Grenzen gekommene Leistungsfähigkeit des deutschen Bildungssystems erst wirklich schärfen, wenn sie sich *miteinander verbinden*. Es ist interessant, dass in diesem Zusammenhang ein Begriff wie „Begabungsreserven“ wieder auflebt, der seit der von Georg Picht Ende der 60er Jahre aufgebrachten Diskussion um die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe zu den Akten gelegt schien. Es sind vor allem Bildungspolitiker, die auf diesen Zusammenhang zusteuern und beginnen, das Bildungssystem insgesamt zu durchprüfen und erneut *als Ganzes* zu denken. Zu dieser Gruppe gehört aber auch der eine oder andere Arbeitsmarkt- und Sozialpolitiker aus den neuen Ländern, der händeringend nach Ansätzen sucht, wie dem „Aussterben“ ganzer Regionen entgegengewirkt werden könnte. Insgesamt legt es die extrem schwierige Lage in den neuen Bundesländern beweglichen Politikern dort offenbar viel mehr als in den alten Bundesländern nahe, in neuen, integrierteren Politikzusammenhängen zu denken (z. B. „Potsdamer Eckpunkte“).

Besonders interessant ist nun aber, dass sich diese Expertengruppe, wenn sie über lebenslanges Lernen spricht, gewissermaßen kontrastierend zur konventionellen Weiterbildungsdiskussion, auf ganz andere Fragen orientiert. Sie sehen, dass in der deutschen

Tradition insbesondere der Sekundar II- und der tertiäre Bereich ausgestaltet wurden, einschließlich des Sondersystems der hoch differenzierten beruflichen Bildung. Demgegenüber blieben - auch im internationalen Vergleich - *der vorschulische und primärschulische Bildungsbereich stark vernachlässigt*. Sie sind deshalb vor allem auf eine Neugestaltung des *frühen* Lernbereichs orientiert. Dabei ist zwischen ihnen einvernehmlich, dass es nicht um eine bloße zeitliche und soziale Ausweitung der frühen Bildung bei gleichbleibendem Bildungsverständnis geht, sondern zugleich um eine deutliche Lebensweltöffnung schulischen und vorschulischen Lernens. Hier berühren *sich unter didaktischen und bildungssoziologischen Gesichtspunkten* diese Diskussionen mit jenen zur Leistungsfähigkeit dualisierter Bildung, was oftmals zu Missverständnissen Anlass gibt.

Diese Orientierung auf die Relevanz *früher Bildung* für Gerechtigkeit und für die Ausschöpfung von Potentialen lässt die Sorgfalt, mit der jede einzelne Differenzierung im Sekundarbereich behandelt wird, als vergleichsweise vernachlässigenswert und die Konzentration auf Berufsbildung als „Reformobjekt“ eher fehlgeleitet erscheinen. Jedenfalls wird die Bedeutung eher „heruntergehängt“, sie gerät vor allem bei den Sozialpolitikern in den Blick, die für diejenigen, die im nicht-reformierten System schulischer Bildung gescheitert sind, eine „second chance“ (Elemente des Szenario 1) bereitstellen soll. An der Berufsbildung, wie sie bisher organisiert wird, ist aus der Sicht dieser Bildungspolitiker vor allem das Spezialistische ein Problem.

Diese, besonders auf die bessere Fundierung der individuellen Ausstattung an Lernfähigkeit und Orientierungsvermögen orientierte Position findet Verbindungen zu einer sozial orientierten Betonung von durch Unterstützungssysteme flankierter höherer individueller Verantwortung für Bildung, wie sie etwa der Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung formuliert.

Folgt man dieser Perspektive, dann erweist sich nicht die Modernisierung im deutschen Berufsbildungssystem als zentrale Zukunftsherausforderung, sondern deren Einordnung in eine übergreifende Neuorientierung von Bildung in Deutschland. Insofern macht es, wie im europäischen Szenario-Projekt vorgeschlagen, Sinn, einen Blick auf die angebotenen Kontext-Szenarien zu werfen.

1.2.4 Meta-Szenarien, Kontext-Szenarien und Strategien – Schlussfolgerungen als Input für das Europäische Projekt und für weitere Überlegungen in Deutschland

1.2.4.1 Beziehung zwischen Szenarien und Kontext-Szenarien

Entsprechend der Szenario-Methode des europäischen Szenario-Projekts sollen die Szenarien 2010 durch Deskriptoren, also durch für das Berufsbildungssystem relevanten Umweltfaktoren, struk-

turiert sein. Dabei sollen folgende Deskriptoren in allen Szenarien Berücksichtigung finden:

- Ökonomische Dimension: Umstrukturierung, Wachstum, Wettbewerb, Privatisierung (Nachfrage an niedrigen/mittleren Kompetenzen)
- Soziale, arbeitsbezogene Dimension: Flexibilität/Mobilität, Schulungsstrukturen, Ungleichheit, Arbeitsorganisation
- Auf Berufsausbildung (Anforderungen) ausgerichtete Dimension: allgemeine Qualifikationen, betriebliche Ausbildung, Bereitschaft zu investieren, lebenslanges Lernen

In der deutschen Fallstudie haben wir nun - vor dem Hintergrund des hohen Institutionalierungsgrades des deutschen Systems der Beruflichen Bildung - eine zweistufige Vorgehensweise gewählt: wir stellen zunächst drei Berufsbildungs-Szenarien zur Diskussion, die nach „Deskriptoren“ aus dem engeren Umfeld der Beruflichen Bildung strukturiert sind. In einem zweiten Schritt wird eine Zuordnung dieser Berufsbildungs-Szenarien zu sozio-ökonomischen Kontextszenarien versucht, die im wesentlichen mit den oben zitierten Deskriptoren arbeiten.

Was wird unseres Erachtens damit gewonnen? Vor allen Dingen eines: die verschiedenen Berufsbildungs-Szenarien können als Ergebnis politischen Handelns verstanden werden, gewissermaßen als Produkt angewandeter Strategien. Im Unterschied hierzu würde eine schnelle enge, sehr funktionale Bindung an Deskriptoren in ihren verschiedenen Ausprägungen nahelegen, Berufsbildung als Reaktion auf unterschiedliche (z. B.: wirtschaftliche, soziale, arbeitsbezogene) Umweltkonstellationen zu verstehen, also hauptsächlich als abgeleitete Größe.

Demgegenüber wollten wir den Berufsbildungs-Szenarien mehr Eigenständigkeit zumessen, um damit auch die Bedeutung berufsbildungspolitischer Strategien für die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung insgesamt zu unterstreichen. Im Ergebnis entsteht so ein – realistischeres - Bild wechselseitiger Beeinflussungen und Wirkungen.

Die vier zusätzlichen Szenarien lassen sich als vier Felder auf einer Matrix verstehen, die zwischen verschiedenen Entwicklungspolen in der Dimension „Makroökonomischer Kontext“ und „Arbeitsmarkt und Beschäftigung“ konstruiert ist. Sie orientieren sich an der vorhergehenden Szenario-Matrix in Phase 1. An der Positionierung der Szenario-Achsen und anhand des Vergleiches der Diagonalen wird erkennbar, dass die Szenarien B und C eng verknüpft sind, während A und B in eindeutige Polarisierung zueinander treten. Dies ergibt im Endeffekt ein „Likelihood Z“, wobei A und D die beiden Endpunkte des „Z“ bilden und Wahrscheinlichkeit und Plausibilität der Szenarien zunehmen, je mehr man sich von den Endpunkten zum Zentrum bewegt.

Versucht man dies nun auf die *Kontext-Szenarien* zu beziehen, dann zeigt sich für die deutschen Verhältnisse eine *erwartete Gesamtentwicklung im Spannungsverhältnis von Kontextszenario B und Kontextszenario C*. Angesichts der deutschen Traditionen der sozialen Konzertierung bei vergleichsweise starker Stellung der Ge-

werkschaften und vor dem Hintergrund der Werte, die sich für alle Akteure mit der *Berufsform der Arbeit* verbinden, wird eine massive Entwicklung in Richtung auf das Kontextszenario A ausgeschlossen. Weder ist zu erwarten, dass sich ein weitgehend marktliberales Wirtschaften pur durchsetzt, noch gar in Verbindung mit einer durchgehenden Individualisierung von Arbeit und Beschäftigung.

Auf der anderen Seite gehört es aber zweifellos zu den unabwiesbaren Meta-Trends wettbewerbsorientierter gesellschaftlicher Entwicklung, die *individuelle Verantwortung für Bildung und Beschäftigung* (Stichwort: Beschäftigungsfähigkeit) zu stärken und insgesamt flexiblere Arrangements zuzulassen. Damit erwies sich das - in unserem Papier freilich wenig überzeugend qualifizierte - Kontextszenario D als zu unbeweglich und nicht ausreichend anpassungsfähig.

Tatsächlich würde eine Kombination aus beharrlicher Berufsform und modernisiertem „rheinischen Kapitalismus“, also eine megakorporatistische Konstellation, im Effekt wahrscheinlich tatsächlich u. a. - wie im Kontextszenario D angeboten - zu einer krassen Ausprägung der Polarisierung zwischen *Gewinnern und Verlierern* führen. In der Konsequenz hätte das Szenario 1 besondere hohe Affinität zum Kontextszenario B; aber auch das Szenario 2 läge noch nahe bei diesem Kontextszenario, je nachdem, wie weit Beruflichkeit inhaltlich, curricular und institutionell gefasst würde.

Eine weitere Schließung des Systems der Berufsausbildung als Sondersystem würde vermutlich in die Richtung des Kontextszenarios D tendieren. Das Szenario 3 scheint überraschender Weise die größte Affinität zum Kontextszenario C zu haben, bewegt sich aber im scharfen Gegensatz zu den gesettelten, bewährten und in wichtigem Umfang zu bewahrenden deutschen Berufsbildungstraditionen.

Mit den Kontextszenarien verbinden die meisten Interviewpartner, wenn überhaupt auf sie zu sprechen gekommen ist, verschiedene Annahmen in der (1) ökonomischen, (2) sozialen-arbeitsbezogenen und (3) auf Trainingsanforderungen bezogenen Dimension. Abbildung 3 gibt einen Überblick über die plausibelsten Kombinationen von Szenarien der beruflichen Aus- und Weiterbildung und Kontext-Szenarien.

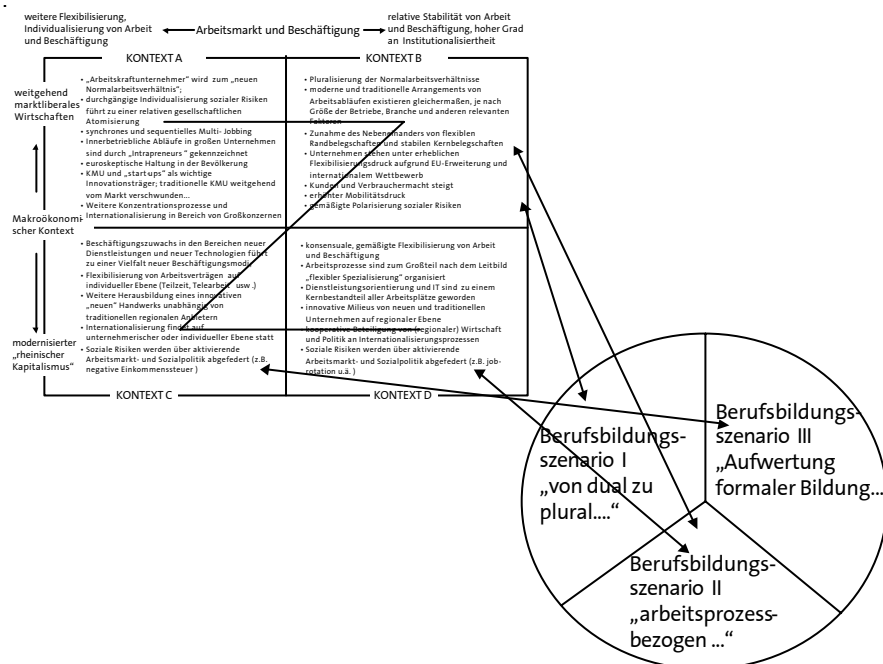


Abbildung 3: Die deutschen Szenarien für die berufliche Aus- und Weiterbildung und Kontext-Szenarien

Im europäischen Projekt wurden diesen drei Dimensionen Deskriptoren zugeordnet. Diese Deskriptoren können hier noch einmal zu Hilfe genommen werden, um die deutschen Kontextszenarien besser in den europäischen Zusammenhang einzufügen. Durch die Szenarien hindurch befindet sich die Mehrheit der Modernisierer im Umfeld der Kontextszenarien B und C, mit allen dadurch gesetzten Spannungen und Auseinandersetzungen auch zwischen ihnen. Die Inklusionsstrategen befinden sich in einem spannungsreichen Bezug zu den Kontextszenarien B und C. Die Lebenslang-Lernen-Optierer sind eher dem Kontextszenario C zuzuordnen, obwohl sie sich in ihrer starken Betonung individueller Verantwortung nicht immer von Elementen des Kontext-Szenarios A entfernt halten können. Dies löst bei korporatistischen Modernisierern wie Inklusionsvertretern oftmals große Skepsis aus, was dazu beigetragen hat und beiträgt, dass sich die verschiedenen Milieus kaum produktiv und konstruktiv begegnen. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser explikativen Zuordnungen könnten diverse strategische Bündnisse, ihre Kontingenz oder Systematik und Fragen ihrer nachhaltigen Wirkung diskutiert werden.

1.3 Berufliche Bildung: Horizont 2010 - Das „Szenario“-Projekt von CEDEFOP/ETF Ergebnisse aus NRW

Vorbemerkung

Das europäische Pilotprojekt „Scenarios and Strategies for Vocational Education and Lifelong Learning“ wurde in den vergangenen

beiden Jahren von *CEDEFOP* und der *European Training Foundation (ETF)* koordiniert und mit einer Konferenz in Tallinn am 1. und 2. Oktober 2001 auf europäischer Ebene vorläufig abgeschlossen.

Teams aus jeweils fünf EU-Mitgliedsländern und fünf „Kandidaten“-Ländern beteiligten sich an diesem Projekt. Von deutscher Seite waren während des 2. Projektjahrs das *ITB Bremen* und die *Sozialforschungsstelle Dortmund* beteiligt; die deutsche Teilstudie wurde über die Förderung von *CEDEFOP* und der beiden beteiligten Institute hinaus vom *bmbf* und dem *MASQT* in Nordrhein-Westfalen unterstützt.

Ziel des Projekts war es zum einen, die „Szenarien/Strategien“-Methode für den Bereich der Entwicklung der Berufsbildung zu erproben, zum anderen aber auch, zukunftsorientierte Aussagen von Expert/innen mit Hilfe dieser Methode zu „bündeln“ und diskussionsfähig zu machen.

Nachdem in der 1. Phase die „Konstruktion“ von *2010-Szenarien* erfolgte, standen in der 2. Phase, über die hier in aller Kürze berichtet wird, *Strategien* in ihrem Stellenwert oder Gewicht für die Szenarien im Zentrum. Im Rahmen der deutschen Fallstudie wurden unter diesem Aspekt 25 Expertengespräche auf nationaler Ebene und weitere 20 Gespräche in Nordrhein-Westfalen durchgeführt, wobei die Auswahl der „high-level“-Expert/innen sich vor allem an ihren oder seinen Einflussmöglichkeiten auf Bildungsentscheidungen orientierte. Da sich das Hauptinteresse auf Berufliche Bildung richtete, wurden deshalb schwerpunktmäßig, aber keineswegs ausschließlich - was sich als *sehr wichtig* herausstellen sollte - Entscheidungsträger und -beeinflusser aus dem Berufsbildungssystem befragt. Die Gespräche waren durchweg lebhaft und offen, was durchaus als Ausdruck eines vorhandenen Bedürfnisses nach „zukunftsorientierten Erwägungen“, die im Alltag schwierig Platz gewinnen, verstanden werden kann.

Die deutschen Szenarien: Geschichten aus der Zukunft erzählen

Etwas abweichend von der Vorgehensweise in den anderen beteiligten Ländern wurden für Deutschland anstelle generellerer sozioökonomischer Szenarien *drei Szenarien zur Zukunft der Berufsbildung - 2010-Szenarien* - entwickelt und in den Gesprächen erneut zur Diskussion gestellt. Dies begründet sich aus der Annahme, dass Expert/innen aus dem in Deutschland hoch professionalisierten System der Beruflichen Bildung eher bereit sein würden, über hierauf bezogene Szenarien als über Szenarien zu generelleren gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungspfaden zu sprechen. Allerdings wurden in einem späteren Schritt die Berufsbildungs-Szenarien wieder mit den allgemeineren Kontext-Szenarien in Verbindung gebracht.

Die drei Szenarien hatten folgende Überschriften⁴:

- 2010:Szenario I:
Vom dualen zum pluralen System Berufsbildung

⁴ Zu den Texten der Szenarios vergl. Grollmann, Kruse, Rauner (2000).

- 2010:Szenario II:
Arbeitsprozessbezogene, gestaltungsorientierte Berufsbildung
- 2010:Szenario III:
Aufwertung formaler Bildung und lebenslangen Lernens

Jedes der drei Szenarien umfasste „Skizzen“ zum Verhältnis von Allgemeiner und Beruflicher Bildung, Aus- und Weiterbildung, zu Beruf, Arbeitsmarkt und Beschäftigung und zu Institutionen, Trägerschaft und Finanzierung. Während das erste Szenario das Bild einer Situation darstellt, in der sich bereits heute vorfindliche Trends fortsetzen und problemhaft zuspitzen, wandeln sich im zweiten Szenario die Institutionen Beruflicher Bildung durch eine speziell auf das Berufsbildungssystem ausgerichtete Reform. Im 3. Szenario wird Berufliche Bildung in eine übergreifende Veränderung des Bildungssystems eingeordnet; direkt verwertbare Berufliche Bildung wird zunehmend nach Abschluss der allgemeinen, aber zur Praxis hin stark geöffneten „schulischen“ Bildung erworben.

Drei Strategiebüdel

Aus dem europäischen Szenario-Zusammenhang stammen *Dreizehn Strategien*, die auf ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung in Deutschland zu prüfen waren. Die Dynamik der von uns geführten offenen Expertengespräche ließ es aber nicht zu, diese dreizehn Strategien im Sinne einer Checkliste abzuarbeiten. Die Expert/innen wählten folglich aus dem Strategie-„Arsenal“ die für sie wichtigen Teilstrategien aus und setzten sie in der Regel auch in eine Rangfolge, so dass Vorformen von *Strategiebüdeln* entstanden. Im interpretativen Vergleich zwischen den Ergebnissen der verschiedenen Expertengespräche zeigte sich dann eine deutliche Gruppierung der Experten nach ihrer vorzugsweisen „Wahl“ zentraler Elemente aus den verschiedenen, zu unterscheidenden *Strategiebüdeln*.

Es lassen sich drei große *Strategiebüdel* unterscheiden, die durch eine Art von Leitstrategie organisiert werden.

Die drei wichtigsten Strategiebüdel lauten:

- 1. Bündel: Die Entwicklung des modernen, flexiblen Arbeiters fördern
- 2. Bündel: Besondere Zielgruppen adressieren
- 3. Bündel: Das „Gewicht“ des Lernens im Leben der Individuen, der Betriebe und der Gemeinschaften erhöhen

Jedes dieser drei Strategiebüdel wird - im Großen und Ganzen - von Akteuren privilegiert, die wichtige gemeinsame Orientierungen und Zugehörigkeiten zu verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Teilbereichen aufweisen. Die funktionsbezogene Zugehörigkeit zu diesen Teilbereichen und die im erheblichen Maße geteilten Orientierungen lassen es auch zu - wie wir vorschlagen - von verschiedenen *Milieus* zu sprechen. In diesem Sinne könnte man diejenigen, die das Strategiebüdel 1 besonders positiv bewerten, die „*korporatistischen Modernisierer*“ nennen, jene des 2. Bündels die „*Inkl-*

sionisten“ und jene des 3. Bündels die „*LebenslangLerner*“ im Sinne einer handlungsorientierten Option auf die Implementierung der gesellschaftlichen Lernphilosophie.

Das erstgenannte *Milieu* setzt vor allem auf eine Strukturanpassung der „Dualen Berufsbildung“ ohne größere und weitreichendere Veränderungen. Wenn das zweite *Milieu* an die Zukunft denkt, wird vor allem aus der Perspektive einer Bildungspolitik gesprochen, die arbeitsmarktbezogen und sozial verantwortlich ist. Bei der dritten Gruppe handelt es sich um ein ziemlich *neues Milieu*, das besonders auf Flexibilität und Individualisierung von Bildungsprozessen als eine lebenslange Aktivität abhebt.

Da Expert/innen aus dem „*Kernmilieu*“ der *Dualen Berufsbildung* in unserem Sample überrepräsentiert waren, dominiert die Option für das 1. Strategiebündel, die eine hohe Affinität insbesondere zu den Szenarien I, aber auch II aufweist. Jene, die das 2. Bündel vorziehen, zeigen einen starken Bezug zum Szenario II. Jene, die für das 3. Bündel *Das „Gewicht“ des Lernens im Leben der Individuen, der Betriebe und der Gemeinschaften erhöhen*, stehen, stellen in unserem Sample eine Minderheit dar. Ihre Optionen haben eine hohe Affinität zu Hauptaspekten des Szenarios III, das aber von der Mehrheit der von uns Befragten - vor allem aus dem *Kernmilieu* des „*Dualen Systems*“ - zum Teil vehement abgelehnt wird. Dabei weisen sie nicht „Lebenslanges Lernen“ als Anforderung zurück, sie unterstützen diese Perspektive, aber sie verstehen dies mehr als eine additive Erweiterung des bislang Bestehenden, im Kern also ein auf dem bisherigen, aber modernisierten System der „Dualen Berufsausbildung“ aufsitzendes Weiterbildungssystem. Diejenigen, die konsequent das 3. Strategiebündel privilegieren, gehen dagegen davon aus, dass die Durchsetzung des Prinzips des „Lebenslangen Lernens“ ohne massive soziale Ausgrenzungseffekte nur im Zuge einer Gesamtbildungsreform zu leisten ist, die „vorne“, also bei einer grundlegenden Reform der Vorschul- und Grundschulbildung beginnen müsste, und zu der die Berufsbildung neu zu zuordnen wäre.

Verschiedene Ein-Sichten und eine „Botschaft“

Die Ergebnisse der Expertengespräche zu „Szenarien und Strategien“ geben vielfältige Hinweise auf erwartete „Knotenpunkte“ für die Entwicklung des Berufsbildungssystems in Deutschland, d. h. zu jenen Fragen zu Inhalten und Strukturen der Beruflichen Bildung, um die sich die Entscheidungen über ihre zukünftige Gestaltung kristallisieren. Für Nordrhein-Westfalen wird dies in den folgenden Abschnitten skizziert. Außerdem werden zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt für einen Horizont 2010 die absehbaren *Korridore* möglicher Veränderungen sichtbar. Auf diese Weise erhält man einen guten Einblick in die zukunftsorientierten Thematisierungsweisen, wie sie unter - vor allem, aber nicht nur - Berufsbildungs-Akteuren gegenwärtig anzutreffen sind.

Sich vorbereitende mögliche Kompromissbildungen und neue Verständigungen werden ebenso sichtbar wie Blockierungen und Abschottungen. Angesichts der Bedeutung, die *Bildung und Berufs-*

bildung als Zukunftsthema in Europa zukommt, sieht es so aus, als sei der notwendige offene und breite Diskurs durch diese Blockierungen und Abschottungen sehr behindert.

Jedenfalls: es existiert eine erhebliche gegenseitige Abschottung und Abgrenzung der verschiedenen *Bildungspolitischen Milieus* und insbesondere ein starkes Eigenleben des *Kernmilieus Dualer Berufsbildung. Milieu-überschreitende Diskurse*⁵ sind in Deutschland gegenwärtig eher rare Ausnahmen mit (bislang) noch geringen Wirkungen.

Die hohe Etabliertheit der Berufsbildung als *arbeitsmarktnahes und betriebsbasiertes Sonder-Bildungssystem* unterscheidet die deutsche Situation sicherlich von der Situation in vielen anderen der beteiligten Länder. Eine die Berufsbildung einschließende Gesamtreform des Bildungssystems steht in Deutschland aktuell nicht auf der Agenda der öffentlichen Debatte. Gleichwohl wird von allen Expert/innen ein erheblicher Reformbedarf formuliert. Als wie weit- und eingreifend dieser verstanden wird, hängt in hohem Maße von den *strategischen Zielorientierungen* ab, die sich als *Strategiebündel* operationalisieren lassen.

Insgesamt zeigt sich also: Wie immer auch die Dynamiken innerhalb der einzelnen strategischen Optionen oder Felder eingeschätzt werden, sie entstehen und entwickeln sich vor allem an den *Grenzen* oder *Übergängen* des Berufsbildungssystems zu anderen Bereichen des Gesamtsystems von Bildung, Arbeit und Beschäftigung, sei es in vertikaler Hinsicht, also an den Übergängen des *Eintritts* in die Berufsausbildung oder des *Austritts* aus ihr, oder in horizontaler Hinsicht, also im Sinne einer veränderten Organisation der „Dualität“.

Oder anders zusammengefasst: Dynamiken entstehen in der Perspektive der *verstärkten Integration der Berufsbildung in individuelle Bildungsverläufe* ebenso wie der *verbesserten Integration in ein zu reformierendes Bildungssystem*.

Daraus folgt bezogen auf die *Strategiebündel*, dass schon eine zusätzliche teilweise Aufnahme „fremder“ strategischer Orientierungen dazu führt, dass Fragen, die schon beantwortet schienen, neu aufgeworfen werden müssen. Das zeigt sich z. B. am Problem der Jugendlichen mit besonderen Berufsstartproblemen oder auch am Komplex „Weiterbildung“.

Angesichts des Umstands, dass in fast allen politischen Reden der letzten Jahre Bildung als *Zukunftsherausforderung Nr. 1*, zum Teil unter explizitem Bezug auf die Wettbewerbsposition Europas, gehandelt wird, ist erstaunlich, dass sich in unseren Gesprächen der nachhaltige Eindruck vermittelt, dass die *drei Diskurse*, die hier als Strategiebündel benannt sind, *weitgehend getrennt voneinander verlaufen*. Bezogen auf Berufsbildung verlaufen die Diskurse zu *Modernisierung, Inklusion und LebensLangLernen* weitgehend voneinander abgeschottet, und zwar einschließlich ihrer jeweiligen institutionellen Fassungen. Das aber läuft darauf hinaus, dass

⁵ Auf Bundesebene sind hier das Forum Bildung und der Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung zu nennen.

sich auch die jeweiligen diese Diskurse tragenden *Milieus* nur selten, jedenfalls vor allem *selten systematisch begegnen*. Diese *Milieus* sind überdies mittlerweile etablierte und konsolidierte *Expertensysteme*, deren Mitglieder zwar unterschiedlichen Interessengruppen zugehörig sind, aber sich im Zweifel mit den weiteren Mitgliedern ihres Expertensystems besser verständigen können als mit den anderen. Nach unserem Eindruck ist dabei das *Expertensystem* „*Duale Berufsausbildung*“, um den betrieblichen, dominanten Teil der Berufsbildung zentriert, besonders separiert, was vor allem mit den vielfältigen Verschränkungen dieses Bereichs mit dem Beschäftigungs- und Tarifvertragssystem zu tun hat.

Die geringe *Diskurs-Mächtigkeit* von „*LebensLangLernen*“ hat, so verstanden, sicherlich auch mit seiner noch schwachen institutionellen Fassung zu tun. Die *LebensLangLernen*-Perspektive scheint aber potenziell am ehesten geeignet, die verschiedenen Optionen zukunftsorientiert miteinander verbinden zu können, sie ist aber in jeder Hinsicht - konzeptionell, institutionell, ressourcenbezogen - am schwächsten ausgeprägt.

Die NRW-Befragung

Die Expertengespräche in Nordrhein-Westfalen waren etwas anders ausgerichtet als die Expertengespräche auf nationaler Ebene: Zwar waren die Fragestellungen eingebunden in das Szenario-Projekt, doch wurde von unserer Seite ein deutlicher Schwerpunkt auf die Beschreibung und Einschätzung der Ist-Situation und auf die aktuellen Entwicklungen im Land NRW gelegt. Ziel war es, neben den allgemeinen Trends der Beruflichen Bildung in der Bundesrepublik die landesspezifischen Besonderheiten zu thematisieren, nicht zuletzt auch, um herauszufinden, wie sich Reformdynamiken auf Länderebene darstellen und wie Landes- und Bundespolitik im Bildungsbereich zusammen spielen (können). Damit waren auch die Einschränkungen angesprochen, die sich aus dem föderalen Prinzip (Kulturhoheit der Länder, Bundeszuständigkeit für gesetzliche Regelungen, BBiG) für Reformimpulse aus den Bundesländern ergeben können.

Sehr deutlich war insgesamt zu spüren, dass die NRW-spezifischen (Zukunfts-)Entwicklungen der beruflichen Bildung in den vergangenen Jahren klar unter dem Vorzeichen des Ausbildungskonsenses bzw. perspektivisch - ab Herbst 2001 - des Ausbildungskonsenses II und des Arbeitskreises Dialog Wirtschaft-Schule stehen. Der Konsens stellt(e) die Weichen für die Modernisierungswege in NRW, er gibt bestimmte Richtungen vor (sozialpartnerschaftliche Gestaltung), schließt aber auch tendenziell bestimmte Reformoptionen aus, weil er sich fast ausschließlich konzentriert auf das Segment der Beruflichen Bildung im Dualen System.

Dieser Eindruck wurde sicherlich noch besonders dadurch verstärkt, dass unsere Gesprächspartner/innen zum großen Teil zum Kernmilieu des Dualen Systems gehören (dazu zählen insbesondere die Mitglieder des Landesausschusses Berufliche Bildung). Insgesamt wurden als Experten Vertreter/innen der Kammern, Gewerkschaften, Arbeitsverwaltung, aus den Ministerien Arbeit und Soziales,

Qualifikation und Technologie (MASQT) und Schule, Wissenschaft und Forschung (MSWF), sowie Wissenschaftler/innen aus Hochschulen und Forschungsinstituten in Nordrhein-Westfalen befragt. Die Expertengespräche wurden im Sommer 2001 durchgeführt

I.3.1 (Regionales) Übergangsmanagement - ein politisches Handlungsfeld mit wachsender Bedeutung

Allgemein wird festgestellt, dass die Wege in eine Ausbildungs- und Berufstätigkeit länger und unübersichtlicher geworden sind, dass berufliche Orientierungsphasen nicht ein für allemal abgeschlossen sind, sondern immer wieder überprüft werden müssen. Nicht zuletzt vor diesem Hintergrund haben sich in den letzten Jahren bundesweit die durchschnittlichen Schul- und Ausbildungszeiten deutlich verlängert. Aus den klassischen Übergängen an der ersten und zweiten Schwelle der Berufseinmündung sind vielfältige Übergänge geworden - von einem Schultyp zum anderen, von allgemeinbildenden zu beruflichen Bildungsgängen, zwischen Erstausbildung und Weiterbildung, vom Bildungs- ins Beschäftigungssystem, von und in Qualifizierungs- und Beschäftigungsmaßnahmen, in Phasen der Erwerbslosigkeit, Phasen der beruflichen Um- und Neuorientierung. Die individuelle und gesellschaftliche Bewältigung dieser Übergänge sind verstärkt in den Blickpunkt der Bildungsexpert/innen gerückt. „Übergangs-Management“ stellt ein zentrales politisches Gestaltungsfeld dar.

Dabei geht es zunächst um die Überlegung, wie die Anschlussfähigkeit von schulischem und beruflichem Lernen bzw. vom Bildungs- ins Beschäftigungssystem gesichert und organisiert werden kann. Hier geht es sowohl um inhaltliche als auch um formale Überlegungen. Am deutlichsten wird von den Expert/innen die Notwendigkeit einer engeren Verknüpfung von Schule und Ausbildungs-/Berufsleben in den Vordergrund gestellt. Hier sind es insbesondere die Vertreter der Kammern, die eine stärkere Orientierung des Schulunterrichts auf das Ziel „Ausbildungsreife“, „Beschäftigungsbefähigung“ prognostizieren bzw. einfordern. Eine solche Hinwendung der Schule zum Arbeitsleben aber, so die Warnung insbesondere - aber keineswegs ausschließlich - aus dem MSWF, dürfe nicht als einseitige Anpassungsleistung der öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen an die Qualifikationsanforderungen der Wirtschaft verstanden werden. Vielmehr gehe es darum, auch die Wirtschaft stärker in die Pflicht zu nehmen⁶, mit dafür zu sorgen, dass Bildung nicht nur die Leistungsstärksten fördert, sondern auch dazu beiträgt, „schulmüden“ Jugendlichen eine Chance zu geben, zum Beispiel indem ihnen von betrieblicher Seite arbeitsnahe Lern- und Integrationsmöglichkeiten geboten werden. Zu betonen sei zudem, dass Bildungsziele nicht reduziert werden dürften auf ökonomische Verwertbarkeit, sondern die Ziele Persönlichkeitsentwicklung und gesellschaftliche Teilhabe ausdrücklich mit einschließen müssen.

⁶ Das Landesprogramm „Wirtschaft und Schule“ wird in diesem Zusammenhang als richtungsweisend angesehen.

Damit verbindet sich auch die Einsicht, dass „Lebenslanges Lernen“, verstanden als berufs- und lebensvorbereitendes und -begleitendes Lernen, welches sich kontinuierlich an die veränderten Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen anpassen und weiterentwickeln muss, nicht erst im Bereich der (beruflichen) Weiterbildung anzusiedeln ist, sondern dass die Grundlagen dafür bereits in der Primärbildung geschaffen werden müssen.

Durch die zunehmende Bedeutung von Bildungsübergängen und -schnittstellen verändert und verstetigt sich schließlich auch der Beratungsbedarf; an Stelle der eher punktuellen tritt eine umfassende, prozessbezogene Beratungsorientierung, die Berufs- und Lebensplanung als eine Einheit erkennt. Berufsberatung im Sinne einer „Schnittstellenberatung“ - so die übereinstimmende Überzeugung - wird an Bedeutung weiter zunehmen. Damit aber überschneiden sich bisher institutionell relativ eindeutig zugeordnete Zuständigkeitsbereiche der Beratungslehrer/innen an Schulen, der Ausbildungsberater/innen der Kammern, der Berufsberatung durch die Arbeitsämter, aber z. T. auch Beratungsleistungen von Jugend- und Sozialämtern; traditionelle Grenzziehungen werden tendenziell fließend. Zugleich ergeben sich daraus neue Chancen, die individuelle Beratungsbedürfnissen stärker als bisher in den Mittelpunkt zu stellen, indem die regionalen Beratungsinstanzen ihre Angebote gezielter auf den Einzelfall zuschneiden und aufeinander abstimmen.

Komplementär zu diesen Entwicklungen nimmt daher der regionale Steuerungs- und Koordinationsbedarf zu. Die Partner im regionalen Diskurs müssen sich - stärker als dies bisher schon der Fall ist - unter bildungs-, struktur- und arbeitsmarktpolitischen Gesichtspunkten über ihre Aktivitäten verständigen, um sie so weit wie möglich zu koordinieren. Dabei handle es sich, so ein Vertreter des Landesarbeitsamts, vor allem um den Versuch, die Schnittstelle Schule-Ausbildung-Beruf vor Ort zu verbessern, indem verbindlich in allen 52 Städten und Kreisen des Landes ein regionaler Berufsbildungsdialog („Beiräte Schule-Beruf“) installiert wird. In diesem Dialog sollen alle wesentlichen Einrichtungen vertreten sein.

Darüber hinaus heißt dies aber, dass sich alle bereits existierenden sowie neu entstehenden unterschiedlichen Konsensrunden - Regionalsekretariate, regionale Ausbildungskonsensrunden, regionale Kompetenzzentren etc. - wechselseitig informieren und einander stärker zuarbeiten müssen (s. dazu auch Pkt. 1.3.5). Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt wächst die Bedeutung von „regionalen Dialogsystemen“.

In diesem Kontext sieht sich insbesondere die Arbeitsverwaltung vor neuen Herausforderungen. Die örtlichen Arbeitsämter, schon jetzt in der Rolle des „Chefkümmers“, könnten sich hier weiter profilieren, indem sie dazu beitragen, die neu eingerichteten Gremien zu funktionierenden regionalen Netzwerken auszubauen, in denen den Arbeitsämtern eine wesentliche, koordinierende und steuernde „Lotsen“-Funktion zukommen könnte. Dies beinhaltet nicht zuletzt auch ein neues Beratungsverständnis gegenüber den ausbildungs- und arbeitssuchenden jungen Erwachsenen, weil sich

die Beratungsleistungen der Arbeitsämter dann nicht mehr nur auf den Arbeitsmarkt selbst, sondern auf das gesamte (Weiter-)Bildungs- und Beschäftigungssystem beziehen würden.

I.3.2 Aktuelle Trends der dualen Berufsausbildung: Differenzierung, Individualisierung, Flexibilisierung

Individualisierung, Flexibilisierung, Differenzierung sind die zentralen Stichworte der aktuellen Modernisierungsdebatten - gerade auch in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Auf diese Weise soll gewährleistet werden, dass dem raschen Wandel der beruflichen Anforderungen Rechnung getragen wird, indem zum Beispiel Modifikationen der bestehenden Berufsbilder unterhalb der Neuordnungsebene vorgenommen werden können. Außerdem sollen so die individuellen Bedarfe der Betriebe wie der Auszubildenden besser berücksichtigt werden.

Als neuer - und zukunftsweisender - Trend gilt hier vor allem der Umstand, dass Differenzierung nicht mehr nur als ergänzendes Angebot an die Leistungsstärkeren begriffen wird (Höherqualifizierung im Sinne einer Aufstiegsorientierung, Attraktivitätssteigerung der Beruflichen Bildung), sondern sich tendenziell für alle Auszubildenden öffnet⁷.

Differenzierungsangebote können und sollen ausdrücklich auch zu einer besseren Integration der Leistungsschwächeren in das Ausbildungs- und Beschäftigungssystem genutzt werden (Inklusionsfunktion)⁸. Dabei besteht unter den Gesprächspartnern große Einigkeit darin, dass man auch in Zukunft solche speziellen Angebote für praktisch Begabte, geringer vorqualifizierte Jugendliche brauchen wird - auch dann, wenn sich aufgrund der demographischen Entwicklungen die Situation auf dem Lehrstellenmarkt „entspannt“ haben wird.

Allerdings ist das Wie der Differenzierung - vor allem zwischen den Sozialpartnern - umstritten. Während die Vertreter der Gewerkschaften weiterhin - d. h. in Fortsetzung der Modellprojekte, die im Rahmen des Ausbildungskonsenses durchgeführt werden - eine Ausbildungsverlängerung für diese Jugendlichen fordern, um ihnen eine vollwertige Berufsausbildung zu ermöglichen und auf diese Weise ihre Start- und Eingliederungschancen in das Beschäftigungssystem zu verbessern, betrachtet die IHK diese Bestrebungen eher skeptisch: Das vom Konsens getragene Modell, auch „benachteiligte“ junge Menschen - gestützt durch ausbildungsbegleitende Hilfen - zu einem voll qualifizierenden Abschluss zu bringen, sei auf Dauer nicht der richtige Weg. Aus ihrer Sicht sei es

⁷ So ermöglicht es die Bandbreitenregelung im neuen Berufskolleggesetz NRW, sowohl erweiterte Zusatzqualifikationen für Leistungsstärkere anzubieten als auch - bei reduziertem Pflichtstundenanteil - Wahlmodule für spezifische Zielgruppen, zur inhaltlichen Ergänzung und zur regionalen Profilierung.

⁸ Hier werden vor allem die Maßnahmen zur „Differenzierung in der Berufsausbildung“ genannt, die im Rahmen des Ausbildungskonsenses - auf Basis der Empfehlungen des Landesausschusses für Berufsbildung des Landes NRW vom 28.08.1996 - angeboten und erprobt werden.

sinnvoller, von vornherein ein „Abschichten von Zielen“ einzuplanen, um den Jugendlichen und den Betrieben Misserfolgserlebnisse möglichst zu ersparen. Damit werde „Beschäftigungsfähigkeit“ unterhalb der „Berufsfähigkeit“ hergestellt. Bei Bedarf könne man dann ohne weiteres weitere Module aufsatteln, um das Prinzip der „vollen“ Berufsbefähigung erfüllen zu können.

Umstritten ist, ob dieser Vorschlag eine Rückkehr zum alten Modell der Stufenausbildung darstellt, wie dies die Gewerkschaften befürchten. Dabei geht es insbesondere um die Frage, ob und wie gewährleistet werden kann, dass die Auszubildenden nach Abschluss der ersten Ausbildungsphase nicht nur die *Option*, sondern auch das *Recht* darauf erhalten, zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt den voll qualifizierenden Berufsabschluss aufzusatteln.

Deutlich wird hier jedoch, dass in den Debatten die langjährig gehegten Vorbehalte gegenüber einer Modularisierung resp. „Bausteinisierung“ der Beruflichen Bildung offenbar fast vollkommen verschwunden sind. Dass neue Modelle einer Flexibilisierung von Ausbildung, Verknüpfung von Aus- und Weiterbildung etc. erprobt werden sollten, um das Berufsbildungssystem beweglicher zu machen, scheint konsensuell zu sein. Von allen Gesprächspartnern wird im Prinzip befürwortet, dass sich das System der Berufsbildung noch weiter öffnen soll. Eine derartige Öffnung wird in unterschiedliche Richtungen hin diskutiert:

- prospektiv, also in den Weiterbildungsbereich hinein: Verknüpfung von Aus- und Weiterbildung durch Vermittlung von Zusatzqualifikationen, die als vorgezogene Weiterbildung oder gegebenenfalls auch als vorgezogene (Aufstiegs-)Fortbildung gelten;
- retrospektiv: Anerkennung von bestimmten Lernleistungen, die im Regelsystem - beispielsweise abgebrochene Ausbildungen - oder außerhalb des Regelsystems - im Sinne von nicht-formalen Vorqualifikationen - erworben worden sind;
- integrativ: Differenzierungsangebote für Leistungsschwächere, um deren Arbeitsmarkt- und Beschäftigungsfähigkeit zu optimieren.

Vor diesem Hintergrund haben Überlegungen zu einer Teilzertifizierung von Lernleistungen rasch an Bedeutung gewonnen. Sie werden - so die Prognosen - auch in den nächsten Jahren ein ganz zentrales bildungspolitisches Themenfeld darstellen. Dabei ist allen Beteiligten sehr wohl bewusst, dass damit ein äußerst vielschichtiges Problem angesprochen ist. Denn durch eine stärkere Öffnung und Flexibilisierung der Berufsausbildung ergeben sich eine Fülle neuer Optionen und neuer Experimentierfelder. Allerdings wirft diese Entwicklung auch viele grundsätzliche Fragen hinsichtlich der darin enthaltenen Chancen und Risiken für die Duale Berufsausbildung auf.

Insbesondere geht es hier um das Was und Wie der Zertifizierung: Alle Modelle einer Teilzertifizierung bewegen sich außerhalb des vom Berufsbildungsgesetz, BBiG, vorgegebenen gesetzlichen Rahmens, regeln also definierte Sonderfälle. Wie weit diese Abweichungen (Spielräume) gehen sollen und in wie weit Experimente (Mo-

dellversuche) tatsächlich dazu genutzt werden können, um aus diesem Stadium heraus in das Regelsystem überführt zu werden - darüber gehen die Meinungen relativ weit auseinander. Hier sind es insbesondere - aber nicht nur - die Kammern, die eine Aufweichung der Grundlagen des Dualen Systems befürchten. Dies bezieht sich beispielsweise auf die Tendenzen, über Zusatzqualifikationen Weiterbildungsmodule in die Erstausbildung zu integrieren. Dies würde, so ein IHK-Vertreter, in der Konsequenz dazu führen, dass „Weiterbildung“ nicht mehr als ein - *auf die Erstausbildung aufsetzendes* - höheres Qualifikationsniveau definiert werden könnte. Damit aber würden die formalen Grenzlinien zwischen unterschiedlichen Bildungsabschlüssen zunehmend in Frage gestellt.

1.3.3 Pluralisierung der Lernformen und der Lernorte: vom dualen zum Mischsystem?

Auch wenn durchaus einige *generelle* Modernisierungslinien zu erkennen sind, machen die Gesprächspartner dennoch meist geltend, dass es immer schwieriger werde, von der Zukunftsentwicklung *der* Beruflichen Bildung zu reden. Weder lasse sich durchgehend eine „Akademisierung“ feststellen, noch könne man davon ausgehen, dass es sinnvoll sei, alle Berufe in das Duale System der Berufsausbildung zu überführen, noch sei zu erwarten, dass eine konsequente Modularisierung das deutsche Berufsprinzip außer Kraft setzen werde. Mit Blick auf die Ist-Situation ebenso wie auf die Zukunft der nächsten Jahre gelte, so eine Vertreterin der Kammern: „*Alles wird möglich sein.*“ Von daher - so die übereinstimmende Einschätzung aller - gebe es kein einheitliches Modell, kein „Vorbild“ mehr. Damit ist aber keinesfalls einer Beliebigkeit das Wort geredet, sondern gemeint ist vielmehr, dass sich branchen-, berufs- und zielgruppenspezifisch jeweils unterschiedliche Formen der Systematisierung bewahren bzw. neu etablieren werden. „Für jede Berufsgruppe müssen jeweils unterschiedliche Lösungen gefunden werden“.

Teilweise wird an dieser Stelle ausdrücklich betont, dass eine derartige, weitere Pluralisierung nicht als ein bedrohliches Szenario - im Sinne einer Gefährdung der Fortexistenz des Dualen Systems - angesehen werde, sondern als eine Fortsetzung bereits vorhandener Tendenzen (Mischsystem), die sich mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in diese Richtung noch weiter entwickeln werden. Dies zeige sich - so betont z. B. der DGB-Vertreter - nicht zuletzt daran, dass auch jetzt schon im Rahmen der dualen Berufsausbildung ganz unterschiedliche Modelle wie das „Rauner“-Modell, das „Satelliten“-Modell, Modell „Zusatzqualifikationen“ und andere erprobt werden, obgleich sie teilweise zwischen den Konsenspartnern hoch umstritten seien. Erst recht aber sei in diesem Zusammenhang auf die Vielzahl von Ausbildungsgängen zu verweisen, die nicht im Rahmen des Berufsbildungsgesetzes stehen (z. B. Gesundheits-, Sozial- und Pflegeberufe sowie Assistenzberufe nach Landesrecht).

Auch dem informellen Lernen und neuen Lernformen - arbeitsplatzbezogenes Lernen, E-Learning - wird von allen Gesprächspartnern zunehmende Bedeutung beigemessen. Als Beispiel wird hier immer wieder auf die Start-up-Unternehmen verwiesen, insbesondere auf die IT-Branche, in denen es kaum formalisierte und standardisierte Ausbildungsgänge gebe, sondern überwiegend Quereinsteiger, die ihre Qualifikationen ganz individuell, on the job, erwerben und weiterentwickeln. Keineswegs allerdings gehen alle Gesprächspartner davon aus, dass dies die Qualifizierungsform der Zukunft sei. Auch in der IT-Branche lasse sich vielmehr eine Tendenz zu formal ausgewiesenen Qualifikationen erkennen. Insbesondere bei einem Betriebswechsel erweise sich auch hier das Fehlen überbetrieblich anerkannter Qualifikationsnachweise als Problem für die Betriebe ebenso wie für die Beschäftigten resp. Arbeitsuchenden.

Prognostiziert wird also ein Mix von verschiedenen Lernformen und Lernorten. Eindeutig präferiert werden dabei - auch neben dem klassischen Dualen System - Lernortkooperationen, die theoretische mit praktischen Ausbildungsanteilen verbinden. In den allgemeinbildenden Schulen, aber auch im tertiären Bereich - nicht nur in den Fachhochschulen! - werden betriebsbezogene Ausbildungsphasen, Praktika etc. zunehmende Bedeutung erhalten. Hier wird auf NRW-spezifische Entwicklungen wie „Dialog Wirtschaft-Schule“ ebenso hingewiesen wie auf die Etablierung von Berufsakademien in Baden-Württemberg oder Niedersachsen.

Ob allerdings auch in Nordrhein-Westfalen Berufsakademien erwünscht sind und - wenn ja - welches Modell hier implementiert werden sollte, ist recht umstritten. Interessanterweise wurde in unseren Fachgesprächen die Einführung von Berufsakademien von keiner Seite gefordert; dennoch rechnen einige Gesprächspartner/innen fest damit, dass der „Siegeszug“ der Berufsakademien nicht aufzuhalten sei. Nach Auskunft des MASQT tendiert man in Nordrhein-Westfalen am ehesten dazu, Modelle einer kooperativen Aus- und Weiterbildung - z. B. nach dem Vorbild der kooperativen Ingenieurausbildung an der FH Krefeld - zu übernehmen, weil dies einen Zugewinn an Durchlässigkeit erbringe. Das Modell der „klassischen“ Berufsakademie nach dem Vorbild Baden-Württembergs habe demgegenüber den Nachteil, dass es eher Aus- und Abgrenzungen befördere und damit zu einem weiteren Attraktivitätsverlust der Dualen Ausbildung führen könne. Auch mit Blick auf die Weiterentwicklung der Berufskollegs werden ähnliche Bedenken geäußert: Die Einrichtung von Berufsakademien könnte dazu beitragen, dass den beruflichen Schulen lediglich die Zielgruppen der dualen Ausbildung „und darunter“ als Klientel verbleiben (s. dazu auch Pkt. I.3.6).

Hier werden also ganz deutlich neue Entwicklungslinien - neue Konkurrenzen, aber auch neue Kooperationsoptionen - zwischen öffentlichen und privaten Bildungsträgern thematisiert. Folgt man den vorherrschenden und den prognostizierten Trends, so wird public-private-partnership zukünftig in allen Bildungssegmenten, von der allgemeinbildenden Schule bis in die Hochschulen und den Weiterbildungsbereich hinein eine bedeutende Rolle spielen.

Übereinstimmend geht man also davon aus, dass es eine zunehmende Durchmischung von öffentlichen und privaten Bildungsangeboten geben wird. Traditionelle Grenzziehungen zwischen betrieblicher/praktischer/privater Qualifizierung auf der einen, schulischer/theoretischer/öffentlich verantworteter Bildung auf der anderen Seite werden sich dann immer mehr als obsolet erweisen. Dies aber hätte zur Folge, dass auch traditionelle Aufgabenzuweisungen an die unterschiedlichen Bildungsträger in Frage stehen und völlig neu überdacht werden müssen. Auch die traditionellen, bisher weitgehend voneinander abgeschotteten, „Bildungsmilieus“ befinden sich damit auf dem Prüfstand (s. dazu auch Pkt. I.3.6).

I.3.4 Berufsfeldübergreifendes Lernen: Arbeits- und Geschäftsprozessorientierung als genereller Trend?

Der Trend zur Öffnung tradierter Bildungssegmente macht sich nicht nur in der Forderung nach verstärkter und systematisierter Lernortkooperation geltend, sondern betrifft auch die Ausbildungsinhalte und deren methodische und didaktische Gestaltung.

Stichworte wie: Berufsfeldübergreifendes Lernen, Arbeits- und Geschäftsprozesswissen, Zusammenhangverständnis, systemisches Wissen, überfachliche Kompetenzen, usw. bestimmen zunehmend nicht nur die bildungspolitischen Diskussionen, sondern haben auch in die Neuordnungsverfahren Einzug gefunden. Dahinter steht die Einsicht, dass in den meisten Berufsfeldern und Branchen die klassischen Berufsbilder angesichts neuer arbeitsorganisatorischer Entwicklungen zu „eng“ geworden sind, den aktuellen betrieblichen Einsatzmöglichkeiten und -bedarfen m. a. W. nicht mehr gerecht werden. Allgemein beobachtet wird zudem eine zunehmende Bedeutung von überfachlichen, „sozialen“ Kompetenzen, die quer zu den traditionellen Fachkompetenzen liegen. In diesem Zusammenhang stehen daher schon seit einigen Jahren vor allem zwei Fragenkomplexe zur Debatte:

- Wird das - aktuell zum Beispiel in NRW im Rahmen des Modellversuches GAPA erprobte - Prinzip der „geschäfts- und arbeitsprozessorientierten Ausbildung“ zum Normalfall beruflicher Ausbildung werden?
- Indizieren diese Entwicklungen eine zunehmende Entfachlichung, die tendenziell zum Zerfall der Berufsfachlichkeit führen könnte?

Nun ist einschränkend festzuhalten, dass die inhaltliche (methodisch-didaktische) Neugestaltung von Ausbildung im Rahmen des Szenario-Projekts nur am Rande behandelt wurde, weil hier eher systemische Aspekte im Vordergrund standen. Bei unseren Gesprächen in der NRW-Bildungslandschaft haben wir jedoch den Eindruck gewonnen, dass diese Debatten insgesamt offenbar eher auf der akademischen Ebene geführt werden, während dagegen von Seiten der Sozialpartner hier kein oder kaum Gesprächsbedarf artikuliert wird. So wird der Ansatz einer geschäfts- und arbeitsprozessorientierten Ausbildung wie im Modellversuch GAPA von den

Kammern vor allem mit dem VW-Modellversuch assoziiert und unter dem Aspekt einer drohenden „VW-isierung“ des Ausbildungsgeschehens sehr skeptisch betrachtet. Dabei wird allerdings mehr auf die Probleme bei der Übertragung von großbetrieblichen Ausbildungsstrukturen auf Klein- und Mittelbetriebe abgehoben („Überstülpen eines großbetrieblichen Modells“) als auf die zugrunde liegende Frage nach der Notwendigkeit einer inhaltlichen und organisatorischen Neuorientierung.

Entschieden abgelehnt wird dagegen mehrheitlich die Frage, ob mit einer Aufwertung der berufsübergreifenden Kompetenzen automatisch eine Abwertung der Fachkompetenzen verbunden sei. Diese - so der überwiegende Tenor - blieben als unverzichtbare Grundlage im Ausbildungs- wie Arbeitsalltag auch weiterhin erhalten und würden lediglich ergänzt um weitere - soziale, methodische - Kompetenzen. Allerdings sei dabei zunehmend von berufsgruppenspezifischen Differenzierungen auszugehen: So sei das Prinzip der Berufsfachlichkeit vor allem aus den traditionellen Handwerksberufen nicht wegzudenken, müsse allerdings auch hier mehr und mehr ergänzt werden um überfachliche Elemente. Von wissenschaftlicher Seite wird die These eingebracht, dass die zunehmende Bedeutung von sozialen und personalen Kompetenzen eine stärkere Integration von beruflicher und politischer Bildung bedeute - nicht nur im Rahmen des berufsschulischen Unterrichts, sondern auch im Rahmen der betrieblichen Aus- und Weiterbildung. Ob dies eine Einlösung der alten (z. B. gewerkschaftlichen) Forderungen nach mehr betrieblicher Demokratie darstelle, sei zwar so nicht zu beantworten, doch ergäben sich daraus sicherlich neue Gesichtspunkte betriebsbezogener Bildungsarbeit.

1.3.5 Zum Stellenwert der Berufskollegs: auf dem Weg zu „regionalen Kompetenzzentren“?

Geht man davon aus, dass der Druck zu milieuübergreifenden Kooperationen zunimmt, so würde sich daraus perspektivisch ein neuer Impuls zur Entstehung von regionalen Qualifizierungsnetzwerken, zu Ausbildungsverbänden resp. Ausbildungspartnerschaften ergeben. Diese umfassen tendenziell private und staatliche Bildungseinrichtungen („dual kooperative Ausbildung“).

In diesem Kontext werden mögliche neue Aufgabenstellungen der Berufskollegs unter dem Schlagwort Entwicklung zu „regionalen Kompetenzzentren“ diskutiert. Allerdings scheint es im Moment so zu sein, als ob dieser Begriff eher in der wissenschaftlichen und bildungspolitischen Debatte - und im Rahmen von Modellprojekten - verankert ist, nicht aber unbedingt als handlungsleitender Begriff (z. B. in der Agenda des Ausbildungskonsenses) kursiert. Insbesondere wird von verschiedenen Seiten bezweifelt, ob das Land NRW hier tatsächlich eine Vorreiterrolle einnehmen kann und wird. Diese Skepsis wird von den Gesprächspartner/innen jedoch sehr unterschiedlich begründet.

Es erweist sich zunächst einmal schon als relativ schwierig, ein einheitliches Verständnis der neuen Funktionen und der neuen Orga-

nisationsform zu erreichen, die sich mit der Vision von Berufskollegs als „regionalen Steuerungs- und Kompetenzzentren“ verbinden. Ohne dass dies im Rahmen des Szenario-Projekts im einzelnen diskutiert worden wäre, werden unter dieser Bezeichnung mittlerweile recht unterschiedliche Modelle „angedacht“. Die Spannbreite reicht hier von einer gezielten Anreicherung des bisherigen Unterrichtsangebotes, z. B. um Zusatzqualifikationen bzw. Weiterbildungsmodule, über die Zusammenführung der bisherigen Monoberufsschulen unter einem Dach (berufsfeldübergreifend, z. B. im Sinne einer Bündelung von „Finanzdienstleistungsberufen“), die Koordinierung von (betrieblichen) Ausbildungsverbänden bis zu neuen Aufgabenzuweisungen im regionalen Kontext, die darauf ausgerichtet sind, möglichst umfassend alle Qualifizierungsangebote vor Ort zu koordinieren und zudem insgesamt stärker beratend tätig zu werden. Im Kontext der Idee von Berufskollegs/Beruflichen Schulen als „regionalen Kompetenzzentren“ werden schließlich auch neue organisatorische Modelle diskutiert, bei denen die Übernahme von mehr Eigenverantwortung durch die Schulen nach dem Vorbild des Neuen Steuerungsmodells, im Vordergrund steht.

Als einhellige Meinung kann festgehalten werden, dass die Idee eines „regionalen Kompetenzzentrums“ eine Aufwertung des öffentlichen Lernorts Berufskolleg/Berufsschule beinhaltet, weil sie eine Erweiterung von Kompetenzen bedeutet - sowohl nach außen (regionale Koordinierung von Lernangeboten unterschiedlicher Träger) als auch nach innen (Vorhalten von Lern- und Beratungskapazitäten, die das Angebotsspektrum des bisherigen Schulunterrichts überschreiten).

Ob dies allerdings als bildungspolitische Option tatsächlich gewünscht wird, ist - vor allem unter den Sozialpartnern - ebenso umstritten wie die Machbarkeit, also die praktische Durchsetzbarkeit einer solchen Neuorientierung - zumindest was den einigermaßen überschaubaren Zeitraum der nächsten 5 bis 10 Jahre anbelangt. Solche inneren und äußeren Hemmnisse werden auf ganz unterschiedlichen Ebenen angesiedelt:

- So werden - obgleich das neue NRW-Berufskolleggesetz überwiegend als eine positive Entwicklung angesehen wird - die Umsetzungserfahrungen eher skeptisch betrachtet. Ist darin wirklich ein qualitativ neuer Schritt zur Aufwertung des Lernorts Berufsschule erkennbar? Können die Berufskollegs von ihren neu gewonnenen Freiheiten (ausreichend) Gebrauch machen? Ist eine Neupositionierung der Berufskollegs auf den regionalen Bildungsmärkten wirklich gewollt oder werden ihnen lediglich - unter finanziell zunehmend restriktiveren Bedingungen - neue Aufgaben und erweiterte Funktionen in Aussicht gestellt? Bedeutet der Zugewinn neuer Entscheidungsfreiheiten demnach praktisch lediglich, dass der Mangel eigenverantwortlich verwaltet werden muss?
- Die Sozialpartner, hier insbesondere die Kammern, sehen in der möglichen Entwicklung der Berufskollegs zu regionalen

Kompetenzzentren keineswegs einen bildungspolitischen Pluspunkt für die Region. Aus ihrer Sicht sind die Berufskollegs nach wie vor zu unbeweglich, zu wenig flexibel, zu wenig an den betrieblichen Bedürfnissen orientiert, als dass ihnen in Zukunft eine bildungspolitisch größere Bedeutung zugedacht werden sollte. Sofern es um die Koordinierung und Steuerung regionaler Bildungsbedarfe und –angebote geht, könnten sich die Kammern auch vorstellen, ihre eigenen Bildungseinrichtungen stärker ins Spiel zu bringen. Hier sieht aber vor allem auch die Arbeitsverwaltung die Gefahr einer unproduktiven Überschneidung der eigenen (künftigen) Funktionen mit denen der Berufskollegs. Insofern stößt die Frage, wie sich Berufskollegs als regionale Kompetenzzentren auf den regionalen Bildungs- und Arbeitsmärkten neu verorten könnten auf verschiedene, teilweise heftige Vorbehalte.

- Als ein weiteres Hemmnis von erheblicher Tragweite wird von vielen Diskussionspartnern (hier insbesondere Schulleitern, Interessenvertretern, Wissenschaftlern) auf die von ihnen vermutete innere Trägheit der beruflichen Schulen aufmerksam gemacht: Kann m. a. W. tatsächlich davon ausgegangen werden, dass die Lehrerinnen und Lehrer selbst einen solchen Wandel aktiv mittragen würden, also das dafür erforderliche Engagement und die Bereitschaft zu mehr Eigeninitiative aufbringen? Oder ist nicht vielmehr zu vermuten, dass sie an ihrem gewachsenen Rollenverständnis mehrheitlich festhalten wollen und Veränderungen dieser Art eher ablehnend gegenüberstehen? Zumindest - dies die feste Überzeugung der meisten Expert/innen - würde dies einen entsprechenden Wandel der Berufsschullehrerausbildung an den Hochschulen zwingend erfordern. Die befragten Hochschullehrer machen hier allerdings sehr deutlich, dass das Anstoßen eines solchen Umdenkungsprozesses mehr und anderes implizieren würde als die derzeitigen Hochschul- und Studienreformen dies vorsehen (Stichwort: Bachelor- und Master-Studiengänge).

Es lässt sich zusammenfassend also sehr deutlich erkennen, dass sich mit der Idee von „regionalen Kompetenzzentren“ eine Fülle von Fragen auf bildungspolitischer, konzeptioneller und praktischer (Umsetzungs-)Ebene verknüpfen, denen in den derzeitigen Debatten in NRW unseres Erachtens allerdings bisher noch kein herausragender Stellenwert beigemessen wird.

1.3.6 Verhältnis öffentlicher und privater Bildungsverantwortung: ein neues Politikverständnis?

Der Trend zu Individualisierung und Regionalisierung beinhaltet - darin sind sich alle Gesprächspartner/innen im wesentlichen einig - eine Neudefinition des öffentlichen Bildungs- und Politikverständnisses: Eine weitere Privatisierung des Bildungsgeschehens sei nicht aufzuhalten; der Staat müsse „beweglicher“ werden, er werde seine frühere Alleinzuständigkeit verlieren (Stichwort: „geteilte Verantwortung“).

Grundlage für diese allgemein geteilte Überzeugung ist die Beobachtung, dass sich die Rolle des Staates *nicht nur im Bildungssektor* bereits seit einigen Jahren nachhaltig verändert (hat). Auch in anderen sozialen Bereichen sind Prinzipien wie „Aktivierung der individuellen Eigenverantwortung“, „Subsidiarität“, „public-private-partnership“ an die Stelle des Verständnisses vom allzuständigen, „fürsorgenden“ Staat getreten. Insgesamt erhalte der Staat statt dessen eher die Funktion, soziale Prozesse zu moderieren und bestimmte Supportleistungen zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Diese Tendenzen werden jedoch in aller Regel nicht als negative Zukunftsperspektive angesehen, sofern dabei definierte Mindeststandards eingehalten werden. Damit ergibt sich allerdings eine Fülle von Fragen, die bisher noch ungelöst sind.

Wie sind solche Standards zu definieren, wie deren Einhaltung zu kontrollieren? Wie kann und soll das Verhältnis zwischen privater und öffentlicher Bildungsverantwortung neu austariert werden? Wie kann gewährleistet werden, dass demokratische Grundprinzipien wie das Recht auf Bildung, freie Berufswahl etc. eingelöst werden? Wie können Leistungsschwächere gezielt unterstützt werden, um ihre gesellschaftliche Integration nicht aufs Spiel zu setzen?

Es erscheint fast überflüssig zu betonen, dass hier die Meinungen relativ stark auseinandergehen - und dies quer über alle „Lager“ hinweg. Als gemeinsame Tendenz zeichnet sich immerhin ab, dass nach Wegen gesucht wird, aus dem Denkmuster von starren Alternativen (*entweder* der Staat *oder* die Privatwirtschaft ist für Bildungsfragen zuständig) herauszukommen und statt dessen nach neuen Kombinationsmöglichkeiten zu suchen. Eine bleibende öffentliche Aufgabe bestehe sicherlich - darin sind sich insbesondere die Vertreter der Behörden und Ministerien, aber auch der Gewerkschaften sowie der von uns befragten Wissenschaftler ausdrücklich einig - darin, dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass „die Interessen der Schwächsten nicht untergehen“. Zugleich aber müsse verhindert werden, dass sich daraus eine sich verfestigende Arbeitsteilung zwischen Staat und Wirtschaft entwickle, die dem Staat lediglich die Funktion eines „Ausfallbürgen“ für schwierige Fälle zuweist.

Es müsse daher, so z. B. der Gesprächspartner aus dem MSWF, nach Wegen gesucht werden, wie „die Wirtschaft stärker in die Verantwortung genommen werden könne“. Nur so lasse sich auf Dauer verhindern, dass den öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen lediglich die „unattraktiven Residualbereiche“ verblieben, während sich die privaten Bildungsträger ihre Klientel beliebig aussuchen könne. Der kürzlich ins Leben gerufene *Dialog Wirtschaft-Schule* sei als ein erster Schritt in diese Richtung zu sehen.

Auch von Seiten der Gewerkschaften werden ähnliche Befürchtungen geäußert: Die Berufskollegs könnten - so ihre Vision - zu einer Art Restschulen verkommen, die den Teil der leistungsschwächeren Jugendlichen ausbilden (müssen), die für private Bildungsträger nicht „attraktiv“ genug erscheinen. Es gehe mit Blick auf diese Entwicklung vor allen Dingen auch darum, dass die traditionellen öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen sich dieser neuen Konkurrenz

stellen und verstärkt ihr eigenes Profil entwickeln und herausstellen. Diese Einsicht sei allerdings bisher in vielen Berufskollegs offenbar noch nicht ausreichend angekommen (s. o. Pkt. I.3.5).

Vertreter/innen der Kammern heben an dieser Stelle vor allen Dingen den allgemeinen Trend zur Individualisierung und Flexibilisierung hervor, der von einer stärkeren Deregulierungspolitik begleitet werden müsse. Ein wie immer gearteter Oktroy im Bildungsbereich (durch vermehrte Auflagen oder gesetzliche Regelungen) erweise sich angesichts dieser Entwicklungen als kontraproduktiv.

Dem gegenüber wird von anderen Gesprächspartnern ausdrücklich auf die - von Gewerkschaften und teilweise auch von der SPD-Fraktion getragenen - Initiative zu einem neuen Weiterbildungsrahmengesetz verwiesen, in dem u. a. die Zugänge, Finanzierung, Qualitätssicherung, Zertifizierung neu definiert und festgelegt werden sollen.

II Final German Report of the CEDEFOP-ETF Scenario Project

II.1 Project goals and design (both at the European level and the national level)

II.1.1 Project Goals

The beginnings of the scenario method can be traced back to the American futurologist H. Kahn in the sixties. In the midst of the scientific planning and future euphoria new methods were explored that would represent an alternative to traditional methods of forecast in the social sciences. The scenario method finally proved itself, in particular as an instrument of medium and long-term strategic business planning.

Strategic instruments like the scenario method came to be in particular demand by large oil companies, like Shell, after the shock of adjustment following the oil crisis in the seventies. Traditional methods of planning had as one of their tenets the stability of time. The assumption was that in decision making, certain marginal conditions remained constant, i.e. that the course of development of a certain quantity regarded as marginal remains constant. Based on this starting-point, certain important quantities for business planning could now be forecast (e.g. expected sales and demand for a product).

All theoretical and practical scenario approaches have in common that they are alternative action-guiding drafts about the future of a particular subject matter and decision making process. The following citation expresses the core of all planning activities carried out using the scenario method:

„A scenario denotes a description of the future development of a particular object of prognosis under alternative marginal conditions.“ (Hansmann 1983, 11-12)

A further essential feature of a scenario is that it is not their aim to produce correct prognoses but rather to influence the decision makers and persons involved in such way that they become aware of the different implications of certain possible developments in order to be able to react flexibly. Scenario planning is thus not a scientific method but rather a practical tool that aids decision making when future circumstances are uncertain. As a tool it also opens up shaping options. The method's main priority is not a precise forecast of developments and data for specific variables, but rather the creation or sharpening of different action-guiding ideas about the possible future of an individual subject area. In Germany, there are two roots of the scenario-method applied on questions of vocational education. One of them was a project of the Federal Institute For Vocational Education. This project resulted in two scenarios for the year 1995. One of which was a rather opti-

mistic scenario, the other a pessimistic. The scenario method was also employed for vocational training in the context of the project „Berufe 2000“ („occupations 2000“) (cf. Heidegger, Rauner 1989). The emphasis in this particular context was on the importance of scenarios as images of possible or desirable future events within the process „discursive communication“ and as an instrument of vocational training based on the idea of social shaping. Its mediating function between science and practice represents an important addition to so-called early recognition systems (cf. e.g. Alex, Bau 1999).

Recent literature on management stresses not only the usefulness of the results, but also, even more importantly, the benefits of *de-signing* scenarios and the weighing up of action strategies. These collaborative design processes enable organisational members to develop common ideas about organisational goals, or at least to find a common language that makes it possible to communicate about possible problem areas and conflicts of interest. Scenario planning is thus – to use contemporary terminology – a contribution to the creation, or maintenance of a „learning organisation „ (cf. Heijden 1996 and 1997, Schoemaker 1991).

As a rule, the formation of scenarios proceeds as follows: first of all, the different contextual conditions for the relevant area are presented, which are then, in a second step varied in different ways. By taking into consideration variation bundles of contextual conditions different scenarios can then be worked out for the subject area.

With the help of these scenarios strategies and action alternatives can now be examined for effectiveness or put into more concrete terms.

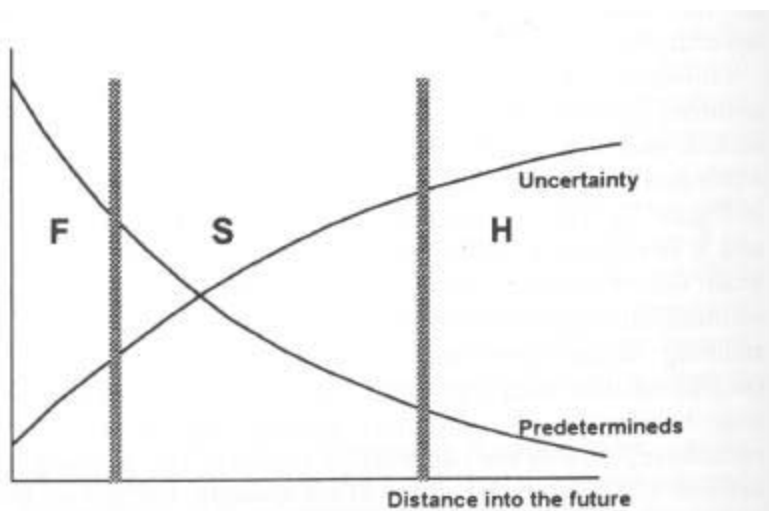


Figure 4: *Different periods and suitable planning methods (van der Heijden 1996)*

According to the Dutch organisational developer Kees van der Heijden scenario planning is optimally positioned precisely where the

number of possible uncertainties with respect to a particular object of planning coincides with the number of predictable quantities (point S in the diagram). For shorter planning periods traditional forecast methods will be most effective (F= Forecast) and for longer periods – as van der Heijden remarks tersely – there is only hope (H).

II.1.2 Design of this project

The CEDEFOP-ETF scenario project „Scenarios and Strategies for VET in Europe“ was designed as a pilot study that tests the above mentioned approach for the area vocational training and vocational training policy in Europe. The project’s difficulty as well as its attraction lie in the fact that we are, on the one hand, dealing with different countries’ various systems of vocational training in their economic and social context and on the other, that all participating countries are oriented towards the goal of European integration. Participating countries: Greece, Luxembourg/Belgium, Austria, the UK, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Slovenia, Hungary and Germany.

The project’s first step was to find out what kind of future relevant attitudes and ideas there are about vocational training by employing the same investigation procedure in all the countries. To this aim, in the period between March and June 1999, ten European research institutes sent around 600 (750 in Germany) questionnaires each to persons from the following ten categories:

- Politicians
- Civil servants in public authority and in ministries
- Businesses and business groups
- Employer organisations
- Employee organisations
- Industries and professional associations
- Vocational training institutions
- Research institutes, universities
- Consulting agencies, Consultings
- Independent experts, non-governmental organisations, the media, charities.

The questionnaires contained statements on trends in the social areas relevant for vocational training, namely, „economic and technological development“, „work and social welfare“ and developments in „education and knowledge“, as well as possible political strategies. The persons questioned assessed these statements according to their importance and the likelihood of their future occurrence, and also according to their relevance for the next ten years. After the evaluation of the data, all participating countries held expert seminars during which the results were presented. This procedure was to rule out misconceptions and superficialities that tend to go along with the „closed“ structure of standardised questionnaires.

In the second project phase we constructed three scenarios for vocational education and training in Germany which took into ac-

count the results of phase one as well as the results of a comprehensive literature and document review on the current reform discussion within the German system of Vocational Education. We also constructed four context scenarios on the overall framework of the System of Vocational Education taking into account possible relevant developments in the three mentioned contexts. This approach to some extent differed from the approaches taken up by other partners but was necessary to attract the interest of the highly institutionalised expert system on matters of VET (cf. also chapter II.2).

II.2 Position of the country in the European Context - Description of the German VET system

Because of the huge differences existing between the different participating member and non-member-states, we consider it as very important to very properly describe the respective systems of vocational education and training, which will be done in the following section.

One of the minimum common denominators of comparisons regarding vocational education and training is the problem of ensuring a more or less unriskey transition from school to work for the individual. Hence, the characteristics of German VET will be figured out from this problem as a starting point.

II.2.1 Alternative ways of undertaking the transition from school to work

A distinction can be made among the four ways of undertaking the transition from school to work.

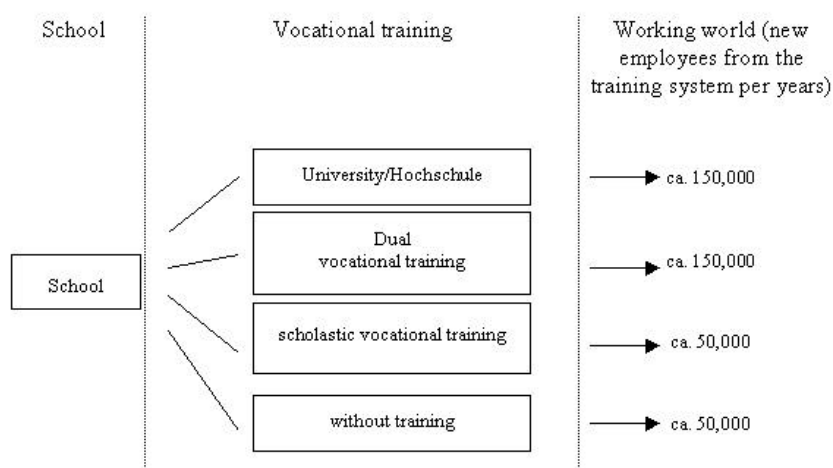


Figure 5: Vocational and university training as ways of entering the working world

The majority of young Germans who finish school in a certain year take up vocational training in the dual vocational training system. The proportion of 16- to 19-year-olds who complete vocational training exceeds 70 per cent.

School-based vocational training, on the contrary, is favoured by approximately 10 per cent of the young people in a given year. Most of the occupations involved are in the fields of health, social care, and education. They encompass as well assistant occupations, which correspond in terms of content to semi-academic professions and comprise curricula clearly oriented to specialised knowledge of those professions. In company organisations assistant occupations are allocated to management or academic professions. A relatively small portion of school-based vocational training in the overall vocational training system results from a specific demand for semi-academic qualifications for areas of responsibility in which specialised, systematic knowledge very clearly dominates. Assistant occupations that are oriented to the natural sciences, such as physical technical and medical technical assistant, fall under this type of school-based vocational training, as the majority of the social occupations do (e.g., kindergarten teacher). To this extent, school-based vocational training does not compete with dual vocational training.

Health and social care occupations are becoming more important as the age structure of the population changes. Training in this field is undergoing radical transformation. Becker and Meifort (1994) advocate a corresponding professionalisation of health and social care occupations in view of the European process of integration toward a training organisation that turns away from traditional school-based training and is oriented to the concept of dual vocational training.

Young people with learning difficulties (who have not completed nine-year secondary modern school – *Hauptschule*) represented a special problem. In 1993, this group accounted for 6.2 per cent of all newly concluded training contracts. For the most part these youths are trained in craft trades (see Pütz 1993). If one analyses the statistical data on young people with learning difficulties over a longer period of time, it is striking that the proportion classified as having learning weaknesses increases in times of shortages of traineeships, with a certain time delay. This can be seen, for example, in the yearly proportion of school leavers taking part in vocational preparation in order to pursue an occupation (see Figure later in this chapter).

Conversely, the proportion of young people with learning problems always drops when there is a lack of skilled labour and a large supply of traineeships. Thus, the school-to-work transition problem for those with learning weaknesses cannot be solved through training measures, but only by increasing the quality and quantity of jobs and traineeships on a long-term basis.

More than 30 per cent of young people in a given year acquire the academic standard to enter university. The majority of those youths actually pursue university studies. Approximately 30 per cent of

university students have completed vocational training in dual systems. The duality of vocational training and university education is held in very high regard by students (see BMBW, 1993, 1994). In 1985, only 21 per cent of university students had participated in vocational training. More than 50 per cent of current students at polytechnics (*Fachhochschulen*) have completed an apprenticeship within the dual vocational training system.

A comparison of the proportion of university students of a given age with the proportion of youths in a dual vocational training system is not very helpful if the combination of vocational training and studies is neglected. For the transition of university graduates to the labour market, this tradition of a combination of vocational training with subsequent university studies involves a considerable degree of mobility and labour market flexibility.

Within the university education sector a special form of dual training - Vocational Academies (*Berufsakademien*) -- has been established, with about 15,000 students participating, particularly in Baden-Württemberg. The students receive equal portions of training at the vocational academy and through the practical work at the training enterprise. This dual training model at the polytechnic level now has a firm place in the university system and is widely recognised without being a formal part of it (Tesmer 1994). This contrasts with the provisions of the University Framework Law (HRG) regarding the freedom of research and instruction, the autonomy of university bodies, examination autonomy, and so forth. Vocational academies feature a three-year training period, a practical orientation coupled with knowledge acquired on a scientific basis, and acquisition of social qualifications (such as the ability to work in teams). A high level of competence combined with company-based socialisation distinguishes graduates from the Vocational Academy.

The second threshold in the transition from school to work does not, in fact, exist in this university segment because the students have a permanent job at the training enterprise when they begin their studies.

Overall, the transition from a general education school to the working world in Germany entails on average a three-year vocational training period if one excludes university and polytechnic students. The legal foundation of this training system between general education schools and the working world calls for a permanent dialogue and planning process, in which the *Bundesländer*, the federal government, management and labour participate (see later discussion in this chapter). Programs that are by their nature limited in time and that react to specific situations play a marginal role in this system. Even when the baby boom generation entered the labour market, between 1975 and 1990, the dual vocational training system proved to be astonishingly elastic. In 1984, for example, 705,600 training contracts were signed. Today there are about 600,000 (see Figure 6) including contracts concluded within the new eastern *Länder*.

The great decline in the training figures stems from two effects. First, periods of low birth rates after both world wars, followed by a birth-rate slump caused by the birth control pill, have resulted in declining youth populations over several successive generations, including the current one. This cumulative effect led to an unusually sharp decline in school leavers and potential applicants for traineeships at the beginning of the 1990s.

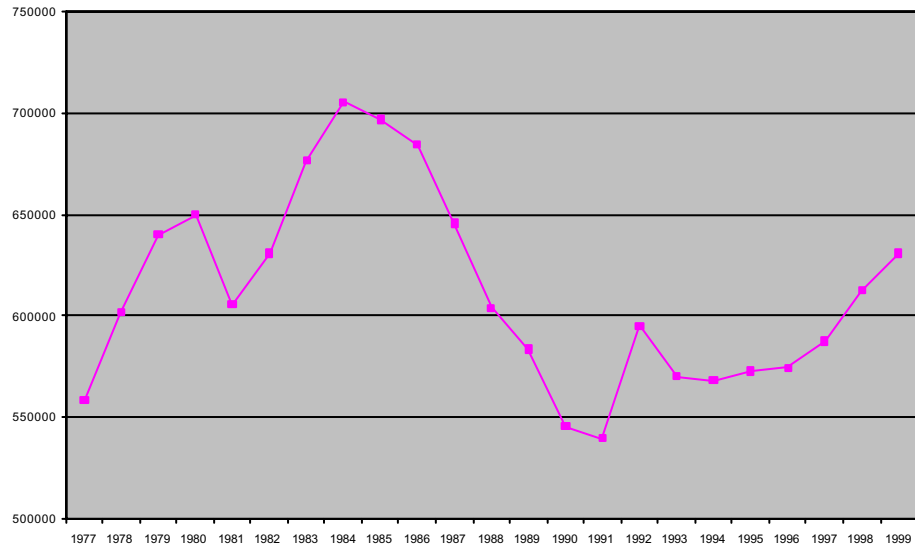


Figure 6: Conclusion of training contracts since 1977 in thousands (from 1992 including the new Bundesländer, Source BMBW, BMBF 1990ff.)

The decrease in the demand for traineeships coincided with a significant recession and a deindustrialisation process in the new *Bundesländer*. Extensive rationalisation measures in industry and trade resulted in a great reduction in traineeships. In the end, therefore, the great drop in traineeship applicants has corresponded to the decline in traineeships so that there is a lack of traineeships today despite the low birth-rate years. The relatively large decrease in traineeships contrasts with a considerable demand for skilled labour. During the phase of very high demand for traineeships, the *Bundesländer* and the federal government developed a comprehensive set of instruments to eliminate the shortage of traineeships. Since 1973, the federal government has been promoting the construction and maintenance of industrywide training centres (*Überbetriebliche Ausbildungseinrichtungen* = ÜA, *Überbetriebliche Berufsbildungsstätten* = ÜBS) in accordance with the Guidelines for Granting Subsidies for the Promotion of Industry-Wide Training Centres (*Bundesanzeiger* No. 211, 1973) as well as the Guidelines for Granting Subsidies for the Running Costs of Industry-Wide Training Centres (*Bundesanzeiger* No. 77, 1978). The centres are part of company-based vocational training and are occasionally designated as the third learning site after the training enterprise and the vocational school. They are especially responsible for portions of craft trade vocational training that cannot be provided at all, or

not to an adequate extent, by the individual enterprises, but that are obligatory in training based on the corresponding occupational profiles and training regulations (*Ausbildungsordnungen*). The centres thus supplement company-based vocational training outside of directly productive work. To this extent they are comparable to training centres in large industrial enterprises. In 1986, for example, 119 million DM was provided from this specialised program. An additional 335 million DM was available to the industry-wide training centres in the same year within the scope of a program for foreign-born, learning, and socially disadvantaged youths who did not find a traineeship subsequent to vocational preparation. In the process of structural adaptation in the new *Länder* ÜBS also play a prominent role. Since the re-unification an amount of 1.2 billion DM has been granted from the federal government for ÜBS in the new *Bundesländer*.

Also in 1986, the *Bundesminister für Bildung und Wirtschaft* (BMBW, Minister for Education and Science) and the *Bundesminister für Arbeit* (BMA, Minister for Labour) provided another 60 million DM within the framework of a special one-time program for roughly 7,000 applicants who had not found a company traineeship. In addition to these programs, the *Bundesländer* have been participating in the industrywide training centres with their own subsidies. The *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (BfA, Federal Employment Office) provides funds for financial support of the participants in vocational preparation and further vocational training programs. In 1986 these funds amounted to approximately 4.4 billion DM and in 1997 about 21 billion DM (see BMBW, 1993).

Although the enterprises normally bear the costs of company-based vocational training, training companies also receive direct support from elsewhere in special situations, as in the baby boom years. In 1986, for example, 11.6 million DM were made available from funds of the European Reconstruction Program (ERP). Special Assets in the form of loans for the creation of company traineeships, and investment grants were furnished within the framework of the Community task Improvement of Regional Economic Structure (BMBW 1987). In 1998 a sum of 190 million DM from the same program has been spent for the development of 6,300 training placements (BMBF 1999). For 1999 the federal government has agreed on a sum of 200 million DM for the same purpose.

During periods of high demand for or shortages of traineeships, the *Bundesländer* have provided structural support to solve problems connected to the transition from school to work through the setting up and extension of one-year vocational preparation schools (*BVJ = Berufsvorbereitungsjahr*) and the basic school-based vocational training year (*BGJ = Berufsgrundschuljahr*).

The basic vocational school year is a form of vocational training that integrates theory and practice at the vocational school. It comprises the first year of training in one of the 13 occupational fields (e.g., metal technology). The part of the year devoted to practice, takes place in school workshops. The high investment, maintenance, and constant modernisation costs for these workshops as

well as the additional costs for instructors have rarely been provided to the necessary extent by the *Bundesländer*. For some branches of industry and regions, the basic vocational training year has regained its original educational policy significance, namely, improvement of the quality of vocational training through closer linkage of vocational and general education as well as through a systematic basic vocational training. During the phase when the training market was tight, the basic vocational training year became a reservoir for young people without training contracts (see following figure).

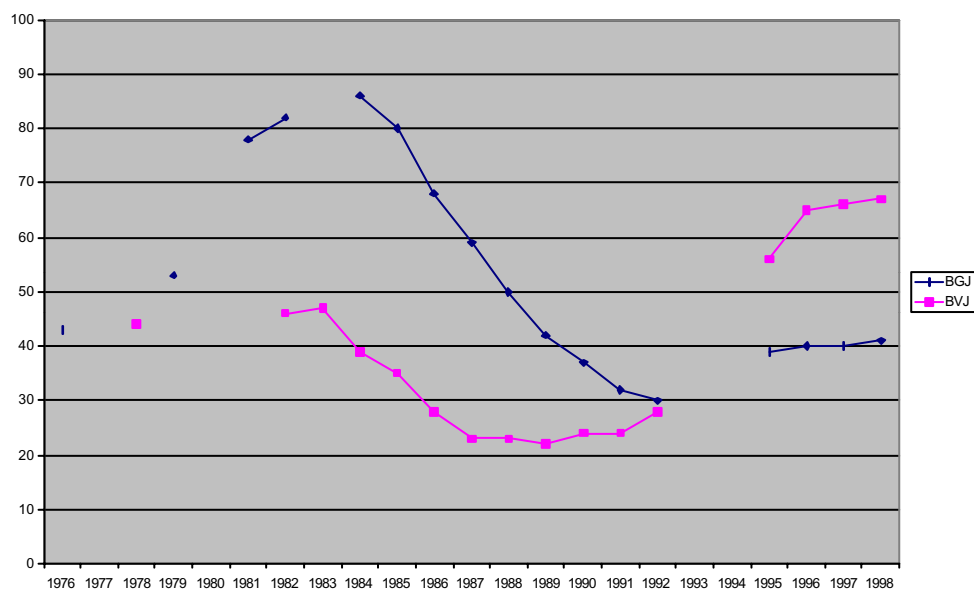


Figure 7: Students within the BVJ and the BGJ from the late seventies to today (Source BMBW, BMBF 1990 ff)

The basic vocational school year has not been able to compete with the dual vocational training system during the first training year. The vocational preparation year benefits pupils who have not received training contracts after completing the general education requirements, with or without a certificate of graduation from the secondary modern school (*Hauptschule*). The establishment and extension of a one-year vocational preparation phase for young people without traineeships therefore aims at entry into vocational training (first threshold).

Instruction during the vocational preparation year is extremely practice-oriented and includes practical training. Both types of schools have lost a great deal of their importance with the easing of the shortage of traineeships since the end of the 1980s. The basic vocational school year is controversial from the point of view of education policy because in the opinion of critics its existence essentially results more from the lack of suitable traineeships and less from shortcomings in the education system. The increase of pupils within the *BVJ* from 1992 can be interpreted as a warning

signal in terms of the need for a structural reform serving young people with learning problems.

In addition to the system of vocational education and further vocational training based on it (e.g., technician training and master craftsman training), a market of institutions has developed in the areas of further vocational training and retraining that offer certificate-based and vocational, as well as nonregulated training. Continued training programs are offered, above all, in this training sector with funds provided by the *Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (Federal Employment Office) and relevant EC programs. All studies confirm, however, that the structural transformation of the economy and the labour market primarily takes place via replacement of departing employees and only secondarily through continued training of workers (see Blossfeld 1993). The dominant source for qualified employees is, therefore, seen in the vocational training system. Training programs perform the function of supporting the vocational training system within the entire system of transition from school to work.

II.2.2 The dual vocational training system in Germany as a key to a smooth transition from school to the working world

II.2.2.1 Dual Vocational Training as a Basic Support in the Transition from School to the Labour Market

Of the total number of employees, the proportion of trainees has increased from 6 per cent in the 1970s to approximately 8 per cent in the 1980s. This rate dropped to 4 per cent in 1994 due to the interplay between greater rationalisation efforts in the traditional industrial sectors. The announcements of the federal government, trade unions, and business associations on coping with the training crisis as well as a corresponding agreement with the former German chancellor show that a lack of traineeships in the dual vocational training system has triggered talks and actions at the highest levels of these organisations. This is attention to vocational education and training is continued by the new federal social democratic government since autumn 1998, e.g. through the crash program for the reduction of youth unemployment (funds: 2 billion DM including 600 million DM from the ESF). This short-term measure is accompanied by the inclusion of the topic within the negotiations of the *Bündnis für Arbeit, Ausbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* (Alliance for Employment, Training and Competitiveness) comprising the social partners' central organisations and the federal government.

Vocational training traditionally has had a very high political significance in Germany. The funds spent on this German system by industry, the individual *Bundesländer*, and, to a lesser extent, the federal government exceed by far the total expenditure for the entire university system. The enormous political and economic importance attached to the vocational training system is reflected in

an extraordinarily well-developed legal construction of occupations and vocational training; a historical tradition of commitment by industry, trade unions, and the state in structuring the dual vocational training system; and the high esteem enjoyed by the dual vocational training system among young people and their parents. This can also be attributed to the fact that nearly all those who complete dual vocational training – in 1990 the figure was 98 per cent – succeed in finding regular employment after passing the examination (Falk & Thiele 1993). The youth unemployment rate is thus relatively low in relation to the respective average unemployment rate.

The sometimes popular thesis of a departure of young people from gainful employment, as was universally advocated in youth research, has, in the meantime, been refuted by the studies conducted by Baethge (1991) and Heinz and Krüger (1990). Even during, the phase of baby boom years from the end of the 1970s to the end of the 1980s, with the related shortage of qualified traineeships, youths did not experience a significant erosion in their work orientation. Life concepts that center on work and occupation have not lost any of their importance for young people.

The situation is different in the *new Bundesländer* (Eastern Germany). The trust placed in the vocational training system by youths and their parents has been substantially shaken, due particularly to the lack of traineeships and a dramatic deindustrialisation process that commenced after the re-unification of Germany. This is reflected in the extremely low proportion (4 per cent) of young people in Eastern Germany with the academic standards required for university entrance who completed vocational training in 1993/94. In contrast, the figure surpasses 15 per cent in western Germany, with the proportion in industry and trade as high as 24 per cent (BMBF 1999). Nevertheless, there are clear signs of considerable turbulence in this internationally recognised, dual organisation of vocational training, so that the future and attractiveness of the German vocational training system in a united Europe are called into question.

As European integration advances, the question of the central constitutive aspect for a European labour market is becoming more and more pressing. Two alternative solutions offer contrasting approaches for determining the basis of future European vocational training policy. The open labour market model based on occupation, occupational structure and professional ethics (as in Germany) competes world-wide with the model based on a high degree of general education, on-the-job training, work morale, and corporate identity, with divided labour markets and well-developed, in-company labour market for the core workforce (as for example in Japan). If one assumes companies depend on employees who have both the appropriate qualifications and a high degree of commitment to maintain competitiveness, then the two models show that competence and motivation can be achieved in very different ways. The modular structure of the British system of vocational and general education could be ordained somewhere in-between this

two poles. The idea of modularisation of courses and qualification in its unreserved form can be seen as a considerable threat to the traditional German system and is being processed in all recent reform proposals more or less consequently. However, on the other hand most political sides and researchers (Pilz 1999) are still strongly committed to the „*Berufsprinzip*“ and favour forms of modularisation which do not question this basic principle. The „*Berufsprinzip*“ can be regarded as a supra-individual institution which balances different needs, perspectives and political interests, such as the economic, the sociological and individual biographical perspective of working life.

Occupations in Germany are deeply rooted in the protestant work ethic. Historically they represent both socially and state-regulated spheres of responsibility in the employment system. They form the basis of the labour market for skilled workers. Within the company, occupationally organised skilled work is a central element in work and plant organisation. Occupations are widely regarded as identity-creating institutions that aid personality development and provide employees with qualifications to perform company-related tasks, while at the same time making them independent of the individual enterprise. Skilled workers define themselves first and foremost in terms of their chosen occupation, not by the company for which they work.

The approximately 380 occupations regulated by the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (*BbiG* = Vocational Training Act) are less an expression of qualification needs being defined purely in terms of these occupations than a reflection of a specific central European industrial culture. The pragmatism and history of the German occupational structure, however, is certainly not a sufficient basis for a forward-looking professionalisation of occupations. The examples of electrical engineering and metalwork technology, each of which contains a certain number of occupations that can be allocated to the respective technology, show that occupations tied to a specific technology or a technologically defined product are highly unstable. They allow neither the long-term creation of occupational identity nor the constitution of stable labour markets for skilled workers.

Just as medical doctors and their (academic) profession have maintained a specific profile and code of professional ethics for centuries, regardless of changes in the field of medical technology, it is important to further develop the present occupational structure of the German vocational training system so it complies with the criteria for professionalised occupations. The German vocational training system finds itself at a historical fork in the road, in which the choice is between a path toward a vocational training system based on a modern concept of occupations or one toward the dissolution of occupations and vocational training and hence toward a labour market concept that poses great political and economic risks. Up to now, however, a decisive course for elaboration and further development of a forward-looking occupation concept

has been lacking (Heidegger, Jacobs, Martin, Mizdalski, & Rauner, 1991).

11.2.2.2 *The Structure of the Dual Vocational Training System*

Dual vocational training is based on private employment contracts concluded by trainees (or in some cases their legal guardians) and training enterprises. As institutions of self-administration for the enterprises, the responsible Chambers guarantee appropriate structuring of these employment relationships in accordance with the Vocational Training Act (*Berufsbildungsgesetz, BBiG*) and, based on that law, the various training regulations stipulate the content and quality of training for the respective occupation.

On conclusion of a training contract, the trainee has the right and in fact the obligation to take part in lessons at the vocational school one or two days per week. The specific course at the vocational school is based on a basic curriculum drawn up by the *Bundesländer* on the basis of a recommendation by a commission of the *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister* (Permanent Conference of Education Ministers), the so-called Framework Plan of the Conference of Education Ministers. In some cases, this plan is adopted in its entirety by a particular *Bundesland*.

The vocational school is part of the education system of the *Bundesländer* and is therefore governed by legislation enacted by each in exercising its educational sovereignty.

Numerous legal and institutional prerequisites have been established for joint educational planning on the part of the *Bundesländer* and the federal government in order to ensure extensive harmonisation of occupational curricula. In their educational laws, all *Bundesländer* have given the vocational schools, as a sort of legal self-obligation, the task of actively shaping vocational training as provided for in the Vocational Training Act of the federal government and the related training regulations.

According to the respective, training regulations (in-company vocational training) and the curricula (for vocational schools), dual vocational training directed at the job profile occurs at both places of learning. To a certain extent, enterprises are able to take into consideration company-specific contents and interests in their training that otherwise would involve a fundamental abstraction from specific company features. This spectrum of variations for structuring the training is expressly stipulated in the training regulations. It applies especially to examinations that in practice are standardised nationally.

In addition to occupation-specific lessons, vocational schools offer a more or less comprehensive range of instruction in general subjects such as German, Political Science, and English. The time spent at the vocational school during dual training amounts to between 8 and 12 instruction hours per week. Co-ordination between the two learning sites is carried out on the basis of the training regulations and the curriculum at the level of vocational training plan-

ning. It is an exception when vocational schools and enterprises or teachers and instructors co-ordinate the subject matter involved in school and enterprise-based training.

A focal point of support for both co-operation between learning sites and a learning site network was created within the framework of the pilot program of the federal and *Länder* governments on vocational training. This permits enterprises and vocational schools to carry out pilot projects jointly within a learning site network so as to improve school co-operation between vocational schools and enterprises in designing subject matter for dual vocational training. Vocational schools do not set any part of the final examination themselves. According to the Vocational Training Act, these examinations remain the exclusive responsibility of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries and the *Handwerkskammer* (Trade corporation). Vocational schoolteachers take part in this framework only as examiners.

In most occupations the three- to three-and-a-half-year vocational training is divided into a one- to one-and-a-half-year basic training and then specialised training based on the former in a certain subject area. This can be illustrated by the electrical occupations, which were restructured in 1987 and which make up one of 13 major occupational fields (see the following figure).

The 37 old metalwork occupations applicable until 1987 have been replaced by six modern metalwork occupations with a much broader profile of responsibilities. These restructured occupations mark a fundamental change in perspective in the history of vocational training in Germany. The overriding objective of training, which was clearly characterised by Taylor's concept of scientific management, that is, training for simple operational tasks according to detailed specifications of the management (Taylor), was replaced by training for participative company organisational development, that is, the ability to co-shape the working world.

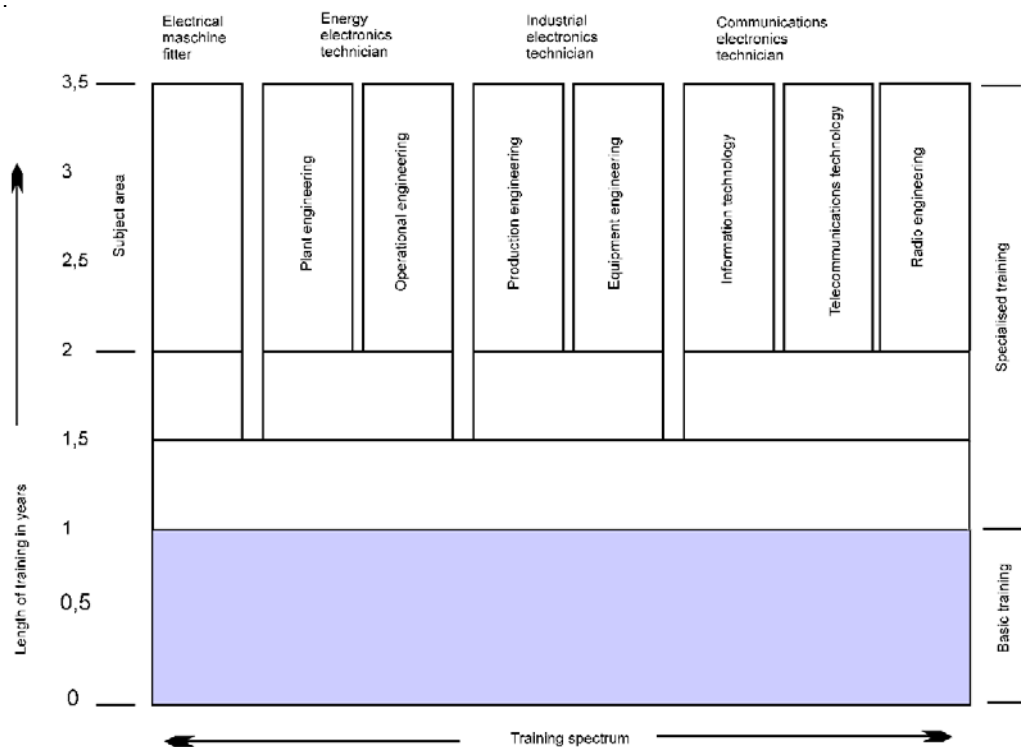


Figure 8: The electrical occupations restructured in 1987

With this change in perspective, which was initiated at the end of the 1980s, it became possible to preserve and improve the attractiveness of the vocational training system as the decisive instrument for the school-to-work transition for both young people and the economy. The quality and scope of this modernisation process, which has only just begun, becomes obvious if one looks at the history of German vocational training.

The great variety in the structure of company-based vocational training is documented in the 1989 Vocational Training Report (*BMBW 1989*). According to the report, in addition to learning related to the workplace or work process, the training enterprises make use of the following additional learning sites in the areas covered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and by the *Handwerkskammer* (trade corporation):

- 35 per cent of the training enterprises make use of industrywide instruction in their training (62 per cent of the trade corporation enterprises and 18% of the enterprises covered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce);
- 27 per cent of these enterprises provide additional in-company courses (38 per cent of the enterprises covered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and 8 per cent of the trade corporation enterprises)
- 15 per cent send their trainees to external courses (18 per cent of the enterprises covered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and 11 per cent of the craft trade enterprises)
- 13 per cent make use of a teaching workshop, teaching corner, practice office and so on. (14 per cent of the enterprises covered

- by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and 2 per cent of the craft trade enterprises)
- 7 per cent organise a training network or co-operate in training in some other form (9 per cent of the enterprises covered by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and 2 per cent of the craft trade enterprises); (BMBW1989).

A generally applicable magnitude of time cannot be specified for training within the work process. The proportion of enterprise-based training that takes place within the work process varies between 0 and 100 per cent. In rare cases enterprise-based training takes place exclusively in training workshops and training centres. The other extreme is just as rare, that is, training that is completely integrated into the work process.

In general a trend away from school-oriented training at the enterprise and toward a return to training within the work process has been observed since the mid-1980s. This development is being supported by vocational training research, specifically through enterprise-based pilot projects. The didactic concepts of learning at the workplace and learning within the work process include the aspect of designing learning-oriented workstations and work processes (Kruse 1987, Rauner 1995).

II.2.2.3 The Historical Background of Vocational Training

Studying both the common and different historical roots of the development of occupations and vocational training is of great interest within the European context. With the formation of nation-states in the previous century and the transition from skilled work organised on the basis of occupations to industrial production, Europe lost a more or less common tradition of vocational training organised through guilds (apprenticeships becoming a master craftsman), instead of developing various national vocational training systems and traditions in the 19th and 20th centuries. Relatively little study has been directed at the degree and type of influence exerted by religions (Protestantism and Catholicism) or by the different constitutions and organisation of national-states.

In Germany, the special orientation of and belief in the state exerted a powerful influence in repressing traditional skilled vocational training as an obstacle to the implementation of economic liberalism in the previous century. By the turn of the century, state legislation was playing an equally important role in forming the dual vocational training system, which clearly differs from the traditional apprenticeship system in several decisive respects. Modern skilled occupations within the dual system are based on activity analyses that are significantly shaped by the basic principles of scientific management formulated by Taylor (1911), and the synthesis of activities into activity bundles and profiles that are finally allocated to occupational designations (e.g., electronics technician for industrial equipment). This tradition was primarily established in the various industries during the 1920s.

A decisive political source for the dual vocational training system lies in the striving of the state or German governments since the end of the last century to achieve social stability, not only with social legislation aimed at countering the growth of trade unions and social democracy, but also by reviving the occupational organisation of work and vocational training that had previously existed within the feudal class system. Vocational training as an institution for educating good citizens (*Kerschensteiner*) and for adapting to economic and political conditions has acquired varying degrees of importance since that time.

During the Nazi regime, this political rationale behind the vocational training system was exaggerated beyond proportion. The concept of occupations was abused by the national socialist state (the number of formal job profiles rose to 900 between 1936 and 1945). The state defined *occupation* in terms of a general ideology of community and the *Führer* principle, according to which the definitive aspect of occupational work is the way in which one does something and not what one does. The familiar virtues ascribed to skilled workers (i.e., secondary virtues such as punctuality, precision, and following instructions to the letter) were raised to heights of perversion during this period.

Through reductions in the number of occupations to fewer than 400, and especially through the reorganisation of occupations during the 1980s, the decisive steps were taken for a concept of occupations that strives for skilled workers who are qualified for participation and codetermination. The Enquete Commission of the German *Bundestag*, *Education 2000*, attached great significance to the major vocational education debates during the 1980s regarding the reorganisation of vocational education as education for active shaping:

„If the humanity of future society depends critically on whether we succeed in eliminating divisions and fragmentation [...] then education must help, as a first priority, to develop the will to shape the world about us and must [...] strive for shaping capability“ (Deutscher Bundestag, 1990).

Shaping competence is expressly demanded for technical education as well. The Commission's recommendation that all appropriate educational mandate be anchored in the Vocational Training Act is not only a logical consequence, but it also calls on federal and state governments, particularly in view of the constitutional objections repeatedly raised in this context, to close the legal loophole that exists in order to ensure the quality of vocational training in the future.

This recommendation is being increasingly integrated into the new training regulations and laws of the *Bundesländer*. Initial experience and results from pilot projects regarding shaping-oriented vocational training are now available (Heidegger, Adolph & Laske, 1997).

II.2.2.4 Actors Involved in the Vocational Training System

State institutions. At the federal level, the following are particularly involved in vocational training:

- *Wirtschaft und Technologie, BMWi*)
- The Federal Ministry for Education and Science (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, BMBF*)
- The Federal Institute for Vocational Training, which is allocated but not subordinate to the Federal Ministry for Education and Science (*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung, BiBB*)

The Federal Institute for Vocational Training (*BiBB*) is headed by a secretary-general or president who is nominated by the federal president at the suggestion of the Main Committee (*Hauptausschuss*) of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training. The *BiBB* employs a staff of approximately 400 (200 of whom are academic staff members) in six main departments. They conduct research on the fundamental principles of vocational training, supporting those involved in the constant further development of the vocational training system through research and development.

The trade unions, employers' and industrial associations, federal government and *Bundesländer* each hold a quarter of the seats on the Main Committee of *BiBB*. This basic information on the institutional structures created by the federal government for planning and control of vocational training indicates a structure with which, on the one hand, the basic relationship between the right to education and self-fulfilment – also in one's occupation – and, on the other, the provision of appropriately qualified workers for the economy are institutionally shaped. This structure is intended to achieve the following objectives.

First, the Main Committee of *BiBB* is a platform that enables and to a certain extent forces those involved in vocational training to reach agreement (*Konsensprinzip*) on structures and contents, as well as on constant modernisation of these based on the research results provided by *BiBB*. *BiBB's* research is carried out within a research program that is codetermined by the Main Committee. Since the establishment of *BiBB*, this program has clearly improved the quality of the debate on occupational and vocational training policy in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Second, *BiBB's* research and development work takes place in more or less close co-operation with the scientific community of the universities as well as with those involved in vocational education and training practice. This strengthens the independence of *BiBB's* research. The latter falls significantly short, however, of the free research conducted by universities because the parties represented in the Main Committee and the federal departments connected with *BiBB* (especially the Federal Ministry of Education and Science) are attempting to make use of *BiBB's* research potential for their respective vocational training policy interests and objectives. This relationship is desired by legislators; the task of shaping it productively is assigned and left to the actors.

Third, the appointment of the secretary-general or president by the federal president (and not by the minister for education and science) reflects the special importance attached to vocational training in the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time, the special status of the appointment emphasises the independence of research conducted by *BiBB* vis-à-vis the federal government, especially the Federal Ministry of Education and Science. The explicit aim is also to achieve a balance of power between the social interests and forces represented by the Main Committee, on the one hand, and *BiBB* scientists represented by the secretary-general and president, on the other.

Finally, the duality between education and training is expressed, for example, in the fact that the federal minister of the economy is responsible for issuing training regulations. This fulfils his or her responsibility to provide the economy with the skills and qualifications it needs. The federal minister of education and science, on the contrary, is responsible for *BiBB* and represents the federal government in joint educational planning with the *Bundesländer*. He or she thus represents the vocational training system as part of the German education system.

Social Groups Participating in Vocational Education and Training. In addition to the membership in the Main Committee of *BiBB*, employers' and industrial associations and the trade unions are involved in the further development of vocational training in other ways. In addition to the formal procedures for developing new training regulations in the subcommittees of *BiBB*, the collective bargaining organisations often reach agreement on the essential features of vocational training in joint commissions, even before an official procedure for reshaping occupations is actually initiated. Only then is the minister for the economy prepared as a rule to initiate the formal procedure for such reshaping.

In some cases, employers and trade unions regulate issues relating to vocational training within their own region, provided that this does not conflict with existing regulations. For example, they may agree that for their particular area (collective bargaining region) they will not apply training regulations that involved successive stages of training in order to provide all apprentices and trainees with the opportunity to obtain full training. The scope for collective bargaining agreements is even more pronounced in the field of continued training.

Teachers, Instructors and Academic Experts. Teachers at vocational schools have different official titles in the various states of Germany, but all receive their education at universities, where, in addition to 1 of the 13 occupational fields (e.g., electrical engineering or metalworking technologies, which account for roughly half the number of degree courses), they usually also study a second, general subject and education, specialising in vocational education.

Vocational school teachers teach at vocational schools, which include *Fachschulen* (technical colleges), as well as at *Berufsschulen* (technical grammar schools). These teachers are equivalent to upper-secondary school teachers in terms of payment and tenure-

ship regulations. Many have work experience in a relevant occupation and an engineering qualification with which they were then able to obtain a university degree. One problem faced by tertiary education that remains unsolved to this day is how to relate academic learning to the occupation itself. The work-related knowledge skilled workers possess is still given inadequate consideration within university research and education. As a consequence, university curricula for the various occupational fields tend to be based too much on established academic disciplines.

Criticism has been aimed for sometime at the tendency for vocational school teachers' degrees in the field of electrical engineering, for example to be too biased toward degree courses in electrical engineering and divorced from the skilled worker's and technician's know-how regarding the actual work process. In the meantime, initial drafts for independent university and polytechnic curricula for vocational subjects have been submitted and implemented mostly at the Universities of Bremen and Hamburg.

In-company training is carried out by instructors (*Ausbilder*). If vocational training is being provided in a craft trades enterprise, the Master's Examination is a means of ensuring that the masters (or supervisors) are qualified to train apprentices. Vocational training in industrial companies is governed by the Instructor Aptitude Regulations (*Ausbildereignungsverordnung*) laid down by the central government, which stipulate that in-company instructors possess appropriate qualifications in practical, theoretical, and vocational education.

Training for vocational school teachers has progressively shifted to the universities since the beginning of the 19th century (this process was finally completed in the 1960s), with the result that vocational education has developed into an independent discipline in the field of education. All German universities where vocational teachers are trained have a special vocational education institute for this purpose, but this is still the exception as far as the specific vocational fields are concerned.

This situation is further supported by the German Research Council, which dedicates one of its key areas of focus to this field by a special commission set up by the German Association for Education Studies and in particular by a pilot study program organised by the individual *Länder* and central government (see above). Within the framework provided by the latter program, schools and enterprises have the opportunity to experiment with new, innovative forms of vocational education and training. These pilot studies must be supported and evaluated by academic advisors. The program has contributed not only to a special innovative climate in the actual practice of vocational training, but also to the development of vocational training research. This explains why university research in the vocational education field and on vocational training for specific occupations is relatively well developed and established in Germany.

11.2.2.5 Problems and Perspectives

Didactics and Processes of Vocational Training. In general terms, the tasks involved in vocational education and training are allocated to enterprises and vocational schools according to the basic principle that the enterprise provides the practice and the school the theory. This commonly held view not only says little about how the system functions, but also is misleading. It overlooks the elementary aspect that cognitive processes and genuine learning are intimately linked to concrete action or, as vocational education has realised for some time, to learning-by-doing processes.

Every modern vocational school can therefore provide an experimental learning environment with dedicated rooms, laboratories and workshops. Instead of having separate rooms for theoretical instruction and laboratories, for experimental units, some schools have started to integrate theoretical and experimental learning by providing all their classrooms with experimental equipment (integrated rooms for instruction). Enterprises are obliged under the new training regulations to orient themselves to holistic action processes at work and to ensure that planning, execution, and monitoring are closely integrated into training. Such a training concept requires substantial cognitive skills that enterprises also furnish in the course of training.

Still, vocational schools and enterprises have different approaches to training. In providing specialist knowledge, schools orient themselves to the systematised content of interrelated disciplines and acquire the content for specific subjects by simplifying academic knowledge for educational purposes. According to the prevailing tendency, this implicitly ignores the special knowledge that the skilled worker has of work processes. In this context one must distinguish between the architect's knowledge and building site knowledge. The latter should receive more recognition in vocational training than it does now. More importantly, building site knowledge cannot simply be derived from academic knowledge. When vocational schools attempt to preserve a tradition of semi-academic curricula, this is primarily a result of the problematic nature of the degree studies pursued by the teachers (see earlier discussion).

However, in-company vocational training was heavily influenced for a long time by a specific understanding of basic training, according to which the first step must be the acquisition of basic skills. Future tasks and the basic skills that would be needed to accomplish them were thus absent in such a perspective.

In the case of the traditionally organised dual system of vocational training, this ultimately leads to dualist training in which company- and school-based learning are inadequately co-ordinated. Efforts to reform vocational training to relate it more to the interrelationships between planning, execution, and monitoring of specific tasks has led, especially in innovative regions, to a form of practice in both vocational schools and enterprises in which each of the training partners is able, in his or her own right, to shape the entire training process.

In such cases as well, however, there is a lack of an educational concept aimed at co-operative, dual training. What has been missing to date is a convincing concept for dual shaping of vocational training processes that provides for co-operation between enterprises and vocational schools with respect to specific competencies, contents, and objectives. Progress on this front will determine to a major extent whether the dual system for vocational training in Germany can survive.

Trends and Prospects. As the main bridge in the transition from school to work, the dual vocational training system in Germany has been under pressure from two sides since the beginning of the 1990s. This pressure has come partly from the demographic development (low-birth years) and the resulting intense competition between dual vocational training and university studies.⁹ It has come as well from both the recession and unification of Germany and the related cost pressure on enterprises. This has resulted in a reduction in traineeships, especially in the industrial sector.

At the same time all studies indicate that there is a relatively large shortage of skilled labour. This shortage has already led to production restrictions at about 20 per cent of the enterprises.

The gap created by the shortage of skilled labour and the reduction in traineeships, triggered by company rationalisation in industry, has increased and heated up a nation-wide discussion on enhancing the attractiveness of vocational training. Falk and Thiele (1993), for example, suggested 11 measures (see the following Table).

⁹ The Ministry of Education and Science stated in this connection: „*It must still be examined whether a general change in behaviour on the part of young people independent of the current labour market situation is developing at the expense of vocational training. The high social esteem for school-based education, particularly the Abitur followed by university studies, speaks in favour of such a change. It will presumably continue until vocational training, provides comparable opportunities of personal development and options for occupational advancement*” (BMBW 1994).

Measures	Mediana ^a	Very important/ important instrument (%)
Recruitment steps	1,5	93,5
Intensification of continued training	1,5	94,3
Qualitative improvement in training	1,8	85,9
Improved opportunities of promotion for those who complete the dual system	2,1	71,2
Material incentives for skilled labour	2,2	68,5
Training for unskilled and semi-skilled labour	2,2	64,0
Training for those doing A-levels	2,7	41,9
Elimination of the distinction between blue-collar and white-collar workers	2,8	38,0
More training for foreigners	2,9	32,2
Assignment of university graduates to clerical positions	3,0	27,1
Retraining programs for university graduates		

^a The median is based on a four-point scale: „very important”, „important”, „less-important” and „unimportant” (See Falk/Thiele 1993)

Table 1: Measures to Enhance the Attractiveness of Dual Vocational Training

A striking aspect of this survey is that the shaping of work is only indirectly and partially touched on in points 4 (opportunities for promotion), 5 (material incentives), and 8 (elimination of the distinction between blue- and white-collar workers). The actual key to increasing the attractiveness of vocational training in the dual system lies in upgrading the status of occupationally defined skilled work through a redesign of work and organisation aimed at quality work, independence, and scope for shaping tasks (Althoff 1994; Dybowski, Haase, Rauner 1993).

There is extensive agreement on upgrading vocational training by giving it equal status as education related to academic studies (*Abitur*) and the implementation of greater transferability of vocational training to higher education in the polytechnic and university system. In this connection new projects are being carried out for the integration of vocational and general education in which vocationally based education is assigned a crucial function (education in the medium of the occupation).

The training behaviour of enterprises is still the key aspect for the functioning of the dual vocational training system and thus for a smooth transition from school to work. Lutz (1997) indicates in this context that a major prerequisite for stable skilled labour markets is provided if a structural balance exists between training and the demand for trainees. In sectors with relatively high training costs (estimated at approximately 80,000 DM per skilled worker) the situation is tight because only one-third of the German enterprises takes part in the training (IAB 1994).

Investments in vocational training are worthwhile from the viewpoint of the enterprises only if the qualified skilled workers are available to the company in sufficient number after completion of the training. If the proportion of training enterprises drops below a critical mark, then these enterprises are faced with the fear that well-qualified skilled workers will change companies, and thus their investments in human resources turn out to be a mistake. If an enterprise calculates the costs for vocational training under the condition of a structural balance between training and demand for trained workers, then costs turn into investments. In training sectors in which low or no training costs at all are incurred such as in the craft trades, the skilled labour markets are much more stable.

A European vocational and labour market policy is particularly required during the formation of European skilled labour market, in order to create the basic conditions to support and reinforce the training behaviour of industry and the craft trades. A collapse of the skilled labour markets can be expected if the gap produced by a shortage of skilled labour and a decline in training commitment increases. As the survey conducted by Falk and Thiele (1993) shows, this would provoke a collapse of entire sectors and markets.

II.2.3 Continued vocational training and continuing education

In relation to the transparent and regulated area of initial vocational training, the continued training sector is an exception as it is little regulated and has a low degree of transparency as well as a lack of meaningful data and statistics. According to estimates of the Ministry of Education and Science, more than 80 billion DM are being invested in continued vocational training. Of that amount, the following accounted for the figures stated on the right (for 1992).

Continued vocational training is increasingly regarded as an important innovation and labour market policy instrument, in addition to initial vocational training, to which equal strategic importance is attached as technological and organisational innovations. Nevertheless, controversy has arisen over whether one can refer to a continued training system. Critics object that continued training is extensively ineffective from a labour market policy point of view and is characterised by an employment of funds for inappropriate purposes.

Enterprises	Approx. 35 billion DM
Agriculture, independent professions, churches, trade unions, associations	Approx. 15 billion DM
<i>Bundesanstalt</i> für Arbeit (Federal Employment Office)	Approx. 18.5 billion DM
The <i>Bundesländer</i>	Approx. 3 billion DM
The participants themselves	Approx. 10 billion DM

Table 2: *Expenditures for continued training from different actors (1992)*

Another problem relates to continued training managers who, according to Ehmman (1995 since 1991 he was chairman of the main committee for further and continued training of the Conference of Ministers for Education and Culture), are not prepared to accept the continued training participants as adult, mature, and responsible persons.

In public discussion the following functions are allocated to continued vocational training

- Updating skills and knowledge in the employment system (usually in the form of enterprise-based further training)
- Qualifying workers for advancement (e.g., from skilled worker to supervisor or technician)
- Retraining and subsequent training (unskilled workers who learn an occupation, or those having occupations for which job placement is not possible learn a different occupation)
- Opening new fields of further training for which formal training or continued training regulations do not yet exist
- Providing information for those holding executive positions through conferences, lectures, and seminars.

Most of this continued vocational training is directly linked to personnel and organisational development within the enterprise and does not directly serve the purpose of improving the transition from school to work world. Only the continued training programs aimed at retraining workers and vocational training of unskilled labour and unemployed persons, as well as at training for new, non-regulated occupations, can be classified under the heading school-to-work transition.

II.2.3.1 Quantitative Development of the Continued Training Sector

The scope of continued training has approximately doubled since the 1970s. Whereas only 20 per cent of those gainfully employed during the 1970s took part in continued vocational training, the figure had reached 40 per cent between 1987 and 1992. In spite of this increase, the same structural weaknesses remain in the conti-

nued training sector. In small enterprises (particularly in the craft trades) significantly fewer employees take part in continued training than in large enterprises. Unskilled labour and blue-collar workers are clearly underrepresented in relation to university graduates, white-collar workers, and civil servants.

The further and continued training programs financed according to the *Arbeitsförderungsgesetz* (AFG = Job Promotion Act) play a significant role for better job placement on the labour market. In 1992, 427,802 participants in the new *Bundesländer* alone took part in retraining and further training programs. In the *old* however, 396,800 people took part in such programs. Of these participants, 574,700 were supported by the AFG of whom 62.6 per cent were unemployed. Continued vocational training in a recognised training occupation opens up the opportunity for adults to acquire occupational qualifications for the first time or to learn another occupation if the old occupation holds no employment opportunities.

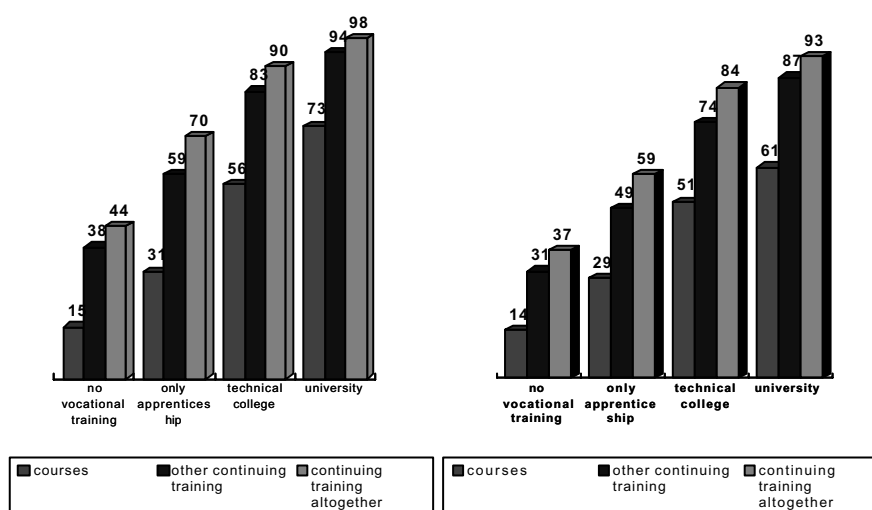


Figure 9: Participation in continuing vocational training (Source: BIBB/IAB Survey 1991/92)

If one compares the further training and retraining programs that have been carried out and that have led to the attainment of a recognised training occupation over a longer period of time (see Figure later in this chapter), one observes that the training programs performed outside of enterprises have increased rapidly. The enterprise-based further training and retraining programs financed by the AFG for the attainment of occupational qualifications play, by contrast, a minor role.

Roughly 5 per cent of skilled workers are currently being trained through adult vocational training according to the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (Vocational Training Act) financed with AFG funds. The chances of job placement in the labour market are considerably poorer for those trained outside of an enterprise than for those trained within the dual vocational training system.

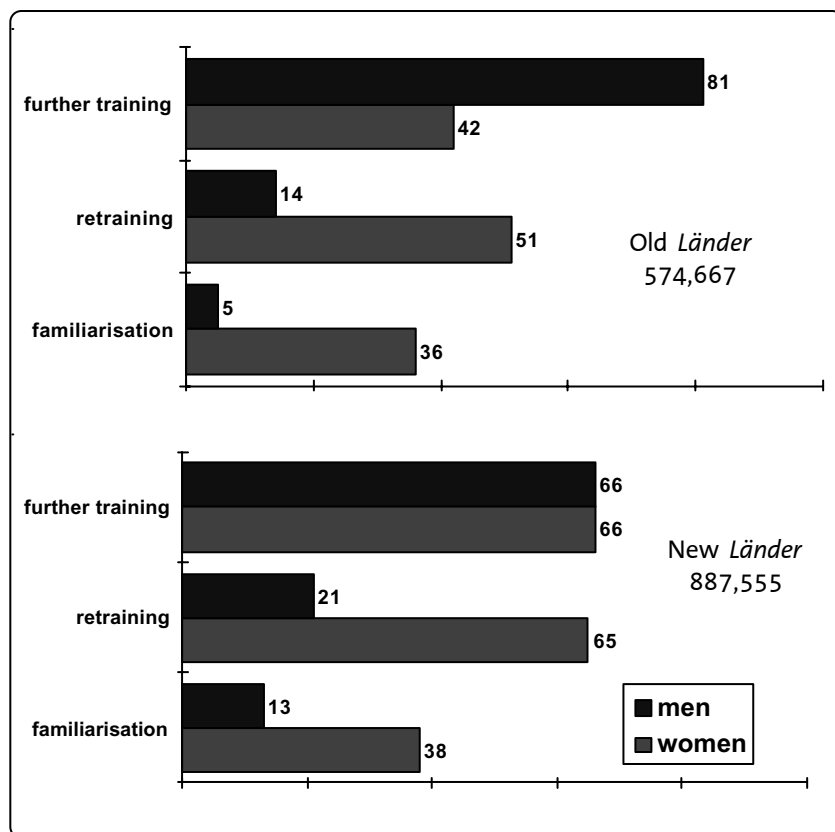


Figure 10: Entries in AFG-supported continuing training in the old and new Länder according to gender and type of program in 1992 in percentages (Based on data from the BfA 1993 and calculations of the BBiB)

II.2.3.2 Continued Training Instead of Unemployment

Particularly in regions with a high rate of unemployment - this still applies to many regions in the new *Bundesländer* - the wide variety of continued vocational training programs frequently provide quasi-employment. Portions of the continued training system have been extensively detached from a labour market policy integrated into the regional innovation policy in the form of a commercial continued training market of private continued training institutions. These have a positive effect on the placement of unemployed persons in the labour market that is difficult to assess. The quality of the commercial continued training institutions that essentially finance their continued training courses via public programs is not very high on average.

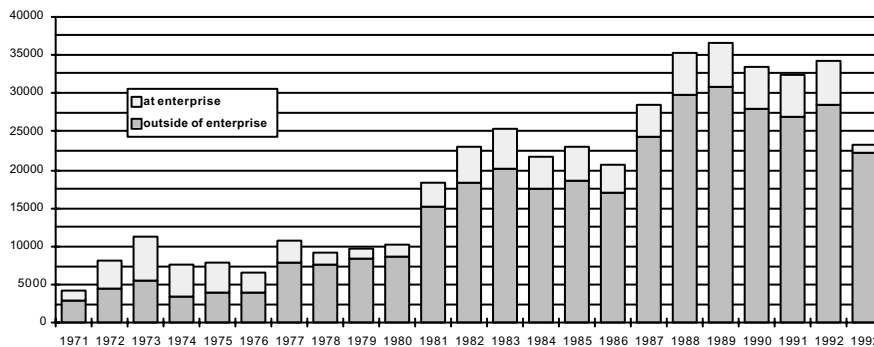


Figure 11: Those who left further training and retraining programs after completion in a recognised training occupation according to institutions from 1971 to 1992 (cf. BfA, BIBB)

The established standards of quality control have done little to change this situation. Therefore, the trade unions demand regulation not only of enterprise-based, nonformal further but also of the transition from initial vocational training to continued vocational training through continued training regulations in accordance with the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (Vocational Training Act). They also demand that the transition to the university level be made more effective.

In its present state the field of continued training depends highly on the economic situation. Although greater deregulation of continued training tends to be pursued by enterprises and business associations, the trade unions demand greater regulation as the basis for a modernisation of continued training. These demands encompass five points:

- 1 A legal foundation for continued training in the form of a federal framework law that permits a concentration of continued training programs to date (financing, responsibilities, quality control)
- 2 The creation of an integrated, co-ordinated system of initial vocational training and continued training with a high degree of interchangeability of elements
- 3 Establishment of continued training for unemployed people as a contribution to an active labour market policy
- 4 The intensification of continued training research and counselling
- 5 Development of networked continued training institutions and co-operative continued training institution structures based on a division of labour (Bayer 1995).

These demands basically aim to achieve an active labour market policy. Moreover, within the framework of the Work and Technology programs in Saxon, Bremen, and North Rhine-Westphalia, initial approaches have been developed for a preventive labour market policy in which funds for continued vocational training are invested in joint, integrated, regional, work-technology training projects. These structural development projects involve vocational training as a dimension of regional innovation promotion. Because

these innovation policy approaches initially consist only of regional research and development programs of a considerably experimental nature, they merely assume a model function. Nevertheless, the initial results of an integrated regional innovation policy aimed at co-operation among regional innovation institutions are promising (Pollmeyer 1995). An improvement in the innovative environment of regions also has an indirect effect on an improved transition from school to work.

II.2.4 Summary and conclusions

The satisfactory transition from the educational to the employment system for as many youths as possible depends on the training commitment of enterprises to provide attractive traineeships and occupational careers within the framework of dual vocational training. Implementation of lean corporate concepts supports the upgrading of qualified skilled labour in the value-added areas of production, maintenance, and services. This is the crucial linkage point for modern vocational training. Industrywide labour and training markets require an occupational form of skilled labour. They offer the chance for both a humane and an economically effective shaping of the transition from school to work.

A dual vocational training system based on modern occupation profiles is the decisive factor for the transition. The great variety of programs and measures concerning further and continued vocational training can then have a productive effect on the school-to-work transition if they do not become a substitute for the deficiencies of national vocational training systems.

In the further development of a European labour market, the European Union is faced with a historical fork-in-the-road situation in which the question must be answered whether the European tradition of the occupational form of labour and professional ethics, on the one or the increased flexibility and modularisation of labour, on the other hand, will form the future basis for the creation of competence and readiness to perform on the part of employees. Everything seems to indicate that the European tradition of occupationally shaped skilled labour and dual vocational training based on that will continue to develop, even under the conditions of international quality competition. Competitiveness between world economic regions can only be realised in the long run if it is aimed not only at economic but also at social stability. A dual vocational training system as a bridge between school and the working world is an effective prerequisite.

II.3 Summary of the results of Phase 1

II.3.1 Data collection procedure

Following the agreements of the first project meeting in Amsterdam three different questionnaires containing items on three different societal spheres of relevance for the future of VET have been sent out. Questionnaire A contained possible trends and strategies within the domain of technological and economic development, questionnaire B within the labour and work environment and questionnaire C within education and knowledge environment. Beside variables on personal data of the respondents the questionnaire was made up of items on trends which had to be evaluated concerning their importance and likelihood, each on a five point scale, and a number of strategies which had to be evaluated on their relevance and possible responsible actors. The respondents were also asked to make comments on the listed trends.

In the context of the German study 742 questionnaires have been sent out to altogether 742 experts, one questionnaire issued to each expert, each of them fitting into one of the ten categories defined at the first European seminar.

The three contexts have been weighted equally within the distribution of sent letters. A sum of just under 250 experts per context has been approached, which resulted in a distribution of at least 20 and at most 30 persons in each cell of the matrix crossing the three environments A, B, C with the ten categories.

A deadline was set in the accompanying letter. Two weeks after this date a reminder was dispatched to the potential respondents. Finally, a return rate of $n = 210$ (28%) was achieved. In the different groups, the experts have been recruited by different criteria: guideline for the selection of active politicians on the federal as well as on the *Länder*-level was the share of parliamentary seats in the *Bundestag*. Beside federal politicians, persons from Thuringia, Saxon, North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxon were sent questionnaires. Further criterion was the involvement in one of the parliamentary committees for economical, social-policy or educational matters, analogue to the contexts A, B and C. The civil servants approached are from a variety of *Länder*, including North Rhine-Westphalia, Thuringia, Saxon, Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony. The experts from labour's and employers' side are members of the respective committees of their umbrella organisations. Providers of VET comprises directors of vocational schools (*Berufsschulen*) from Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia. A couple of experts from private or semi-public institutions have been sent questionnaires, too. Concerning the regional chambers of commerce, crafts and industry, which we have subsumed under professional or sector organisations, the experts stem from regional branches in the same *Länder* as in the group of public sector administrative staff. University personnel was selected from existing working-contacts (especially with regard to context B and C) and from the list of members of the *Verein für*

Sozialpolitik, the traditional German association of researchers in social and economic sciences, and their statements on research interests. Under category nine we have subsumed the foundations of the four major German parties, other foundations such as *Bertelsmann-Stiftung* and private consulting agencies. For the last group we took the addresses list of Bremen Universities' public relations department and selected persons from the relevant resorts of newspapers, magazines etc.

Experts from Enterprises have been selected via already established contacts and the survey of advertisements in bigger German newspapers. Civil servants at the national regional and local level was the group with the most answers (24.8%), „providers of VET“ was the second largest group with 15.7 per cent of all answers. Enterprises (10.5%) and employer associations (11.6%) have sent almost the same share of the overall amount of questionnaires. With the exception of the unions with 5.7 per cent, the other groups listed in the questionnaires are all under five per cent. Distinguishing only by the criteria employment in the public sector or employment in the private sector the distribution of respondents varies from just under 60 per cent to just under 50 per cent (see figures).

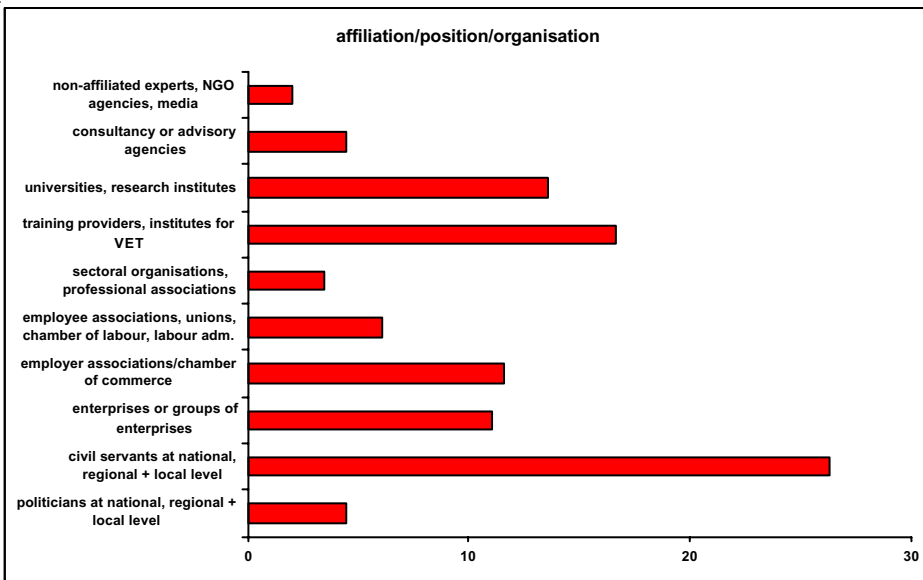


Figure 12: *Affiliation of respondents for the three contexts*

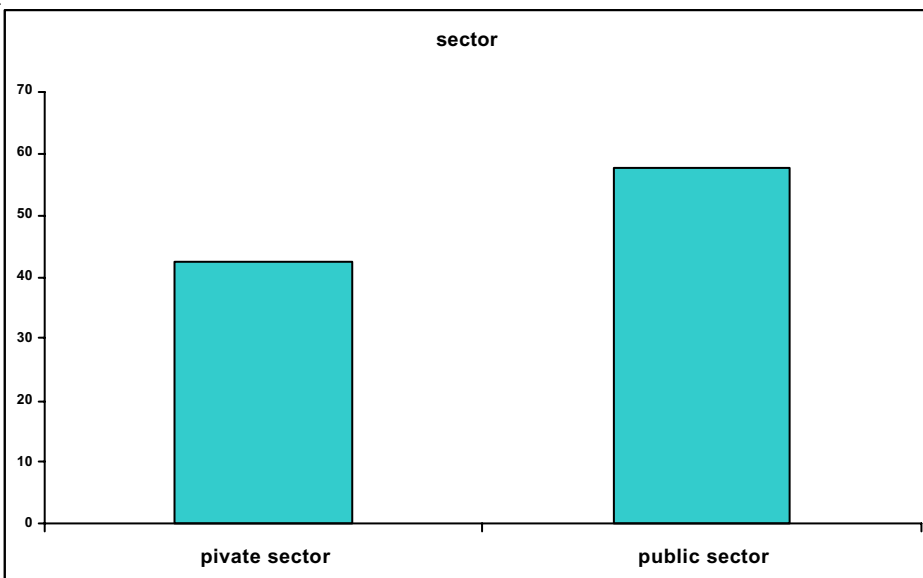


Figure 13: *Sectoral affiliation of respondents*

Compared to the described situation of actors taking influence in the VET system this distribution is fairly well depicting VET reality.

The distribution of male and female responses is a quarter to three quarters, which might favour the female sex a bit compared to the still strongly male-dominated reality.

In the case of participating enterprises it might be interesting to look at the size of organisation: only two of the respondents from group three (enterprises) work in SME (less than 250 employees) the biggest share of the remainder stems from big enterprises with more than 1,000 employees.

The context C questionnaires make up forty per cent of all questionnaires gathered, whereas each of the other context makes up about thirty per cent (see figure).

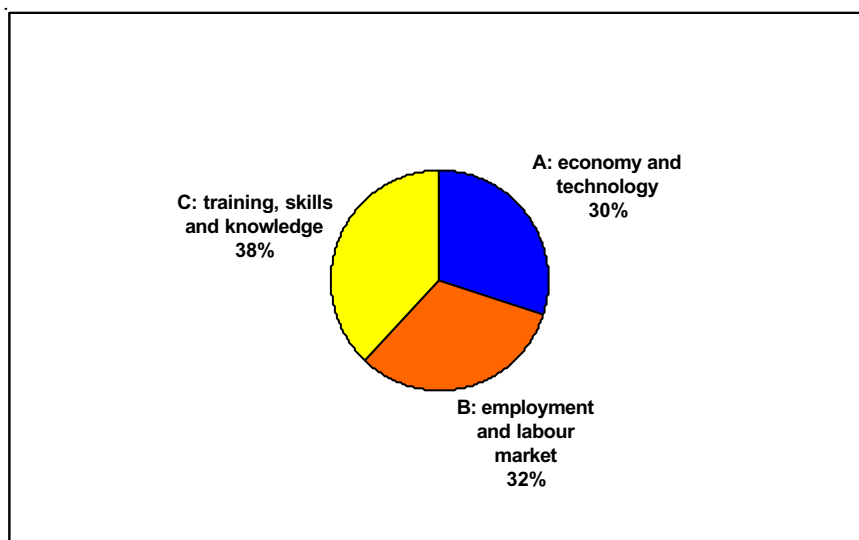


Figure 14: Questionnaires per context in percent of all questionnaires gathered

II.3.2 Synthesis of results of the analysis of data, comments and national seminar

In the following sections the results of the statistical analysis of the data, the analysis of comments and the outcomes of the first national seminar will be put together very briefly and a summary of phase one's results will be given.

II.3.2.1 Results of the factor analysis of the statistical data

The factor analysis of the data on the European level has proved to be a good way to find some basic common dimensions of change for the scenario construction, to which the partners can relate their findings. However, on the national side, the results of this procedure fall to some extent behind the quite advanced and highly institutionalised discourse on Vocational Education Reform in Germany. This made it difficult to restrict the discussion at the national seminar just to the results of the survey carried out in the first phase. However, we will present the different preliminary scenarios which evolved from the first phase for the three contexts in the following paragraphs. We mainly used them as a stimulus for the discussion at the national seminar.¹⁰ Following the method proposed by the co-ordinating Institute, we finally selected those

¹⁰ The matrices used in the context of the seminar differed to a slight extent from those shown in this section (cf. Paragraph II.3.2.3) For a more detailed overview on the data and its analysis see the first interim report (Grollmann, Rauner 2000)

two factors for each of the contexts which showed the highest correlation between the importance and the likelihood ratings through the respondents. For each context we then built a 2 x 2 Matrix which resulted in four preliminary scenarios for each of the contexts.

		EURA2 Insecurities caused by economic structural change and competition	
		Low	High
EURA1 Globalisation and Co-operation	Low degree of co-operation and innovation under condition of moderate pressure through international competition	Old national state framework	separated co-existence
	High degree of co-operation and innovation under condition of strong pressure through international competition	"defensive" networks of enterprises	Fragile networks

Table 3: Preliminary scenarios for the context: „economic and technological development“

The three tables provide an overview on those first scenarios. Trying to interpret the collection of items within the factors in the first context, we come to the following picture: EURA1 especially stresses the dimensions of globalisation and co-operation between the different actors whereas EURA2 especially stresses insecurities caused by economical and technological changes.

		EURB2 change in working conditions driven and accompanied by processes of lifelong learning	
		Low	High
EURB1 degree of social risks and political awareness	Smoothed risks through public institutions and rising political awareness	Neo-Taylorism	Malleable flexibility
	Socially fragmented society	Neo-"Manchester-capitalism"	Lifelong learning (Lebenslanges Lernen)

Table 4: Scenarios for the context „work and social welfare“

In the second context we got the following picture: EURB1 is combined of trends which stress questions of social risks mediated by educational processes public responsibility and political awareness for those matters. EURB2 stresses the importance of life-long learning for successful processes of change at the immediate workplace, such as new forms of management, as well as in the macro-structure of employment, such as new flexible career patterns.

For the education and knowledge context the first factor (EURC1*) is made up of items indicating fundamental changes in structure and scope of VET. New media will play an important role as medium and content of VET. Co-operation between public and private institutions and between individual enterprises will lay the foundation for an innovative climate. Education and training will be measured stronger on its outcomes than before. EURC3* contains items which stress the importance of broad foundational knowledge and skills and show a comprehensive responsibility for education and its effects by all actors.

		EURC3* integrative educational policy and transferable skills	
		Low	High
EURC1* degree of co-operation and education- and training-driven innovation	Low	Two-tier educational system as a barrier for innovation	"ivory-tower" education
	High	Losers and winners of educational innovation	Sustainable balance

Table 5: Preliminary scenarios for the context „education and knowledge“

II.3.2.2 Analysis of comments

The respondents were asked to back up the rating of each of the items with a short qualitative motivation. In the analysis of those comments we concentrated on those items which showed a considerable high standard deviation to get insights what is responsible for the high dispersion.

Comments in context A

„Economic growth will loose its dominance. Economic growth will not remain the ultimate goal to strive for. Personal awareness - and ecological, cultural, social, and lifestyle issues - will become increasingly significant“,

The twenty given comments can be divided into two groups: on the one hand we have very sceptical statements on this issue reflecting on the powerful internalisation of values connected with

the goal of economic growth or even those who argue that economic growth is a necessary pre-condition for developments in other spheres. On the other hand we have pro-answers which comprise references to the Maslowian pyramid of needs and preferences or agree with the exception that this might only be true for developed industrial nations or even argue in the opposite way to those belonging to group one, that the gratification of individual, social and ecological needs is a necessary pre-condition for economic wealth.

In the case of item 7:

„Regional structures will develop to strengthen the links between the local/regional economy and the providers of vocational education and training. Increasingly, the economy and the labour market will be regionally based. This will enable companies to identify their need for training and for new recruits more clearly, and to establish better links with education and training providers”,

We have 9 comments which show a sceptical attitude to this trend, and seven which show a positive rating, two of the comments are rather an elaboration of the problem and do not favour gaining or diminishing importance or likelihood. In the first group an important argument seems to be the either-or of globalisation and localisation. Emerging trends of globalisation are seen as barrier for local or regional development. Others doubt if public-private partnerships can work at all, or if there are enough resources free for that purpose. The three indifference statements can be divided into two groups: one agrees provided that there are political institutions that prevent free-rider problems and the other two explain that there is a conflict of goal between regionalisation and federal consistence of e.g. qualifications. The positive rating group see such regional arrangements as a powerful measure against the threats of modern economic competition which allow especially SMEs to bundle their forces.

The next controversial item (10) deals with the potential of SMEs to show good performance under the conditions of global competition:

„Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) will be in the best position to innovate in technology. Although large enterprises may become more flexible, smaller companies will lead in innovation. As markets change and new technologies provide new opportunities, SMEs will be in a stronger position to grasp the new opportunities”

In most cases agreement to gaining importance is associated with the reservation that SMEs can only show outstanding performance in less capital intensive domains such as services and IT-technology so that a global positive judgement is not possible. One respondent comments this trend with a nice allegory:

„A Mini-cooper is faster than a truck. In case of a traffic jam the truck will be able to overrun the Mini, though.“

Comments in context B

In terms of the comments made combined with positive ratings of item 13:

„Social acceptance of technology will be increasingly problematic. Education/training will become a fundamental condition for the acceptance of technology“,

respondents especially see the danger of social exclusion by the criterion of individuals being capable of new technologies or not. Beside, there are several explaining comments which make a distinction between the tasks for general or pre-vocational education and training and continued vocational education. Whereas the latter's genuine task is the delivery of applied knowledge, the firsts' task is to lay the foundation for general acceptance and estimation of new technologies. One respondent gives precedence to the fact that new technologies will have a fundamental effect on the shape of educational activities as such.

Item twenty-three consists of two statements which have to be distinguished, following the most respondents who gave comments on this:

„As a consequence of collective bargaining/negotiating, companies will have an increasingly direct involvement in training. The structure, content and funding of vocational education and training will be influenced by collective bargaining and collective negotiating. Firms will become more active in this field“

Most respondents agree that individual enterprises will invest more time and resources in training their staff. As part of bargaining processes the importance of questions concerning matters of education and training will rather decrease or remain at the existing level, as social partners currently emphasise especially questions of salaries and wages in the present debates.

In the following cases we looked at the explanations made by the respondents due to the uneven distribution of importance ratings. Respondents rating the multiculturalism item:

„The workplace will become more multicultural. With the development of the European Single Market, people from different countries, cultures and ethnic groups will learn to work more closely together“

as important especially stress the importance of associated skills and competencies for the process of European unification, its importance for know-how transfer and the attractiveness of Germany as an attractive country for foreign workers. On the other hand half of the respondents who have given comments are rather sceptical and put in the argument that this is only valid for certain better-qualified groups in the in-company hierarchies. Besides one respondent explains that there are more or less universal goals of economic action which are not due to strong cultural influence.

Concerning the ageing of the population:

„The ageing of employees will inhibit change and innovation. An ageing population will be less innovative and competitive, and society will become less adaptable. This will slow down the renewal of human potential and diminish the base needed in order to maintain or develop social security and other welfare provisions“,

respondents mention the importance of work-experience which cannot be substituted by younger people, that the so-called „inflexibility“ of older workers is a question for itself and that the elderly will have that much political power in ten years, that they will not have big problems to pursue their interest as such a big lobby. Some respondents see the educational system in the responsibility to widen its offers in this direction. Others do not see age correlated with inflexibility, but argue, that this is a problem of old-fashioned forms of management.

Those rating the trend:

„Unemployment among young people under 25 will increase, compared to other age groups. In general, young people will have to face increasing difficulties in finding work as they make the transition from education to employment“

as important especially see the educational system as responsible to equip students with the necessary preconditions to be „employable“. Employers are often reluctant to employ younger people due to their not existing work-experience. This problem will increase if full-time school schemes will still increase in importance. One respondent quotes Ulrich Beck and puts in the term „Brasilia-nisation“ of labour and work. More optimistic respondents answer that there will be demographic developments which will smooth this problem with effect from 2006.

Comments to trend 10:

„The attention paid to social cohesion will increase. Public authorities and the social partners will, increasingly, recognise the importance of giving a high degree of priority to maintaining and improving social cohesion“,

range from sceptical opinions, that social cohesion is not an end in itself and should be an effect of other political decisions or that such a trend cannot be seen at the moment but rather the opposite, on the one hand, and on the other hand comments that stress the important function of social cohesion as an important pre-condition of success in other societal or economical spheres or even as important locational factor. Other respondents put in the argument that due to globalisation and mobility of capital this problem cannot be resolved on the national level, anymore.

Concerning the role of the state in education and training initial and continued education have to be distinguished. Within the latter field the importance of individual enterprises' measures will increase. A lot of enterprises benefit from the education and trai-

ning offered by public universities so that the support for SMEs is especially regarded as necessary.

Most respondents see processes of migration (t13):

„The migration of labour will increase. The international movement of labour will grow within the EU/CEE countries but also from countries outside of Europe”

especially relevant for the higher-qualified Germans. Apart from that migration is seen relevant for people from the applicant countries in particular, because the reason for migration is usually the strive for better economic conditions.

Comments in Context C

Analysing t07 and t13:

„Regionalisation will have a major impact on vocational education and training. The importance of the regional or local basis of VET will increase. VET will, increasingly, be organised on a regional (or local) basis to meet regional (or local) needs“ and

„SMEs will benefit from an increase in the transfer of knowledge, through the agency of education and training providers. A priority of VET providers will be to activate the group of SMEs that adapts slowly to innovation. SMEs will get a better link with the knowledge and technology yields of educational providers”

which are directly connected to that topic and both show a high deviation in importance ratings we find the following lines of argumentation: in case of t07 the first stresses the possibilities of better adaptivity to the actual conditions of competition, and the responsibility of schools for the development of a community at the local level connected with the argument that more extensive regulations are too inflexible to meet the actual needs. The second line of argumentation sees possible processes or regionalisation as barriers for the mobility of labour and as an offence against the „Berufsprinzip“ (that means vocational training structured by the principle of profession). Another group of respondents argues that the effects of globalisation will dominate processes of regionalisation or even ask if there is something like regional needs. Concerning a possible knowledge transfer function of institutions of vocational education two positions can clearly be distinguished. On the one hand there is the group of respondents making references to already existing examples and considering it as a good way to enhance the importance of VET institutions. On the other hand there are opinions which doubt the capability of those institutions to take over such a role and if enterprises are interested in such processes at all.

We also analysed comments on the item:

„Specialist and technical skills will gain in importance. Education and training will focus more explicitly on specialisation. Students will be expected to become increasingly more specialised because of the specific demands from the enterprises“,

which shows a considerable low mean but also a high standard deviation. This could reflect the different meanings of „work-oriented, specialised knowledge: for a certain group of respondents this implies overspecialisation and a fragmented share of work and rather place on „*Schlüsselqualifikationen*“ (key qualifications), another group favours the idea of what is called „work process-knowledge“ in the academic discussion and rate it with increasing importance. It is straightforward to understand why (t09):

„Training organised by the various sectors will become more important. Sectoral organisations will play an increasingly significant role in stimulating and organising training for employees across the sector. Training courses are likely to be better geared to the innovation cycles - both within and between enterprises - in certain important sectors of industry.“

gained a low mean score, as sectoral organisations already play a prominent role in the German VET situation.

An emerging system of accreditation of non-formal learning seems to be hardly imaginable for the respondents (t19):

„Knowledge and skills gained outside formal training (non formal learning) will be better recognised. As well as continuing to recognise qualifications gained through formal education and training, better systems for recognising skills gained outside formal settings will develop. As this kind of recognition grows in importance, certification based on outcomes and competencies will be developed“.

Looking at the comments respondents emphasise the importance of knowledge and skills achieved outside of the formal education system but do not favour a further formalisation in terms of certification. If there should be such measures, they only can be an extension to already existing forms of certification which could contribute to the parity of esteem between general education and actual processes of occupational learning.

II.3.2.3 First National seminar¹¹

The German national seminar took place on September the 17th in 1999. It was one of the first seminars which have been carried out in the overall project. Hence, it could not benefit from experiences made in other countries. The participants have been selected by their affiliation to one of the 10 groups of the respondents' matrix at the beginning of this chapter. The actual participants fit into the following categories:

- Civil servants at the national, regional and local level
- Employer associations, chamber of commerce etc
- Employee representatives, trade unions, chamber of labour, labour administration etc.

¹¹ The travel and organisational costs of the seminar have been supported by a financial grant of the *BMBF*. Thanks are due to Ludger Deitmer who took the minutes of the scenario seminar and to the participants for their constructive participation.

- Sectoral organisations, professional associations
- Education/training providers, institutes for VET
- Universities, research institutes
- Consultancy agencies, advisory agencies.

Altogether 20 participants joined the national seminar representing important actors within the VET arena. About one week before the seminar the participants were sent a letter with a detailed description of the purpose and on the course of the seminar. This letter also contained an introduction to the scenario method and scenario analysis as well as preliminary results of the data analysis. The agenda of the seminar began with a welcome by *ITB* and *CEDEFOP* followed by an introduction to the scenario method and the presentation of preliminary results of the overall European study. Then, the results of the German part were presented as a stimulus for further discussion and the rather strategic orientation of the project opposed to pure research was emphasised. After lunch-break the same procedure was pursued for the strategies. The seminar was finished with an overview on perspectives of the project and a feedback round. Summarising we can divide the results of the seminar in three parts: Discussion of scenarios, strategies and overall comments. All the three parts contained criticism as well as encouragement on methodological questions and questions concerning the subject matter.

The first German analysis (including the national specific trends) produced the three following scenario matrices which have been presented to stimulate the discussion. It was pointed out that the scenario-matrices only reflect the results of the statistical analysis and that there is no claim for absolute explanation. It was the function of the seminar in particular to compensate existing shortcomings.

11.3.2.1 Discussion on Scenarios for context A

Some of the participants argued that the trends listed in the questionnaire emphasise global trends too much which are of particular importance for enterprises acting on the global level. The important role of SMEs within the German system of VET might be underrated due to this fact. Only 30 per cent of employment in Germany takes place in such global player enterprises. This is connected with the need for co-operation on the local and regional level.

		Technological change and innovation	
		Low	High
Globalisation and Co-operation	High degree of co-operation under condition of strong pressure through international competition	"defensive" networks of enterprises	"innovative" networks of enterprises
	Low degree of co-operation under condition of moderate pressure through international competition	Separated co-existence	Intensive competition on the national level

Table 6: Preliminary scenarios for context A

Unfortunately the actual situation in Germany often resembles the scenario of „separated co-existence“. Pre-conditions for innovation, such as a working research and development infrastructure, were underlined as being an important factor for the prosperity of developed (post-)industrial nations. The possible shift of tasks of *Berufsschulen* and *Fachhochschulen* to centres for regional innovation was emphasised and examples were given. The scenario of „defensive networks“ was seen as relevant for ancillary industries which are under high pressure by the conditions of modern competition and hence lack the necessary resources to invest in long-term actions. Here VET institutions could also work as a catalyst. The effect of modern information technologies has to be analysed intensively.

The coupling of co-operation and globalisation in one scenario-dimension might prevent important insights, as the two do not necessarily occur together. The emerging trend to monopolisation in some industries is also being overlooked by the items in the questionnaire. Besides there have been a couple of methodological remarks which will be summarised in a comprehensive paragraph for all contexts .

11.3.2.5 Discussion on Scenarios for context B

Similar to context A it was remarked that there is not necessarily a connection between the dimensions flexibility and mobility. The problem of segmentation of labour into one part living under conditions of coerced flexibility and mobility and another part as the permanent staff of enterprises was brought into the discussion. This shows that a rigid organisation of work can be associated with the constraint to mobility. To shed light on this point it was postulated to take items into further questionnaires which make sector specific features part of the discussion. The sphere of working conditions has to be added by other dimensions, such as new forms of gratification.

		Mobility and flexible organisation vs. Stagnation	
		rigid organisation of work, low degree of mobility	Flexible work environment, high degree of mobility
Individual risks and social inequality	Low	"neo-taylorism"	Malleable flexibility and mobility
	High	Modern "Manchester-capitalism"	coerced flexibility and mobility

Table 7: Preliminary scenarios for context B

The „Berufsprinzip“ was stressed as an important topic for further discussions, as it might be able to integrate all the three overall scenario-dimensions. In the case of the labour and employment environment the distinction between process-oriented and task-oriented company organisation could be an interesting point for further elaboration. The shaping of non-employment in different scenarios should be discussed on as well as on the shape of employment situations in different scenarios. For the European discussion a special interest was expressed in the competing models and degrees of regulation within the employment and labour environment and possibilities and limitations of integrating those different paradigms into one single European way.

11.3.2.6 Discussion on Scenarios for context C

The scenario matrix for context C encountered the least criticism. The Japanese situation was cited as an example for the field in the matrix on the right bottom side. The importance of public-private partnerships in the development of new forms of education was stressed as an important factor for the achievement of a situation as described in the right top of the matrix. The topic of on-going modularisation should be integrated in further scenario construction as this is an important innovation for traditional German VET. A possibility of connecting scenarios from context B and C was seen through the use of labour market segmentation theories.

		Increasing importance of work-process-knowledge and in-company organisational and personal development	
		Low	High
social and employment implications of education	High collective responsibility, smoothed processes of selection	Scholastic, academic orientation of VET	harmonic share of work between different learning sites
	Strong degree of selection, individualisation of social and economic risks	Two tier education	Polarisation of academic and vocational education

Table 8: Preliminary scenarios for context C

11.3.2.7 Discussion of Strategies

The discussion on strategies was started with the provocative presentation of all the strategies which have been rated as not relevant by more than 10 per cent of the respondents. The participants were then asked to present their ideas of strategies for possible futures of VET with regard to what has been said in the first part of the seminar and the listed strategies in the questionnaire. Again – with regard to strategies a11 and a14 – the regional and local level were pointed out as central units of action. Even if strategies and trends aiming to integrate or highlighting social partners involvement into VET got comparatively low ratings this point should not be underrated in further strategy development. What matters here is not if social-partners should be involved, what they are already, but rather what mechanisms can be found to make their influence more effective for the actual processes and outcomes of VET.

For context B the strategies B2, B7 and B20 encountered special attention and were seen as important despite their low ratings. The same is valid for B14, the need to find possibilities for better integration of the disadvantaged into the labour market was pointed out as a question of increasing importance.

The accreditation of skills and knowledge acquired through processes of informal learning was seen as relevant if attention is paid to the prevention of a jungle of qualifications. Modularity was rated as an attractive model especially for the field of continued education. It was remarked with view to c21 that universities efforts to find a place in the arena of continued education should be strongly extended. The polarity of specialisation and general, transferable skills was synthesised in the idea of flexible specialisation which allows persons to adapt their profound knowledge to different changing situations in their working life. The model of community-colleges following the Danish or northern American ex-

amples was mentioned as good model to integrate educational, sociological and economical needs.

11.3.2.8 Methodological remarks and perspectives

Altogether the scenarios were found to be too multidimensional in their scope and not fitted with the necessary degree of plausibility, this sometimes made the discussion somewhat complex. The analysis of comments and further analysis might compensate those lacks of the initial findings. Others stated a domination by mainstream-trends and missed the exhaustion of sociological fantasy for scenario-construction, which might have led to lower degree of binding force of the scenarios. However, the discussion process was appreciated and the potential for further scenario-construction attested. As an important side-effect the project might also increase the awareness of German actors for the European filed which is almost and end for itself. A clear appeal was made to describe the background of the study from the data collection to scenario-construction very thoroughly and transparently.

11.3.3 Summary of results of Phase one

The following summary of results of phase one served as a basis for further scenario construction and investigation together with the results of the discussions in the European project team.

11.3.3.1 Trends within the German VET context as identified by experts in the first phase

Globalisation is seen as a major challenge for the spheres of economy and technological development. The fast development of information technologies is considered to enforce the international competition but also leads to new possibilities of international economic co-operation. The rising importance and omnipresence of those technologies will result in new skill profiles which combine IT-skills as well as traditional knowledge of industrial work-processes (e.g. mechatronic profiles). Compared the importance of new technologies, the relevance of political strategies dealing with this topic came off a bit bad in the quantitative part of the study, this opens questions for the second phase. The described trends will be accompanied by a process of increasing importance of the conditions for and ability of enterprises to fastly adapt their structures to changing external conditions. Prognostic measures and analyses are seen as an appropriate mean to cope with the challenges caused by increasing globalisation of the economic structure. In terms of human resources needs the education and knowledge of employees will rise in its significance as an important basis to meet the so induced needs. The enhancement of conditions for life long-learning is rated especially high by those, who think that insecurities caused by technological and economic developments will be growing in the next ten years.

Some of the respondents expect a tendency to refrain from traditional values of economic growth and a shift towards a higher esteem of other domains, such as ecological or cultural issues. Others understand growing economic wealth as a necessary pre-condition. Co-operation on the regional level and the adjustment of regulations to regional needs are seen as accompanying the above described developments. However, there are some doubts if such measures can stand constraints imposed by globalisation. One result of the national seminar very clearly was the approval of regionalisation and co-operation as an appropriate mean especially for SMEs. If SMEs could develop such regional structures they might be able to overcome the problem of the missing structural conditions in the competition with big business. Companies are expected to invest more resources in continued education of their employees. Regarding the goals of those measures there will remain a strong difference between the public education system and in-company training. This trend is rather seen as caused by the insight of enterprises that training and education can be an appropriate mean to adapt to external changes, than by the pressure exerted by labours' organisations. Concerning appropriate strategies for the next ten years it is partly astonishing what is seen as not relevant for the German context. This might be an expression of taking a lot of proposed measures for granted in the German context. The national seminar contributed to more clarity in those cases. For example the active participation of social partners within the VET system is formally covered by institutional regulations on the federal level as described in the first chapter, such as the Main Committee of the *BIBB* and subordinated bodies. However, it was complained about a lack of co-ordination by co-operation on the regional level and the „distance” of actual workplace needs and the decision-makers' informational basis.

As a consequence of rapid structural change the flexibility and mobility of labour will increase, which will have considerable effects on the individual workers' occupational biographies. This to a certain extent questions the „*Berufsprinzip*”, which on the other hand with structural adaptations was pointed out as a comprehensive principle with the potential to integrate conflicting interests of the three contexts of the study. The issues evaluated as most important by the respondents are transferable skills and broad competencies combined with the ability to work in teams to equip individuals with the pre-conditions to act in a complex environment under constantly changing conditions. From the organisational perspective, collective learning processes and the promotion of them are important cornerstones for success on the market. Organisational development and the further expansion of continued education is also seen as especially relevant to respond to the ageing of the workforce. As this part of the overall societal educational activities will gain in importance, there might be shifts in the characterised division of tasks and the traditionally ascribed responsibilities. Employers are seen more and more responsible for the education of their workforce. The age group of young people under twenty-five is not considered as being exposed

to great risks on the labour market due to demographic reasons by some of the respondents. Others fear that this age group will be especially affected by changes on the labour market. This raises the question of social cohesion which was considerably high rated by the respondents – it is one of the traditional strengths of Germany within the international competition.

The degree and shaping of regulation of the interplay between education, work and social policy aspects has been distilled as a focal point for the discussion on the European level.

Within the educational system the above mentioned trends will result in an increasing emphasis on the impartment of social and communicative skills. Developments in the IT sector will have effects on content of education and also didactical processes. As in the other contexts respondents expect an increasing importance of in-company-training and education combined with a shift in tasks and scope of public education. It is also expected that individuals will be taken to account for their educational biography growingly. On the other hand it is also expected that processes of social exclusion and their prevention is going to be an important point on the political agenda. A shift of VET institutions towards emphasising their role as regional mediators combined with an adjustment to regional needs in terms of regulations seems to be a controversy topic interpreting the results of the quantitative part of the project. The analysis of the comments shows that especially VET-institutions have to work on their capability to take over such a function. The topic „accreditation of prior learning” is barely regarded as a field of growing significance within the German context.

Despite the high rating of communicative, social and transferable skills for the future development of VET in Germany, the corresponding strategies are comparatively low rated concerning their relevance. The reason might be that the German experts think that there is already done a lot within this field but looking at the comments there are also indications that this question has to be clarified on a more substantial level.

11.3.3.2 Methodological Perspectives as derived from the experiences of the first phase

The section on data-analysis and scenario construction for us showed the analytical potential of the project's overall design. Moreover, the quantitative part of the project seems to be an interesting basis with particular regard to transnational comparisons. However, problems raised when trying to interpret the extracted factors due to the heterogeneity of the preliminary scenario dimensions. In a way scenarios can be regarded as ideal-types on possible futures in the classical sense. Then, they would be exaggerations on particular dimensions of possible futures, which is not too far away from the underlying ideas of scenario-construction. Nevertheless, the dimensions of this mental operation should be as pure as possible, which for us leads to the opinion, that we

should invest further work into the development of suitable items on trends to get scenario dimensions with more plausibility. Purity in terms of scenario dimensions will also make them more useful as a tool for public discussion. The analysis of controversial items and the national seminar showed the value of qualitative, open comments. A shift to a stronger consideration of qualitative research methods as a complement to the used methods would be proposed due to this experiences. This would also provide a way to approach the topic from a rather inductive direction, too. This way we can cover ourselves against the danger to only double mainstream discussions. A reduction to one single questionnaire would help to get more informative results especially concerning the correlation with background variables.

II.4 Further Development of Scenarios and Strategies

II.4.1 First Results on a German and European Basis as a starting point for the refinement of scenarios and strategies

Through the statistical tool of factor analysis, which in this case functioned as an aid to organise and reduce large sets of data, the participants of the different countries reached a reasonable consensus (with only minor differences on the relative importance) on the following dimensions of change:

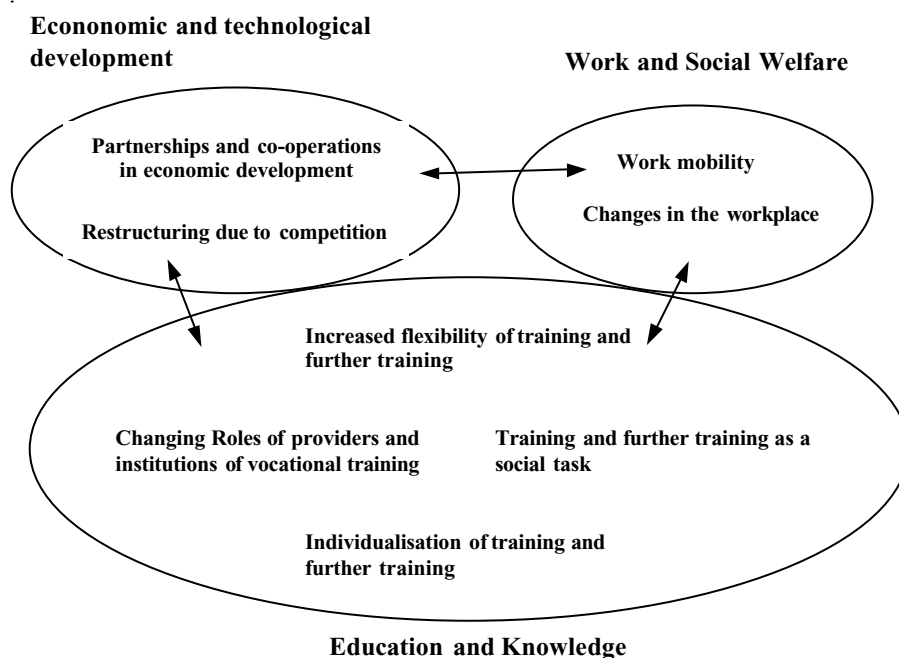


Figure 15: Common future problem dimensions of vocational training as result of the first project phase

The basis of these dimensions is the statistical evaluation of 2455 questionnaires that were filled in by experts on vocational training from the participating countries for the above mentioned categories. During a project meeting, which took place after the evaluation, the European partners agreed to formulate three scenarios per country based on the dimensions of change.

Similar analyses were carried out on a national basis. The results of the country-specific evaluations were discussed during seminars of about 20 participants each. The aim of these seminars was to generate additions and corrections as well as further detailed information on the assessment of the future of vocational training in each country. During the second phase of the project, the Europe-wide results serve to generate points of comparison, while the country-specific results facilitate further advancement of the practical side of the scenarios within the individual countries. The German experts regarded the following problem areas to be of particular importance (see paragraph II.3.2.7):

- Increase in international competition;
- The connection between internationalisation and the development of new technologies;
- The relationship between traditional work process knowledge and new technologies;
- Small and medium-sized companies and their place within a region;
- The relationship between economic prosperity and social integration;
- Vocational principle and other forms of social order of the connection between occupation, education and socio-political questions;
- The relation between training and further training;
- The significance of so-called key qualifications;
- The relative distribution of responsibility in education and training;
- The change of the role of institutions in vocational training
- The significance of European integration for general education and vocational training.

The drafting of the following scenarios was guided by these results. Results of recent publications, i.e. research results and politically motivated statements and reports on the subject of the future of education, work, economy and technology were also considered¹². The alternative future settings were mostly constructed in such a way as to emphasise system traits, or system development traits. These traits are merely representative and are thus presented in an exaggerate way in order to be able to distinguish the different scenarios easily. The alternatives are idealised – they are intellectual constructs – and are not to be regarded as „actual” possible future settings of vocational training in its social and eco-

¹² Cf. bibliographical references in the appendix. Incidentally, the integrated final report of the Delphy study, which was commissioned by the *BMBF* also refers to an insufficient number of concrete „scenarios” (Stock, Wolff, Kuwan, Waschbüsch 1998).

conomic context. While other combinations of system traits are possible, the present arrangement seemed plausible for the German context. In order to arrive at these scenarios we worked out a framework using the results of the German expert seminars and the extensive literature on the reform of the „dual system”, which guided our work.

II.5 Three Scenarios on the Future of Vocational Training and Further Training in Germany

II.5.1 On the Structure of Scenarios

The last ten years have produced a large body of literature¹³ on the „crisis of the dual system“, and especially in more recent years there have been a number of related reform proposals. This points to the importance that many significant social groupings currently attach to vocational training and further training and possible reforms thereof. This cannot be ignored, especially because of the highly institutionalised discourse on Vocational Education Reform. The people interviewed are „experts” in the very narrow sense as well as stakeholders who are at the core of decision making in the VET policy arena. Hence, it would not make any sense and did not function - which was observable on the two national seminars - to merely take the results of the first phase scenario survey as an input for the scenario interviews, which we carried out in the second phase. It was also not possible because of the time range proposed by the co-ordinating institution, namely the year „2010”. Expectably bigger changes in the strongly institutionalised setting of the German VET environment will take a little longer. Another issue in the German setting is that VET-policy is comparatively strong integrated into other policy domains such as labour market policy and social policy (see the whole chapter II.2). This was the reason why we decided to first develop „pure” (which is a „contradictio in adjectu”) VET scenarios and then relate those to „Meta-Scenarios” not on the criterion of our own expertise, but as a result of the interview processes and interviewed experts’ statements.

In order to develop plausible and valid VET scenarios, we presented a first draft of those on a second smaller scale national seminar and used the results of discussion for the further improvement and elaboration of those. This has led us to the following alternative pictures of VET in the year 2010.

In order to resolve any structural ambiguities that might result from the joining together of the results of the questionnaires and the existing material on the dual system and its developmental prospects we have evaluated the following three scenarios accor-

¹³ In order to maintain the readability of the text and to avoid rash opinions we have not included any precise references.

ding to these dimensions (in scenario terminology they could also be seen as „descriptors“):

- Relationship between general educational and vocational training
- Relationship between training and further training
- Work, labour market and occupation
- Institutions, status (public/private) and financing of vocational training and further training

Before we go deeper into these dimensions we will introduce each scenario with a title and brief description.

II.5.2 On the Content of the Scenarios „2010“

One of the more fundamental structural questions with respect to the development of vocational training in the next ten years is whether most of the suggestions for improvement of vocational training and further training will be implemented in a particularistic and fragmentary way, or whether there will be broader changes.

Additionally, there is the question of how to place the different reform options within the education and further education system. In view of the call for „lifelong learning“ it is an important question whether changes will mainly take place within post-secondary education and further education, or whether there will continue to be a strong integration of vocational training within the secondary school sector (as is typical for „dual“ education systems like the one in Germany). This question is of particular relevance in view of European unification. In this context, an analytic polarisation of first or further education seems to be particularly useful.

Education is also always a question of educational content: two opposing empirically identifiable models are an increased „work-process-orientation“ of education and vocational training on the one hand and a more „academic“ orientation on the other.

The first scenario represents a situation where currently existing trends are exaggerated, in the second scenario, existing institutions of vocational training are changing, and in the third scenario, vocationally utilisable education increasingly takes place post-school.

II.5.3 Scenario I: From the Dual to the Plural System of Vocational Training

Many of the trends and changes that took place in the late eighties and early nineties have persisted. In the last ten years, there have not been any major political or legal changes with respect to vocational training and further training. In view of all the significant dimensions of vocational training, like contents, decision-

makers and addressees only the concept of *plurality* can adequately describe the reality of vocational training.

II.5.3.1 The Relationship between General Education and Vocational Training

Apart from a few minor exceptions, the loss of attractiveness of the dual vocational training, which since the early nineties has been described as „the crisis of the dual system” has carried on. The creation of new occupations in IT and personal services did not significantly change the situation. Numerous non-traditional possibilities of entry also offer access to these vocational fields.

The proportion of young people within one age-group with university or college entry qualifications has increased. Due to an easier syllabus the two pre-*Abitur* years have become the rule. As a result of the changes of the real function of grammar schools vocational orientation is increasingly a part of the curriculum even of non-vocational schools. Practical training has been extended for the last 5 years of grammar school, which goes along with orientation offers by the local labour market officials.

The extension of higher education colleges and the newly introduced bachelor courses at universities have led to an increase in vocational studies and number of students. The range and quality of these individual offers, however, are rather unclear.

II.5.3.2 On the Relationship between Training and Further Training

Many colleges and universities offer commercial courses of further training. Most businesses, however, cover their needs via private offers. Larger businesses offer business-internal prospects of promotion, which are shaped to a large extent by their own personnel and organisational development policies.

Further education departments are increasingly being outsourced to international large businesses and consulting agencies. Further education is increasingly being imported, which puts pressure on German providers. In particular for occupations in middle and high management and in technology-intensive areas further education is increasingly being organised and carried out in English. Modern ICT technologies are utilised for these purposes. Some further education providers have now joined to create international professional organisations with their own standards of quality and certifications.

II.5.3.3 Occupation, labour market and employment

The tendency for pupils to work on the side is on the increase, which has led to a larger number of pupils not finishing their secondary education. Frequently, school leavers carry on working for the same employer after finishing grammar school. A number of university students follow the same pattern and often enter more or less fixed employment before finishing their studies. This in turn has led to

an increasing number of higher education students not finishing their degree. The idea of a vocation thus loses significance, especially in the modern areas of employment.

A paradoxical situation has arisen in traditional areas like the craft professions: existing apprenticeships are not being occupied as there are not enough applicants, on the other hand, there are many complaints about advance concessions of the education system in making available suitable apprentices. Many apprentices leave their position before completion. In East and West, many state subsidised training establishments that are not connected to businesses take on a socio-political rather than an educational role.

II.5.3.4 Institutions, Status (public/private) and Financing of Vocational Training and Further Training

In addition to public vocational schools, in some commercial vocations, there is an increasing number of vocational academies. These are usually run jointly by businesses, employers' associations and public corporations. Similar solutions are increasingly taken up by the commercial technical sector. For teachers, these academies offer better salaries, considerably better equipment and relatively high-performing apprentices, and thus represent an interesting alternative to teaching in public schools. Teacher shortage therefore increases for vocational schools with public status.

In addition to these publicly and privately maintained schools there are also business-external trade educational establishments which, as a rule, receive significant state funding.

II.5.4 Scenario II: Work Process Related and Shaping Oriented Vocational Training

As a result of the vocational training reforms (*amendment of the law of vocational training, 2007*) in the last ten years, a number of reorganisational procedures led to new, wider professional outlines, which in turn fit into a new professional structure. The significance of vocational schools has risen due to core professions and a change of direction towards more *open and dynamic professional outlines*. Integrated vocational training plans led to a greater acceptance of vocational schools by company internal training personnel and the co-operation between companies and schools has taken on a new shape.

II.5.4.1 Relationship between general and vocational education and training

It is now increasingly possible to acquire university entry qualifications while being engaged in vocational training (double qualification). This has made vocational training more appealing for pupils and parents. The co-operation between vocationally oriented colleges and universities and vocational schools has made it possible for some areas of training that additional courses are recognised by the college or university. Vocational training has thus

gained in attractiveness for both parents and pupils and now represents an alternative to grammar school.

The setting up of local advisory committees for the various vocational fields that are taught in vocational schools enables teachers to combine academic with vocational content in a practically oriented way. In this context, education is thus organised in a domain specific way within regional vocational training dialogue.

11.5.4.2 On the relationship between training and further training

In addition to private providers of vocational further training, vocational schools and universities have now got more involved in the area of further training. As well as the traditional training for master craftsman, technical expert and business management graduate, there is now a wide range of additional further training courses, which can, in certain circumstances, lead to a degree. Such further training modules are mostly state-approved and tailor-made for certain vocational fields within vocational initial training. These modules are taught at new training and further training associations and their contents are overseen by regional advisory committees.

11.5.4.3 Occupation, labour market and employment

Europe-wide standards of qualification have developed in large branches such as the automotive and chemical industries. Supported by the relevant employers' and employees' associations, these standards exert an increasingly strong influence on the development of vocational training in the various member states. In Europe, the principle of duality of place of study as well as the integration of vocational training into secondary education are now the principle educational structure in the above mentioned branches. Within these branches, it has now become possible to complete part of one's studies abroad.

11.5.4.4 Institutions, status (public/private) and financing of vocational training and further training

Within the area of further training, some federal states have established public-private-partnerships: Within the legal institutions of *Stiftungen des Öffentlichen Rechts* (Foundations of public law) and *Gemeinnützige GmbH* (charitable Ltd.) syndicates developed between providers of regional training and further training, like vocational schools, colleges and Chambers or associations. Many of the further training offers presented formed as a result of demand and task analyses in SMEs. Due to more relaxed attitudes towards co-operation and design it is now once again an attractive option for SMEs to employ apprentices.

Due to the relaxation of the civil service law, some federal states have developed so-called vocational lectureships. In addition to teachers recruited in the traditional way, it has now become pos-

sible for schools to employ experts from science and practice for certain vocational training contents. These lecturers mostly teach courses that lie within the scope of regionally developed curricula. As many of the lecturers are still involved in the companies' training and further training, this innovation, too, has contributed to an increased communicational exchange between regional businesses and vocational schools.

II.5.5 Scenario III: Revaluation of Formal Education and lifelong learning

New professional outlines and a number of reorganisational processes have contributed to innovations in the area of vocational training. *Berufsfachschulen* (Technical colleges) have gained further significance in some professional areas. Dual vocational training, however, now only serves to bridge the gap. In the last few years, the majority of the innovations concerning educational policy took place within the traditional area of education and further training. The most important innovation of the last ten years is the further training outline legislation, which is in force nationwide.

II.5.5.1 Relationship between general education and vocational training

The proportion of pupils gaining university entry qualifications has gone up even further. High-performance pupils, however, have the option of taking a short-cut and completing their education after only twelve years. Due to a number of changes in the curriculum, general education schools have opened towards the work market. Practical training periods in the last five years of school have been extended. The new subject of professional orientation has been introduced in many federal states. Optional courses have been introduced that allow pupils to acquire basic and more in-depth knowledge of new technologies and economic sub-disciplines.

Colleges and universities now also put their focus increasingly on vocational and practical qualifications. In the last few years, the average period of study has decreased and the number of students leaving college and university with a bachelor or college degree has increased. The structure of the courses of study includes more and more project-like and didactic organisational forms and six-month practical training courses have become the norm for most courses of study.

Universities no longer offer the entire range of subjects. Instead, there are competence centres for specific occupational fields and subject areas. Co-operation between colleges and universities have become more common.

II.5.5.2 On the relationship between training and further training

At federal level, a nation-wide outline legislation for further training has been set up, which regulates questions of quality and financing.

Questions of quality are regionally regulated via an unbiased further education council and corresponding committees. The regional further education councils and consultation agencies are usually located at or near the universities and colleges. This ensures a co-ordination with existing courses of study.

More than before, business-internal further training courses teach new employees the basic practical knowledge necessary for the job.

II.5.5.3 Occupation, labour market and employment

For secondary school pupils, dual initial training or education increasingly only bridges a gap, e.g. when waiting for a university or college place.

More and more pupils now work during the final one or two years of school. In some cases, pupils stay with these employers after finishing school. On the one hand, this enables pupils and students to gain valuable experience in the job market and they take the opportunity to try out different businesses, but on the other hand, this has led to an increase in students not finishing their courses. Some universities and colleges have introduced so-called part-certificates, which document students' achievements before their break off.

II.5.5.4 Institutions, status (public/private) and financing of vocational training and further training

A state and federally subsidised fund has been set up which helps finance further training. When businesses fulfil certain criteria their further training expenses are tax deductible. The financial resources from the further training fund are distributed to employees via individual training accounts.

In addition to private providers of vocational further training, the regional and subject-specific competence centres that have been set up at colleges and universities now represent a competition on the market. As a rule, these institutions are organised as public-private partnerships between public corporations, associations, professional organisations and occasionally businesses.

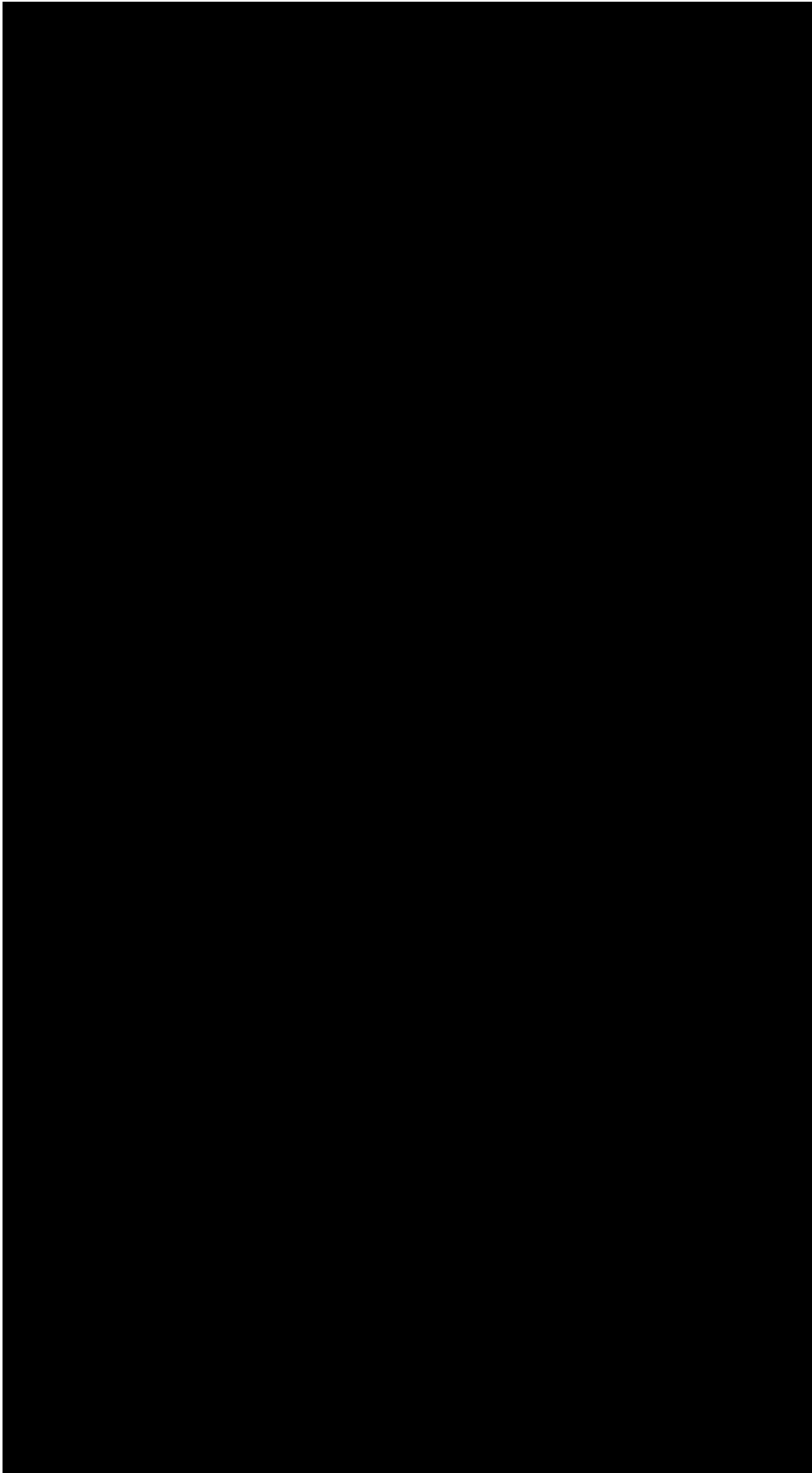


Figure 16: Overview on German VET- Scenarios

II.5.6 The context scenarios

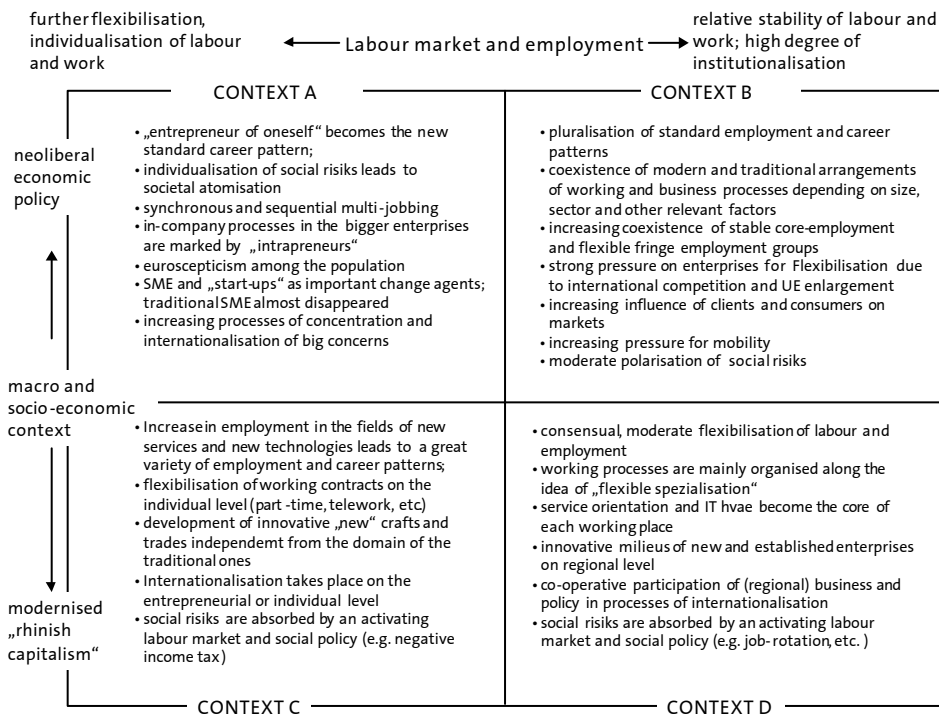


Figure 17: The German Context Scenarios

Taking up two different polarities which are observable in the broader German policy discussion we came to the Context-Scenarios shown in the figure above.

Those context scenarios were also part of a brochure which was sent out to the interviewees before the interviews were carried out. The interviewees were asked which of the VET scenarios they see related to the context scenario. It is quite evident, that the Scenario A in the upper left corner of the matrix is quite unlikely for the German context because it is an overexaggeration of two „basic“ trends in the policy environment which are in a strong contradiction to traditionally strong corporatist German policy tradition.

II.6 Strategies further developed

There are *thirteen strategies* that emerged from the European scenario discussion, which now have to be evaluated for their significance for the development in Germany. The dynamic of the open, thematically-guided expert discussions neither allowed for the treatment of all 13 strategies in detail nor in the form of a check list. Rather, the question of *strategies* was posed in a more general and open manner, representing options that can lead to some scenario or other. The result was that by and large only those strategies were mentioned that were judged to be of significance for *one's own* goal scenario. Additionally, goals of action, plans and options, which should really be added to the „scenario complex“ were mentioned repeatedly in passing during the course of the

discussions. We have thus reviewed each interview with regard to strategy relevance and have then matched this to the *thirteen strategies* ourselves. The following remarks are therefore essentially an *interpretative assignment of interview statements to the thirteen strategies*, for which we are entirely responsible.

II.6.1 Clusters of Strategies

An attempt to compare and relate the *thirteen strategies* with the statements of the expert discussions quickly reveals that these *thirteen strategies* are not all situated on the same level of generalisation or level of policy. Instead they are to some extent arranged hierarchically and group together in varying ways. They mostly differ with regard to their *goal* orientation and their orientation towards *means* and *instruments*. In other words: some of the suggested strategies focus more or even exclusively on *what* should be achieved and others focus more or exclusively on the *how*. The means-oriented strategy drafting, however, often implicitly also refers to goal orientation, at least as far as the people involved in the discussion are concerned. And vice versa: for the actors involved, certain goals strongly imply *particular* instrumental strategies. This has a lot to do with established *goal-means-relations* of (vocational) policy strategies. However, they are neither valid in principle nor long-term. Not only do the interests of the persons involved differentiate the respective *goal-means-goal-models*, but the very attempt to re-orient the *goal-means assignment* reveals *important social learning processes*: they could for instance show that previous instruments or solutions are no longer appropriate for the goal.

There is not just the trivial fact that the choice of strategy is not free but rather tied to the relevant context of action (*scenarios*), but also the fact that the individual strategies that are taken from the existing *arsenal of strategies* (which, for the sake of simplicity, we will equate with the thirteen strategies of the UK project), group together into *clusters of strategies* with internal connections.

If you follow the expert discussions you can clearly make out *three strategy clusters* that differ according to their *dominant goal orientation*. The *dominant goal orientation* suggests which group of problems are thought to be particularly risky and are thus should be addressed emphatically and as a matter of great priority. That does not mean that other goal orientations do not play a role at all, but rather that they are *of secondary importance from our given point of view* (this may be the result either of the overall assessment of social problems or of a supposed division of labour with regard to taking care of social problems, or both...)

So what are the different *headlines* of the three clusters of strategies?

II.6.1.1 Cluster 1: Supporting the development of the modern, flexible worker (strategy 4)

The strategy cluster that is marked by this *goal* is regularly tied to the following:

- Providing accurate and up-to-date information about the change of vocational demands (strategy 2)
- Focusing on the development of basic skills (strategy 8)
- Making optimal use of IT within vocational training (strategy 12)

II.6.1.2 Cluster 2: Addressing particular target groups (strategy 6)

The strategy cluster that is marked by this *goal* is regularly tied to the following:

- Developing information, guiding material and support structures for individuals (strategy 5)
- Focusing on the development of basic skills (strategy 8)
- Finding a new way of using public funds (strategy 10)

II.6.1.3 Cluster 3: Increasing the „weight“ of learning in the lives of individuals, businesses and communities (strategy 3)

The strategy cluster that is marked by this *goal* is regularly tied to the following:

- Providing accurate and up-to-date information on the change of vocational demands (strategy 2)
- Developing information, guiding material and support structures for individuals (strategy 5)
- Establishing transparency of qualification structures (strategy 7)
- Finding a new way of using public funds (strategy 10)
- Recognising and promoting non-standard skills (strategy 11)
- Promoting a policy of agreement between work and life (strategy 13)

II.6.1.4 An additional strategy cluster (4th cluster)

It has already become evident that identical instrumental strategies can be found in different clusters. One of the *labels* of the present arsenal of strategies, however, has not been mentioned above at all, namely „*Support for the private sector and for employers and employees, so that they become involved in vocational training*“ (strategy 1). The thereby implied orientation towards *in-company vocational training in a system the design of which employers and employees have decisively contributed* is the *central structural trait* of the German system of vocational training. From a slightly different point of view, this could justifiably be understood as goal-orientation for an independent strategy cluster, motivated primarily with reference to *labour market policy*.

II.6.2 Outline of the strategy clusters as a result of desk-research and interviews

As mentioned above, we arrive at these strategy clusters by balancing the – strategy-related or strategy-relatable – statements from our expert discussions with the 13 strategies as contained in the *arsenal of strategies* of the European scenario project. First of all we have to outline what we mean by each *headline* and, in the context of the individual sub-strategies, *in the German debate*.

II.6.3 The individual strategies.

In the following, we will comment on the individual strategies from the *arsenal of strategies* of the European project as they were explicitly or implicitly mentioned during the expert discussions. Then we will add a few remarks that will facilitate the understanding of the specific contexts for readers outside Germany. In general, one must consider that the individual strategies group together and *cluster* in different ways (see above). (Because the strategic options are related to the future, we will attempt to evaluate the individual 13 strategies using a point system from 1 (very important) to 6 (not very important).)

II.6.3.1 *Strategy 1: Support for the private sector and for employers and employees, so that they become involved in vocational training.*

Such a strategy is never mentioned so broadly. It does not form part of the discussion in Germany because the German tradition of vocational training particularly emphasises the involvement of businesses and employers and employees in vocational training. It is the substratum of the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (Law of Vocational Training) from 1969, which regulates company-based vocational training in Germany. – In a certain form, namely from the point of view of the *satisfying the demand among young people for apprenticeships*, this strategy did however play a role in the last few years – and to a weaker extent even today. In the last few years, the demand for apprenticeships lay considerably above the supply. This is partly for demographic reasons and partly due to structural shifts, and in the new *Bundesländer* (new federal states) this is mainly due to the pioneering work of the large industrial companies.

Different strategies of financial support were introduced in order to persuade businesses to provide additional apprenticeships. The main strategy was the so-called *Sofortprogramm* [immediate programme], which was issued by the new *Bundesregierung* (Federal Government) shortly after its election in 1998. The new *Bundesländer* received even more funding, which did not however lead to the desired balance of supply and demand. In our opinion, these strategies were motivated primarily by social policy and, in the new *Bundesländer* by structural policy. In the context of the apprenticeship crisis and following a far-reaching diagnosis of quantitative and qualitative developmental obstacles in the education system

there was demand for a new law for the financing of vocational training, which was supposed to work using a cost share from businesses. This strategy has so far not been successful and no longer plays a significant role in the debate.

For the future, this strategy does not play a leading role regarding financial support in the expert discussions (value: 3).

From a different perspective, the options as presented in the arsenal of strategies of the European project, namely that businesses as well as employers and employees mostly bear and are responsible for vocational training is linked to a *key question* of German vocational training policy (see above and below).

11.6.3.2 Strategy 2: Providing accurate and up-to-date information on the change of vocational demands

This strategy does indeed play a role; although it is a matter of interpretation what such information is good for. Different demands on the source of information and its emergence and its preparation follow from this. *BiBB* (Federal Institute for Vocational Training) pointedly follows this strategy using the „early identification system for skill development“ supplemented by activities from the respective promotional focus of the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (*bmbf* = Federal Ministry for Education and Research¹⁴).

In all, it is precisely the statutory agreement for the *BiBB* and its current concretisation¹⁵ in the context of the German vocational training system that is of particular significance from the point of view of orientation toward the future. This holds not only for the different forms of making predictions or early recognition and the continuing documentation of development in the system of vocational training, but it also applies especially for the new classification of training professions as a uniform, country-wide standardised classification tool. New classifications are done on the basis of negotiations between the social partners, which the *BiBB* technically prepares and conducts. In order to continually guarantee the future significance of training professions, professional vocational groups or professional vocational commissions, which are to serve to a certain extent as links between early recognition and new classification, are initiated. These groups are comprised of commissions of experts from the social partners of a certain industry, which are for the purpose of both observing and jointly

¹⁴ Noteworthy here is *FreQueNz* – a research and information network for early recognition of qualification requirements, which is co-ordinated by the *Fraunhofer Institut für Arbeitswissenschaft und Organisation* in Stuttgart. An important source of information for the *BiBB* (Federal Institute for Vocational Training) are the large, representative surveys for collecting and evaluating professional qualifications carried out in conjunction with the *Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit* (*IAB* = Institute for Labour Market and Vocational Research of the Federal Institute of Labour). These so-called *BiBB/IAB* – surveys were carried out for the fourth time in 1998/99, see also: Jansen 2000.

¹⁵ See also in particular: *BiBB* 2000.

discussing the technical and organisational changes with regard to vocational requirements.

11.6.3.3 *Strategy 3: Increasing the „weight“ of learning in the lives of individuals, businesses and communities*

This is evidently a super-ordinate strategic option (see above) that is realised in different sub-strategies. Without doubt, all strategies putting emphasis on further education belong in the same category. The focus here is on the broad inclusion of different groups of employees and of unemployed people in further education, on a demand-driven re-orientation of further education and on the systematisation of further education that is close to the place and process of work. Further education will increasingly be a normal part of working life, but will still display a number of socially selective effects. Several strategies are geared towards general access to further education and towards securing recognition and certification of further education.

Understood as „further education“ and thus extremely limited (see below), strategies concerning the increase of the „weight“ of learning, even ones that are in conflict with each other, do currently play an important role in Germany (value: 2).

11.6.3.4 *Strategy 4: Supporting the development of the modern, flexible worker*

This is one of the most central and predominant strategic orientations, occupied in a wide spectrum with several sub-strategies. That is why we chose it as a model for one of the clusters of strategies that we have identified. The discourse, which mainly refers to vocational training, is an answer to the question of how the development of the modern, flexible worker can be fostered: by making vocational training more flexible, both, horizontally and vertically.

In this context one always has to bear in mind as an historical starting-point the relative standardisation and frame of a training syllabus in dual vocational training: mainly a three-year qualification process which takes place mostly in the business and is supplemented by courses in a vocational school. The certificate is not gained until the end of the course after a final exam.

Two sub-strategies are beginning to change the status quo with considerable prospect of success: *modularisation*, i.e. the division of the entire vocational training into individual parts, each of which can earn a certificate. These modules are to a certain extent (or according to some drafts mostly or even entirely) selectable. The other strategy concerns the development of *further education modules*, which stand in close relation to vocational basic education modules. All in all, *further education* is seen as the central strategy for the development of the flexibility of the worker.

These strategies mostly concern jobs with high and constantly changing demands. They are not merely a means to keep the worker flexible – by strengthening the individual responsibility for their

education for example -, they are also a means to win those that are well qualified from school for these apprenticeships and activities. These internal flexibility strategies are often supplemented with strategies such as the following:

- Developing information, guiding material and support structures for individuals
- Addressing particular target groups
- Establishing transparency of training structures
- Focusing on the development of basic skills, modularisation
- Encouraging individuals to invest in their own education
- Finding a new way of using public funds
- Recognising and promoting non-standard skills
- Making optimal use of IT within vocational training
- Promoting a policy of agreement between work and life

The accelerating new classifications of training professions are also to be tied to this strategic relationship, which not only pertain to modern educational topics, but also mainly provide and/or even promote greater flexibility due to their broad foundation with regard to professional field or their combinational structure (e.g. mechatronic-profile). On the part of the vocational school, this corresponds to an increased learning area orientation¹⁶, which leads to increased context learning and also brings about changes in the traditional form of small business training. Approaches such as „business and work-process oriented training“, which are perhaps set up as attempts at modeling, likewise designate the option toward modern, flexible workers – from an educational point of view.

II.6.3.5 Strategy 5: Developing Information, Guiding Materials and Support Structures for the Individual

This strategy also applies for Germany, which by no means implies entering new territory. Vocational Guidance from the *Arbeitsamt* (Employment Office)¹⁷ is to a large extent already a component of the vocational convergence processes for elementary school students and has access to elaborate information systems, which can currently be used also by information seekers online or in on-site information centres (vocational information centres of the labour offices). Supplementary informational materials have also been prepared for various target groups; quite diverse organisations take part in the orientation and consulting activities, the daily newspapers publish regularly special information inserts for choosing a career. Vocational orientation instruction takes place in the local schools, with company internships being included as well. During the years where demand sharply exceeded supply for apprenticeships, specialised sets of material as well as consulting and sup-

¹⁶ See also, among others: *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft* 2001.

¹⁷ Information Services of the Labour Administration Office for Persons seeking Apprenticeships has been recently expanded. Now there is a free Online-Info-Service called *Ausbildungs-Stellen-Informationsdienst "asis"* (Apprenticeship Positions Information Service), which was visited by a daily average of 98,000 Internet users in September of 2000. Trainee and Regional Consulting Services were promoted, etc.

port measures have been developed in particular for those groups of young people who have specific career start-up difficulties. It is in this context that one can speak of an established system of information, guiding materials and support structures, which in the meantime have tended to lean more toward non-transparency and therefore required a clear regional network.

The *Berufsbildungsbericht* (Vocational Training Report), which dates back to the regulations of the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (Vocational Training Regulation) of 1969, provides information on developments in the field of vocational training on a yearly basis.

In addition, the question recurs as to whether the available information and the preparation of it are adequate with regard to the specific problems and personalities it pertains to and, above all, whether it gives an adequate picture of further developments in the work world.

The decisive limitation on the information and support structures up to now has been, however, the fact that it concentrates more or less on only one individual time period, which is considered to be neuralgic, specifically the first transition from the school system to vocational training. Approaches to a systematic and individualised vocational training system (Coaching) has been only minimally developed up to now, regarding the first transition from schooling to vocational training as a single, albeit a very important single, decision point in an individualised, somewhat drawn-out placement process, and during which various improvements and revisions are a normal part of the process. Experiences in other countries (abroad) such as experience in various business/career situations, new learning challenges, etc. would also need to be a part of this type of long-term, well thought out acclimation process. In Germany the vocational consulting and orientation systems still concentrate primarily on the first transition from school to training in the traditional model of a biographically earlier life/career decision, although this approach is now being viewed as less and less suited to reality. The close connection of the dominant player in career consulting, the *Arbeitsamt* (employment office) – in labour market issues – to which the partial system of business-based vocational training is also attributed, is part of this model. Thus, it is to be expected that becoming acclimated to one's career can thus be viewed primarily as individual adaptation to market conditions.

11.6.3.6 Strategy 6: Addressing special target groups

The issue of addressing special target groups in Germany follows to a great extent the recessions of supply and demand for apprenticeships, where demographic developments also play an important role. In the context of the social importance of vocational training as the „royal path“ to the world of work in Germany, certain phases, in which a business apprenticeship is a scarce commodity, have been socially selective with regard to the generations of school „drop-outs“ seeking training. Since the companies make the decision as to who will be trained, they can select candidates from

among the large numbers of applicants in accordance with their own criteria. In spite of all the many different influences which play a part in these business decisions (including the vote of the business and personnel advisers), the results show that in the case of those young people who have difficulty obtaining an apprenticeship, certain specific characteristics can be found: lack of accomplishment in school, belonging to an ethnic minority, and young women¹⁸. In such phases, which are often designated as educational market crises in Germany, strategic options are often specified and pursued, which expose in particular the social responsibility of the educational system for both the future of the society's youth and for the coherence of the society: i.e. a perspective of inclusion. The dominant position of the business-based system of vocational training as a chance distribution system poses a special risk for the disadvantaged youth in the sense that they may not fit in there. Since companies assume the main responsibility for vocational training in Germany, which is affirmed by the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (Vocational Training Regulation) of 1969, the demand for social integration is aimed primarily at these companies and in fact creates a problem of legitimacy. At the same time, this type of „narrowing down“ also confirms the isolation of vocational training as the special system similar to the operational work markets and causes all of the non-operational vocational training measures to appear as *less satisfactory substitute solutions*. Nevertheless, they have still achieved their own considerable independent quantitative and qualitative weighting in the course of the apprenticeship crises occurring over the last ten years, mainly in the *new Bundesländer*. And this means that today one can make reference to an existing *mixed system*, which has replaced the classic „dual system“ – even though it may not yet have gained the appropriate social, political and legal recognition. One aspect has been widely recognised, and that is that young people with special career start-up problems definitely need some *additional support*, mainly in the sense of adequate forms of learning and a primarily social-pedagogic support system in the course of organising their individual work/life situation.¹⁹ This also calls for a new network-type support system on a *regional level*²⁰.

Currently the situation is changing in Germany. A very different picture is emerging in the face of a slowly easing educational market. On the one hand there is a significant minority of young people having *particularly cumbersome individual career start-up problems*, and this group would therefore reap very little benefit from the revival of a specific position training program. As before, many students who have left school in the *new Bundesländer* are still experiencing great difficulty finding an apprenticeship there due

¹⁸ See also the *Jugendsofortprogramm der Bundesregierung* (Federal Government Immediate Help Program for Youth) from 1998. The first empirical check of its effects, especially regarding various social groups, is now available with Dietrich 2001.

¹⁹ For issues on vocational training for disadvantaged youth, see also *Forum Bildung* (2000) and *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft* (2000).

²⁰ See also the suggestions in *Forum Jugend, Bildung, Arbeit* (1998).

to the negative structural conditions in various regions. And on the other hand, there is an increasing number of company apprenticeships that cannot be filled. One reason for this is the fact that young people with good to excellent school records are utilising the more favourable educational market situation to their advantage to acquire the more attractive apprenticeship positions on their own. Another reason is that many business sectors – including certain dynamic and modernised fields of the trades²¹ - find themselves in a particularly difficult situation: their demand for well-educated and flexible new talent is growing, but they cannot fill the demand due to the negative image that prevails from the past among these students who have left school, while at the same time their traditional pool of clientele is no longer able to fulfil the job requirements. This tendency of companies to continually increase the requirements of the job - which is also reflected in the required learning levels for newly established positions – is also the reason why one cannot expect that the chances for young people with special career start-up difficulties of obtaining a company apprenticeship to be „automatically“ improved with increasing apprenticeship offerings²² In connection with the renewed increase in *competition for new talent*, certain measures for making the operational training *more attractive* to young people with good educational backgrounds have become evident, particularly the various packages of *additional qualifications* and „bridges“ to (technical) college education.

In this regard, the question as to the *strategies for addressing special target groups* can be answered in a different way and this question is also being advanced by various players. It is more likely the „under-qualified segment“ being addressed, where the issue is more opportunity for youth with special career start-up problems, i.e. a group of people having *few options*; in the „upper segment“ it is a matter of a group of persons needed more urgently than the new talent, a group which is comparatively *rich in options*. The issues having to do with the specific group of „female candidates“ is found throughout the various segments. But *addressing special target groups* is also an important strategy for the future, since it implies *in every case* a content-based, methodical-didactic and institutional *expansion* of the previous traditional „dual training.“

²¹ For the position of the trades, see *Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks* (o. J.).

²² This version is becoming more widely accepted. Such is the report from the *Berufsbildungsbericht 2001* (Vocational Training Report): „*The Task Force 'Training and Continuing Education' in the Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit (Alliance for Work, training and competitiveness) has also grappled with this problem in the last two years and has reached some decision in this regard. Two critical agreements have been drawn up: Advancement of the disadvantaged is now to be viewed as a long-term task and integral component of vocational education, independent of the current development on the apprenticeship positions market. Thus it is a primary goal of the educational policy activities to enable young people who have fewer qualifications and who are at a disadvantage to participate in some type of vocational training.*“ BMBF (2001, 29f).

It is no longer a matter of debate that demographic developments have recently put Germany in the position of being in constant need of the influx of new immigrants. The current debate centres around the issue of structuring a suitable immigrant regulation. Thus the *integration of migrants* has become one of the central tasks of the educational and vocational training system. The particular high levels of unemployment and the lack of education for young migrants – and in particular young male Turks in the respective communities of large cities²³ – give a clear sign that the previously developed specific target group approaches are not meeting with enough success. There is a great need for action and instigating social change in this area – also from the viewpoint of social cohesion: the risk of social exclusion continues to grow.

II.6.3.7 Strategy 7: Creating transparency of the qualification structures

A strategy which strives toward transparency of the qualification structures is only needed when a simple and transparently designed set is differentiated or conceived to be part of far-reaching transformation processes. In the previous German discussion regarding the improvement of information and/or an increase in transparency, there were essentially several questions as to *changes in requirements* in the world of work which stood at the forefront: the change of vocational profiles or the emergence of new vocational profiles. Modernisation in this sense referred to the internal structure, the contents and the didactic approaches of training professions. For some time, however, the *qualifications structures* in the sense of revised institutional arrangements, have come into play. This change has often been designated as a transition to a *mixed system* or to the *pluralisation of types of training*. New institutional arrangements arose, however, not based on the situation regarding lack of apprenticeships, but rather they developed – mainly for training programs requiring more skills – through new combinations of training sessions through either full schooling or technical college training and company training or through „additional qualifications.“ With increased domestic structural differentiation of initial education comes the increased need for creating transparency of the qualification „landscape“, and not only with regard to the individuals who want to qualify, but increasingly also for the companies. Regarding *further training* in Germany, the structures as well as the essential characteristics and above all even the *quality* is basically non-transparent – for the end consumer at

²³ The Berlin *Ausländerbeauftragte* (official looking after foreign immigrants) Ms. John at the end of March 2001 stated that the portion of unemployed Turks of the Turkish population living in Berlin amounted to 42 percent and the participation of Turkish youth in vocational training programs was declining, although the training opportunities had not declined. Representatives of measures for vocational training and employment in Berlin report that it has become more and more difficult for some time now to motivate Turkish youth to attend vocational training, since many would begin in a milieu of „relative poverty.“

least²⁴. This is one of the reasons for the demand for statutory further training regulations. In view of the increasing differentiation, the speed with which changes are taking place and the significant advantage of further training, the question remains as to how to create transparency for the end consumer. The more it becomes the responsibility of the individual, „to manage“ his/her own individual training schedule, the more important implementing consulting systems becomes.

11.6.3.8 Strategy 8: Concentration on the development of basic skills

Even this strategy, taken from the European „arsenal“, has a particular German slant to it. The tradition of the German company-based „dual“ vocational training does *not* recognise the priority of basic skills. Instead, a large number of individual specialised training courses existed together, which provided the trainees with a program of specific training for qualification at a job, after which they would be able to competently assume the responsibilities of a vocational career. Within the framework of this structured vocational training, a certain reorientation to basic skills in the sense of *skills ranging across broad vocational careers* emerged after a period of time, which would be presented in the first year of training, followed by specialised stages of training. The main purpose was to achieve a higher degree of flexibility and differentiation²⁵ within the scope of a vocational field. Based on the total time frame for this vocational training – usually three to three and a half years – a higher level of vocational specialisation was achieved. Another developmental route is based on the *pre-vocational area* as in a type of *training preparation course*. This was introduced in the *Bundesländer* in various forms within the framework of the compulsory school subjects and was intended to promote maturity toward a career, either as a basic year of vocational education or as a preparatory course for a vocation. Concepts for basic vocational skills also became effective in these formats, partly tied closely with the goal of target group-oriented advancement. Currently there is a very controversial discussion²⁶ taking place about the topic of whether available activity clusters should be grouped to-

²⁴ An overview of the previous suggestions on quality standards in continuing education is given in BLK (2000).

²⁵ Particularly pointed considerations have been brought forth here by the *Deutscher Industrie- und Handelstag (IHK/DIHT 1999)* and also *IHK/DIHT (2001)*

²⁶ See also the position of the *Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* (Alliance for Work, vocational training and competitiveness) as formulated in the results of the top discussion of 4 March 2001: It says there, among other things, that „*Follow-up certification for recognition of a partial qualification acquired in a career preparation program or in an interrupted vocational training program, in order to improve the chances of the respective candidates of achieving a recognised training certificate in a graduated processor to gain employment.*“ In addition, with regard to the current controversy on „new“ professions see *Handelskammer Hamburg 2001* and pertinent to this: A Commentary of the *DGB Regional District North*, in: *Gewerkschaftliche Bildungspolitik 1/2 2001*.

gether into careers which have „less theory“ and shorter training durations, in order to enable young people with special start-up difficulties to start working in a recognised vocational career. This can also be viewed as another form of the theme of „basic skills“ problematics, since here too it was a case of setting up this type of short-term training not as qualifying subject paths, but rather as the foundation for possible later training procedures which might be desired. A strategy of concentration on basic skills in conjunction with the perspective of a total reform of the training system presents a totally different emphasis. If the German training system were to be strengthened in the very start-up periods, i.e. in the area of pre-school training as well as the basic educational training, and if the educational training were essentially more intense than before, open to its social environment and more importantly also to the world of work, then a high-level vocational specialisation would lose a good deal of its importance. And if the vocational educational theory were systematically intensified within the framework of a general education in this sense, then specialisations could be added later within the framework of labour relationships. In this case, the vocational basic skills would need to be completely re-vamped as a statutory component of educational training. This possibility plays only a very subordinate role in the current German discussion regarding training.

11.6.3.9 Strategy 9: Motivating individuals to invest in their own training

In a very general, morally normative way this strategic option is also relevant in Germany. In any event, it hardly even emerges as an explicit request for material investment for the entire, relatively closed phase of training up until completion of the first vocational phase. This is due to the fact that training at the basic level and in the secondary stages is generally free of charge; for those in need, there is a *Ausbildungsumlage* (federal training funding) to help with the completion of studies, partially in the form of a loan.

In the in-house based „dual“ system of training the relationships are actually reversed: here the trainees receive training compensations which are agreed upon in terms of fees and modelled according to the actual work salary (in the same way that the training agreement is a special form of the labour agreement). In the case of vocational training in the „dual system“ it is thus not a matter of investing something for training, but rather putting up with a payment which is clearly lower than the respective work salary in exchange for the training. In any case, a compensation for training, which means the ability to earn one's own money, often leads to a decision to go with a plan for training and against direct commencement of work – and in cases of doubt also against attending a continuing education school. And since compensation for training varies from industry to industry and in part also from company to company, the training compensation also works as an allocation mechanism for vocational training: access to certain training programs is influenced also by the training compensations.

Auszubildende (trainees), although involved in training, thus have more money than students in the same age group; along with the idea that this money is „self-earned“, comes the awareness that their training program actually takes on the character of „work“ rather than the character of „training.“ In actual fact, of course, the families are investing in training for their children: directly in the pre-school area, in that the kindergarten fees are paid just as for any other additional tutors, but then later primarily *ex negativo* due to the long period of time in which the children are not able to contribute to the family finances due to schooling. The built-in social selection mechanisms here, which have an effect on an early inequality of training opportunities, after many years of being a non-topic, are only very recently brought back into the discussion.

Direct investment in training is currently only relevant in Germany in the area of continuing education. On the one hand this applies to the expanding, largely non-transparent continuing education market. On the other hand it applies to those continuing education programs in the narrower sense of referring to a profession, for which fees are to be paid or which cannot be managed (alone) in addition to the work, and thus are tied to a temporary wage renunciation or loss of salary/pay.

In the area of on-the-job continuing education, which is becoming ever more important (the so-called „New Type of Continuing Education“) there are some signs that co-investment by employees for continuing education will be regulated in the *Betriebsvereinbarung* (company internal agreement), especially in the sense of time investment. Criteria for the type of continuing education, which would be included in this co-investment, pertain somewhat to the close or not-so-close link of the training content to the respective workplace. One important aspect is that such a formula would appear to enable in-house training programs to be more open to the demand on the part of the employees.

II.6.3.10 Strategy 10: Pursuing a new direction for the use of public funds

Currently in Germany there is no new direction being pursued for the use of public funds in connection with vocational training; the proposals for discussion which have been forwarded to date on this subject – as far as can be seen – are being considered to only a very limited extent²⁷. In the course of the educational market crisis, which took on dramatic dimensions after reunification, particularly in the new *Länder*, public funds for the procurement of apprenticeships have been paid out quite extensively - primarily also in off-the-job and extra-plant establishments. This was again ac-

²⁷ See also, among others, *Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung* (1998b) and Ehmann (2001).

centuated by the new *Bundesregierung* in the so-called *Sofortprogramm* (immediate action program)²⁸ in 1998. During this time, requests were brought forth from various sides for re-organising the financing of vocational training and thereby also bring about a thorough improvement in the quality of the training. But these deliberations did not come to fruition.²⁹ In the *Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* (Alliance for work, vocational training and competitiveness) it was then amicably agreed to „cut back“ the public funding for apprenticeships³⁰, i.e. to reduce it in the range of possibilities. In the *Länder*, however, the share of publicly funded apprenticeships still managed to reach 40 per cent of the total apprenticeships in the year 2000. In light of the foreseeable easing of the training market, a new concentration of state funds is being earmarked for initiatives for modernising the vocational training programs, with an agenda that basically follows the agreements within the framework of the corresponding *Arbeitsgruppe* (working party) of the *Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* (Alliance for work, vocational training and competitiveness) With regard to the entire training system, there is a clear re-alignment of the flow of public funds in the direction of pre-school and primary education. Initiatives from various *Länder* are included here. It centres around a comprehensive maintenance and qualitative improvement of the kindergarten education programs and the introduction of all-day schools and/or guaranteed half-day schools in the primary area. In addition to the training-related components, these developments have been motivated primarily by considerations as to how to make better use of the female labour force potential.

²⁸ See also Dietrich (2001). Approximately 2 billion DM was made available in the years 1999 and 2000 for the *Sofortprogramm* by way of the Labour Administration, which originated from federal grants and ESF means. In 1999 there were 176,032 young people registered in the various programs of the *Sofortprogramm*, and in 2000 another 92,173 young people for the first time. From the *Sofortprogramm* somewhat more than 40 per cent of the measures were funded in the new *Länder*, whereby from 1999 to 2000 the funding focus in general was transferred to measures related directly to finding employment. The results at the end of implementing all measures show, in part, a massive decrease in labour market opportunities, which could not be fully compensated for by the implemented measures. A third of the participants first migrated into a period of unemployment, one fifth found employment opportunities, approx. 16 per cent are starting a vocational training program. The young people in the new *Länder*, in spite of more favourable school grades, have even slimmer chances of migrating to a training program or actual employment according to one measure. Foreign youth have been represented sub-proportionally, even at the beginning of the implementation of these measures, with regard to their proportion of the total unemployed young people. Dietrich (2001) summarises provisionally: „*The characteristics of being disadvantaged, such as low level of accomplishment in school, family background or regional structural deficiencies appear to be only somewhat compensated for by the new measures alone on any type of long-term basis.*“

²⁹ For a critical classification of these positions, see Heidemann (2000).

³⁰ See also BMBF (2001, p. 13).

II.6.3.11 Strategy 11: Recognising and promoting non-formalised qualifications

The high degree of formalised qualification which is based on the completion of schooling and which is traditional in Germany, above all due to the strong *impact* of the formalised vocational training of the „dual system“, has led to a situation where the recognition and promotion of non-formalised qualifications has taken a back seat on the current agenda. This situation is now slowly changing due to the increased importance of on-the-job continuing education and training, which is directly related to work processes. Along with this comes the understanding that vocational competencies can also be achieved and further developed through informal learning. And questions then arise regarding *working conditions which promote learning and those which hinder learning* – especially in connection with the development of *innovative work organisation*. Procedures for the recognition of non-formalised qualifications have previously been structured along the traditional pattern of *advancement*: they are evaluated along with higher compensation when they lead to the acquisition of a higher-level position within the organisation. But this holds true only partially for the informal and vocational learning procedures which are being increasingly promoted and which are directly connected to the actual work. Learning takes place and is supported, even when it does not lead directly to a transition to a higher level position, because the technical, product-related and work organisation changes need to be managed or the actual *work performance* needs to be improved (e.g. the continuous improvement process). Qualifications thus acquired need to be able to gain recognition in the individual qualification profile in a concrete way, e.g. in the form of certifications. Up to now there have not been any widespread, recognised procedures for this. Thus, the employees who find themselves to an increasing degree in permanent, continuing education vocational situations, do not receive the benefit of gaining increased labour market value.

II.6.3.12 Strategy 12: Using information technology in vocational training to the optimal extent

Information technology is now very widespread in Germany as part of the vocational training programs, with several career-specific variations. The preferred business basis of „dual“ training also means that the trainees come into contact with the advanced information technology systems that are already being used *in practical application*³¹. The decisive question here, of course, is precisely what „optimal benefit“ means in this case. And so again the systematic problem of structuring of the German „dual“ vocational training comes to the fore. Learning in on-the-job application situati-

³¹ The *Bundesregierung* and the *Länder* have already agreed upon additional measures, primarily regarding information technology equipment in vocational schools. See also *Arbeitsgruppe für Aus- und Weiterbildung im Bündnis für Arbeit* (Task Force Training and Continuing Education of the Alliance for Work), Decision of 5 February 2001.

ons has a tendency to see mainly the *functional side* of information technology. But modern information technologies have a tremendous impact on the way we work and live in society today. The addition of a critical and reflexive approach to the application of information technology is also required, which would have its systematic „place“ in the state-run, on-the-job vocational training schools. This question is just one of the questions of society and personality-related implications of vocational learning and working in a changing society, which make the *definition of the future role of the „vocational school“ learning location* - i.e. the dimension and impression of its independent educational mission and its cooperation with other learning locations in the vocational learning process – a very central and *very controversial issue* regarding the future form of the vocational training system in Germany.

In addition to the issue regarding the benefit of information technologies³², the current German discussion also touches on the development of basic and further training in information technology professions, for which four vocational training programs were developed over the past few years³³. And based on the lack of qualified IT personnel³⁴, one of the initiatives of the *Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit*, for example, is focusing on the mobilisation of respective apprenticeships³⁵.

II.6.3.13 Strategy 13: A policy of unifying work and life

Strategies for unifying work and life – primarily from the viewpoint of Gender Mainstreaming – are becoming increasingly important in Germany. There is not only a different understanding of work distribution and co-operation between the sexes, but also - above all - an intensified labour force requirement. These questions played a rather minor role with reference to vocational training up until now, because they traditionally concentrated on the biographical phase of older youth or younger adults, for whom the problem of unifying work and life only arose in exceptional cases

³² The *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* presented a funding program entitled “*Anschluss statt Ausschluss – IT in der Bildung*” (Connection instead of Exclusion – IT in Education) in August 2000, which was to be implemented in the areas of schooling, vocational training and college and which had total funds available in the amount of DM 1.4 billion for the years 2001 to 2004.

³³ And specifically: IT systems electricians, professional computer scientists, IT system sales personnel and computer science sales personnel. For careers and qualifications in the IT area, see also BWP – Vocational Training in Science and Practice, 6/2000.

³⁴ This lack of skilled labour motivated the *Bundesregierung* to introduce a „green card“ for residence and work permits for foreign IT skilled labourers and thereby opened up a broad public debate with regard to immigration.

³⁵ See also the BMBF (2001, p. 39f), which also maintains that young women have been taking little advantage of the training opportunities in IT career positions up until now. Therefore, new initiatives and measures, which the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (Federal Ministry of Education and Research) is currently working on, are aimed at granting access by women in career fields in the area of information technology.

in the context of the tasks of practical life. There is one important exception that viewed the unification issue from a very general perspective. For more than twenty years, various state-sponsored funding measures have been attempting to expand the traditionally limited career opportunities for young women and also to open up new career possibilities for women that were traditionally considered „masculine careers.“ Behind it was the thought of paving the way for unification concepts through the net influence of professional perspectives – with little actual success in the direct sense, but more like „reinforcement“ for a change in the livelihood opportunities for women. In recent times the question as to unifying work and life for vocational training has also become more pressing due to the increase in importance of continuing education, for which long-term recognised solutions are yet to be found. But even in the area of vocational start-up training programs, the first modelling approaches are coming into play to help young women with serious problems to combine life and work tasks – e.g. single young mothers – through the emergence of more flexibility in the vocational training programs.

II.6.4 „Place“ for strategies

In our understanding of the project, the *strategies* are the „signposts,“ so to speak, pointing to different directions from the current situation to the imagined situation in 2010 (scenarios). The signposts can either point directly to the goal or lead into a labyrinth or dead-end, alternatively, they could unexpectedly and unintentionally lead away from the desired scenario and point into the direction of another. The „scenario“ approach did indeed create a perceived tension in the individual participants of the expert discussions between the current situation and an imagined future situation: that means that their own (strategic) actions *mediate* between „today“ and „2010“. When asked how strong this tension is perceived, i.e. how big the qualitative difference is estimated to be between „today“ and „tomorrow,“ one must bear in mind that all the people we spoke to considered the nine years until 2010 a *very short* time span considering the complexity of the developments mentioned. This means that the projections about that which is probable (but not desirable) differ from „today“ only in degree. *In the case of Germany* this is also partly due to the fact that *vocational training as a system* is socially established to a high degree and its inner structures and procedures are consolidated. When discussing the scenarios, the German system of established and consolidated vocational training can function as a kind of thought-reserve vis-à-vis possible alternative paths of development.

During the Europe-wide discussion – but also in Germany itself – it is taken for granted in this context that a didactic or curricular principle has been established and consolidated successfully in Germany, a fact that is so obvious that it can hardly be denied: the *duality* of vocational learning. But this is an oversimplification.

It is crucial to proper understanding that the German vocational training system has a well-established connection with the employment system and is to be understood as its special education sub-system. It therefore exhibits a special legal and material basis which is clearly separated from the general education system. Vocational training thus proceeds mostly and typically on the civil-law basis of an apprenticeship contract between apprentices and the training company, representing a special type of contract of employment. The regulatory weight of employers and employees is a result of this or: labour market parties within the German vocational training system³⁶. In this context, it makes sense to talk about a strategy cluster (which reflects powerful established special interests) that is primarily motivated by labour market policy rather than educational policy.

The high and very system-specific manner that vocational training is established in Germany certainly distinguishes the situation here from that of many of the other countries involved. A reform of the education system that includes vocational training is in any case currently not a matter of debate in Germany, nor is it judged to be realisable. At the same time, however, all experts agree that there is an urgent need for reform. How far-reaching and drastic this need for reform is understood depends to a high degree on the *strategic goal orientations*, which lead to the above mentioned clusters of strategies. In other words, on the basis of the expert discussions, the strategic goal orientations can be empirically separated and they *mark* different *reform platforms*. This means, that in the pursuit of the different clusters of strategies there will be *differing degrees of intervention into current states of affairs*. This triggers varying degrees of reform dynamics – especially with regard to the question of how many sub-areas of the education system and their connections and effects should be considered or mentioned. We will come back to that in a moment.

II.6.5 Developmental Dynamics

However the dynamics within the individual strategic options or fields are assessed, they emerge and develop mostly from the *borders* (from one point of view) or *transitions* (from another point of view) of the „vocational training system“ to other areas of the education-work-training-system. This may happen vertically, i.e. at the transitions of the *entry* into vocational training or the *leaving* of the vocational training, or horizontally, that is, if there is a change within the organisation of the „duality“ or in case of the development of a „mixed system“, a system of free interchange. In summary, from the perspective of a *greater integration of vocational training into the educational career of the individual* (in the sense

³⁶ The most important current positions of the main players BDA, ZDH, DIHT, DGB and BLK/KMK drew up a summary sketch in Dorn (2000). For the trade union position, see also the documentation of the Educational Policy Congress of the respective organisations, which worked together for the service trade union Ver.di, on 10./11. November 2000 in Bonn: Herzberg, et. al. (2001).

of learning as a constant guide through life) and also *into a reformed education system as a whole*.

It thus follows with respect to the *clusters of strategies* that even an additional partial inclusion of new strategic orientations can necessitate new answers to questions that seemed to have been answered already. This has, for instance, become evident in the problem of „disadvantaged young people“ (from the second cluster of strategies), which may find entry into the „modernisation cluster“ (1st cluster) reformulated as the demand for the establishment of „theory-reduced vocations.“ Within the area of „further education,“ comparable processes can be found (here, the elements from the „modernisation“ cluster and „life-long-learning“ converge).

Given the fact that in most political speeches of recent years education is treated as the number 1 future challenge, partly with explicit reference to the competitive position of Europe, it is rather astonishing that from our discussions we get the *distinct impression* that the *three discourses*, called strategies, largely go separate ways. In relation to vocational training the discourses concerning *modernisation, inclusion and life-long learning* are largely separated from one another, including their respective institutionalisation. As a result, the relevant *milieus* that carry these discourses seldom meet, or at least seldom meet systematically. What is more, these milieus are now established and consolidated *expert systems*. The members of these expert systems, although they belong to different interest groups, can, when in doubt, communicate better with members of the expert system than with members of their interest group from different expert systems.

We get the impression that the *vocational training expert system*, which is centred around the company-internal, dominant part of vocational training, is particularly separate. This is mainly due to this area's many and diverse overlaps with the employment and pay agreement system (*This is also evident in that the participating associations often interconnect the competencies of vocational training and pay issues*). The low *discourse force* of „life-long learning“ is thus also linked with its low degree of institutionalisation.

The underdeveloped interaction between the different *discourse milieus* is also evident from the fact that the *forum for education*³⁷ largely ignores vocational training, partly because it belongs to the sphere of the *Bündnis für Arbeit...* (Alliance for Work...). As far as we can tell, only the *Sachverständigenrat Bildung* (Expert Advisory Committee for Education), which was initiated by the trade-union linked *Hans-Böckler-Stiftung*³⁸ deals with the horizontal and vertical and explicitly includes vocational training. Its results have not been

³⁷ The *Forum Fachtagung „Qualifizierte Berufsausbildung für alle!“* (technical forum meeting „Qualified Vocational Training for all!“) on 27 / 28.9.2000 in Bonn is one of the exceptions, in which mainly the perspectives of disadvantaged youth were at the forefront (documented in Materials of Forum Education 4). For the work of *Forum Bildung* see also the materials 1 - 5 (www.forumbildung.de).

³⁸ See: *Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung* (1998a).

taken up by other discourses, indicating that relatively closed expert milieus are able to reject new ideas as not belonging to their field of competence.

It follows, as was evident from the discussions, that only changes in perspective – inquiries from a point of view of different clusters of strategies – are able to *whet* awareness of problems. Our observation is therefore significant: the closer we came with our expert discussions to the focal area of the sub-system „vocational training,” in particular concerning the experts of the professional associations, the more the *modernisation* cluster dominated. Despite larger differences in individual cases, we can say that wherever there is direct involvement in vocational training other strategic options are either represented only to a small degree, or they appear as an incidental addition as desirable further ideas with little significance next to the other option. And vice versa, those experts mainly focused on *inclusion*, are less focused on the modernisation perspective. The latter, however, are more focused on modernisation than the former on inclusion. The *life-long learning* perspective on the other hand is most likely to link together the different options: it is, however, the least developed – conceptually, institutionally and as far as resources are concerned. With regard to the options, the emerging picture is rather *fragmented*.

II.7 Experts' opinions and conceptualisation of scenarios

A similar picture emerges when we summarise the experts' assessments of the proposed 2010 scenarios. It appears that there is a rather close connection between the *cluster of strategies* that is opted for explicitly or implicitly, and the estimation of the three 2010 scenarios.

(Scenario 1) Given what we have said so far, it is natural to assume that *scenario 1* „From the dual to a plural system of vocational training“ was the experts' main focus. This is partly because scenario 1 was seen as a description of the actual situation, as a starting scenario. For some of those questioned, this was also because scenario 1, with a number of modifications derived from scenario 2, can also persist as a desirable *goal scenario* for 2010 if viewed from a different perspective. This depends on how closely related the modernisation perspective is to the current institutional set. Especially those who opt for the strategic *modernisation cluster* can more or less identify with the basic ideas of scenario 1 as a future scenario.

Why is this so and what are the most common criticisms and modifications expressed concerning scenario 1?

Most of the objections, not only from the camp of the modernisers but from virtually everybody, are directed against the assumption mentioned in the first sentence of the scenario – from the point of view of 2010 - that the *loss of appeal* that became evident in the late nineties has *increased* further. The experts believe that

this is not to be expected, at least not to any great extent. It can of course be seen clearly that the scenarios work with the assumption, especially in the more highly skilled areas, that the individuals' and companies' interest in traditional vocational training is beginning to wane. This is because vocational training will prove too narrow for both parties, too specialised and containing too few options. There are two arguments against this assumption. First of all, there is no indication whatsoever that young people find vocational training less appealing. The demand for apprenticeships is high and there is no indication that there is a re-orientation towards degree courses – on the contrary. Vocational training is established as the normal and customary training preparation for the working life for the majority in each given year. The public scandalisation of the shortage of apprenticeships is a good indication for the development of what might be called a „social demand attitude,” a demand for apprenticeships for society's sons and daughters. This is seen as the opposite of a loss of appeal and legitimacy, and the purposeful combating of the shortage of apprenticeships, including the *Sofortprogramm* of the *Bundesregierung*, has considerably contributed to a re-legitimisation and finally to a strengthening of the system of vocational training.

However, this mainly concerns the weaker of those waiting for an apprenticeship, for whom, according to scenario 1, traditional vocational training is the first choice anyway. According to the scenario, the loss of appeal is a threat from „above“: One of the counter-arguments is that even in new employment fields like IT, regular vocational training is taken up again after a certain period of experimentation. The increase in trainees and other types of people entering the field from without formalized vocational training is seen to be a transitional phenomenon. One of the arguments is the internal modernisation force of the vocational training system, the *increasing rate and density of modernisation*, whose accelerated rhythm is linked to the effects of the *Bündnis für Arbeit...* (Alliance for Work...) ³⁹. According to some experts, so many modernisation projects have been initiated in the last few years that it makes more sense to talk about a stagnation of the implementation than of a reform.

With reference to the developments cited above, it is assumed that the many expert positions, which emerged in connection with the lack of apprenticeships and that have diagnosed a general *functional crisis* of dual training, are mostly refuted ⁴⁰.

³⁹ See also in particular: *Arbeitsgruppe Aus- und Weiterbildung im Bündnis für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* (Task Force on „Training and Continuing Education“ in the Alliance for Work, Training and Competitiveness). Prior implementation of the agreements of the *Arbeitsgruppe Aus- und Weiterbildung 1999-2000* as well as focal points of other activities in 2001-2002, decision of 5 February 2001.

⁴⁰ Very near to the end of the series of the various reform experts, the *Berliner Memorandum zur Modernisierung der Berufsbildung* (Berlin Memorandum for the Modernisation of Vocational Training) in the fall of 1999 attempted a critical, but integrating position capable of finding a consensus position among the vocational training experts on modernisation, see *Senat für Arbeit, Berufsbildung und Frauen* (1999).

As further evidence for the continuous functional strength of the German vocational training system it is pointed out that the „dual principle“ is expanding further and now also largely comprises further education (in this context, elements from the 2nd scenario are identified as future proof).

This constant re-vitalisation however is evaluated in different ways, depending on the dominant strategic option. It also reveals large differences within the camp of the *modernisers*. From the point of view of the inclusion strategy and of *life-long learning* this re-vitalisation is linked to a strengthening of the separation of the sub-system of vocational training. It has, at least, made its relaxation more difficult. This will have long-term effects, which correspond to the expectations of negative effects of scenario 1. The strong position of the employers and employees in the system of vocational training, further emphasised by the establishment of the *Bündnis für Arbeit, ...* (Alliance for Work, ...) means on the one hand a low risk of deregulation in this sub-system, and, on the other, a significant rigidity and inflexibility and a high degree of separation – above and below⁴¹.

(Scenario 2) Scenario 2, „work process and design oriented vocational training“ meets with approval among the *modernisers*. This is only the case, however, in *continuation* of the further development of traditional vocational training complained about in relation to scenario 1. This position is defended by those who are closely linked to the company-internal part of vocational training. The idea of an *open, dynamic professional outline* is generally supported – especially in the sense of an increasing inner flexibility of professional outlines on the basis of basic vocational training that prepares for a number of different jobs. Statements about the increasing, or from the point of view of 2010, increased significance of the *vocational school* are viewed in a much more critical light, especially by those experts who stand in close relationship with the company-internal part of vocational training.⁴² Many experts from the trade unions share this critical distance.

From our point of view, this is one of the central points currently debated: Can the modernisation of job outlines and processes of vocational initial training (and further education) necessitate a different role of the vocational school and changing co-operation between the places of learning? And can vocational schools even

⁴¹ Here again it becomes quite evident that maintaining an educational system that is closely connected to the employment system, which in principle consists of in-company labour markets and is linked with the pay agreement system, could be classified as a strategy cluster in itself. It is partly a matter of integrating the medium training segment for as long as possible and hence of achieving comparative competitive advantages. This also applies to the strong rejection of „European vocations,“ which can only be interpreted as a defence of national labour markets. The development in higher education is quite different, where the rapidly progressing „Bologna“ process is leading to ever stronger European harmonisation.

⁴² In this context, we refer to the independent position of the *GEW – Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft* (Trade Union for Education and Science), see GEW (2000b).

take on a different role due to their increasing institutionalisation and their limited and inflexible personal and material resources? This controversy currently manifests itself in the revision of the examination procedure, the importance of which was always emphasised by all those involved. In this context, the *Länder* assert an increase in weight of the marks in vocational schools.⁴³

Reservations mainly come from those experts who are closely linked with the company-internal part of vocational training, i.e. from the trade unionists in connections with an increasing *regionalisation* of vocational training. (Direction: (1) nationally uniform regulations, role of associations, proximity to pay agreement system, etc. (2) rejection of a changed structure of competencies and responsibilities...)

The idea of *regional competency centres* as mentioned in scenario 2 are mainly supported by social and labour market politicians, especially in the new *Länder*, but also elsewhere (example: model attempt North Rhine-Westphalia).⁴⁴

⁴³ The position of the *Länder* is formulated in: (1) *Kultusministerkonferenz und Wirtschaftsministerkonferenz* (Cultural Minister Conference and Minister of Economics Conference: *Gemeinsame Eckpunkte zum Thema "Weiterentwicklung und Modernisierung der Berufsbildung"* (Common corners on the topic of „Further Development and Modernisation of Vocational Training“) dated 05 August 1999 and in (2) Labour and Social Ministries, Cultural Ministry/Economics Ministry Conference „Position of the federal states on subsequent activities from the decision of the task force „Training and Continuing Education“ in the Alliance for Work, training and competitiveness „Structural Further Development of the Dual Vocational Training – common foundations and orientations“ of 22 October 1999, decision of 06 December 2000. The latter decision in particular lists the position of the *Länder* in a very different way, which is positioned to a model of „Process-oriented qualifications“. This type of educational goal-oriented relationship leads to demands that the educational order of the vocational school be considered more closely. This would apply both in connection with the increasing differentiation and flexibility (key word: basic qualifications or „core vocations“ and non-compulsory components or partial qualifications) with regard to the exams as well. A new functional structured testing concept has been suggested, which also foresees looking at the vocational accomplishments more intensely than before. In the process it would become evident that where applicable, an amendment to the vocational training law would be required. To be gleaned from the decision of the ministries for economics and culture on the vocational training law: „*The cultural and economics ministries and senators of the Länder have determined that the provision of company apprenticeships for the country's young people is the responsibility of and in the best interests of the national economy. They therefore request that the corporations of the economy to bear the responsibility for their own training...*“. This type or a similar type of formulation does not recur in the differentiated decision of December 2000: is this the result of placing increased, co-operatively distributed responsibility for vocational training on the entire society, similar to the differentiated positioning and – in particular – the upward reevaluation of the vocational school?

⁴⁴ In all, the question of „regionalisation“ remains controversial, regarding aspects of improved co-ordination of the various players, how they express themselves in the set-up of „Regional Apprenticeship Conferences as an initiative of the Alliance for Work“ or in the promotion of concepts of learning regions through the *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (Federal Ministry for Education and Research), meeting up with structural questions of the vocational training system. For a comprehensive presentation of the problems of regional vocational training policies, see also Kutscha (2000).

For them, the importance lies in the proposal of *multi-functional* development centres, where training is the central component. The following is particularly noticeable in the new *Länder* due to their distinctive economic and social situation, but is also applicable to many regions in the old *Länder* where the system of vocational training has practically developed beyond its legal and ideological fixation as an essentially company- and contract of apprenticeship-based special system. From the point of view of the *place of learning* this has plural system and from the point of view of responsibility and financing it has become a *mixed system*; a system that needs to be recognised and structured. This is associated with the convergence of vocational training and general education (which relies on reforms), institutional at first, as is evident from the example of the *Brandenburg secondary school centres*.⁴⁵

The assumption in scenario 2 of an *amendment of the law of vocational training in 2007* is particularly controversial. This assumption often triggered strong reactions from almost all participants.

An important reason for this is surely that the different positions cannot merely be found along the dividing lines between *modernisation, inclusion and life-long learning* but rather that in this case they collide within the camp of the *modernisers* themselves.

In view of the re-vitalisation of „dual training“ and the speed with which agreements to sub-areas nowadays are becoming possible the necessity of an amendment to the 1969 law is questioned mainly by representatives of employers and associations, but also by the Federal administration. In many cases, the point of reference is the progress concerning substantial agreements, which was achieved within the bounds of the relevant work group of the *Bündnis für Arbeit*. What is questioned is whether there are urgent reforms concerning modernisation flexibility within the system of vocational training that would indeed necessitate an amendment. Employers in particular oppose the amendment because it may open the door to changes of present structures within the sub-system vocational training. In contrast, the experts from the trade unions, which in this context mostly belong to the group of modernisers, insist on the necessity of an amendment. Their criticism of the existing law is consistent with their position in 1969, the year when the law was passed. The focus of their criticism is the current judicial definition of one of the core areas of the system of vocational training, namely of the *vocational training committee of the chambers*. The companies' professional associations have a central function within the system of vocational training as regulated in the law of vocational training. In practice, the employers dominate because they are in the majority and because the finances of the committee depend on the decision of the general meeting of the members of the chambers, i.e. the employers.

In the interest of the employees and a dynamic development of the entire system the trade unions demand an *impartial solution*. For them, the progress made in the *Bündnis für Arbeit...* on a fe-

⁴⁵ See also the position of the *Land Brandenburg* (1998)

deral level and several others is virtual proof for the productivity and functional justice of an impartially arrived at solution. The trade unions thus see an amendment of the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (vocational training law) as a perfection and completion of the already widely established corporatism, while employers see it more as a change of the system. In this light, this is more an internal debate about effective paths of modernisation within the sub-system of vocational training and is more closely linked to the continuing debates about the amendment of *the Berufsbildungsgesetz* than to considerations concerning a more comprehensive educational reform.

From a different viewpoint, the demand for an amendment as formulated by the more vocational school related *modernisers* tends to be supported from a position of *life-long learning*. It is their aim (see above) to increase the weight of the vocational school in the general context of a dual education in order to enable integrated learning processes and to systematically counterbalance the company-internal specialisations of vocational learning. The pathway from an *additional* role to equal responsibility and position (creating judicially not only the *duality* of the places of education – which have now multiplied -, but also the *shared* responsibility between economy and state) would weaken the special status of the sub-system of vocational training and move it closer to the education system as a whole (this would of course only be possible *materially* if the status of the vocational schools would also be enhanced – this is the position of the *GEW – Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*, which at this moment is still involved in an unsolved contradiction with the industrial unions).

It thus appears that the goals of those insisting on an amendment of the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* (law of vocational training) are not even compatible (yet) within the *moderniser* camp. Further considerations concerning the amendment are more socio-politically (*inclusion*) motivated: the aim here is mostly to somehow legally embody the responsibility of the vocational training system in relation to *problem groups*. At closer inspection, however, it quickly emerges that there are incompatibilities with the principle embodied in the private-sector system of vocational training of freedom and responsibility of decision of the educating companies. A systematic strengthening of the *socio-political functions* of the vocational training system (and not merely functions that naturally result from market mechanisms *plus* influence of the employees representative body *plus* traditional socio-political responsibility of companies) poses urgent questions about its *financing*. We thus find ourselves involved in a debate about funds financing, share of the costs and/or state subsidies, which during the years of scarcity of apprenticeships played an important role and which have now disappeared from the *current debate*.

This complicated situation shows us that, at least at this moment, the way to the *Bündnis für Arbeit*,... implied the decision not to put the amendment of the *Berufsbildungsgesetz* on the agenda. One would have expected this most of a government such as this, due to its political composition. Because the *Bündnis für Arbeit*,... is not

systematically matched to legislative processes but rather orients itself towards agreements between employers and employees, parliamentary coalitions in the *Bundestag* (German Parliament) hardly play a role concerning questions of a vocational training reform. This, if anything, strengthens the *special status* of vocational training in the education system as a whole.

(Scenario 3) The majority of experts believe that the greatest distance is to *scenario 3* „*reevaluation of formal education and life-long learning*.”

This distance is particularly obvious within the core group of the *modernisers* in the company-related part of the system of vocational training.

These experts, however, and also those few who have a more positive attitude towards scenario 3, have doubts that a *further education law* can appropriately be matched with scenario 3. This is partly due to the fact that the idea of a further education law was introduced into scenario 3 in the same way as this question has been discussed *so far* in Germany. *Further education* was always understood in close connection to the system of vocational training, as its extension and presupposition of flexibility. Presupposition of flexibility means that further education has to be the reaction to the fast changing demands which can no longer be captured due to the re-organisation of specialised trades requiring an apprenticeship. If further education sufficiently develops and systematises the effect will be one of „relief“ for vocational initial training in the sense of a possible further de-specialisation: this is a starting-point which already plays an important role within the reorganisation of the trades requiring an apprenticeship.

This can be clearly seen from the actual development of company-internal further education („new type of further education“) as well as from the existing ideas for the regulation of further education, which was informed by the vocational initial training of well-known models and approaches. The positional differences thus repeat themselves with regard to the question of the regulation of further education, which are known from initial vocational training.

The way vocational further training has been discussed up to now will project forward a special path of vocational training into the period after the completion of a recognised vocational training course.

That is why supporters and promoters as well as critics of such a further education model assign the further education law with its simplistic funds financing mentioned in scenario 3 to the judicial repertoire, as offered in scenario 2 with the amendment of the vocational training law.

Those who do not believe that this is the most likely of the three scenarios offered (out of those questioned, no-one considered this scenario at all realistic from the perspective of 2010), but do believe that it is *desirable*, primarily pursue the strategic option of *life-long learning* (strategy cluster 3).

It is interesting that this group initiated a revival of two central social themes, which had fallen into oblivion for a while: *justice* and *educational potential*. It seems to be the case, however, that they sharpen the awareness for the now limited capability and efficiency of the German education system only if they *combine with each other*. It is interesting to note that a concept like „talent reserves“ has been revived in this context once again that had been laid to rest ever since the discussion around the educational catastrophe concept brought into the discussion Georg Picht in the late 60s. It is mostly educational politicians who move towards this context and who begin to investigate the education system in its entirety and *think of it again as a whole*. A small number of labour market and social politicians from the new *Länder* also belong to this group, desperately looking for an approach that might bring to a halt the „extinction“ of an entire region. All in all, the extremely difficult situation in the new *Länder* seems to lend itself much more than the situation in the old *Länder* to think in new, integrated political contexts (e.g. „*Potsdamer Eckpunkte*“ *corner points of Potsdam*).

It is particularly interesting that this group of experts, when talking about life-long learning, behaves in contrast to conventional discussions of further education and concentrates on entirely different issues. They can see that within the German tradition it was mainly the secondary and further education sector that was developed, including the special system of highly complex vocational education. In contrast, the *nursery school and primary school education sector was seriously neglected*. This is also true in international comparison. They therefore concentrate on a reorganisation of the *early learning years*.

They all agree that the point is not just a merely chronological and social expansion of early education with the same understanding of education, but rather the point is a significant opening of school and pre-school-related learning into the world. Here, *from didactic and socio-educational points of view*, these debates touch upon those of the capability and efficiency of dual education, which can often give rise to misunderstandings.

This concentration on the significance of *early education* for justice and exhausting individual potential makes careful treatment of each individual differentiation in the secondary sector seem comparatively negligible and the concentration on vocational training as an „object of reform“ misdirected. The significance is played down and is a particular focus regarding the social politicians, who want to provide a second chance to those who failed in the non-reformed system of school education (elements of scenario 1). For these politicians of education, the problem with vocational training is mainly its *specialisation*.

This position, which is oriented towards a better foundation of individual equipment concerning capability of learning and practical decision making is linked to a socially oriented emphasis of an *increased individual responsibility for education* flanked by support

systems, as formulated by the *Sachverständigenrat Bildung bei der Hans-Böckler-Stiftung*.

If you follow this perspective then it is not the modernisation within the German special vocational training system that is the central challenge for the future, but rather its classification as a predominant re-orientation of education in Germany. It therefore makes sense, as was suggested by the CEDEFOP/ETF-European Scenario project, to take a look at the context scenarios on offer.

II.8 Re-relating Scenarios, context scenarios and strategies – Conclusions as input for the European project.

II.8.1 The relation of scenarios and context-scenarios

The scenarios for 2010 are to be structured through descriptors, i.e. via relevant environmental factors for the vocational training system, corresponding to the scenario system and as adapted in the CEDEFOP/ETF-European Scenario project. Thus the following descriptors should be taken into account in all of the scenarios:

- Economic Dimension: Restructuring, growth, competition, privatisation, (demand for lower/mediate skills)
- Social-labour Dimension: flexibility/mobility, work training patterns, inequalities, organisation of labour
- Training (demand) Dimension: general skills, in-company training, willingness to invest, „life long learning“

In the German case study – in the context of the high-level institutionalisation of the German system of vocational training – we have now selected a two-step approach: we will first present three vocational training scenarios for discussion, which are structured according to the „descriptors“ from the narrower environment of vocational training. In a second step, we will attempt to tie this vocational training scenario to socio-economical context scenarios, which essentially work together with the descriptors described above. And what do we propose to have gained by this approach? One thing above all: the various vocational training scenarios can be understood as the result of political action, and as the product of applied strategies to a certain extent. In contrast to this, a quick and narrow, very functional connection to descriptors in their various occurrences would suggest an understanding of vocational training as a reaction to various (economical, social, work-related...) environmental considerations, thus mainly as derivative dimensions. In contrast to this, we would like to apply more independence to the vocational training scenarios, in order to also underscore the significance of political vocational training strategies for social development in general. The results indicated exactly this type of picture of reciprocal influences and effects, i.e. were more realistic.

In the context of the fairly relative self-weighting of the vocational training scenarios in this approach, which emphasises the political structuring of the strategies above all and thus initially gives sufficient importance to the question of the strategies in general, an attempt was made in another step to relate the vocational training scenarios to four additional context scenarios. These four additional scenarios can be understood as four fields of a matrix, constructed between different developmental poles with the dimensions of „macro-economic context“ and „labour market and employment.“ They are inspired by the preliminary scenario matrices from phase one (cf. Chapter II.3).

The matrix shows

- Context scenario A is a combination of „Individualisation of work and employment“ and „predominantly liberal market economics“, and thus portrays a definite neo-liberal model.
- Context scenario B is a combination of „relative stability of work and employment, high level of institutionalisation“ with „predominantly liberal market economics“ i.e. a model of modernisation highlighted by growth
- Context scenario C is a combination of „broad flexibility of work and employment“ and „modernised Rhinish capitalism“, and thus a model of the new term flexicurity
- Context scenario D is a combination of „relative stability of work and employment, high level of institutionalisation“ and „modernised Rhinish capitalism“, and thus a model of distinct state welfare corporatism.

As a result of this positioning and when the diagonals are compared, the context scenarios B and C are closely related, while scenarios A and D are in a definite polarised relationship to each other. This finally results in a „Likelihood-Z“, in which A and D build the two ends of the Z and likelihood and plausibility of the scenarios are increasing when moving from either end to the middle of it. Above, you will find a survey of our expert discussions as they have been clustered together using strategic considerations. The attempt to relate this to the *context scenarios* reveals, for the German situation, an *expected overall development within the relationship of tension between context scenario B and context scenario C*.

In view of the German tradition of *social concertation* and the relatively strong position of the trade unions and considering the values that everyone connects with the *Work as a Profession*, a strong development towards *context scenario A* is excluded. Neither is it to be expected that a mostly *pure* market liberal economy will assert itself, certainly not in connection with a continuing individualisation of work and employment. On the other hand, it is without a doubt one of the undeniable *meta-trends* of competition-oriented social development, which will strengthen the *individual responsibility for education and employment* (key word: employability) and generally permit *more flexible arrangements*. This would prove that context scenario D, which has not been qualified convincingly in our paper, is too fixed and not sufficiently adaptable. And indeed, a combination of persistent type of profes-

sion and modernised „Rhinish capitalism“, i.e. a mega-corporatist constellation, would lead in effect – as offered in the context scenario D – to a strong form of polarisation of *winners* and *losers*.

In its consequences, scenario 1 would have strong affinity for context scenario B; but scenario 2 would also be close to this *context scenario*, depending on how professionalism is understood from the point of view of content, curriculum as well as institutionally. A further closure of the system of vocational training as a special system would presumably tend towards context scenario D. Surprisingly, *scenario 3* seems to be most similar to context scenario C, but is in stark contrast to the settled and well-established and to an important degree to be preserved German vocational training traditions.

Most interviewees associate the *context scenarios*, if they are talked about at all, with several assumptions within the (1) economic, (2) socio-work-related and (3) training-demand-related dimension. An overview on the most plausible possible combinations of VET scenarios and context scenarios is given in the following figure.

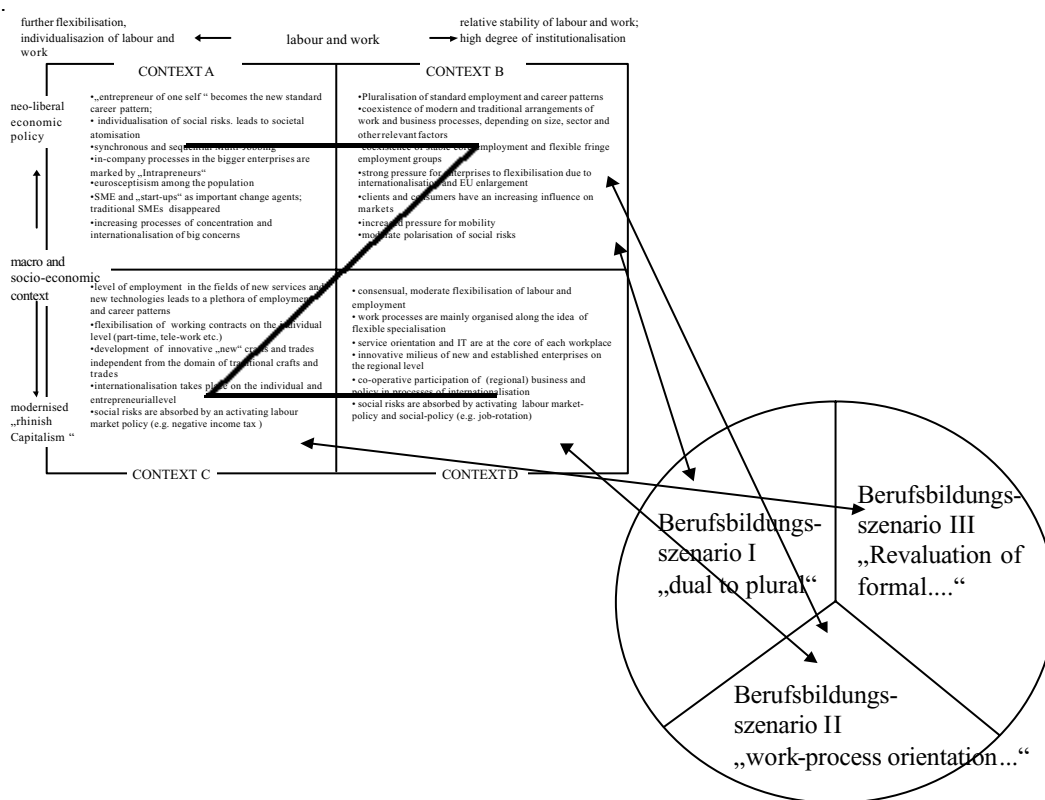


Figure 18: German VET-Scenarios and Context Scenarios

In the context of the European project, these three dimensions were matched with so-called *descriptors*. These descriptors can be utilised here in order to adapt the German context scenarios to the European context (cf. Table 9). As well as in the case of the strategies and their robustness (see below) we make an appeal that the qualitative information provided in this report is much more im-

portant to get a clear grasp of the German situation and the results of the interviews.

The majority of *modernisers* are located through the *scenarios* in the area of context scenarios B and C, with all the tensions and debates between them that go along with it. The *inclusion* strategy proponents are located in a tension-laden relation to the context scenarios B and C. The life-long learning proponents can more easily be assigned to context scenario C, even though they cannot always keep away from elements of context scenario A due to their emphasis on individual responsibility. This often triggers scepticism in the *corporatist modernisers* and the *inclusion* advocates, which has led and still leads to the different milieus hardly being able to meet each other productively and constructively. Considering this explicative assignment these various strategic alliances, their contingency or systematicity and questions about their lasting effects could be the topic of discussion.

Descriptors	Context A	Context B	Context C	Context D
Economic Dimension				
Restructuring	4	3	4	3
Growth	4	3	4	3
Competition	3	4	3	4
Privatisation	4	4	3	3
(demand for lower/mediate skills)	3	4	3	4
Social-labour Dimension				
flexibility/mobility	5	4	4	3
work training patterns				
inequalities	5	4	4	3
organisation of labour	2	3	3	4
Training (demand) Dimension				
General skills	4	3	4	3
in-company training	4	x	x	x
Willingness to invest	4	4	4	3
Life long learning	4	4	4	3

Table 9: *Quantitative rating of descriptors for the German Context Scenarios*

II.8.1.1 Robustness of Strategies

The following attempt to *rank* the strategies with regard to the three scenarios employs the same method: it is to be understood as a conclusion from the expert discussions of the second phase.

We will ignore in this context the *clustering* that we carried out earlier in order to recognise the individual strategies and their varying significance for the different scenarios. The following overview thus shows the relative significance of the individual strategies for the different scenarios.

We will use four *ranking levels*:

- 1 = appropriate. This supposes this strategy's correspondence with the appropriate scenario in such a way that the realisation of this scenario strongly depends on those strategies that are ranked in this way; i.e. in its specific combination. In this respect, the vertical columns are of importance.
- 2 = important.
- 3 = not so important. This rating does not mean that such a strategy could not contribute to the success of the scenario. It is, however, not heavily occupied.
- X = implemented. This indicates those strategies that have been taken from the European arsenal but have already been successfully implemented in Germany. The letter „x“ in addition to a number indicates that there have already been a large number of implementations.

All in all we are not particularly happy with this assignment, because it presents the danger of being interpreted too one-dimensionally and too much as a mechanistic cause-effect relationship.

The question of the *robustness of strategies* stems from the European project. This problem mainly deals with the question whether there are strategies in the arsenal that are useful for all scenarios, or at least for more than just one. Strategies are thus regarded as *robust* if they are evaluated as appropriate (1) or important (2) for two or three scenarios.

		Scenario I	Scenario II	Scenario III
1	Support for the private sector and for the employers and employees so that they become involved in vocational training	X	X	2
2	Providing accurate and up-to-date information on the change of professional demands	2	3	2
3	Increasing the "weight" of learning in the lives of the individuals, the companies and the communities	2	2	3
4	Supporting the development of the modern, flexible worker	1	3	2
5	Developing information, guiding material and support structures for the individual	1	3	2
6	Addressing particular target groups	3 (X)	2	1
7	Establishing the transparency of training structures	2 (X)	3	1
8	Focusing on the development of basic skills	2	3	1
9	Encouraging individuals to invest in their own education	1	2	3
10	Finding a new path for the use of public funds	1	2	3
11	Recognising and supporting non-standard skills	3	2	2
12	Making optimal use of IT within vocational training	2 (X)	2	2
13	Promoting a policy of agreement of work and life	1	2	3

Table 10: Robustness of strategies

II.8.1 Table on scenario-method as experienced in the project

Shortly before finalising this report the project members agreed on a meeting in Brussels to carry out a short evaluation of the scenario method as applied in this project in light of the experiences made in the framework of the national research activities. This can be found below.

Steps as suggested at the start of the project	Steps as actually taken in your project	Steps as you see them in the ideal situation based on your experiences
1. Defining the scope and the key questions.	<p>Actual step: Most of the scope and key questions was predetermined through the feasibility study</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: In further studies more relative time and resources should be available to find a common frame for the scope and the key questions within the transnational team. Stronger use of ICT platforms might be useful</p> <p>Short clarification: would be an opportunity to achieve a balance between rather particular national interests and needs and interests and needs which can be drawn from the general "European Perspective"</p>
2. Identifying the major stakeholders.	<p>Actual step: Grid by co-ordination unit</p> <p>Information collected by: see chapter II.3.1 Data collection procedure</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: It might be good to introduce some kind of "theoretical sampling" in further studies. Which possibly allows to cross-cluster interviewees/Stakeholders by their reaction perception to scenarios. Might lead to contra-intuitive results and not-yet-known scenario-coalitions</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification: would allow for additions, which could be necessary in the course of the project</p>
3. Identifying basic trends.	<p>Actual step: see 1 Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: see 1 Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>
4. Identifying basic strategy elements.	<p>Actual step: see 1 Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: see 1 Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>

Table 11 (1): Scenario-Method as experienced within the framework of the German project activities

Steps as suggested at the start of the project	Steps as actually taken in your project	Steps as you see them in the ideal situation based on your experiences
5. Identifying key uncertainties, driving forces.	<p>Actual step: Asking respondents on likelihood and importance</p> <p>Information collected by: Standardised instrument</p> <p>Short clarification: Proposal of the co-ordination unit</p>	<p>Best step: might be interesting to add question on desirability (especially to identify "driving forces")</p> <p>Information collected by: standardised instrument, which proved to be a good way of finding common dimensions in the European setting. Could be added with rather qualitative research strategies already in the first phase, such as a couple of expert interviews</p> <p>Short clarification: would allow for more "grounded" results to present after the first phase</p>
6. Classification of the main developments according to importance and uncertainty. Aim is to find the two major developments that are the most important as well as most uncertain.	<p>Actual step: Factor analysis</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: Classification/ Factor analysis might be easier when using more one-dimensional, pure and also more polarising trend-items in the standardised instrument (see II.3.2.8 Methodological remarks and perspectives)</p> <p>The most "uncertain" Trends would possibly better identified by looking deeper into the distribution of trend ratings.</p> <p>Short clarification: about the more certain trends there is usually consensus</p>
7. Constructing initial scenario themes and matrices.	<p>Actual step: see 6</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: see 6</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>
8. Developing scenarios. General themes emerge from the simple scenarios and from checking them. Although the trends appear in all the scenarios, they can be given more or less weight or attention in different scenarios. At this stage not all scenarios need to be fleshed out.	<p>Actual step: ---</p> <p>Information collected by:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step: ---</p> <p>Information collected by: ---</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>

Table 11 (2): Scenario-Method as experienced within the framework of the German project activities

Steps as suggested at the start of the project	Steps as actually taken in your project	Steps as you see them in the ideal situation based on your experiences
9. Checking for consistency and plausibility.	Actual step: small-scale expert seminar (10 experts). Scenarios were basically perceived as consistent and plausible Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: Information collected by: Short clarification:
10. Are there trends compatible within the chosen time frame?	Actual step: 10-years time frame Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: 20 years would enhance the willingness of experts and interviewees to abstain from short-term restraints Information collected by: Short clarification: Strongly institutionalised system
11. Do the scenarios combine outcomes of uncertainties that indeed go together?	Actual step: ??? Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: ??? Information collected by: Short clarification It is difficult to make judgements on that because of the uncertainty of uncertainties, but we think that experts were in line with the combinations we took up in our scenarios
12. Are the major stakeholders placed in positions they do not like and can change?	Actual step: The project design avoided to ask questions on desirability Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: Avoiding this question makes it different to get answers on this question, question of desirability should be touched Information collected by: Short clarification:
13. Evolving toward scenarios and robust strategies.	Actual step: --- Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: --- Information collected by: Short clarification:
14. Next we retrace the previous steps and see if the scenarios and strategies address the real issues facing the national VET-system.	Actual step: We added an extensive processing of existing reform literature, which made the scenarios/strategies come closer to "the real issues" the national system is facing, however this also caused difficulties with staying in the overall framework of the project Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: parallel scenario building in which national and transnational questions and issues alternate in the process of scenario-building web-based Metadata management systems could be a possibility of handling the flood of information Information collected by: Short clarification:

Table 11 (3): Scenario-Method as experienced within the framework of the German project activities

Steps as suggested at the start of the project	Steps as actually taken in your project	Steps as you see them in the ideal situation based on your experiences
15. Are the scenarios relevant. to have impact, the scenarios should connect directly with the mental maps and concerns of the users.	Actual step: the scenarios as derived from the analysis connected not that good with the mental maps of the users. --- Short clarification: Stakeholders, users in Germany are VET experts, also difficulties in making the distinction between supply and demand side of training: employers represent both	Best step: --- Short clarification:
16. Are the scenarios internally consistent and perceived as such?	Actual step: Experts/Interviewees did strongly question the consistency of the preliminary scenarios drawn from the first phase, but not of the VET scenarios Short clarification:	Best step: Short clarification:
17. Are the scenarios archetypal? They should describe generally different futures rather than variations on one theme.	Actual step: experts and interviewees agreed that they are. Short clarification:	Best step: Short clarification:
18. Are the scenarios describing an equilibrium, or a state in which the system might exist for some length of time?	Actual step: We think they do. Short clarification:	Best step: Short clarification:
19. Test robustness of strategies in different scenarios.	Actual step: asking interviewees directly and indirectly, evaluation of interview transcripts and simple coding/scaling Information collected by: Short clarification:	Best step: Information collected by: Short clarification:
20. Strategic conversation: To develop these scenarios and strategies a strategic conversation should have taken place. "It is the general conversational process by which people influence each other, the decision taking and the longer term pattern in institutional action and behaviour". The national seminars were partly set up for this purpose.	Actual step: Interviews had a touch of strategic conversation and produced interesting results. Last seminar was cancelled because of small interest/participation Short clarification:	Best step: Short clarification:

Table 11 (4): Scenario-Method as experienced within the framework of the German project activities

Steps as suggested at the start of the project	Steps as actually taken in your project	Steps as you see them in the ideal situation based on your experiences
<p>2.1. Institutionalisation: "Ultimately the most effective way to ensure institutional effectiveness of the scenario process is for management to make the scenarios part of the ongoing formal decision making process". The scenarios have to become part of the system for discussing strategic questions.</p>	<p>Actual step: Unfortunately not yet reached</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>	<p>Best step:</p> <p>Short clarification:</p>
<p>General comments on your experiences with the metho:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - enjoyed participating in this project. - finally the project produced interesting paradox "side-insights": joined strategic conversation is a difficult issue Germany, not least because of the fact that there is indeed already an institutionalised place of strategic conversation, namely the described "expert-system". <p>This, however, also comprises quite highly institutionalised internal boundaries of established strategic conversation milieus. Issues such as global megatrends and the demand for a stronger internationalisation also of VET-questions, might cause the overcoming of those boundaries in the long-term.-</p>		

Table 11 (5): Scenario-Method as experienced within the framework of the German project activities

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