Adjusting to the falling interest in VET in Slovenia

A historical sketch

Until 1918, the story of VET in Slovenia ran in parallel to Austria, since most Slovenian territories belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Not very long ago it was still possible to hear older people saying how their grandfathers were trained either by their parents on the self-sufficient farms where they were born or by master craftsmen in craft shops. Training opportunities in schools were quite limited. Those who wanted to prosper had to travel and work for some years with different craftsmen before they could open their own shops and become master craftsmen themselves. It is possible to estimate the numbers of trainees based on figures of industrial and crafts' workers in the two main Slovenian regions Kranjska and Southern Sajerska in 1825 and in 1912, as shown in table 1.

Between the two world wars, when most Slovenian territories belonged to the first Yugoslavia, vocational training was acquired both in work and in lower and higher vocational schools, the main ones being commercial, agricultural and craft-industrial. The number of youngsters in training was rather small; in the active population in 1931, 61% were farmers (Kramberger, 1999, p. 55; 160), who seldom sent their children to vocational schooling. In addition, small private producers and craftsmen were not allowed to employ them on successful completion of their training, at least for a short period. There was also a role for the chambers, which organised the relevant examinations. However, gradually more and more training was carried out in the school workshops and less with employers. As a substitute for training at work, internship was introduced in 1968 to ease the transition from school to work.

In the 1970s the trend towards the expanding role of school-based training continued. There was a tendency towards the unification of secondary education, with an increasing share of general knowledge in vocational programmes and general programmes aimed at specific qualifications to assist graduate transition to work, not just to further education. Youngsters were supposed to start working earlier in their lives and to return to school later. In the 1980s, so-called career-oriented education and training was implemented, reformers again started to accentuate training in the real working environment. However, this did not happen because school-based teaching did not provide enough knowledge on which to base practical training and, since public enterprises were sinking into ever deeper crises, they were economically unable to take on apprentices. In addition, small private producers and craftsmen were not allowed to take part in training. VET became more school-based and detached from work environments than ever before. Nevertheless,

The article gives an overview of the development issues of VET in Slovenia with an accent on the transition period. It shows how the dual system was gradually replaced by the school-based one and the difficulties its re-introduction faces. It also shows that despite the modernising of VET influenced by EU accession a shift has been observed in the younger generation away from vocational training towards general education that promises higher education and greater social mobility. Several factors such as the valuation of work, transition to services, demographic decline and the network of schools can explain these trends. The ways VET can adjust to these changes are outlined in terms of further modernisation, enabling the transition to higher education, an accent on information and vocational guidance, and opening up to adults and immigrants.

According to Tome (1998), the first development phase after the Second World War lasted until the end of the 1960s. Initially it preserved the old dual system whereby students went to school two days a week and worked four days with their employers. State bodies set standards and regulated the roles of apprentices, schools and employers. For instance, apprentices were paid a modest wage and employers had to employ them on successful completion of their training, at least for a short period. There was also a role for the chambers, which organised the relevant examinations. However, gradually more and more training was carried out in the school workshops and less with employers. As a substitute for training at work, internship was introduced in 1968 to ease the transition from school to work.

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there was a policy to keep 70% of the young population in vocational schools (Tome, 1998).

Criticism of unified secondary schools came from different sides. It was claimed that the quality of general education had fallen due to the abolition of the general secondary school gimnazija. Students were not prepared well enough to continue education at university. At the same time, employers were dissatisfied with the training of graduates from secondary schools. One measurement of individuals in particular occupations who finished qualification programmes for these occupations showed a fall from 38.8% in 1981 to 34.8% in 1991 (Kramberger, 1999, p. 63). This indicates the mismatch between educational qualifications and job requirements. As a consequence of these failures, there was gradual reintro-
duction of gimnazija and the dual VET system, focusing on the needs of small private entre-
preneurs, from the late 1980s. This was the VET situation when Slovenia gained its independence in 1991.

In summarising VET developments in the 45 years after World War II, there was a tendency to move away from the dual system in which private employers played an important role. This was understandable because the private sector of small producers was marginalised by confiscation of private property, administrative barriers to private entrepreneurship and the growth of state-owned industry. Relatively simple production technology was used in new industrial plants, involving mainly unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for which little training was needed. The impression was created that the limited skills required for these simple industrial jobs could either be acquired in school workshops or at work when new employees were recruited. School-based VET was also simpler to organise, easier to plan and cheaper for both the State and enterprises than the dual form.

VET in the transition period

Reshaping through legislation

In the first years of transition, the distinction grew between general and vocational education and training. Finally, this was codified in 1996 in the new education law (www.mszs.si/eng/). The key characteristics of the newly established system are high centralisation and a greater choice of education and training opportunities. As shown in Figure 1 there is, on the one hand, a general school gimnazija preparing students for university studies and, on the other, the dual system providing training for the different vocations needed in small craft workshops and industry. In between, one can choose vocational gimnazija, technical schools and school-based vocational training. In addition, after completing four years of secondary education it is possible to continue to study at the new vocational high schools (The Education, 2000). This may seem an over-abundance of choices for a small country in which the annual cohort of youngsters counted over 30 000 two decades ago, and has these days fallen to below 20 000 (SO, 2003).
Particular attention has been paid to the partnership-based dual system, which celebrated its comeback already before the end of the 1980s. This happened for three interlinked reasons:

- the strong influence of German and Austrian education and training traditions;
- nostalgia for the lost dual system in place before, and in the first period following, the Second World War;
- the increasing influence of the private sector, especially small entrepreneurs and craftsmen, who demanded it through their Chamber of Crafts.

Curricular reform started in 1996 (Izhodišča, 1996). It was aimed at modernising teaching programmes, including the introduction of modern teaching approaches and improved adjustment to labour market needs. Unfortunately, vocational education and training did not change much. The reform only confirmed the ‘double duality’ of VET, meaning that dual programmes, combining training at employers with teaching in the school, and school-based ones, with the accent on teaching in the classroom and training in the school workshop, run parallel. The model for both types of programme has been strongly influenced by generalists, with the effect that in dual vocational programmes approximately 18% of the time is devoted to so-called general subjects and approximately 15% to vocational theory; in school-based programmes the respective split is 29% and 28% (Mavsar, 1998; Izhodišča, 1996). The criticism of vocational schools has been that they represent gimnazija at its lower point, where training for vocational competences is rather weak. In addition, teaching methods have not changed significantly.

The European dimension

Slovenia became a candidate for EU membership in the mid-1990s. This demanded certain adjustments in economic, social and political fields. As a consequence, an important part of two Phare programmes (Phare MOCCA, 2000) starting in 1998, aimed to evaluate and develop vocational training and adult education. A critical review of VET conducted by several Slovenian and foreign experts, guided by the European Training Foundation (ETF), revealed that:

- education and training in Slovenia, including VET, were too centralised and regulated in detail at national level. VET responsiveness to employers’ needs was quite low and the related adjustment time too long;
- VET programmes remained very traditional and composed of three blocks: general subjects such as mathematics, physics, foreign and mother languages, history and geography; vocational subjects providing knowledge in specific vocational fields; and practical training in school workshops and/or with employers. These blocks were poorly linked. The structure of curricula and frontal
methods of teaching did not provide the necessary integration of knowledge or the development of either key or occupational competences, such as an ability for problem-solving, communication and learning skills. This offered low motivation for learning.

- VET programmes were prepared primarily for the young and not adjusted to adults, who could rarely afford to go to school without a break for three or more years. In addition, the knowledge and skills acquired outside formal education were not recognised either publicly or in the school.

- although the dual and school-based programmes led to the same vocational qualifications, graduates acquired different knowledge and competences on their completion.

One immediate result of the VET evaluation was that the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs put together a group of experts who prepared the Law on National Vocational Qualifications (Zakon..., 2003), passed by parliament in autumn 2000. The purpose of this law is to determine the procedure for developing and verifying national vocational standards and, in particular, to enable public recognition of informally and non-formally acquired knowledge and skills for those individuals who meet such standards. National vocational standards also serve as a basis for preparing VET programmes. Two paths to the same qualifications are opened: formal education and training in school, or in the dual system, and certification of prior knowledge. Since VET programmes are usually prepared on the basis of more than one vocational standard, individuals with certain publicly recognised qualifications can bring them to school where they should be recognised if they are included in the prospective VET programme. Similarly, knowledge acquired in school should be taken into account in the process of certifying national qualifications if students leave a programme prematurely. However, certified qualifications do not automatically lead to higher educational grades; for this, some education in school, with the accent on general education, is needed.

Implementing the Law on National Vocational Qualifications took two years, partly because several new institutions were needed to make it work and partly because efforts were undertaken to settle the cost issues raised by employers and trade unions. In 2003 the system was made fully operational, meaning that a greater number of new occupational standards were accepted and the first national qualifications certified and awarded in fields such as pharmaceutical processing, home care and specialised farm production.

Another effect of the evaluation by the Phare MOCCA Programme was that the National VET Council decided to prepare new guidelines for developing VET programmes, which were accepted in autumn 2001 (Izhodišča..., 2001). The new Guidelines demand significantly different curricula planning and teaching for VET. The four main changes are as follows:

- opening up of curricula so that approximately 20 % of VET programmes should be left undefined at the national level, to be elaborated by schools themselves in collaboration with their regional and/or branch partners. The aim is to adjust programmes to employers’ needs while keeping certain common standards, and to let them change more quickly without time-consuming procedures at national level;

- provision of integrated knowledge and skills to enable students to develop the competences needed for problem-solving in real work and life situations. This includes leaving the model of subject-structured curricula with the aim of creating a number of learning situations in which practical training and theoretical education and explanation are given simultaneously. This is expected to motivate those students not motivated for frontal lecturing in the classroom;

- modularisation of teaching programmes to provide one module for each vocational standard that a programme is based on. Modularisation should enable students, especially adults, to undertake step-by-step education, to enter and leave a certain programme without losses, to combine modules, to certify knowledge acquired in school, to bring certified qualifications into programmes and later continue education, etc;

- abolition of the differences between programmes used in dual and school-based systems. Standards should move closer to the dual system, which has a greater accent on practical training.
Implementing this approach has been far from easy. Two main obstacles have been encountered. The first is the lack of knowledge and experience with modularisation and alternative non-subject-structured curricula planning. It is easy to modularise programmes in terms of breaking them up into smaller parts. However, if these parts are to give students certain rounded competences that can be used in real work situations before the whole programme is finished, the task becomes much more difficult, and organising the teaching process more complicated. It is even more difficult and unusual to merge traditional subjects into problem-structured curricula. If this is done, then teachers would have to change their traditional way of teaching. In addition, if schools are to elaborate the 20% of their programmes they need the cooperation of partners, who are not well profiled in all the regions. They also need greater autonomy than provided in a highly centralised system.

To overcome these difficulties, a special development programme for implementing new guidelines was launched by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport. Several groups of Slovenian and foreign experts, in collaboration with school centres, focused on specific development issues. By the end of 2003 the first two programmes were reformulated and proposed to the National VET Council: glass workers and car servicing.

The second obstacle is even more delicate. There has been strong opposition from generalists who claim that the new approach sacrifices general and reflective knowledge in favour of functional skills and competences, which change quickly and do not enable students to continue their education (Muršak, Vidmar, 2001). Their campaign against the new guidelines is quite strong, although for the moment the change in the VET system only applies to the three-year vocational programmes and leaves the four-year technical programmes almost untouched. It is difficult for the critics to accept the argument that young people enrolled in VET programmes have relatively low motivation for general subjects and that general knowledge could be better conveyed in the form of key competences (Key Competences, 2002) and by means of problem-solving, role-playing or other integrated methods. It seems that teachers of general subjects are afraid of losing their jobs and eventual retraining.

Recent trends

Alongside endeavours to reform VET in line with changing labour market demands and experiences in developed EU countries, figures showing interest in VET and enrolment in VET programmes are far from encouraging. Throughout and after the 1990s a shrinking proportion of young people has been going to vocational and technical schools and the trend towards enrolment in general education has been strengthened, as shown in Table 3. Vocational schools are cutting the number of groups/classes and they recently started to reorganise teaching so that they merge groups of students enrolled in different programmes when they have the same or similar lectures in the schedule. The problem is increasing, especially because the network of vocational schools is relatively dispersed. The Ministry of Education, Science and Sport hesitates to close down or merge non-viable schools because it would lose the support of local authorities.

There may be several reasons for the shift away from vocational training. Some seem to be quite profound and difficult to influence significantly by any policy measures.

The first is the low value placed on manual occupations, which is deeply embedded in the culture. This has not changed much since ancient Greek times. The influence of Protestantism in Slovenia was fairly weak and the socialist period merely entrenched

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>1995/96</th>
<th>1999/00</th>
<th>2002/03</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gimnazija - general</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical school - 4 years</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational sch. - 2-3 years</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
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Source: Cek, Vranjet, 2003)
this value orientation. Parents still say to their children, ‘If you do not learn you will have to work!’ This has not changed in spite of the new technologies applied in several occupations, which make work easier and more interesting. In 1968, the highly skilled worker took 9th place in terms of prestige scale among 14 occupations, the craftsman 11th and the unskilled worker the last place (Toš, 1997). The situation 27 years later is no better. Among 22 occupations, the skilled worker earned 19th place, the unskilled worker 21st and the salesman the last. Only the position of a craftsman has improved, now ranked in 13th place (Toš, 1999). One-third of parents think that vocational schools have low prestige (Čakš, 2001), while teachers who have a strong influence on children’s educational careers probably have similar opinions.

The second factor is intergenerational upward mobility, for which formal education offers one of the best possibilities. Nearly all research on the influence of education on incomes, property, standard of living, prestige, etc. reveals a positive correlation (Quality of life in Slovenia, 1996). It is understandable that young people, as well as their parents, want to move up the education ladder. This is why graduates of lower vocational schools want to continue at middle ones, and graduates from these schools want to go on to higher vocational schools and universities. The role of formal education as a channel of upward social mobility was particularly strong in the socialist period when entrepreneurship was no alternative due to the ideological and administrative barriers.

One consequence of upward mobility is that jobs at lower levels of the occupational scale are taken by immigrants and marginal groups, becoming even less popular. Many occupations of this kind in Slovenia can be found in construction, mining and public utilities (ESS, 2003). The local population’s interest in training in the respective programmes is very low and they are taken mainly by the children of immigrants and those with low learning abilities.

The third factor gained momentum in the period of transition. The Slovenian economy, which used to be highly industrial, is changing into a service economy. From 1991 to 2000 the share of the working population in agriculture and industry fell while the share of the working population in services rose, as shown in Table 2 (Igtnatović, 2002, p.180). This change is associated with the breaking up of several companies in the metal, textile, wood-processing and other industries. This has given a strong signal to the young and their parents on which schools not to chose. Vocational programmes leading to technical qualifications in the textile, leather, metal and similar industries are therefore losing students, while those leading to service qualifications such as hairdressers, salespeople and administrative workers remain attractive. It should be pointed out that the reaction of young people and their parents is usually too strong and unselective. Therefore, the remaining jobs in the restructured industries, which may still offer good career opportunities and interesting work, are usually overlooked.

There is also the influence of the growing labour market and employment flexibility. Vocational training has frequently been described as too narrow and specialised providing a weak basis for mobility between jobs in the turbulent labour market. There is a prevailing opinion that general education gives individuals better opportunities for alternative careers when the existing ones disappear.

On the supply side, an important factor influencing the shrinking interest in vocational training is demographic decline. The numbers of young people entering secondary education fell by 13 % in the period 1995/96 to 2000/01 (Ček, Vranješ, 2002). Because the supply of education and training programmes has not changed significantly and the number of teaching places has not dropped, the competition for students is being won by the more prestigious gimnazija. Young people who could not have aspired to enrolment in such a programme before, suddenly have the chance. Because of this trend, the quality of the gimnazija programme has been affected and vocational schools have been emptied more than necessary. Public intervention against the aspirations of the young and their parents is considered very delicate, if not impossible.

The dual system as part of VET has also not attracted as many students as expected. Although intended to become the dominant form of vocational education and training (Medveš, 1999), this has not happened. It was planned in 2000 that 36 % of all VET
students would be enrolled in the dual system. However, the figure was just 11% in the 2001/02. The reasons for this situation were not the lack of VET programmes and lack of training places offered by employers. In 2000 there were only enough candidates for 19 programmes out of the 29 possible. In 2001/02 only about 40% of offered training places were filled (Meglic, 2003).

According to Meglic (2003), one reason the dual system has not met expectations is competition from school-based education. Since students can acquire the same qualification through both routes, schools deliberately discourage them from opting for the dual system. In the school-based track there is more time for teaching in the classroom and thus there are more jobs for teachers. If general schools successfully compete for students with vocational ones, then vocational schools focus their competition on the dual system.

There may be other reasons:

❑ 20% of parents think that the options to continue education after the dual path finishes are worse than if taking the school-based approach (Čaks, 2001). This is not true because, in 2002, 56% continued with their education and only 30% decided on employment (Meglic, 2003);

❑ some employers could be hesitant to take on trainees because they are afraid of wasted investment if graduates seek to continue education rather than work;

❑ although the government and the Chamber of Crafts have agreed on sharing training costs in the dual system, this issue has been raised several times by the employers. This indicates that employers consider their share as not being justified;

❑ it could be that VET programmes in the dual system lead to even less popular occupations than school-based ones. These may include traditional occupations such as watchmakers, goldsmiths, stove makers and similar;

❑ a number of small employers are specialised and their work environment does not provide any good opportunities for training. This is why they are not eager to offer training posts and trainees do not want to be trained there.

Discussion points

It seems that the trends towards higher education levels and towards service occupations are very strong. They are not only supply- but also demand-driven. The educational structure of the active population in Slovenia is low compared to the educationally more advanced EU countries. In 2002, only 17% of the working-age population (15-64 years) had a tertiary (ISCED 5-7) education (Ček, Vranjet, 2003). Slovenia’s most important economic partner Germany had 23%, while the Nordic countries and Ireland had significantly better (www.oecd.org/edu/eag2003). Similar differences could be observed in the Eurostat data (2002). The higher the education, the lower the unemployment rate (ESS, 2003). If the Slovenian economy wants to compete successfully with others, its workforce must be able to receive and work effectively with the most advanced technologies and provide for effective organisation of economic and social life. The shift from industrial to service occupations also seems natural. VET should take these trends into account and can only adjust to them.

VET schools have always received students with lower school achievements, less motivated for, and with lower abilities in, abstract thinking and theory. They are more inclined to experiment in different work and life situations. The greater the share of a generation going to general programmes, the more selected the students of VET schools will be in this respect. It is very important, therefore, to speed up the described reforms in order to help VET students to achieve better results.

Irrespective of the general trend to more demanding jobs and higher levels of education, some occupations at the middle level of proficiency will still be needed. Among those some traditional ones, goldsmith, straw roof thatcher, gardener, sweets baker, etc., will be needed in the tourist industry if not to meet the population’s everyday needs. New ones are also emerging, such as a home care provider and the maintenance of audio and visual equipment. The Chamber of Crafts has started a campaign in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport to make these occupations more visible, to show their interesting sides to potential students and to inform them of employment possibilities. The Ministry of Labour, Famili
ly and Social Affairs is also considering establishing a permanent professional group to work on anticipating and developing new occupations.

A good response by the VET system to this trend to higher education is to make transition as easy as possible. Such is the case of the so-called 3+2 system. Students who complete a three-year vocational programme can continue with technical education in the following two years, and a great many vocational graduates take up this option. Another possibility for upward mobility is offered by post-secondary vocational schools, which in 2001/02 enrolled more than 6,000 students (Cek, Vranjes, 2003). If these students take the vocational maturity exam some university programmes are also opened up to them.

In light of the upward mobility trend and reducing young population, a lack of labour is expected in a few years’ time. This will be especially felt in occupational labour markets. The Employment Service of Slovenia already issues about 40,000 work permits per year for those working in the construction industry and public utilities (ESS, 2003). The increasing number of immigrant workers will pose a special challenge to VET schools. They will need not only vocational skills but also a number of other key competences in order to participate in public life and to integrate with society.

VET schools are also expected to make a special contribution to lifelong learning. They will have to open up to the domestic adult population, not only to immigrants. This offers a chance to compensate for the loss of young students. However, the approach and teaching methods should then also change. Modularisation of programmes and more integrated problem-focused teaching are just two of the changes required. The possibilities of this training are confirmed in post-secondary vocational colleges, where nearly two-thirds of students are adults (Cek, Vranjes, 2003). Offering courses to the unemployed is another example.

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