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Origins of the diversity in Nordic vocational education – in the founding period of three VET-systems

- A Nordic model of vocational education?
- The struggle over re-regulation of apprenticeship
- Divergent roles of school based vocational education
- Conclusion

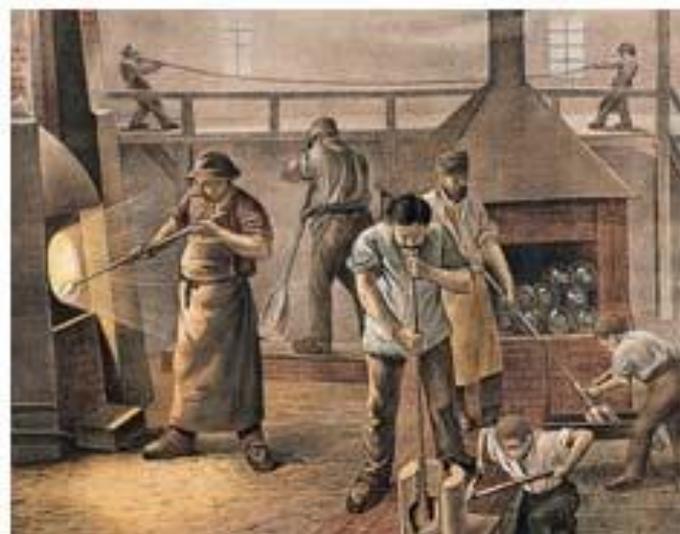
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A Nordic model of education

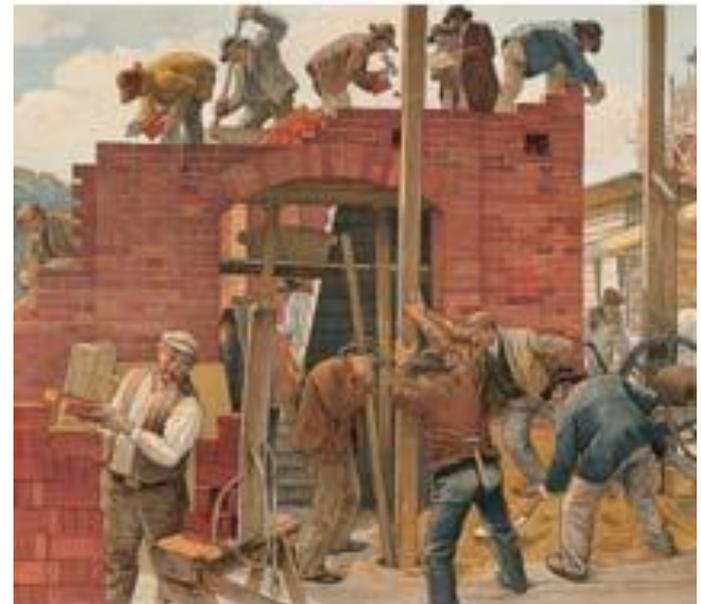
- Common egalitarian values and policy goals
- Linked to the universal model of welfare state
- Free, public provision of education for all
- The non-selective, comprehensive school

But no 'Nordic model' of initial vocational education and training, VET



No common Nordic model of VET

- Difference regarding tracking of vocational/general education
- Different combinations of workplace and school based learning.
- Different models of governance: state, market and self-governance



Diverging systems of VET in three Nordic Countries

- Sweden: VET integrated in comprehensive non-selective and full-time school-based *Gymnasieskola (until 2011)*
- *Denmark*: Dual system of apprenticeship separate from general upper secondary education
- *Norway*: Mixed system: 2 years of school based + 2 years of work based learning
 - postpones the specific choice of occupation,
 - Opportunity for horizontal transfer to general programmes
- **Research question: *how did this diversity emerge?***

The historical roots of three Nordic VET-systems

After the dissolution of the guilds three models of VET emerged

1. Market based vocational training:

- Training left to the individual Master/companies. No mandatory contracts.
- Dominant in England and USA.
- Deterioration of the common standards of training – and apprenticeship.

2. Occupational self-governance:

- Shared governance by the labour market organisations
- Most dominant in Denmark and partly in Norway
- Have maintained modernised form of apprenticeship

3. State led vocational education:

- School-based VET integrated with general the comprehensive school
- Dominant model in Sweden and Finland
- Comprehensive school at upper secondary level in the 1970s



	1. Market	2. State	3. Occupational self-governance
Rationale	Employment	Citizenship	Liberalism
Political culture	Liberalist	Sweden	Neoliberalism Social consensus
Content of education and training	Skills requirement of companies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • utilitarian • short term • fragmented 	State defines the common good: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • general • universal • based on science 	Defined by the LM organisations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • vocational skills • knowledge • culture
Criteria for valid knowledge	Is it economically productive and useful?	Is it correct according to science and the cultural heritage?	Is it relevant for the occupation/profession?
Identity	Corporate/organisational identity	Citizen and educational title	Vocational / professional identity

Danmark

Sweden

Norway

How did these different Nordic VET-systems emerge?



Example: Contrasting trajectories of VET in Denmark and Sweden

Sweden: weak state regulation and the erosion of apprenticeship

- Apprenticeship Law in 1921: no compulsory school attendance
- Saltsjöbads-agreement 1938: only voluntary agreements on training
- Early introduction of full time vocational schools in 1920s as alternative to apprenticeship.
- ‘Vicious circle’: *weak regulation → weak incentives to train broad occupational skills → low quality of training → decreasing enrolment → distrust of value of work based learning → decline of apprenticeship*
- This erosion created demand for expansion of full time vocational schools
- Policy gives high priority to social equality – but weak links to the labour market



Contrasting trajectories of VET in Denmark and Sweden

Denmark: state and corporatist regulation to support apprenticeship

- Apprenticeship Laws in 1889, 1921, 1937 – strong regulation:
 - Compulsory training contract
 - Compulsory school attendance paid by master
 - Mandatory journeyman's test supervised by organisations
 - Trade committees granted legal rights to supervise training
- Extension of apprenticeship to service and public sector
- Strong political coalition behind the apprenticeship model
 - but declining esteem and decreasing enrolment the last decades

Divergent trajectories for VET create different options for policy making today!



What were decisive factors for the divergent trajectories for VET?

In the transition from guild based regulation to free trade

→ Erosion of the traditional regulation of apprenticeship

Abolishment of:

- The mandatory and legally binding training contracts
- The compulsory journeyman's test supervised by the guild
- Requirement that the master/trainer should be trained in the occupation.



Roskildes smedes lavsskrå fra 1491

Consequences of the abolishment of the regulation of the guilds:

- More apprentices left their masters before completing the training
- The quality of apprentices' skills decreased
- Shortage of qualified craftsmen

At the same time

- Growth of mass markets
- Industrialisation and mechanisation of production
- Demand for new types of theoretical qualifications



Key challenges for VET in this period

- 1. How to re-regulate apprenticeship to preserve the quality of training?*
- 2. How to meet a growing demands for more theoretical qualifications in VET?*



1. Struggles over re-regulation apprenticeship

Denmark:

Alliance of the crafts, industry employers and the craft unions behind a new state regulation.

The first law on apprenticeship was passed in 1889:

- The compulsory apprentice contract was reinstated

Revision of the apprenticeship act in 1921:

- A journeyman's test could be made compulsory in an occupation if the employers and unions agreed – which over time most did.
- It was required that the master should be trained in the occupation.

Revision of the apprenticeship act in 1937:

The trade committees were given legal authority to control and approve of training companies

1. Struggles over re-regulation apprenticeship

Sweden:

Associations for crafts & industries concerned over decline in apprenticeship.

Proposals for a law on apprenticeship was presented in 1909 and 1913, but were rejected due to opposition from industry.

The craft associations campaigned for state regulation of apprenticeship

New law on vocational education in 1918/21 did not regulate apprenticeship.

Regulation of apprenticeship was left to labour market partners due to:

- Unions feared downwards pressure on wages from apprentices.
- Large employers opposed state regulation of in-company training.

1. Struggles over re-regulation apprenticeship

Norway :

Employers' Associations for craft and industry engaged in VET.

The Craft Act of 1913 did not cover industry.

In 1920/21 the association rejected a proposition for an act on apprenticeship.

Late and slow industrialisation and state dominance over industry.

Governments focussed on the unitary school as a part of nation-building.

- and the introduction of school based VET (*'the practical continuation school'*)

Regulation of apprenticeship was left to the labour market partners

Separate governance structures for VET schools and the apprentice system.

2. Introduction of school based VET

Denmark:

Trade organisations established vocational schools for apprentices.

Education for apprenticeship offered by Sunday schools and Folk High Schools

The establishment of full time continuation schools failed (ca. 1920)

Apprenticeship Act in 1889 required leave for apprentices to attend school.

→ Vocational schools developed as integrated part of apprenticeship.

Apprenticeship act in 1921: - evening schools mandatory in all occupations
- the master obliged to pay school fee

Apprenticeship act 1937: day schools mandatory if trade committee decided.

Model for corporatist regulation:

- The labour market organisations enter voluntary agreement.
- The government make stipulations in agreement binding for all employers.

2. Introduction of school based VET

Sweden:

No law on compulsory school attendance for apprentices - in contrast to Norway and Denmark.

In 1850 and 1877 proposals for a German inspired vocational school system – but the proposal was rejected

High youth unemployment after WWI → expansion of fulltime vocational schools

Full-time VET schools were in 1918 placed under the general school authority.

Lack of regulation eroded apprenticeship:

Full time school-based public vocational education system expanded.

2. Introduction of school based VET

Norway:

Association of Industry and Crafts built local vocational schools for apprentices and instigated full-time vocational preschools.

Law on compulsory school attendance for apprentices.

Growth of separate schools for handicrafts, work-schools, private Commerce Schools and practical continuation School.

Full-time VET schools and apprenticeship grew along two diverging pathways.

Multiple forms of vocational schools and regulation placed apprenticeship at the margins after WWII.

Conclusion – the growth of school based VET:

In all countries: a variety of initiators and drivers for vocational schools:

Clerical, state, employer organisations, social movements.

In *Denmark* the vocational schools developed mainly to supplement the training of apprentices – supported by legal requirement.

The agreements of labour market organisations were made universally binding through state regulation.

In *Sweden* vocational schools mainly emerged parallel to apprenticeship and were early placed under the auspices of general education.

In *Norway* a two tier system emerged:

- Local, craft schools for apprentices and
- full-time vocational schools that became connected to general education.

Conclusion – the struggle over re-regulation of apprenticeship

State supported institutionalisation of occupational self-governance of apprenticeship in Denmark:

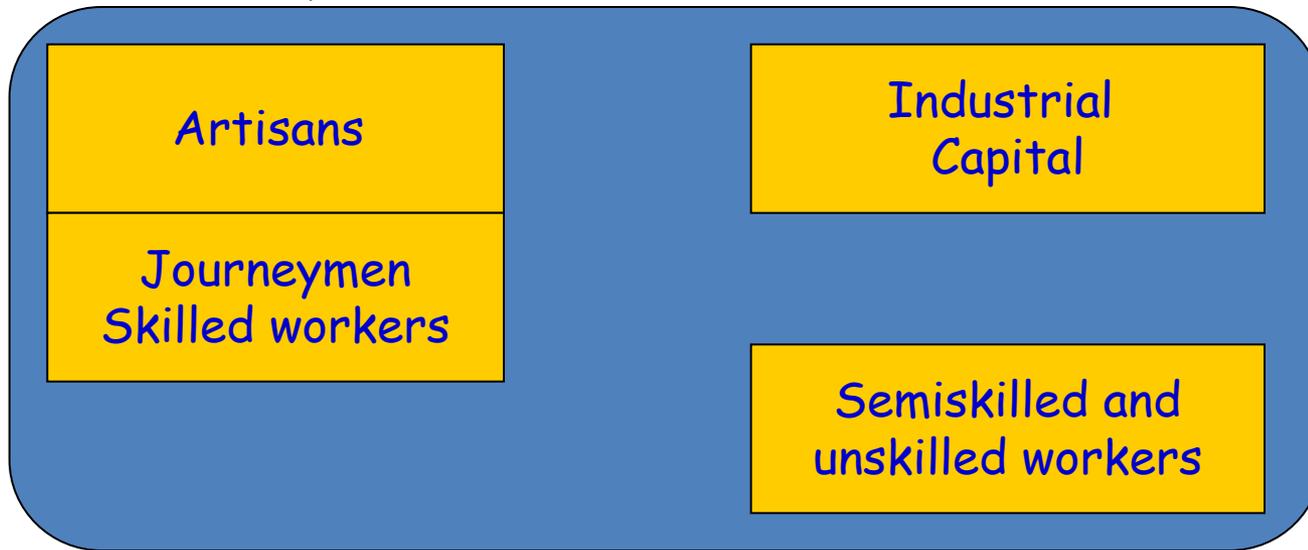
- labour market organisation in specific industries conclude agreement on regulation of apprenticeship,
- Agreements expand into other industries,
- Government generalise this regulation to cover the whole labour market backed by legal mandate and sanctions.

Erosion of apprenticeship in Sweden due to weak state regulation and competing public full-time vocational schools:

- decreasing interest in investments in training
- increased incentive to exploit apprentices as cheap labour
- growing drop-out rates and falling enrolment in apprenticeship
- opposition from unions towards apprenticeship

Cross class coalitions on vocational education

From guilds to free market
industrial capitalism



Craft unionism

Trade unionism

- In Norway and Denmark a coalition was formed between the artisans/crafts and manufacturing industry to preserve apprenticeship.
- This was not possible in Sweden

Findings from the comparison of evolution of VET

The current policy options depend on the historical trajectories:

- Clear indications of path dependencies – though not deterministic
- Self-reinforcing dynamics in the evolution of VET
- Divergent trajectories for institutionalisation of work-based training
- Various degrees of involvement of labour market partners in VET
- Different forms of governance of VET

Thank you for your attention !