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## THE EUROPEAN EDUCATIONAL MODEL AND ITS PARADOXICAL IMPACT AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

*Lukas Graf*

This chapter looks at developments between the national and the European level, taking as examples two relatively similar education systems. Within the European Union, Austria and Germany are best known for their extensive systems of vocational education and training and especially their long-term institutionalization of the dual training principle. This means that a significant proportion of young people are enrolled in programs at the upper-secondary level that combine in-firm training with theoretical learning at a vocational school. However, in both countries, the dual-track vocational education and training is institutionally separated from general academic education at the upper-secondary level (the *Gymnasium* type of school) and also university-level education. This institutional divide, which Baethge (2006) has called the “educational schism,” leads to a lack of permeability between the two major sectors in the German and Austrian national education systems—namely, between vocational education and training (VET) and higher education (HE).

In both Austria and Germany, this lack of permeability has been increasingly problematized since the late 1960s. For example, this institutional separation limits the social mobility of individuals and thus fails to acknowledge the rising educational aspirations of young people (e.g., Powell & Solga, 2010). Furthermore, it neglects the ongoing shift from the manufacturing sector to the service and knowledge sectors of the economy, a shift that brings with it a growing demand for general academic skills (e.g., Streeck, 2012). However, dissolving the institutional divide between the fields of VET and HE is a challenging task, given that both fields are strongly path dependent and organized according to distinct educational ideals, standards, and laws. Most importantly, each of the two fields falls within the sphere of responsibility of different political actors. For instance, the field of VET is one of the few areas in which the social partners—that is, the

interest organizations of employees and employers—still have a far-reaching influence on public policy. In contrast, the field of HE is strongly shaped by the interests of the educated elites (*Bildungsbürgertum*) and various state actors.

Interestingly, given the institutional stasis in these two fields, institutional innovation took place in a niche between VET and HE. More specifically, hybrid organizational forms that combine institutional elements from VET and HE have expanded rapidly since the late 1960s (Graf, 2013). These hybrids have succeeded in satisfying the demands of both employers and young people for programs that promote both detailed practical experience and high-level academic general skills. In Germany, dual study programs are the key example for hybrids of this kind, and in Austria, it is the *Berufsbildenden Höheren Schulen* (BHS) (higher vocational schools with HE entrance qualification). By promoting institutional permeability, these hybrids offer idiosyncratic solutions to a challenge that both countries face—namely, the institutional divide between VET and HE that has evolved historically.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it should be noted that these hybrids were not established as part of a top-down strategy by educational policy makers. Instead, they were developed by actors who circumvented the institutional stasis in the traditional organizational fields of VET and HE. As a consequence of this “unplanned” development, which took place within a gray zone at the margins of two established fields (i.e., VET and HE), the hybrids were not smoothly integrated into the given national institutional configurations of the education systems. In fact, an empirical analysis based on organizational institutionalism (see below) shows that the maintenance of hybrid organizational forms relies on a significant degree of loose coupling in relation to traditional educational pathways in Austria and Germany.

In view of the above-mentioned idiosyncratic developments at the national level, this chapter examines the impact of the growing European influence on the Austrian and German education systems. Over the last few decades the international dimension of education has evolved into one of the key reference frames in education development worldwide (e.g., Lanzendorf & Teichler, 2003, p. 220). Within the European Union and, indeed, in Europe more generally, one key way in which this international dimension has materialized is increasing European integration.<sup>2</sup> Ever since the Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community in 1957, what is called the readability (or the transparency) of qualifications has been part of the European integration process (Bouder, Dauty, Kirsch, & Lemistre, 2008). However, it was only in the late 1990s that European educational policies gained their current influence on the national discourse on educational reform. In that context, one key innovation was the implementation of soft governance and the open method of coordination, whereby “[s]oft governance leaves room for multilevel games and creates opportunity structures enabling domestic actors to use EU initiatives to overcome domestic veto-points and veto-actors” (Powell & Trampusch, 2012, p. 289). In 1999 the Bologna Declaration was signed by 29 European education ministers with the aim of establishing a Europe-wide HE area. The key instrument developed in the Bologna Process was the

two-tiered degree structure (bachelor’s degree and master’s degree) defined in terms of learning outcomes and measured by the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System.

The Bologna Process provided the initial impetus for a range of other European educational policies. Ever since, European education and training reforms have been gaining in strength incrementally but forcefully and have also demanded greater mobility between VET and HE. In 2002 the Copenhagen Declaration was signed by 31 ministers with the intention of enhancing European cooperation in VET. For this, one of the key tools is the European Qualification Framework (EQF), which was formally adopted by the European Parliament and Council in April 2008. One of the basic goals of the EQF is to increase permeability between VET and HE, as it subsumes both under one qualification framework on the basis of a review of all qualifications available within a national education system by the relevant national stakeholders. That is, based on nonbinding recommendations, member states voluntarily commit themselves to developing a national qualification framework (NQF) that will later be linked to the EQF. The principal goal of the EQF, with its eight reference levels, is to diffuse and promote lifelong learning and to make national qualification systems more readable and understandable within and across different countries to facilitate national and international mobility.<sup>3</sup> Under the banner of lifelong learning as an ideal, the “diffused” norms, standards, and regulations include increased international transparency, a learning-outcome orientation, and enhanced permeability with regard to all types of education.

Thus, both the Bologna Process and the Copenhagen Process propose instruments to overcome the institutional divide between VET and HE. This is especially relevant for Austria and Germany, given that these countries represent “hard cases” for these reforms owing to their institutional divide between VET and HE. How do the relatively similar skill formation systems of Austria and Germany deal with this challenge, and what are the implications for the hybrid organizational forms mentioned earlier?

The next section presents the methods and data in brief. The subsequent section describes the hybrid organizational forms in Austria and Germany. After that, relevant theoretical concepts from organizational institutionalism are introduced and applied to understand how hybrids achieve relative stability despite their otherwise precarious status within the national education system. An analysis of the impact of current Europeanization processes on these hybrids then follows. The final section summarizes the key findings.

## Methods and Data

The case studies cover the time period from the genesis of the hybrid organizational forms—from roughly the late 1960s up to 2013 but with a focus on the “Bologna era” starting in 1999. As far as organization theory is concerned, my chapter is sympathetic to organizational heterogeneity. In fact, since the late

1970s, theories of organizations have generally moved away from organizational heterogeneity, as most scholars in organization theory have prioritized “abstraction over contextual specificity” and focused on explanations of homogeneity (King, Felin, & Whetten, 2009, p. 4). In contrast, my comparison aims to look at spatial and temporal variation to explain specific national patterns of organizational development (see Aldrich, 1999) at the nexus of VET and HE and with regard to hybrid organizational forms. Educational organizations can mean very different things in different countries, even if the titles they grant and their positioning within international qualification frameworks may suggest equivalence. Therefore, a dense description of the relevant organizations and their institutional embeddedness is essential if we are to compare them. For this purpose, my most important data source is the semi-structured interviews that I conducted in Vienna, Bonn, and Berlin with 48 key experts in VET and HE in the past few years. My goal was to arrive at a representative sample of important stakeholders in each country (state agencies, employer associations, employee organizations, and educational organizations). In addition to the expert interviews and available secondary sources, I analyzed official documents by national stakeholders, including statements by state ministries, political parties, social partners, and the educational organizations themselves. I will now describe the hybrid organizational forms in Austria and Germany.

### Hybrid Organizational Forms at the Nexus of VET and HE in Austria and Germany

#### *Austria: Hybrid Higher Vocational Schools With HE Entrance Qualification (BHS)*

In comparison with Germany, Austria has the stronger tradition of full-time vocational schooling. The rapid expansion of the BHS since the 1970s builds on this tradition (Graf, Lassnigg, & Powell, 2012, pp. 162–165). The BHS takes one year longer than the general academic secondary school (the Austrian *Gymnasium*). In five years, it leads to the double qualification of a VET diploma and an academic baccalaureate (*Diplom- und Reifeprüfung*): The academic baccalaureate offers access to HE, and the VET diploma provides the right to practice higher-level occupations (*Berechtigung zur Ausübung gehobener Berufe*).<sup>4</sup> Currently, approximately 26% of all students in Grade 10 are enrolled in a BHS (Tritscher-Archan & Nowak, 2011). The BHS programs cover the fields of engineering, arts and crafts, business administration, the management and service industries, tourism, fashion, design, and agriculture and forestry.

After three years of relevant professional experience, graduates from most BHS institutions of engineering, arts and crafts, and agriculture and forestry can apply for the official title “engineer” (*Standesbezeichnung Ingenieur*) from the relevant ministry. Although these engineering titles are not official academic degrees, they

nevertheless enjoy a very high reputation in the Austrian labor market. In fact, many BHS graduates choose to *not* access HE but to enter the labor market directly.

The BHS is recognized as enabling students to acquire skills beyond the upper-secondary level. Job advertisements frequently do not distinguish between BHS graduates and graduates of universities of applied sciences with bachelor's degrees (e.g., Lassnigg, 2013, p. 130). One major reason why some employers prefer graduates from a BHS over holders of bachelor's degrees is the higher proportion of practical training that the BHS offers, which is often very effective at meeting the skill demands of the small and medium-sized firms that dominate the Austrian economy.

The BHS systematically links curricular contents from vocational training and academic education, for example, in the training companies that are an integral learning site of the BHS institutions of business administration. The BHS provides an attractive educational pathway, especially for children from families with no previous history of HE participation. The decision to study at a BHS, typically made at the age of 14, is attractive to this group, as it keeps open two different educational and career pathways, reducing the risk of academic dropout. In this way, an important condition for social mobility is institutionally supported.

In terms of governance, the responsibility for the BHS lies with the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture but with the involvement of the social partners. For instance, the BHS is part of the system of VET governance, as it offers a VET diploma as part of the above-mentioned double qualification. Thus, the BHS is subject to the Vocational Training Act as far as access to formally regulated occupations or wage scale classifications are concerned.

In sum, the BHS represents a hybrid organizational form: First, it combines learning processes from both VET and HE. This combination manifests itself, for example, in the BHS double qualification, the BHS diploma thesis, and (in some cases) the possibility of being awarded an engineering title. Second, the BHS straddles the boundary between upper-secondary (VET) and post-secondary education (HE). This is also reflected in the high recognition of the BHS on the labor market and in the possibility for BHS graduates to receive credits for their prior learning if they enter HE. Third, the BHS sector is not solely subject to traditional academic school governance but integrates aspects of governance typical for the dual VET sector. For these three reasons, the hybrid BHS leads to increased institutional permeability between VET and HE.

#### *Germany: Hybrid Dual Study Programs*

Dual study programs combine two distinct learning environments—namely, academic institutes and a workplace. In about a third of the dual study programs, the vocational school is integrated as a third location (Waldhausen & Werner, 2005). In dual study programs, students and firms are usually bound by training, part-time, practical training, traineeship, or internship contracts. Dual programs usually lead

to a bachelor's degree in three to four years (dual studies at the master's level are still rare) and connect two didactic principles—namely, practical training and scientific grounding. For example, the teaching staff is composed of lecturers (at universities of applied sciences, vocational academies, or universities), trainers from industry, and sometimes vocational school teachers. Dual study programs combine institutional and organizational elements from the fields of VET and HE, for example, with regard to their curricula, teaching staff, or funding structures. Furthermore, dual study programs integrate the classroom and the workplace as two complementary learning settings. The original type of dual study programs, the *ausbildungsintegrierende* (training-integrated studies) type, leads to an official vocational certificate from the field of vocational training (upper-secondary level) as well as a bachelor's degree from the HE sector (post-secondary level) (see Graf, 2013, pp. 95–102 for a description of all available types).

The rise of the dual study programs supports the argument that the dual principle has “extended” and moved up to the HE sector (e.g., Sorge, 2007, p. 240). In April 2013 the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung, BIBB) counted 1,461 dual study programs and more than 64,358 study places (BIBB, 2014). Compared to April 2008, this signifies a growth of 46% in registered study places (BIBB, 2008, 2014). Dual study programs are offered by German universities of applied sciences (59%), the Baden-Württemberg Cooperative State University (20%), vocational academies (15%), and universities (6%) (BIBB, 2014, p. 28). In total, around 27,900 cooperative arrangements exist between firms and various educational providers within the dual studies framework (Kupfer & Stertz, 2011, p. 29). Dual study programs are most commonly offered in engineering sciences, law, economics and business studies, and math and natural sciences. The profile of a dual study program is largely determined by internal negotiations and a cooperation agreement between the training firm and the organizational provider (Mucke & Schwiedrzik, 2000, p. 15). There is a significant degree of flexibility in the specific forms of coordination between firms and educational organizations (e.g., loose or tight) (e.g., Reischl, 2008). It is important to note that there is no federal standard with regard to the salaries of students enrolled in dual study programs. However, in the case of the *ausbildungsintegrierende* dual study programs, it is decreed that the student should receive at least the same payment that a regular apprentice (at the upper-secondary level) would receive.

To sum up, dual study programs are hybrid organizational forms and as such support institutional permeability between VET and HE for three reasons: First, they combine learning processes from both VET and HE, and the curricula usually stress the equal importance of academic and firm-based learning. Second, they link upper-secondary VET and post-secondary HE, for example, through the double qualification granted by the *ausbildungsintegrierende* programs. Third, these programs are not solely subject to either traditional HE governance or traditional VET governance but rather to a mix of both.

## Hybrid Organizational Forms, Stability, and Loose Coupling

The previous section described the two specific hybrid organizational forms that have developed at the nexus of VET and HE in Austria and Germany and have succeeded in overcoming the institutional divide between VET and HE. This section shows that the status of these hybrids is precarious for two reasons: because they are located in a gray zone between the traditional fields of VET and HE and because they draw on institutional elements from these two traditional fields, leading to some degree of functional overlap and potential friction. Based on theoretical considerations from organizational institutionalism, this section explains how these hybrids have nevertheless managed to achieve stability and have in fact expanded rapidly.

### Some Theoretical Considerations

According to organizational institutionalists, the survival of organizations is, beyond organizational efficiency, conditional on organizational conformity with dominant institutional myths present in their environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Thus, organizations are constantly seeking legitimacy so as to acquire social acceptability and credibility (see Scott, 2008). However, the dominant myths in a given society or institutional context are not always consistent. To cope with these incompatible structural elements, which may lead to internal and boundary-spanning contingencies (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), organizations often rely on loose coupling between “frontstage” standardized, legitimate external practices and formal structures and “backstage” practical considerations and internal organizational behavior (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Tight coupling usually occurs when an issue supports the status quo, and uncoupling is more likely when an issue challenges the status quo (Lutz, 1982). However, it is also important to note that loose coupling is not always used strategically for “rational” organizational purposes but rather is applied as a result of organizational routines or because of perceived appropriateness (e.g., Hasse & Krücken, 2005). Orton and Weick (1990) discuss a number of ways in which such loose coupling has an impact on organizational performance. For example, it is often seen as creating persistence (e.g., in terms of a particular organization's reduced responsiveness to environmental changes). Another, related example is that loose coupling can have a buffering effect. That is, loose coupling can reduce conflicts within and between organizations and organizational fields and hence isolate problems and prevent their spread.

The following empirical illustrations from the Austrian and German cases indeed show that loose coupling helps to reduce conflicts resulting from the functional overlaps between the hybrid organizational forms and more traditional non-hybrid organizational forms within the national education system. The argument, illustrated in the following section using one key example each from the Austrian and the German cases, is that loose coupling is central to the maintenance of

hybrid organizational forms, which are otherwise unstable. This is because key actors in the traditional fields of VET and HE tend to perceive these hybrids as competitors and would like to either integrate them into their respective organizational field, which would strengthen their “monopoly,” or push them far into the other field, which would reduce direct competition.

### ***Austria: The Functional Overlap Between the BHS and Universities of Applied Sciences***

The BHS converts key institutional elements from the fields of VET and academic education and blends them within its hybrid organizational structure. However, the expert interviews reveal that there is a significant functional overlap between the BHS and the universities of applied sciences. For example, studying at a BHS or a university of applied sciences often leads to similar positions in the labor market, even though the BHS is formally located within the upper-secondary education sector and the university of applied sciences within the post-secondary education sector. However, this did not initially lead to major frictions between the universities of applied sciences and the BHS (or to the collapse of the hybrid BHS), because the two organizations were instead decoupled from each other. In fact, the creation of the universities of applied sciences, which took place in the early 1990s, was only able to go forward precisely because of this decoupling, since BHS stakeholders insisted on their special status being maintained. The key policy makers in the Austrian skill formation system, rather than trying to make the hybrid BHS fit the logic of either VET or HE, have allowed a loosely coupled relationship between the BHS and the universities of applied sciences to prevail, in this way enabling the maintenance of the hybrid BHS. Furthermore, the state is willing to finance both organizations.

### ***Germany: The Functional Overlap Between Dual Studies and Traditional Dual Apprenticeship Training***

Dual study programs blend HE elements with the dual apprenticeship principle. For instance, the HE institute and the participating firm are responsible for coordinating the study program. Thus, hybrid dual study programs signify a layer located in a niche between VET and HE. Nevertheless, although greater institutional permeability between VET and HE is promoted within dual study programs (e.g., as they transfer the dual principle to HE), the educational schism continues to exist at the system level. That is, the classic dual apprenticeship training still remains largely isolated from the world of HE.<sup>5</sup> Yet the co-existence of dual studies and dual apprenticeship training leads to a functional overlap, especially in regulated occupations that are offered both in the dual apprenticeship training system and in the form of dual study programs.<sup>6</sup> This implies potential friction at the system level, for example, considering that individuals with the same entrance qualification (i.e., a

HE entrance qualification) end up in programs at different educational levels (i.e., the upper-secondary level in the case of dual apprenticeship training and the post-secondary level in the case of dual studies). Yet, in practice, the actors and regulatory authorities have been largely unconcerned with or unaware of these functional overlaps. As a consequence, they enabled the loose coupling of institutional structures and, with that, the expansion of dual studies, despite their positioning in a gray zone between the strongly institutionalized fields of VET and HE.

In view of these locally specific institutional solutions, the next section analyzes the influence of current Europeanization processes on the stability of hybrid organizational forms in Austria and Germany.

### **Europeanization Reduces the Scope for Routines of Loose Coupling**

The current Europeanization processes push for standards for the categorization of different kinds of educational programs and qualifications throughout Europe, with one key goal being to create greater transparency and permeability in European skill formation (see Powell, Bernhard, & Graf, 2012). This chapter, however, argues that the key tools of educational Europeanization, that is, the introduction of bachelor's and master's degrees and the EQF, fail to acknowledge the organizational specificities of hybrids. The comparison of the Austrian and German cases shows that a main effect of Europeanization is a reduction in the scope for loose coupling, a mechanism essential for the maintenance of hybridity. In this section, I first illustrate how the location of the respective hybrid organizational forms within the education system matters with regard to the impact of Europeanization. In this context, second, I compare the cases of Austria and Germany. Third, I discuss the influence of current Europeanization processes on the institutional permeability that the two hybrid organizational forms at the nexus of VET and HE represent.

### ***The Location of Hybrid Organizational Forms Matters Regarding the Impact of Europeanization***

The specific location of the hybrid organizational forms within the national education system plays a significant role in determining the dynamics of hybridization. Both hybrids span the boundary between the upper- and post-secondary levels. However, each of them calls either the upper- or the post-secondary level its home domain. The core location of the Austrian BHS is the upper-secondary level (VET), integrating elements of post-secondary HE (e.g., access to an engineering title). In contrast, the core location of the German dual study programs is the post-secondary level (HE), although the programs also integrate the upper-secondary level (VET) (e.g., the possibility to obtain a formal occupational certificate from the dual system). Given that the core location of the German dual study programs is the post-secondary level (HE), the Bologna Process, involving the

introduction of the bachelor's degree at the post-secondary HE level, matters more than the Copenhagen Process in this case. In the case of the Austrian BHS, it is the Copenhagen Process in the form of the EQF, which is intended to cover all qualifications within an education system, that has had the greatest impact on hybridity. Therefore, the following illustrations focus on the impact of Bologna and Copenhagen on hybrid dual study programs in Germany and the impact of the EQF on the hybrid BHS in Austria.

### ***The Austrian Case: The NQF Reduces Scope for Ambiguity and Loose Coupling***

The Austrian case shows that the implementation of the EQF reduces the scope for hybrid organizational forms. The hybrid status of the BHS relies on the way in which it overcomes traditional institutional barriers between VET and HE and between upper-secondary VET and post-secondary HE. This is possible owing to a significant degree of informality and scope for loose coupling in its institutional environment. However, the implementation of the EQF has tended to diminish the scope for such ambiguities within the institutional environment. In fact, the EQF is mainly interpreted as a rigid classificatory matrix, which contradicts the nature of hybrid organizational forms. The consultation process regarding the NQF in Austria is exerting regulative pressure to formalize the position of the BHS double qualification, but it does not allow for an adequate mapping of the overlaps between the different qualification levels that it represents. In other words, the NQF reduces the previously available degrees of freedom that allowed the hybrid BHS to flourish. For instance, the NQF has strengthened the competition between the BHS and the universities of applied sciences. This is because the NQF increases the interaction and competition between organizational forms that previously stood in a rather loosely coupled relation to each other. This new, more competitive environment has been a source of friction between the BHS and the universities of applied sciences. The representatives of the universities of applied sciences regard the successful BHS institutions as competitors. As a consequence, in the NQF consultation process they have argued against BHS qualifications being associated with the three highest NQF levels, 6–8, which they see as reserved for bachelor's, master's, and PhD degrees respectively (Fachhochschulrat, 2008; Österreichische Fachhochschul-Konferenz, 2008). As a consequence, the BHS is losing some of its attractiveness as it is indirectly "downgraded" relative to the Austrian universities of applied science. In turn, this is detrimental to the degree of institutional permeability that the BHS represents as a result of its hybrid VET-HE status.

### ***The German Case: The Bologna Process Leads to Academic Drift***

In the German case the introduction of bachelor's degrees in dual study programs has especially increased competition with dual apprenticeship training. The introduction of bachelor's degrees was a vehicle for the providers of dual study

programs to further establish themselves within the HE sector. The dual study programs took up the bachelor's degrees rather quickly. Thus, in terms of their academic reputation, they became more similar to the traditional HE organizations. In this way, Bologna further legitimizes dual study programs as belonging to HE. Yet this drift towards traditional HE is not beneficial for institutional permeability. More precisely, because they are approximating universities of applied sciences and universities, the dual study programs have been losing some of their connections to VET at the upper-secondary level. Although dual study programs are located in a gray zone between VET and HE, with sufficient scope for the creative blending of institutional elements from both organizational fields, the implementation of the bachelor's degree standard has reduced this boundary-spanning capacity. For example, dual study programs now go through a formal accreditation procedure like other bachelor's degree programs, but accreditation is biased towards general academic learning. Furthermore, as the dual study bachelor's programs now last only three to four years (similar to dual apprenticeship training, which usually lasts three years) and as high-end dual apprenticeship programs and dual study programs compete for the same target group of students, the structural friction between dual study programs and traditional dual apprenticeship training is intensifying.

### ***Comparing the Impact on Hybrid Organizational Forms and the Degree of Institutional Permeability***

What is the impact of these developments on the hybrid organizational forms and the institutional permeability that they represent through their combination of elements drawn from the otherwise largely separate organizational fields of VET and HE? In this context, I distinguish between the impact of Europeanization on (1) the hybrid organizational forms as such, (2) the degree of hybridity and institutional permeability, and (3) the potential friction between the hybrid organizational forms and closely related non-hybrid organizational forms:

1. The Bologna Process and the Copenhagen Process signify a drift in the institutional environment governing skill formation, but the two processes have affected the hybrid organizational forms differently depending on their core location. The Europeanization processes have tended to have unfavorable consequences for the organizational maintenance of the Austrian BHS, but the German dual study programs seem to have benefited from these processes. Here, it is especially relevant that the German hybrid is now directly linked to the bachelor's degree cycle, which has become the "hegemonic" global standard for undergraduate studies. In contrast, the BHS in Austria is more affected by the EQF, which, however, leads to increased organizational competition between the universities of applied sciences and the BHS and a relative downgrading of the latter.

2. In all three cases, the current Europeanization processes—or at least their national interpretations—have the unintended consequence of reducing the scope for loose coupling as a condition for hybridization at the nexus of VET and HE. In this way, the national interpretations of Bologna and Copenhagen reinforce the divide between upper-secondary and post-secondary education and between VET and HE, reducing the potential of the hybrid VET-HE organizational forms to increase institutional permeability.
3. What contributes to this dynamic is that both Bologna and Copenhagen have created an environment that to some extent drives closely related organizational forms further apart. This point refers mainly to the relationship between the BHS and the universities of applied sciences in the Austrian case and the relationship between dual studies and high-level dual apprenticeship programs in Germany.

## Summary

Although the focus of European educational processes on soft governance, outputs, comparability, and permeability appears neutral, it has had unintended consequences, in that it has reduced the scope for the loose coupling on which the hybrid organizational models rely for their continued reproduction. This holds both for the introduction of bachelor's degrees and for the EQF. For example, in Germany the introduction of bachelor's degrees has resulted in academic drift of the dual study programs, whereas in Austria debates on the EQF have tended to push the BHS out of the post-secondary level (to which they informally extend) in the direction of the upper-secondary level of education. Thus, although one of the central goals of the Europeanization of skill formation is to increase permeability between VET and HE, the rigid interpretation of the two-tiered degree structure (bachelor's and master's degrees) and the EQF has had the effect of reducing the level of loose coupling, while loose coupling is required for further hybridization. In this sense, these Europeanization tools have had the paradoxical result that they negatively affect some of the underlying conditions fostering further hybridization and thus institutional permeability at the nexus of VET and HE.

In conclusion, if European educational policy makers want to optimally promote permeability between VET and HE, then more attention needs to be paid to the complexity of national and local institutional conditions and to established innovative organizational solutions, such as hybrid organizational forms that straddle the boundaries between otherwise institutionally separated educational sectors.

## Notes

1. Please note that this analysis focuses mainly on permeability in terms of the rules, standards, and ideas that define the relationship between VET and HE—that is, institutional permeability—rather than a measure of actually realized individual social mobility.

2. On the complex (inter-)relationship between globalization, internationalization, and Europeanization in the field of education, see, for example, Altbach (2006, p. 123), Graf (2009), and Tröhler and Lenz in this volume.
3. In the EQF matrix the eighth level corresponds to the highest level of knowledge, skills, and competences.
4. The BHS differs, for example, from specialized academic upper-secondary schools (*berufliche Gymnasien*) in Germany. The latter are three-year, full-time programs that include vocationally oriented intensive courses but lead “merely” to a general academic HE entrance qualification. That is, the German specialized academic upper-secondary schools do not offer a vocational qualification but typically prepare for studies at a HE institute or a vocational program.
5. Despite several initiatives to build linkages from dual apprenticeship training to HE training.
6. In Germany, in a number of popular and high-end dual apprenticeship programs (e.g., bank clerk, industrial clerk, insurance and financial services broker, tax clerk, information technology specialist) the proportion of apprentices with a new training contract and a HE entrance certificate is well over 50% (see Graf, 2013, p. 113).

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## 18

ACCELERATED WESTERNIZATION  
IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

## Coupling Higher Education and Research

Viktoria Boretska

Did not Europe develop the ultimate form of human culture, which can only spread across the face of the earth bringing happiness to all tribes and peoples?

(Danilevsky, 1869/1995, p. 56)

In the late 1800s, the Russian Slavophile and naturalist Nikolay Danilevsky was challenging the readers of the journal *Zarya* with articles, which were further compiled into his book *Russia and Europe* (Danilevsky, 1869/1995), referred to by his peer Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1869/1986) as a “future handbook of every Russian for all times” (p. 30). Danilevsky developed a theory of cultural-historical types and introduced a civilization approach to Russian history. He was convinced that Slavic<sup>1</sup> and Romano-Germanic (European) civilizations were “units of unequal order” (1869/1995, p. 55). It would be pointless, he concluded, to imitate the West: Every civilization has its own development phases (p. 77), progress is possible beyond the path of the rather one-sided European civilization (p. 56), and, for the equilibrium of world forces, Russia should chair an all-Slavic union with its center in Constantinople (p. 337).

Labeled as panslavistic, some of Danilevsky’s questions and answers regarding the place and “mission” of Russia in a fast-changing world traveled through time. Reinforced by a new reading of Danilevsky, a strong spirit of exceptionalism could be traced in Russia’s socialist choice of the 20th century that gave birth to the Soviet Union. Despite the idea of Russia’s otherness, Russia aspired to build a sphere of importance roughly similar to that of the West: Lenin envisioned Russia as a “spark”<sup>2</sup> for lighting up revolutions throughout Europe, with Russia becoming its socialist leader; this was partly accomplished by Stalin’s post-war ideological

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and the Global

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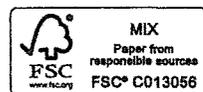
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