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APPLICATION OF APPRENTICESHIP IN THE VOCATIONAL INTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

LLP Leonardo da Vinci project

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REPORT ON ANALYSIS OF THE MEASURES AND APPROACHES OF VOCATIONAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGED YOUTH IN GERMANY

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1. Understanding of the concept “socially disadvantaged youth” in the partners’ countries:

- *Which definition(s) of “socially disadvantaged youth” exist(s)?*
- *To which extent do these definitions play a role in practice?*
- *Are there other understandings that are not explicitly formulated but steer practice?*
- *How these understandings are reflected in the social and political attitudes and positions of the policy makers (government, regional authorities) and different stakeholders (employers, trade unions, professional organizations, education institutions, etc.)?*

Most *scientists* working on the issue of socially disadvantaged youth refer to Bourdieu’s (1983) theory of social, economic and cultural capital. Schroeder & Thielen (2009) are focusing on educational disadvantaged and argue, that there might be a lack of

- juridical capital; i.e. a weaker legal status in terms of uncertainties about the right of unlimited residence,
- physical capital, i.e. reduced opportunities to perform and/or to learn caused by physical or psychic weaknesses,
- economic capital; education is in Germany – compared to other European countries – cheap, but not for free, even the moderate salary of an apprenticeship might not cover the costs of living for youth with poor parents,
- cultural capital, especially the living conditions might be a threat to learning and developing competencies, and finally
- social capital, educational careers need networks or supporting backgrounds to find an individual way through the different pathways into the labour market.

Beside this classification, mainly focusing on individual or group (class)-specific characteristics, another risk-group arose in the late seventies and, especially in eastern Germany, in the nineties (after the reunion): The so-called “market disadvantaged”, youth with average capital but living in regions without enough apprenticeship placements available (cp. Lindmeier & Lindmeier 2012).

Sociological as well as social pedagogic approaches on how to support these vulnerable groups were focusing on special measures, like workshops for the handicapped or language training (affirmative action). In the recent years a more holistic approach became popular; i.e. combining special support with training and education (cp. Engelhard & Engelhard, S. 79).

However, sociological discourses play a minor role on the level of policy making or educational providing; here stakeholders usually refer to sub-groups, for example migrants, refugees or pupils with “attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)”.

The **German system of general education** was traditionally separated, 3 main tracks (Gymnasium preparing for HE, Realschule preparing for non-academic vocational careers (f. i. challenging apprenticeships) and Hauptschule preparing for crafts and industrial apprenticeships) plus one track for handicapped (Sonderschule). Due to the unattractiveness of the Hauptschule in most federal states (in the northern regions) and European policies on inclusion most federal states (regions) tend nowadays to a system, consisting only of two tracks: Gymnasium (offering a short track of 8 years) and Stadtteilschulen or Oberschulen (offering all other tracks including a Gymnasium of the old 9 years type). A broader discussion on the pedagogic consequences of these political decisions remains open, stakeholders refer on technical solutions (allowing two tempi of learning in a class or additional social education workers for “hardship cases”).

Policy makers in the German VET system stay rather general, too – narrow definitions or descriptions of the focus group could exclude certain groups of socially disadvantaged; i. e. the law on entry training (cp. German case study) states as potential beneficiaries:

(4) Eligible are

1. applicants for an apprenticeship, registered as unemployed and unqualified at the employment agency, with limited perspective for a placement due to individual reasons, who were without apprenticeship even after the nationwide replacement action,
2. applicants for an apprenticeship, who are not yet sufficiently prepared for starting an apprenticeship,
3. slow learners or socially disadvantaged applicants for an apprenticeship.

SGB, Drittes Buch § 54a (2014), clause from 2004

The **German Federal Institute for Vocational Education (BiBB)** subsumes under “occupational tracks” for “special target groups” quite pragmatic (or eclectic), probably trying to adopt costumers view, measures for:

- Disabled persons
- Disadvantaged persons
- Immigrants
- Older persons
- Women
- Young parents
- Young people, who have not completed formal training
- Unplaced applicants
- Young people with poor starting chances

BiBB (2013)

Educational reporting usually refers to socially disadvantaged “from the end” (in terms of unemployment, cp. next chapter), focusing on surveys of people without a placement or in special measures.

2. Short overview on the current state of vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth consisting of:

2.1. Statistical data on the number of socially disadvantaged youth without vocational qualifications facing difficulties in accessing initial VET and employment.

Questions of analysis:

- *What are the main trends of change of this number in the recent 10 years?*
- *How many socially disadvantaged young people are enrolled in the initial VET programmes?*
- *How many of them graduate initial VET establishments and get employed?*

2.2. Overview of the main institutions providing support for socially disadvantaged youth and their role in the field of vocational integration of this target group.

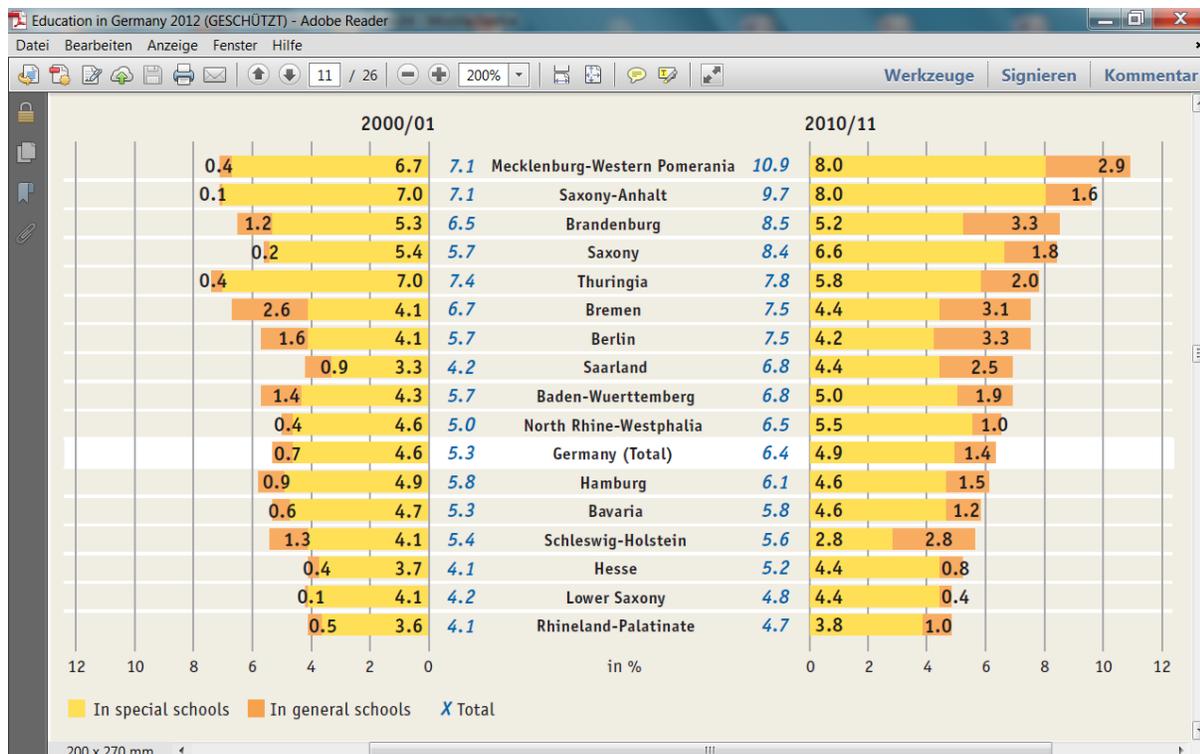
Questions of analysis:

- *What are the main public institutions responsible for provision of support in vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth and what kind of support they provide?*
- *What are the main private or independent bodies and stakeholders involved in the provision of support in vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth and what kind of support they provide?*
- *Where the programmes and measures of vocational integration of youth are implemented and applied – in the initial VET schools or enterprises? Who is responsible for the teaching and training of these young people – teachers, trainers or masters and supervisors of enterprises? Do teachers and trainers in the VET schools, as well as masters and supervisors in the enterprises have sufficient pedagogical competences and specific pedagogical skills to work with socially disadvantaged youth groups? How they can acquire these competences and skills?*

The German situation is characterised by two opposing trends:

- The ratio of students with special educational needs is **increasing** (cp. fig. 1);
- Whilst the amount of participants in propaedeutic or substitute measures is **decreasing** (cp. table 1).

The second trend is caused by the demographic development and an apprenticeship system ruled by the market (see below), the first trend bases on consolidation of educationally disadvantaged families. Although a migrant background is one of the risk factors (in Berlin half of the population with a migrant background lives from welfare); fig. 1 indicates that the issue of becoming (or staying) socially disadvantaged is rather a **class** than a **race** problem: The 5 federal states at the top of the statistic in fig. 1 are from former East-Germany; there the ratio of migrants is less than 3%, in Western Germany more than 10%.



Source: eng. translation (summary) of Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung (2012)

Differing from the VET-systems in the other countries participating in APPRENTSOD the German system is market-driven, the apprenticeship contracts fall under private law. As a consequence the policy makers don't have the option to increase the number of regular participants by "normal" measures like increasing the size of classes or offering additional placements. In 2011 (no newer data available) the dual system offered around 525.000 places (cp. line 3 "Duales System insgesamt" in table 1), school-based VET (due to historical reasons mainly in the social and healthcare sector) offered additional 210.000 places (cp. line 5 "Schulberufssystem insgesamt" in table 1). But the demand was much higher; around 1.035.000 young people (cp. last line "Berufliches Bildungssystem insgesamt" in table 1) were interested in a VET-career; leading to a mismatch of around 300.000 (fortunately decreasing, in the last 10 years was this mismatch up to 500.000; reduction mainly due to demographic reasons). Beside initiatives to increase the companies' interest in apprenticeship, politicians have in general 3 options to react on this deficit:

1. Developing school-based measures, substituting regular apprenticeships.
2. Developing of new apprenticeship profiles on the *national level*.
3. Propaedeutic measures.

Gegenstand der Nachweisung	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011 ¹⁾
	Anzahl							
Absolventinnen und Absolventen, Abgängerinnen und Abgänger aus allgemeinbildenden Schulen	933.616	958.485	969.598	965.044	929.531	893.561	865.316	•
Studienanfängerinnen und -anfänger	314.539	355.961	344.822	361.459	396.800	424.273	444.719	516.891
Duales System ²⁾ insgesamt	582.416	517.341	531.471	569.460	558.501	512.517	509.901	524.946
darunter: Kooperatives Berufsprüfungsjahr	•	•	•	•	•	21.306	20.859	21.552
Schulberufssystem insgesamt	175.462	215.874	215.226	214.782	210.552	209.523	212.364	210.054
Berufsfachschulen in BBiG/HwO-Berufen	9.379	11.454	11.886	9.795	8.613	6.708	6.117	5.973
Berufsfachschulen vollqualifizierend außerhalb BBiG/HwO	88.547	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Berufsfachschulen vollqualifizierend außerhalb BBiG/HwO (ohne Soziales, Erziehung, Gesundheit)	X	32.532	31.359	29.652	25.320	23.352	20.676	19.428
Berufsfachschulen vollqualifizierend außerhalb BBiG/HwO: Soziales, Erziehung, Gesundheit	X	61.608	59.718	59.937	58.371	61.107	62.553	61.491
Schulen des Gesundheitswesens ³⁾	42.736	51.912	54.207	54.918	54.480	58.833	61.269	61.113
Fachschulen, Fachakademien, nur Erstausbildung ⁴⁾	34.800	29.193	26.559	28.290	29.559	33.900	36.027	37.695
Fachgymnasien, HZB ⁵⁾ und schulische Berufsausbildung	–	2.385	2.742	2.847	3.015	2.952	3.421	3.591
Berufsfachschulen, HZB ⁵⁾ und schulische Berufsausbildung	X	26.790	28.752	29.343	31.194	22.671	22.297	20.760
Übergangssystem insgesamt (einschließlich Doppelzählungen)	460.107	461.964	452.976	429.300	397.278	382.947	352.620	321.414
Übergangssystem insgesamt (ohne Doppelzählung)	•	•	•	•	•	348.234	320.172	294.294
Schulisches Berufsprüfungsjahr (BGJ), Vollzeit	35.373	48.582	46.446	44.337	42.543	32.472	30.621	28.149
Berufsfachschulen, die keinen beruflichen Abschluss vermitteln	141.420	155.907	155.100	155.160	145.152	141.561	130.128	121.347
Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (BVJ)/ Einjährige Berufseinstiegsklassen	53.500	71.439	66.246	56.592	50.250	41.973	40.662	38.967
Berufsschulen – Schüler ohne Ausbildungsvertrag	26.317	71.949	72.660	67.266	59.628	29.844	25.995	22.488
Praktikum vor der Erzieherausbildung	•	3.525	3.561	3.390	3.531	3.723	3.855	3.822
Sonstige Bildungsgänge ⁶⁾	43.975	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Berufsvorbereitende Maßnahmen der BA (Bestand 31.12.) ⁷⁾	98.613	91.811	86.171	79.935	77.729	77.949	69.933	63.369
Einstiegsqualifizierung (EQ) (Bestand 31.12.)	X	18.751	22.793	22.619	18.444	20.712	18.984	16.152
Jugendsofortprogramm (Bestand 31.12.) ⁸⁾	60.909	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nachrichtlich: Maßnahmen der Arbeitsverwaltung an beruflichen Schulen ⁹⁾	x()	x()	x()	x()	x()	34.713	32.448	27.120
Berufsausbildung in einem öffentlich-rechtlichen Ausbildungsverhältnis (Beamtenausbildung mittlerer Dienst)	•	5.949	4.866	4.662	5.631	6.441	7.314	7.317
Berufliches Bildungssystem insgesamt (einschl. Doppelzählung)	1.217.985	1.201.128	1.204.539	1.218.204	1.171.962	1.111.428	1.082.199	1.063.731
Berufliches Bildungssystem insgesamt (ohne Doppelzählung)	•	•	•	•	•	1.076.715	1.049.751	1.036.611

Tab. 1: German statistics, main entries clarified in the text. Source: Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung (2012)

1. Developing school-based measures, substituting regular apprenticeships.

This track was chosen especially in Eastern Germany after the reunion and organised by the *federal states*; in these days only very few companies were able to offer apprenticeships due to the dramatic changes in economy. In the last decade the amount of these measures decreased to around 6000 placements in 2011 (cp. line 6 “Berufsfachschulen in BBiG/HwO Berufen” in table 1), mainly due to 2 reasons: First, the reputation of these measures was not the best; it was

clearly seen as a substitute for regular apprenticeships. Second, stakeholders claim that equilibrium exists between apprenticeships and the future need of skilled workers in the sectors; additional skilled workers by school-based measures would lead to future unemployment in the sector.

2. Developing of new apprenticeship profiles on the *national level*.

This approach has been successful in the new economy, i.e. new profiles for information technology were developed to offer apprenticeships in this sector (and to cover the demand). Regarding the group of socially disadvantaged, another very controversial approach was chosen: The developing of shorter profiles, lasting 2 years (instead of 3 or 3.5 years). Supporters argue, that these profiles are easier (that is not always true, often do they contain the first 2 years of a 3 year programme), that companies are more open to give socially disadvantaged a chance (due to the shorter period), that each individual has the opportunity to continue the IVET-programme for the full 3 (3.5) years and that not all workers in the modern world of work sharing have to be fully qualified. Stakeholders with a critical view, often from the trade unions but partly from the enterprises' side, too, argue that these programmes lead to a fragmentation of the "occupational principle", that many work-processes, foreseen for the "semi-qualified" are not as simple as claimed by the supporters, that there is in many sectors no labour market for this cohort and that the opportunity to continue until the regular qualification is not given for all sectors/companies. The amount of these shorter apprenticeships arose in the last 20 years from 4% to 10% (of all apprenticeship contracts).

3. Propaedeutic measures.

The most relevant instruments to decrease the ratio of unemployed youth are VET-propaedeutic measures, claiming to prepare socially disadvantaged for the apprenticeship market, not for the labour market (differing from the other two options). This increasing of the individual opportunities should or could (depending on the concrete measure) happen on 3 levels: by increasing social skills (being in time, being polite, etc.) by offering higher degrees of general schooling (or at least a low degree for drop-outs) and by delivering the basic skills of a profession or of a sector.

Germany has a long tradition in school-based propaedeutic measures, Schroeder & Thielen (2009) worked out that the region of Hamburg offered the first propaedeutic measures in the early 1900s for young unskilled migrants from Poland, mainly focusing on language skills. Nowadays still most of the measures are school-based (lines 16-19 in table 1); trying to improve the three levels mentioned above. Although authors like Beicht & Eberhardt (2013) claim that around 30% of the participants in school based measures reach a higher general school leaving-degree, the image of these measures is disastrous, denominations like "dead end" or "waiting loop" are very common: Often the teachers are not motivated or skilled for the work with vulnerable groups, the learning venue is still a school setting and consequently not very attractive for youth who struggled in the system "school", participants learn basic skills of a sector, but do not know for what profession and are consequently not very motivated, most measures have only a poor linkage to the world of work; for example only a few weeks of internships. Although

these programmes often lead to “measure-based careers” (participants proceeding from one measure to the next) must be stated, that these programmes play the major role for the relative low youth unemployment rate (8.6% in 2011 for the <25 years aged) in Germany. VET-schools (as all schools in Germany) fall under the legislation of the federal states (Länder) so the measures sketched above are run by the federal states. This is different for measures by the national employment agency (BA), (Berufsvorbereitende Maßnahmen (VET-propaedeutic measures) and Einstiegsqualifizierung (Entry Training), line 22 & 23 in table 1). Within these two measures regular VET schools or federal training centers play a minor role, main stakeholders in the measure “Entry training” (cp. German Case study) are employers or employers organisations, their involvement – normally – guarantees a certain quality of the programme; in the VET-propaedeutic measures the main stakeholders are NGOs, mainly social education workers. The beneficiary in these measures is paid (dole) by the employment agency but is obliged to fulfil the duties within the measure. Each social education worker (educational tutor) of the local NGO is responsible for a group of participants, mainly supervising, teaching basic and social skills and organising internships. Differing from school-based measures and the entry training VET-propaedeutic measures are market-driven: The local employment agency tenders the amount of participants; the time frame, the preferred sectors etc. and the NGOs apply for the call. The positive aspect of this approach is that local networks with small and medium enterprises (SME) and the success of previous measures are taken into account when choosing a NGO. The negative aspects are the short time-span (1 or 2 years) of the calls and the budget, as a consequence are the social education workers poorly paid and have a great job-uncertainty; this leads often to de-motivation; it’s always possible that a new NGO arises, only pretending that they have a network, and wins the call with a dumping offer. Another risk are the partly improper internships: Some SME offer internships if they have a large order with the need of a lot of unskilled work (i.e. deconstruction); contacting the NGO and pretending that they are willing to support socially disadvantaged; taking half of a dozen of participants for an internship – and send them back after the order is fulfilled with regretful words that none of them was suited for apprenticeship.

All measures sketched on the last pages have in common, that they offer the possibility of being recognised in a future apprenticeship in the same sector in terms of reducing apprenticeship time – but this offer is normally not realised, mainly due to two reasons: companies would hesitate to hire participants of these measures if they were obliged to offer them a shorter track, and, even more important, almost all stakeholders see the propaedeutic measure as an extra-time for learning and developing – the individual opportunity to reduce the time of apprenticeship exists for all apprentices performing well – so why not offering more time for slower learner or socially disadvantaged?

Serious numbers about the future development of participants, who took part in one of these measures, are hardly to find. One of the few studies (BIBB, 2010) figured out (for the participants of 2006) that one year after the end of the measure 50-70% of the *successful* participants were in an apprenticeship – drop-out ratios are usually not published in detail but some of the school-based measures have ratios of up to 30%.

3. Critical analysis of the social and educational policies directed to vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth.

Questions of analysis:

- *What are the most important social and educational policies directed to vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth?*
- *What are the main goals of these policies?*
- *What measures are applied to achieve these policy goals?*
- *To what extent these measures concern or target VET curriculum design, organization and provision of training, assessment and recognition of learning outcomes?*
- *What mechanisms of the vocational integration provide these policy measures?*
 - *Adaptation of the existing initial VET curricula, training processes and instruments to the needs and possibilities of socially disadvantaged youth. What are the features of this adaptation? In what ways the VET curricula, training processes and instruments are adapted?*
 - *Increasing and strengthening of capacities of socially disadvantaged youth to enable them to integrate in the “normal” pathways of initial VET. What are the instruments of these capacity building measures (e.g. specific preparatory courses, specific education of trainers/teachers)?*
 - *The combination of the adaptation and capacity building approaches.*
- *What are the main factors that facilitate effectiveness of these policies in the field of vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth?*
- *What are the main problems and obstacles that decrease effectiveness of these measures in vocational integration of socially disadvantaged youth?*

The institutional support of socially disadvantaged youth started in 1970 via small pilot projects organised by the ministry of research and education; its' first legal framework was established in 1978; since 1998 are the policies part of the German Code of Social law (SGB) (BIBB 2005). The paragraphs of the (continuously updated) part of SGB can be found in table 2; the main policy document of interest for APPRENTSOD is § 49 Support of vocational entry; a shortened translation:

(1) The employment agency may assist young humans in their transfer from general schooling to VET via support of vocational entry if at least 50% of the support is covered by a third party.

(2) Eligible are measures focusing on individual support of young humans with special needs which facilitate transition to the VET-system. Key priorities have measures that aim at a higher general-school leaving degree, support vocational orientation and choice, search for an appropriate apprenticeship and stabilize the contractual situation of apprentices. “Vocational entry facilitators” are asked to collaborate with the responsible persons in general schools, with NGOs working with young humans and companies in the region.

(3) Support of vocational entry starts with the last year in general schooling and ends 6 month after the beginning of an apprenticeship. Maximum length is 24 month after the end of general schooling.

(4) Eligible are young humans, where difficulties in finishing general schooling or in finding an apprenticeship are to be expected.

(5) Financial support covers the appropriate expenses by the responsible institution for executing the measure including the necessary expenses for the “Vocational entry facilitators”.

Dritter Abschnitt: Berufswahl und Berufsausbildung	3rd paragraph: Vocational choice and VET
Erster Unterabschnitt: Übergang von der Schule in die Berufsausbildung	1st subparagraph: Transition from school to apprenticeship
§ 48 Berufsorientierungsmaßnahmen	§ 48 Measures for vocational orientation
§ 49 Berufseinstiegsbegleitung	§ 49 Support of vocational entry
§ 50 Anordnungsermächtigung	§ 50 Authorisation order
Zweiter Unterabschnitt Berufsvorbereitung	2nd subparagraph: Vocational preparation
§ 51 Berufsvorbereitende Bildungsmaßnahmen	§ 51 Educational measures preparing vocational training
§ 52 Förderungsbedürftige junge Menschen	§ 52 Youth with special needs
§ 53 Vorbereitung auf einen Hauptschulabschluss im Rahmen einer berufsvorbereitenden Bildungsmaßnahme	§ 53 Preparation of the lowest school-leaving degree in context of a VET-propaedeutic measure
§ 54 Maßnahmekosten	§ 54 Funding of measures
§ 54a Einstiegsqualifizierung	§ 54a Entry training
§ 55 Anordnungsermächtigung	§ 55 Authorisation order
Dritter Unterabschnitt Berufsausbildungsbeihilfe	3rd subparagraph: Financial support of apprenticeship
§ 56 Berufsausbildungsbeihilfe	§ 56 Financial support of apprenticeship
§ 57 Förderungsfähige Berufsausbildung	§ 57 Eligible Apprenticeships
§ 58 Förderung im Ausland	§ 58 Financial support in foreign countries
§ 59 Förderungsfähiger Personenkreis	§ 59 Eligible persons
§ 60 Sonstige persönliche Voraussetzungen	§ 60 Additional personal requirements
§ 61 Bedarf für den Lebensunterhalt bei Berufsausbildung	§ 61 Subsistence needs during apprenticeship
§ 62 Bedarf für den Lebensunterhalt bei berufsvorbereitenden Bildungsmaßnahmen	§ 62 Subsistence needs during VET-propaedeutic measure
§ 63 Fahrkosten	§ 63 Travel costs
§ 64 Sonstige Aufwendungen	§ 64 Other expenses
§ 65 Besonderheiten beim Besuch des Berufsschulunterrichts in Blockform	§ 65 Exceptions if visiting bloc instructions in VET-schools
§ 66 Anpassung der Bedarfssätze	§ 66 Adjustment of ceilings

§ 67 Einkommensanrechnung	§ 67 Allowance of income
§ 68 Vorausleistung von Berufsausbildungsbeihilfe	§ 68 Advance payment of financial support of apprenticeship
§ 69 Dauer der Förderung	§ 69 Duration of support
§ 70 Berufsausbildungsbeihilfe für Arbeitslose	§ 70 Financial support of apprenticeship for unemployed
§ 71 Auszahlung	§ 71 Payment
§ 72 Anordnungsermächtigung	§ 72 Authorisation order

Tab. 2: SGB, 3rd book, 3rd paragraph: Vocational choice and VET

An analysis of these policy documents on a macro level reveals as a positive aspect that they are quite open, almost every institution involved in the education of socially disadvantaged youth may apply for financial support and choose between various measures. The curricula of the single measures are mainly for orientation; so each provider can choose its key activities; an example of a curriculum for a prevocational training of the measure “Entry training” is attached to the German case study on “Entry training”.

A weak aspect is establishing transition institutions instead of improving general schooling and lowering expectations of companies regarding the skills of the beginners of an apprenticeship. In the last years almost 1.000 “Vocational entry facilitators” were hired, mainly at VET schools and NGOs, due to the fact that the conditions (poor salaries, only short-term contracts) are not very attractive for private bodies like employers or chambers. Consequently not all vocational entry facilitators are motivated – but success of the single measures strongly depends on the engagement of all stakeholders.

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