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Improving the Image of Technical and Vocational Education and Training

A synthesis by Prof. Dr. Clement – based on three substudies by Prof. Ute Clement,
IPC Frankfurt, Ewald Gold, Prof. Dr. Klaus Rütters and Klaus Schneider

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Table of Contents

	Executive Summary	6
	Foreword	7
1.	Introduction	8
2.	The Image of TVET – A Definition	11
3.	Arguments and Discussion	14
4.	Perspectives and Dimensions of Targeted Image Campaigns	18
4.1	Levels Addressed	18
4.2	Target Groups	19
4.3	Impact	20
5.	Promising Practices – A Typology	22
6.	Conclusion	34
7.	Bibliography	37

List of Figures

1.	The Image of TVET – Impacts	13
2.	Market Value and Attractiveness	20
3.	Typology of Image-Promoting Activities	22
4.	Projects Promoting the Image of TVET	23
5.	Marketing for Institutions	26
6.	Improving the Image – Trademark TVET	28
7.	Social Marketing	31
8.	Levels Promoting the Image of TVET	34

List of Tables

1.	Stakeholders' Interest in the Image of TVET	12
2.	Index-Based Income from an Academic Education	15
3.	Examples – Promoting the Image of Projects and Programmes	25
4.	Examples – Promoting the Image of Institutions	28
5.	Examples – Promoting the Image of Sectors and Certificates	30
6.	Examples – Social Marketing	32

List of Abbreviations

BIBB	Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (German Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training)
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BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
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GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
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GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH
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IHK	Industrie – und Handelskammer (Chamber of Industry and Commerce)
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ILO	International Labour Organization
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IPC	International Project Consult Inc.
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MINT	Mathematics, Information Technology, Natural Sciences and Technology
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OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
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TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
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UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
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UNEVOC	International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training
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ZDH	Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks (German Confederation of Skilled Crafts)
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Executive Summary

Collective ideas on the image of vocational training not only influence individual decisions, but also have a broad impact on the social investment in education and training, in the quality, acceptance in the labour market, and finally, mismatches between supply and demand in the labour market. The concept of collective images refers to:

1. More or less rational estimations of the balance between the costs and benefits of education and training (market value) and
2. emotional factors that are closely related to familial and social expectations, identity and gender concepts as well as role models (attractiveness). It is mainly in the emotional arena that image campaigns can have the biggest influence.

This study is based on the assumption that image-promoting measures can only be successful, if trust in education and training can be established: Such measures should not, however, promote educational choices which cannot fulfil the expectations a campaign may raise. Therefore, a thorough analysis on the quality, costs and benefits of a certain training programme should be the starting point of each campaign. With regard to the design of image campaigns, this study proposes a scale with four levels for developing, emerging or industrial countries:

1. In countries with a low degree of institutionalisation of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and labour markets, it may be advisable to promote only single projects or programmes.
2. In a situation with a low degree of institutionalisation, but where some training institutions have been well maintained, it may be advisable to present these institutions as flagships, even if at first it seems that private or civil society actors are being promoted with federal funding.
3. In countries with solid but poorly connected TVET structures and ineffective labour market structures, it could be helpful to campaign for individual sectors or certificates.
4. In the case of functioning vocational training and labour markets, but with areas of TVET that have a poor reputation, measures for social marketing should be carried out.

Here it may seem that the first levels relate to developing countries, whereas the later ones are typical for industrialised countries. This may be the case, though in our one world a great variety of parallel and overlapping social phenomena exist which can lead to very different characteristics in different branches, occupations or work activities. For this reason, the intent of this study is to suggest a range of ideas and criteria for measures which will enhance the image of vocational education and training in developing, emerging and industrial countries, but which necessarily must be adapted to the specific context of a country.

Foreword

Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is perceived in developing, emerging and even in industrial countries as a 'second-best option' in comparison to general or academic education. As a consequence, TVET is less seen as an educational option therefore as a step back on the career path. This educational choice has a range of critical implications on the individual, business and societal levels. Since this situation has been recognised for quite a while, it is remarkable that there has hardly been any empirical research done on this topic.

Based on the assumption that this kind of educational choice is especially influenced by the image of TVET, the Sector Project TVET of the division TVET and Labour Market of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH commissioned on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) three studies from May, 2012 to November, 2013, as well as a synthesis report on this topic for the period between March and August, 2013. The goal was to confront the empirical deficit through a methodical process of several stages: thus the topic of 'the image of TVET' was limited to initial vocational education and training at the secondary level. The studies were also divided according to developing, emerging and industrial countries. In addition, they were required to

1. present a systematisation of the major theoretical arguments and explanations in an analytical section,
2. identify especially interesting promising practices in an empirical section, and
3. include feasible recommendations for practical project work, arranged according to intervention levels.

Moreover, all the studies were carried out by different experts or in some cases, teams of experts. An introductory and an interim workshop with all of the involved experts and project participants were carried out in order to make the framework terminology and concepts as consistent as possible and to create a discourse on interim results. As a final step, an integrated synthesis report based on the completed baseline studies was commissioned. This report consolidates the most important arguments and promising practices and translates them into realistic recommendations for action. The Sector Project TVET would like to thank all of the experts and expert teams for their very committed cooperation.

Stefan Hummelsheim – Jani Kitz – Dr. Klaus-Dieter Meininger
Sector Project TVET

1. Introduction

Topic of this synthesis study is the image of Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and measures which enhance the image of TVET in industrial, emerging, and developing countries¹. The argumentation used here is based on the assumption that there is no conclusive evidence of a continuum from (traditional, agriculturally organised) developing economies, and (striving, diversifying) emerging economies, toward (modern, technically advanced) industrial nations (Menzel 1992). Instead, we have in our one globalised world parallel, very often also contradictory developments to deal with in the same country, in the same family, yes, even in the same individual: Traditions, familial expectations, public perception transmitted by the media, and economic conditions are all juxtaposed in a complex set of interrelations that we ourselves very often cannot resolve as individuals. A 'traditional-premodern-modern-postmodern' continuum with regard to the image of TVET would correspond to a 'family-based choice of profession – material-based choice of profession – emotional and intangible-based choice of profession – changing professions of an entreplovee²'. But there is no linear continuum or pattern underlying the development of societies of the Global South. Familial expectations and cultural traditions may crucially shape the image of specific professions in certain societal segments or subsystems of the Global South. This may, for instance, be the case as far as the possibility of women to perform certain work-related activities is concerned, or whether or not people of considerable social standing should perform physical work. However, there are also social groups in industrial societies which use arguments linked to tradition in a similar way. On the other hand, the emotional and intangible motives certainly play a very important role in industrialised countries, as for example the Shell Youth

Studies (Albert 2010) have repeatedly shown for Germany. Nevertheless, even in industrialised nations young people are in part affected by poverty and consequently make choices about their education and training based on economic considerations. At the same time, it is exactly those people in developing economies that have been especially affected by the release from established social structures through global economic, social and ecological developments in the last few decades. In short: a one-dimensional perspective which does not include media or the societal and economic effects of this release from traditional social structures would soon be proven to be not complex enough.

Conclusions about which occupational activities and professions we appreciate or strive towards, either for ourselves or our children, are not exclusively personal decisions. Collective attitudes, associations and feelings about vocational education and training can – positively or negatively – influence people's decisions about what to invest in with regard to education. They initiate which educational paths will be chosen or rejected, and which courses of education will be increasingly appreciated in the labour market. Also, these collective attitudes have the effect that politics pays more or less attention to TVET. That there is a reciprocal relationship between such decisions and investments and the quality of TVET is obvious. And they in turn accelerate the positive or negative process of image development. Ulrich and others (2009) have empirically shown for Germany that material, but also emotional and intangible motives, as well as subjective cost and benefit estimates are meaningful for young people with respect to the image of a specific training course. How young people perceive the benefits of a training course is the result of their reflections on

1 If not otherwise differentiated, developing, emerging and industrial countries will as a rule be subsumed in the concepts of development cooperation and international cooperation.

2 The term entreplovee (*Arbeitskraftunternehmer*) was originally shaped by two German sociologists, G. Günter Voß and Hans J. Pongratz, and is based on the idea that – in the context of a globalising capitalism – there is an increasing entrepreneurial handling of one's own working capacities. The sociologists put forward the thesis that the character of labour will be fundamentally transformed in most sectors replacing the typical employee by the so-called entreplovee whose labour is characterised, for instance, by increased self-monitoring and self-organisation, strategic marketing of one's own human capabilities and running one's life like a company (see also: <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arbeitskraftunternehmer>).

1. Introduction

the trade-offs between the effort necessary to reach the training goal and that needed to be successful in the labour market. Or else: they are the result of considerations on the possible risks of failure, or on the other hand the possible gains from such a training programme.

Emotional and intangible motives refer to attributes such as physical fitness, masculinity/femininity, altruism, or self-realisation. It can be assumed that depending upon social position, cultural affiliation, religious conviction or bonds with tradition, the balance would lean either in the direction of material or emotional and intangible attributes. However, it is unlikely that either one of the two sides is completely disregarded.

For this reason, this synthesis report offers a model with four levels of requirements and possibilities for measures successfully promoting an image. These should be understood as possible measures and instruments – as a categorisation model – for ways of improving the image of TVET. They do, however, need to be adapted to the individual contexts of different countries after a thorough analysis of their specific market conditions.

1. Image promotion in contexts with a very low degree of institutionalisation of TVET through publicly effective support of specific programmes.
2. Image promotion in contexts with a certain degree of institutionalisation of TVET through the presentation of individual (flagship) institutions.
3. Image promotion in contexts with a heterogeneous degree of institutionalisation of TVET through the improvement of the image of certain certificates or sectors.
4. Social marketing³ in a system context.

It seems natural to see these levels in relation to development stages of societies and for example, to ascribe the first level to developing economies and the last level to industrial societies. For the reasons explained above, this is explicitly not the intention (even if it seems so). It is instead assumed that image-promoting measures for specific occupational activities or professions for specific target groups can be applied to any of the levels named above, no matter in which country the campaign will be carried out. So it could make sense to launch a social marketing campaign for skilled crafts and trades professions in a developing country, and to support measures in an industrial country which assist immigrant parents in sending their daughters to a particular educational institution. This systematisation should provide the support needed for finding assistance which closely fits specific country contexts. Still, this system is in no way meant as a sharp division or exclusion of options.

Traditions, familial expectations, material considerations and the emotionally influenced desire for self-realisation all have an influence on the image of occupational activities and professions.

This applies – in varying degrees – to social groups in developing economies as well as to those in industrial societies.

³ 'Social marketing' means the planning, organisation and control of marketing strategies and activities of non-commercial organisations (internal organisational understanding), and on the other hand, strategies which are targeted directly or indirectly toward a solution for social tasks (problem-oriented understanding). [...] The marketing concept will be applied on three levels: on a strategic level (customer- and market-oriented mindset), tactical level (as a leadership and management concept for organisations) and operational level (as a group of methods and instruments). Social marketing as a non-commercial marketing provider of social assistance and services [...] contributes to the formation of exchange processes among providers and users as well as state and/or private financing agencies.' (Detief Luhe 1997)

1. Introduction

Consciously and systematically applied measures for improving the image of TVET are carried out in order to:

1. support through information a rational calculation of the cost and benefits of an education.
2. change attitudes, emotions and ideas in relation to certain occupational activities or professions.

They particularly apply to talented and motivated young people and to business or political institutions whose involvement in TVET raises the quality of education and thus in turn can contribute to a long-term improvement of its image. According to the basic thesis of the study, the especially successful image measures will be those implemented where there is a clearly perceived gap between the real market value and the attractiveness of TVET, and where this gap can be closed through measures that promote a positive image of TVET. If this is (as yet) not the case in the societal context, it makes sense to promote individual programmes and/or educational institutions first, before image-promoting measures are aimed toward vocational education and training in general, complete courses of education or certificates.

2. The Image of TVET – A Definition

The image of TVET should be understood as the sum of attitudes, associations and feelings about non-academic vocational education and training which people in a cultural group implicitly or explicitly communicate among each other and which influence the willingness of individuals involved to invest in TVET⁴. A good image of TVET, for instance, could have the effect that young people dedicate their time and that their parents invest money in TVET. It could also influence future teachers to choose TVET, political stakeholders to provide resources for TVET and companies to hire TVET graduates.

In German development cooperation, the guiding vision is lifelong learning (BMZ 2012a:7): 'First and foremost we aim to strengthen education systems in their entirety. This means that all areas of education are key: early childhood education, primary education, secondary education, vocational education and training, higher education and adult education' (BMZ 2012a:8). Germany's promotion of TVET extends from career guidance to training to continuing education. The study presented here deals explicitly with the image of initial vocational training on the secondary school level. In this context, if not otherwise designated, 'vocational education and training/technical and vocational education and training', are always meant as initial vocational education and training.

Image is not a rational construct and it is accessible only partly through reason. If the reputation of a training course and its actual market value diverge from each other, it can even happen that options in TVET can be chosen or rejected despite the fact that rational calculation and personal tendency oppose a certain decision. For Germany, Krewerth and Ulrich have worked out the significance of job titles for the image of professions (Krewerth/Ulrich 2004). Two smaller studies confirm these findings for school graduates who have been accepted for university and for advanced technical university students (Stehl 2012; Staubach 2013). They discovered that in Germany, factors like prestige

or earning prospects decisively influence the choice of profession, and that this is even true in cases where more altruistic motives for choice of profession had been named explicitly in interviews (Ulrich/Krewerth 2004:93).

For developing countries it is highly plausible that material motives play an even bigger role (studies akin to the Ulrich and Krewerth studies from 2004 for developing countries do not exist as of yet).

Bünning and Lettmann (2010) report, however, that MINT⁵-professions generally enjoy more social recognition and reputation among the youth in developing countries than in industrial countries. In developing countries, MINT professions tend to be associated with technological and societal progress, whereas in industrial countries they are affiliated with technological and ecological hazards.

Therefore, the image of TVET emerges out of a complex mixture of the market value and attractiveness of vocational education and training. Information about and experience with the social and economic gains of TVET on the one hand, and cultural patterns and about non-academic work on the other hand all go into this mixture.

The image of TVET is the sum of collective attitudes, associations and feelings which influence decisions concerning the investment in TVET.

The image of TVET emerges out of a complex mixture of **market value** und **attractiveness** of vocational education and training.

⁴ Hereinafter, the term social reputation will be used synonymously with image.

⁵ The abbreviation MINT stands for 'Mathematics, Information Technology, Natural Sciences and Technology'.

2. The Image of TVET – A Definition

The social actors within the TVET system profit from a good image of vocational education and training in different ways, as the following chart shows:

Stakeholders	Expected advantages
For individuals and training institutions , a good image of TVET strengthens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the market value (earning prospects, career options) for those young people who choose TVET. the professional identity of young people. their status and standing in their social environment.
For training providers a good image of TVET improves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the willingness of clients, the state and donors to invest. the applicant's situation, increasing possibilities for the selection of students, and in turn the quality of education.
For TVET teachers a good image of TVET improves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> their social prestige. the applicant situation for certain professions and therefore in the long run the skills of the teachers.
For recruiting companies and other institutions a good TVET image improves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the image of the quality of work achieved. possibly the payment for qualified work.
For those ministries responsible, a good image of TVET improves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the importance of TVET within the educational system. prospects for further reform and structural measures to TVET's advantage.
For labour unions a good TVET image improves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the political identity of their members. the political power and profile of the unions.

Table 1: Stakeholders' Interest in the Image of TVET (own presentation)

2. The Image of TVET – A Definition

A good image of TVET leads to more gifted young people choosing vocational training. Such young people graduate with better results and are more easily employed by companies. Through this process, certain career paths and options for non-academic professions develop further in companies and in turn add to the attractiveness of certain professions in the TVET sector. Investment in TVET (by the government, by companies and by individuals) becomes less risky and more profitable. Then qualified teachers also choose TVET as an attractive option for themselves. Thus, in turn, the quality of TVET improves, which leads to more talented young people choosing vocational education and training, and so on. Even if these developments cannot be presented as a linear chain of cause and effect as suggested here: the interdependent influences between structural changes and the image of TVET are clearly visible. And whatever holds for the advantageous effect of a positive image also holds the other way around as a 'vicious circle for a negative TVET image'.

A good or bad image of TVET or of certain professions is only partially a result of rational decisions, persuasion attempts or measures to promote an image. Nevertheless, such measures are certainly effective and helpful – under certain conditions. Active, systematic and intentional approaches to improve the public image of TVET will be called 'marketing' in this study.

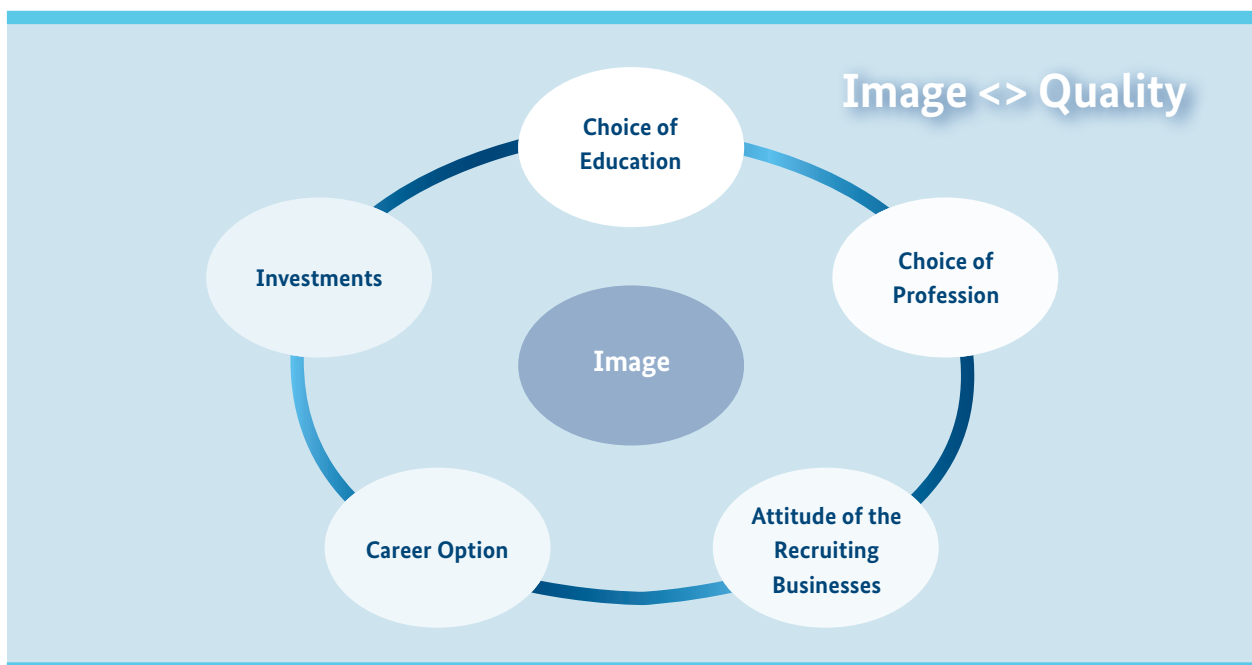


Figure 1: The Image of TVET – Impacts (own presentation)

3. Arguments and Discussion

To a certain extent, decisions (be they educational decisions of students or hiring decisions of employers) for or against investment in certain educational programmes can be described as rational estimations of real prospects for future benefits and enhanced status.

The market value of products or services can be determined (within certain limitations) through rational calculation. Which investments in a house, bed, or evening meal are justified by their actual benefits can be determined more or less objectively, if, for instance, the materials and work hours involved are accounted for.

Likewise, one can try to determine the market value of a certain set of skills, in comparing the money and time invested to the income in the course of one's life. However: the market value of certain skills are dependent upon external circumstances (for example, the technologies used, how the work is organised, or career paths), which lie far in the future. If a person decides today upon a certain course of education, the resulting competence can only be marketed after graduation and then be applied in the process of gainful employment. Competence itself cannot be bought. Instead, it must in reality be 'manufactured' by education and the 'customer' in a kind of co-production together with the 'supplier' of education, and it is exactly in this way that the educational market differs from other markets. Content and methods of education play a role in this process, but also the talents and motivation of the students. This means that at the moment of choosing an education, it is not possible to predict under which circumstances the graduate will be able to profit from the skills of a certain profession in the future (Clement 2012).

Although it is possible to foresee the material gains of training courses, it becomes clear that on the economic level, the earning outputs from TVET compared to that from general education is more likely modest. At least in the OECD countries, a university diploma correlates consistently with the high probability of finding a place in the formal labour market.

As far as other diplomas are concerned, the probability of becoming unemployed differs from country to country. For academics, in comparison, the probability is generally lower (World Bank Data Labor and Social Protection Code SL.UEM.TERT.ZS 2013).

The income prospects are also unequally distributed. If the mean income of people with higher secondary education and post-secondary, non-academic education equals 100, then the following chart shows the greatest income differences between secondary and tertiary education in OECD countries.

3. Arguments and Discussion

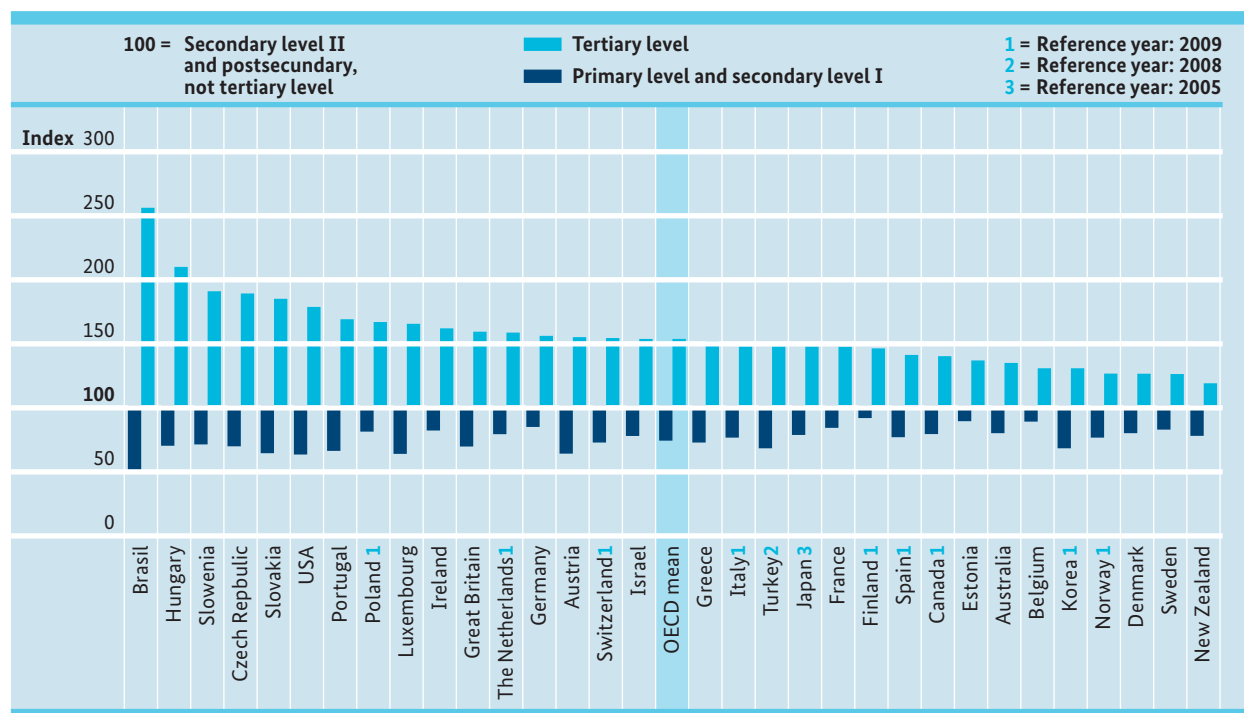


Table 2: Index-Based Income from an Academic Education (OECD 2012:152)

The comparatively low individual benefits from non-academic education are reflected on the overall societal level as well. Thus we see that the social rates of return of education on average in the OECD⁶ countries for the secondary level II and for post-secondary education are almost twice as high as the total public cost and almost four times as high for tertiary education (OECD 2012:218).

Beyond considerations that are based on monetary reasoning, it is also the case that TVET and academic education are valued differently by society. The advantages of academic educational paths do not consist only of probably higher earnings or better professional positions. Having participated in higher education is in itself evidence, or rather a guarantee that a person belongs to a likewise

'higher' societal group. From this point of view, the preference for a general education is also rational even when it goes against the real income situation: under certain circumstances, an unemployed academic has earned for her-/himself and her or his children a higher social status than a qualified, gainfully employed worker in a position which is not socially respected. The market value is therefore not only economically, but also socially determined.

Hence, an important structural prerequisite for a good TVET image, besides income and career prospects, is also breaking the artificial barriers of diplomas in the direction of university. However, this permeability⁷ can prove to be problematic in unfavourable market situations, when large numbers of good graduates of secondary vocational

⁶ The abbreviation OECD stands for 'Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development'.

⁷ Permeability is being applied to education and training systems. The idea is for learners to be able to move easily between different types of education (such as academic and vocational) and between different levels (such as upper secondary, or apprenticeship, up to higher education), as they decide.

3. Arguments and Discussion

education and training do not enter the labour market but instead, transfer into academic education.

This problem is made even more acute in some countries where employment and earning prospects are bound to a fixed set of career prerequisites making academic education a precondition for affiliation with formal labour markets. In this case, a decision in favour of an academic education and against TVET becomes almost compulsory for anyone who at all has the option of such a decision. In Mozambique, for example, employment in government service is made dependent upon an academic diploma. And because civil service often has the effect of being a model, these requirements damage the reputation of TVET beyond the public sector.

Beyond the influence of rational cost-benefit analyses, educational choices are also an expression of a person's concepts of identity: the choice of educational paths is made depending upon family and culture-based success models which determine people's ideas about a meaningful life, gender roles and the value of certain skills, also significantly influence an individual's educational choice.

Qualification fitting the demands of school and economy is not the only a development task for young people. It is a matter of the transition into the adult world, the task of releasing oneself from the parental home, of participating in society and to take on responsibility as citizens. Educational and professional paths determine not only the future place of employment but also have an impact on the whole living environment of those involved.

Successes and failures in the educational system influence the selection of life partners, the probability of having children, the risk of becoming criminal, being healthy, taking part in politics as well as life expectancy and even happiness (Hillmert 2009:88; Stocké, 2010:74).

Outwardly, young people have to try to attain a position that is accepted within society; while inwardly, they are supposed to learn to develop an identity that is strong and clear to themselves.

Whoever masters the developmental tasks of youth successfully has better prospects for happiness and success. Failure triggers rejection of society and makes the individual unhappy (Clement 2012a). Powerlessness, self-alienation, isolation, meaninglessness and loss of norms are the results.

At the latest with the blooming of civil society, a 'biographical schedule', an 'institutional plan for life' came into being (Kohli, 2009). It prescribes – with slight variations among different cultures – in which order certain phases of adult life should be tackled: coming of age, entrance into employment, moving away from home, marriage, birth of the first child etc. Formal age limits and societal expectations pre-structured the schedule.

Since about the 1980's, however, the chronology of this life schedule has seemed to be breaking up piece by piece. At first glance, this may appear to be less the case in very traditional societies of poor countries than in metropolitan areas. But even here fixed patterns of life are changing, for instance through the influence of urbanisation and the media. Circuitous and returning life paths, periods of unemployment and multiple qualifications, starting up and breaking up of families, mobility and changed employment all occur in professional and private areas of life. Crises in the professional world have immediate effects on young people's concepts of identity and ways of life.

But how can identity be made stable, when everything is constantly in motion? How can one present oneself, when one still does not know oneself? Design-for-life templates, somewhat like those of a traditional craftsman or a farmer, with which people can orient themselves from childhood on, prove to be unsound in many societies today. Whereas in earlier societal epochs there was a possibility of taking on 'pre-determined identity packages' to cope with life's problems, today it is mostly left up to us which form of 'inner life coherence' we find (Keupp 2010:20). Some sociologists speak in this context of disembedding, or a de-traditionalisation (Keupp 2006:29; Giddens 1993).

3. Arguments and Discussion

These developments certainly present themselves differently in modern, industrial societies than, for example, in agrarian societies of the Global South. However, development sociologists today make reference to the parallel nature and non-coincidence of global developments. Societal developments can today no longer be understood as a linear process in which traditional structures and role models are sequentially replaced by the modern and post-modern. The presence of media with its various concepts of identity, but also the vast global network of production, trade and communication structures, lead in fact to the situation where especially young people in developing economies are confronted with diverging identity and role expectations which can hardly be considered coherent (Menzel 2010:108 ff).

Studies of young people's professional choices show that they do not only rationally weigh objective circumstances (workplace and earning prospects, access opportunities etc.). Instead, associative and emotional aspects play an important role (Ebbinghaus et al. 2013). Certain educational institutions or career paths are associated with images in our minds of societal success versus failure (Dimension 1) as well as with content-related images such as skill, fitness, diligence or altruism (Dimension 2) (Eberhard et al. 2010).

In addition, family traditions, parental expectations or cultural patterns also play a role when it is a matter of weighing alternatives for education and choice of profession against each other. Which associations are linked with certain occupational activities is thus strongly influenced by cultural and historical developments, which will vary greatly according to culture and lifestyle group. We have already alluded to the parallel nature of different value systems, for instance those transmitted by family versus media in the world of young people. Even though this can basically be assumed for industrial as well as emerging and developing countries, we assume a stronger cultural connection to the image of certain occupational activities in rural regions of developing countries. For example, forms of work distribution by gender, religious taboos, and traditional role models would have a stronger effect

than in postmodern societies with their diverse tendencies toward liberation. Whether raising animals is linked with manliness and freedom or instead with nomadism and poverty, whether manual skills are considered an expression of strength and competence or instead of subordination – such notions are rooted deeply in a culture and society and as a rule have a long history.

At the moment of choosing a profession, such different, often contradictory familial, societal and individual requirements, expectations and future projections all come together. They have to be balanced with rational prognoses regarding costs and benefits of a training, but also with prospects for success and risks. In a perfectly rational decision, risks and prospects, benefits and costs, skills requirements and resources would all be weighed against each other. Still, a choice of profession is normally anything but a fully rational decision. Where images, attitudes and associations of a particular occupational activity contradict reasonable decision-making, precisely here is where a further aspect of the TVET image becomes significant. If we understand image as the difference between the perceived value of a product or service and its actual, rationally measurable value, then a positive image can lead to a person choosing an educational path contrary to previous knowledge or opinion (or, on the other hand a negative image can lead to a person avoiding an educational path contrary to their rational calculation)⁸.

⁸ See also elaborations on definitions in Chapter 2.

4. Perspectives and Dimensions of Targeted Image Campaigns

Well-designed image-promoting activities take into account the challenges mentioned above: They do not only promote TVET from a rational point of view by emphasising good income opportunities. They also address the emotional needs of young people relating to security, identification or projections into a better future. This means speaking to the external side of identity (e.g. title, certificates, training conditions) as well as to internal concepts of successful identity development (e.g. gender images, professional roles). At the same time, image activities bring to account actually existing opportunities with respect to earnings, gaining status and personal development. In other words, they do not offer any illusions that would lead to disappointments or contradict the campaigns.

A positive image of TVET can only evolve if it ties in with

- a good quality of TVET, functioning labour markets and appropriate rates of return on a rational level, and
- positive projections into the future with respect to identity, images in our minds and cultural perception as well as behavioural patterns on an emotional level.

4.1 Levels Addressed

The reputation of TVET affects the educational system on different levels. On the **micro level**, the image refers to TVET programmes and projects, or individual educational institutions. In many countries, specific technology centres or educational institutions are considered attractive even if their institutional context is regarded as problematic. They convey trust in the reliability of institutions and promote personal investment in skills acquisition.

On the **meso level**, the image of TVET relates to the attractiveness and market value of specific courses of education, industries or certificates. Despite the fact that TVET is considered 'the second-best choice' on a global level, commercial courses of training may be perceived differently than industrial ones, and likewise post-secondary education differently than secondary education. Especially when reforms or programmes that improve such subsections of TVET are being initiated, image campaigns are essential components of successful implementation.

On the **macro level**, it is a matter of the social image of skilled work in the crafts and trades, the industry and economy. Cultural patterns, historically formed images in our minds of physical labour, gender concepts and identity projections play an important role in this context. All these aspects named above are relevant for career and educational choices as well as for selection processes in the labour market. Here, it can be assumed that image campaigns can be successful in shaping public opinion. However, on this abstract level, only indirect and long-term measurable effects will probably be recognisable. And it is especially when people's everyday experiences do not correspond with the advantages of TVET described by the campaign, that such measures can be of only limited effect.

4. Perspectives and Dimensions of Targeted Image Campaigns

4.2 Target Groups

Image-promoting activities differ according to target group, communication channels, scope and programme requirements. Social image is created by a variety of socialisation factors such as peers, parents, teachers, social environment (Ebbinghaus et al. 2013) and media (social contacts, print media, television and new media). Similarly, activities that promote an image target different actors through different channels.

Investing in image campaigns is particularly worthwhile if they manage to address and mobilise productive target groups with access to resources and capital. This does not necessarily have to be economic capital. With respect to vocational education and training, mobilising cultural capital is also important for individuals seeking education, that is, for people who have enough cognitive and social resources at their disposal in order to be successful on the labour market. Individuals with lower intellectual or social qualifications, who may (with or without a campaign) not have many options beyond participating in already existing training offers, even if they are of lower quality, can be encouraged in their decision to do so by appropriate measures. However, it could be argued that they may have participated in TVET training even without such an investment (in an image campaign). In how far they are in a position to positively influence the quality of vocational education and training remains an open question.

Still, if it is possible to inspire groups of people to choose TVET who would have had access to higher general education based on their academic achievement and social resources, positive reciprocal effects for the future can be expected. This includes groups such as, for instance: young people who, after completion of compulsory schooling, can choose between general education and vocational secondary schools due to their academic achievements and their cultural capital; children of small business owners who recognise the opportunity to earn

more by upgrading their qualifications; and young people with good grades who can choose between commercial and industrial training.

This is similarly true for decision-makers occupying key positions within society: Image projects that want to yield positive returns for TVET in the medium and long term, target individuals that have access to resources that in turn can be useful for vocational education and training (but have not done so in the past): Employers who can choose staff with either academic or vocational qualifications; political decision-makers who invest either in TVET or general education; multipliers in the media and public that shape the social reputation of TVET etc.

Effective image campaigns are directed toward target groups who can (but do not have to) decide in favour of TVET based on their cultural, economic and social prerequisites.

Among such target groups are:

- Young people and their parents with (high) cultural/social capital and access to various educational options;
- Employers who can choose from graduates with a variety of educational pathways;
- Multipliers and political decision-makers who distribute resources amongst different educational institutions.

4. Perspectives and Dimensions of Targeted Image Campaigns

4.3 Impact

Image-promoting measures address different groups of people and have different ranges of influence. TVET can be advertised on each level of the system thereby improving its overall image. However, as far as the potential effectiveness of such image activities is concerned, a degree of caution is advised by the 'Expert Monitoring 2012' of the German Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung; BIBB*) (Ebbinghaus et al. 2013) as well as by a survey of the International Project Consult Inc. (IPC) from October 18, 2012 via the e-forum UNESCO-UNEVOC.⁹ Both expert groups assume that image campaigns are not able to change decisions regarding investment in education in the short run (for instance, by convincing parents to send their children to vocational training instead of an academic course of education). Nevertheless, image campaigns that clarify the existing prospects and opportunities related to a specific educational option or institution can be successful. Long-term campaigns that aim at bringing about a cultural change seem to make sense, if they are embedded within broader reform efforts, so that they can believably convey that the advertised perspectives are indeed realistic.

Particularly high performing individuals will not be convinced by image campaigns that promise something that clearly cannot be attained in the end. Therefore, it seems appropriate to make use of image campaigns in a cautious and believable way, especially when those campaigns focus on areas where TVET is less attractive than its actual market value would suggest. Image promotion will have its greatest effect where the gap can be closed between the supposedly bad reputation of TVET and its income and career prospects.

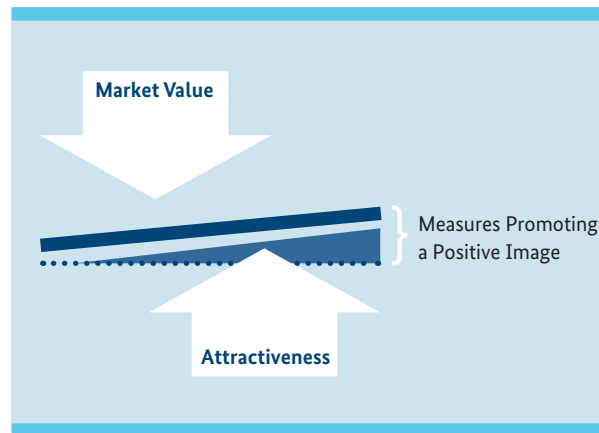


Figure 2: Market Value and Attractiveness (own presentation)

As long as it can be assumed (for instance, within the framework of international cooperation) that private sector investments also benefit private stakeholders, it seems reasonable to charge the costs of such image campaigns also to private organisations. From the perspective of development cooperation, however, it can also be appropriate to (co-)finance the advertising of private stakeholders with public funds. In this case the question needs to be answered as to when it is legitimate to invest public funds or taxpayers' money in image-promoting measures (e.g. for a private training provider).

⁹ The abbreviation UNESCO-UNEVOC stands for 'United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation-International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training'. See also: <http://www.unevoc.unesco.org/go.php?q=About+e-Forum>

4. Perspectives and Dimensions of Targeted Image Campaigns

Two preconditions which justify spending public funds on image promotion can be derived from the studies on promoting a positive image of TVET being the basis for this synthesis report:

1. The measures make a realistic contribution towards improving society's perception of TVET and convey credibility. This can be the case if the market value of a specific field within TVET is as high as or higher than its previously assumed attractiveness.
2. The social effect of the image-promoting measure is greater than the gain of private persons or institutions. Investments from public funds are only legitimate, if improving the image does not only benefit private investors but generates positive social effects for society as well.

This does not mean that measures promoting the image of private providers should never, fully or partly be supported with public funds. But this should only take place, if the market value and attractiveness of TVET in a society, industry or social group is so low that no broader measures to promote a positive image will plausibly lead to success.

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

The empirical basis for the image-promoting activities presented here goes back to three regional studies (Clement/IPC 2012; Gold 2012; Rütters/Schneider 2012) commissioned by the GIZ Sector Project TVET, that have collected and analysed a variety of such activities (worldwide). Four types can be differentiated depending on what is being promoted:

1. Activities that accompany projects or programmes (e.g. within development cooperation).
2. Activities that promote individual institutions (e.g. schools or training companies).
3. Activities that promote vocational qualifications or certificates.
4. Social marketing activities that aim at anchoring the image of TVET within a society.

The discussion of the studies has shown – irrespective of all overlaps and parallels – that a ranking order or chronology of these activities can be identified. Assuming that image-promoting activities can only be believable if, firstly, what is advertised possesses a real market value that only needs to be discovered, and secondly, the campaign manages to address customer groups other than those already participating in vocational education and training (e.g. due to external constraints), then the image-promoting activities listed above can be classified as follows:

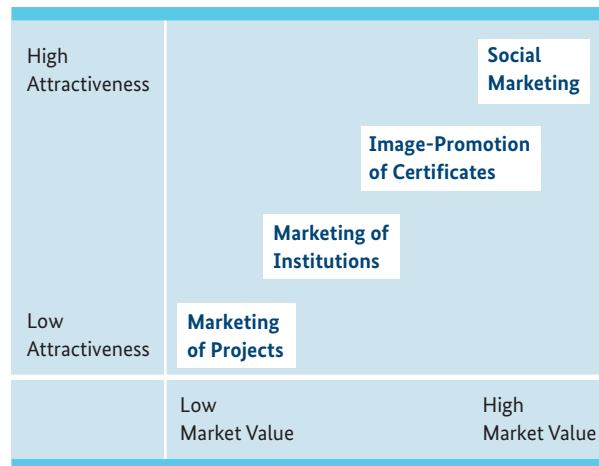


Figure 3: Typology of Image-Promoting Activities (own presentation)

Firstly: In societies in which the quality and market value of TVET is so low that the negative reputation of vocational education and training is proven in reality again and again, for image campaigns it might be sensible to initially refer to individual success stories of qualified skilled work in model projects. This may be more often the case for structurally weak countries of the Global South than for emerging or industrialised countries. In this way, individual, well-functioning projects can be advertised in countries with weak TVET systems. Nonetheless, activities that promote the image of programmes can also be appropriate in societies with generally recognised TVET systems, if they target groups of people with little relation to vocational education and training. Especially when training companies are well-known, campaigns can be convincing about the success of skilled workers in terms of a claim such as: 'Having graduated from a vocational education and training programme I was able to find this job and can now contribute to the success of the company by doing this and that'.

Secondly: Positive examples of functioning TVET institutions with a good reputation – in societies where only a few institutions deliver appropriate quality – can have a positive effect on the perception of entire branches of

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

education and training. Especially in countries where TVET does not enjoy a positive image, it may be the case that young people and their families are nevertheless proud of being trained by a particular company or training provider. With respect to reputation and status, working or being trained at 'XY' is in that case considered equivalent to an academic education.

Thirdly: In societies where TVET is generally recognised, it might be sensible to invest in image-promoting measures for specific professions or certificates in order to strengthen trust in them. This may be the case for vocational training in specific craft professions. If an image campaign can credibly show that vocational training in roofing or in waste management, for instance, has the same quality as a comparable training programme in another industry, then the image of this specific vocational training will fit with the reputation of TVET that is already anchored in society.

Fourthly: Social marketing measures are suitable where good preconditions for educational pathways exist but are not sufficiently noticed by the population. The German campaign of the Chambers of Skilled Crafts and Trades '*Das Handwerk*¹⁰' (The Skilled Crafts and Trades) is an example of such an image-promoting activity.

Naturally, the boundaries between such types of image-promoting measures cannot be defined precisely and certain parallels and overlaps of the measures are desirable. The following figure describes individual types of image-promoting activities separately according to their structure and potential effects.

Goal	Effect	Target Group	Media	Scope
Information, acceptance, trust	Facilitating transfer of the project results	Young people, parents, political decision-makers, multipliers	Individual media, homepage, print media	Short-term, regional



Germany: Strong for Vocational Training (*Stark für Ausbildung*)
 Website of a project that qualifies trainers for working with young people who are facing social, cultural, learning-related or similar challenges. The homepage offers multimedia-based modules and a manual for trainers (ZDH/IHK).
www.stark-fuer-ausbildung.de

Figure 4: Projects Promoting the Image of TVET (own presentation)

¹⁰ See also: <http://www.handwerk.de>

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

TVET projects and programmes, as a rule, are accompanied by activities that provide information to potential target groups. However, occasionally, such activities are limited to solely conveying facts and do not adequately make clear that participating in such a programme a) leads to better opportunities in the labour market as well as better career options and income and b) can be attractive from a social point of view.

Successful image-promoting activities that accompany programmes and projects emphasise both aspects: the potential economic benefits arising from participation in the programme and the potential effects on identity and social reputation. Ultimately it is about advertising to target groups who possess many resources (e.g. social networking, intelligence, commitment) and assuring them that the advertised project deserves their acceptance and trust.

In this context, not only young people and their parents are target groups of such activities. Political decision-makers, potential customers of graduates on the labour market or other multipliers also need to be actively

addressed. They can all contribute to making projects more well-known and to making a smoother transfer to the project environment.

In the activities analysed for promoting a positive image of projects and programmes within the context of development and international cooperation, individual media were often utilised: One programme had a homepage, flyers were distributed, posters displayed and open house day events were organised. Which methods such projects apply in order to advertise their endeavours very much depends on the social context in which the projects are embedded. Focussing on attractive target groups and orienting the content towards the (future) market value and attractiveness of the offer seem sensible in any case.

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Country	Name	Target Group	Goal	Activity	Media	URL
Serbia	<i>Sa-mature-pravo-na-posao</i> – (National TVET campaign)	Schools, general public, students, families, communities and ministries, graduates from primary schools	Information about and promotion of the reform project	Student contest, Facebook, promotional movies	Flyers, posters, radio and TV spots, fairs, exhibitions, open house	www.facebook.com/pages/Sa-mature-pravo-na-posao/197259550313933
Lebanon	Supporting the reform process within the TVET system	Training companies, vocational schools, individuals, families	Information about and promotion of the reform project	Billboard at the start of school	Print media, roll-ups, open house, girls' days, radio, TV, business and consumer fairs	www.dsme-lb.com
Tadzhikistan	Supporting reform processes within the TVET system	Decision-makers within the ministries and training companies, vocational schools, young people and their parents	Information about and promotion of the reform project	Job fairs	Open house; TV spots	www.giz.de/en/worldwide/15436.html
Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo	Nationwide career guidance concept	Young people and their parents	Information about and promotion of the reform project	Career counselling as an image-promoting measure	Career guidance offers, occupation-related information, career counselling, vocational preparation, job fairs	info@skills-initiative.de
Germany	DUAL++ – Networking project for increasing the attractiveness of dual training (<i>DUALL++ - Netzwerkprojekt zur Attraktivitätssteigerung der dualen Ausbildung</i>)	Young people and their parents	Promoting additional training places	Speed dating between graduates and training companies	Training fairs	www.bildungsagentur-fuerstenfeld.de www.bildungsagentur.info
	MyPlastics – Your future with plastic (<i>MyPlastics – Deine Zukunft mit Kunststoff</i>)	Young people and their parents	Promoting additional training places	Last-minute-training exchange, 'job tour'	Training fairs, social media (Facebook)	www.myplastics.de www.bfm-bayreuth.de

Table 3: Examples – Promoting the Image of Projects and Programmes (Gold 2012; Rütters/Schneider 2012)

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Goal	Effect	Target Group	Media	Scope
Information, acceptance, trust	Creating positive precedents	Young people, parents, potential investors	Individual media, homepage, print media	Short-term, regional



South Africa: Homepage of the Northlink College
Facebook page and website, information about a vocational college attractively presented.
Northlink College – www.northlink.co.za

Figure 5: Marketing for Institutions (own presentation)

Training institutions providing high quality education and certificates of acceptable market value often exist even in structurally weak regions. Vocational training from a well-known company can enjoy a good reputation, even if TVET as a whole is not well recognised. It can have a strengthening effect on the image of vocational education and training, if the success of such an attractive institution is linked with TVET in general. If an image campaign demonstrates that participating in vocational training in such institutions increases employment and income-generating opportunities, leads to attractive careers and positive concepts of identity, benchmarks are set not only for a particular training company or training provider, but also for TVET as a whole. The marketing of a particular institution has a special effect on the image of vocational education and training when this institution which is being promoted is widely acknowledged and generally of high quality. In this case, TVET can benefit from the reputation of such a renowned institution and experience improvement in its social standing.

Trust research (e.g. Eberl 2003; Gambetta 2001; Hartmann und Offe 2001; Kramer 1999) shows that the trust in a special organisation or institution as a whole comes about when the individual persons in this organisation are

trustworthy. For TVET image campaigns this means that they can be particularly fruitful, if they manage to involve trustworthy partners in their measures (individuals, training companies, institutions). If successful training companies or trustworthy persons function as ‘entry gates’ (Bachmann 1999) and ascribe their personal development or economic success to TVET, then trust in this field can more easily develop.

The marketing of institutions has as its primary goal the acquisition of resources and trainees. Therefore, measures are targeted at young people and their parents as well as potential investors. But in addition, institution marketing can also function as a prime example of how to have an effect on the image of TVET within a society.

Particularly in structurally weak countries, where an extensive system of high-quality TVET institutions does not yet exist, it can be helpful to improve the visibility of positive case examples through image campaigns. The support of training measures which design a communication strategy for educational institutions with a high quality and/or marketing measures tailored to the institution would be a worthwhile investment for development cooperation.

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

At the same time it needs to be examined in how far micro-economic interests play a role when an institution decides to become economically involved in a campaign or decides to finance it. The sustainability of these measures can at least be increased in this way.

If mechanisms for quality assurance and improvement already exist in a country, image campaigns that activate the efforts of institutions through competitions and prizes can provide certain benefits. Participants of such quality competitions do not only improve the quality of their own work within the competition process, they also benefit from the publicity that such a prize-winning event generates. It is in particular, when established, prestigious institutions (e.g. foundations) advertise economically attractive competitions, that learning and innovation processes can be encouraged as a result (e.g. German School Award of the Bosch Foundation; the promotional slogan: *‘Macht auch Gescheiterte gescheiter’*- Makes even those that failed smarter¹¹).

On a higher level there are some marketing activities that promoted courses of education at several different institutions as opposed to promoting only one single institution. These projects include an association of vocational schools in Senegal, and the Northlink College in South Africa that itself comprises several colleges. Training programmes in the field of mining that are currently in high demand in various countries, for instance Mozambique, and at the same time offer fair and attractive payment, can be promoted well on a programme level. In order to be successful, image campaigns that promote individual sectors or programmes also need to adhere to the principle that the actual market value of a qualification needs to be higher than its reputation.

Media that are used worldwide in the marketing of institutions are especially the internet as well as poster advertising. Additionally, image-promoting events such as participation in fairs, handicraft markets, celebrations or open house day events can be useful. If young people

are being addressed, social media such as Facebook can be effective means for promoting an image in some social environments. However, the quality of the products needs to be professional especially for young people that are familiar with different media, in order to avoid unwanted side-effects.


¹¹ See also: <http://schulpreis.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/html/index.asp>

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Country	Name	Target Group	Goal	Activity	Media	URL
Chile	DUOCUC	Potential students	Increasing the number of applicants	Involvement of social media, occupation-related information and career guidance	Print media, social media (You Tube, Twitter), city running event, sports teams, <i>Primera FERIA-fair</i>	www.duoc.cl
Albania	Technical and Vocational Education and Training	Graduates and their parents	Increased number of applicants in six vocational schools	Network of vocational schools jointly conducts promotional activities	Posters and brochures for primary schools, further training for teachers on the creation of online journals	www.giz.de/en/worldwide/20447.html
China	Chengcheng Vocational Training Centre	Urban public, young people and their parents	Promoting the image of a vocational school centre	Photos of the opening ceremony are stuck onto school buses	School buses as advertising space	http://www.gtai.de/GTAI/Navigation/DE/Trade/projekte-ausschreibungen,did=633020.html?view=renderPrint www.adb.org/projects/47029-001/main

Table 4: Examples – Promoting the Image of Institutions (Clement/IPC Frankfurt 2012; Gold 2012)

Goal	Effect	Target Group	Media	Scope
Transparency, participation, trust	Implementation and distribution of standards, certificates	Young people, parents, employers, political decision-makers	Media mix, direct communication with decision-makers	Medium-term, national



Vietnam: Awareness Raising
Materials (posters, photo exhibitions etc.) with high media impact, promoting the label 'Trained in Vietnam' (Programme Reform of TVET in Vietnam, GIZ)
www.tvet-vietnam.org

Photo: © GIZ/Ralf Bächer
Design: © Warenform

Figure 6: Improving the Image – Trademark TVET (Gold 2012)

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

If a number of TVET institutions can be identified that are able to provide services of high quality, it can be useful to consider introducing seals of quality and accreditations. Seals of quality are certificates that are, analogously to brand labels, awarded to make high quality visible for companies and individuals seeking education. Accreditations, however, presuppose that the educational market is regulated in a way that non-accredited institutions can in fact be excluded from the market.

Within weak systems this can mean that image campaigns begin by addressing only a few strong sectors, courses or programmes of education and, for instance, promote post-secondary education, a programme supporting vocational training in the field of food processing or in the arts and crafts sector. In other systems it can be of benefit to promote the image of those fields whose overall comparative image does not correspond to their actual quality and market value.

Trusting in vocational education and training is a key problem in countries where (e.g. in the context of introducing a national qualification framework) TVET certificates are being introduced which need to prove their value on the labour market as well as prove their worthiness with respect to other courses of education. It has been widely shown that all efforts to bring about parity between general and vocational education and training on the labour and educational markets remain ineffective, if trust in certificates is not guaranteed within society (Allais 2007; Allais et al. 2009; Clement 2011; Hart 2009; Young 2009).

When certificates are newly introduced or even only re-structured, e.g. to certify skills acquired in informal contexts, accompanying image campaigns are necessary in order to make the public aware of the meaning of these certificates. It has been shown in many countries that all complex efforts to implement national qualification frameworks in order to increase TVET's value in society remain unsuccessful, if it is not possible to strengthen the reputation and credibility of certificates in the public mind.

Image campaigns that pursue the goal of making the public aware of certificates and standards have a medium-term horizon. They aim at generating trust for a whole set of features related to such a certificate: the reliability of the exams, the skills of the graduates, the transparency of the qualifications, the social expectations linked to the acquisition of the certificate etc.

At least due to the complex task, it seems to be of value not to rely only on individual media when promoting a positive image, but simultaneously on a variety of channels (e.g. TV, internet, poster advertising). Also, surveys and needs assessments can – if they are intentionally utilised and documented for this purpose – contribute to increasing the acceptance of and trust in certificates. They are therefore included in the following list:

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Country	Name	Target Group	Goal	Activity	Media	URL
Vietnam	Trained in Viet Nam	Young people and their parents, vocational training institutes and personnel, companies, political and administrative decision-makers	Improving the image of TVET, occupation-related information, dialogue for quality improvement in vocational training	Media-effective photo exhibition in vocational training institutes with broad impact	Photo exhibition, posters, material on occupation-related information etc.	www.tvet-vietnam.org
Serbia	Directly from high school to employment	Pupils in their final year of primary school, parents, the public	Information on new job profiles	Professional design of Facebook	Social media	www.facebook.com/pages/Sa-mature-pravona-posao/197259550313933
Deutschland	AUCOM – Vocational training innovations Composites in the technology network Composite Magdeburg-Haldensleben <i>AUCOM – Ausbildungsinnovationen Composite im Technologiennetzwerk Composite Magdeburg-Haldensleben</i>	Young people and their parents	Improving the image of the field	Providing support measures, individual consultation	Internet	www.aucom.org/aucom/
	AusKuK – cross-media marketing of vocational training for the cultural and leisure industries Bremen) <i>(AusKuK – Cross-mediales Ausbildungs-marketing für die Kultur- und Freizeit-wirtschaft Bremen)</i>	Creative young people that are interested in vocational training in the leisure industry	Introduction of a new industry in Bremen	Cross-media marketing of vocational training	Video podcasts, utilisation of the portal 'job4u', internet, training fair and bus	www.bwu-bremen.net/auskuk/auskuk-praesentation.pdf
	Bake your own future <i>(Back dir deine Zukunft)</i>	Young people and their parents	Marketing an industry that tends to be unattractive for young people	Creative website Advertising in cinemas, competitions for trainees,	TV advertisements, internet	www.back-dir-deine-zukunft.de

Table 5: Examples – Promoting the Image of Sectors and Certificates (Gold 2012; Rütters/Schneider 2012)

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Goal	Effect	Target Group	Media	Scope
Increase attractiveness	Cultural change	Socially relevant groups	Media mix	Long-term, national
 <div> <p>Uganda: Soap opera ‘Hand in Hand’ TV series, in which craftsmen and craftswomen play attractive roles and promote appreciation for these professions (KfW, GTZ). www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4jDUpxVR8</p> <p>Photo: www.greatlakesfilm.com</p> </div>				

Figure 7: Social Marketing (Gold 2012)

In some countries (for instance, but not exclusively, countries of the Middle East and North Africa), problems with the image of TVET can arise due to cultural perceptions of physical work. Irrespective of the question as to which employment and income-generating opportunities are linked to TVET, vocational education and training is rejected because it is associated with dirty, physical, hierarchically subordinate labour. The cultural image of qualified, skilled labour does not correspond to the concepts of gender and identity. This problem can cover specific areas (e.g. girls in male professions, MINT professions, professions in the skilled crafts and trades) or the whole range of TVET.

In Germany, specific historical, political and social circumstances resulted in the situation where non-academic skilled labour has a comparatively good reputation. Educational opportunities and career prospects, social status, collective agreement wages and – at least still most of the time – holistically distributed work tasks, all make non-academic work attractive.

However, these structural features of the dual system cannot be directly transferred to the partner countries of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, BMZ*) (BMZ 2012b:25). The partial lack of success in attempting to transfer the

system in past decades often failed due to socio-culturally driven mind-sets and the images in our minds. It is also for this reason that social marketing campaigns are highly appealing to German experts: They are creative, lively, inventive and funny (see table 6). They also often make an effort to tie in with existing cultural attitudes and behavioural patterns – an indispensable precondition for the success of the campaign (and at the same time a very difficult one to achieve. One need only think of the subtle undertones and nuances of the campaign on the skilled crafts and trades in Germany that some subcultures agree with and others strongly oppose). On closer consideration, social marketing campaigns prove to be promising mainly in countries that actually manage to provide TVET at an acceptable level. It is only when the real market value of TVET is relatively high and the public image nevertheless remains low that we consider campaigns focussing on qualified, skilled labour to be legitimate. Even for interesting campaigns such as, for instance, the ‘Hand-in-Hand’-campaign in Uganda, we fear that the social effects will most likely be small, if the gap is too wide between everyday experiences and the successes asserted by the campaign.

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

Country	Name	Target Group	Goal	Activity	Media	URL
Mongolia	Public awareness campaign	Young people, families, employers	Cultural change, boosting the value of TVET	Part of a national reform process, TV reality show ('My profession is welder')	Print media, film, radio, social media and events, talk shows, press releases	www.mca.mn/en/index.php?option=news&task=detail&parent=40&id=46&page=26#
Uganda	Hand-in-Hand	Young people, families, employers	Cultural change, boosting	the value of TVET	Soap opera with a number of episodes	TV www.youtube.com/watch?v=6iVNYuwjrjQQ
Bangladesh	TVET week	Young people, families, employers	Cultural change, boosting the value of TVET	Promotion week using a variety of information channels	Print media, film, radio, social media and events	
Angola	<i>Formação Profissional (FormPRO)</i>	Young people, families, employers	Promoting the image of masons	Rap song (video clip for bars and discos)	Internet, TV	www.formpro-angola.org/pt/article/73.pedreiro.html
Armenia	Participating in World Skills	Trainees, training companies, political decision-makers	Cultural change, boosting the value of TVET	Effective media, participation in the World Skills Competition in Leipzig 2013	Working with training companies and associations, media work	
Montenegro	National inventors' competition	Trainees and pupils, students, TVET institutions and society	Cultural change, boosting the value of TVET, developing talents	Effective media competition for inventions in the TVET sector	Competition, media work	
Deutschland	VOCATIONAL TRAINING on SITE – the future in Saxony (<i>AUSBILDUNG VOR ORT – Zukunft in Sachsen</i>)	Young people and their parents, social actors	Boosting the value of TVET in Saxony, providing qualified, skilled labour	A mix of different activities promoting TVET	Marketing for occupations, vocational training days, fairs	www.arbeitundleben.eu

Table 6: Examples – Social Marketing (Gold 2012; Rütters/Schneider 2012)

5. Promising Practices – A Typology

A basic precondition for the success of a social marketing campaign is a reliable quality of the TVET system which needs to be assumed for the future. This can be achieved when decision-makers signal their political will to improve TVET through reform processes and their implementation. Furthermore, the coordination of various stakeholders responsible for TVET and their willingness to cooperate are crucial for social marketing campaigns. Whether or not such broad campaigns can be successfully implemented depends on how believably it can be conveyed that the promoted structures and perspectives do, in fact, exist or can be put into practice.

6. Conclusion

If young people decide in favour of a certain product (e.g. a TVET certificate) or measure (e.g. specific further vocational skills training) on the basis of an image campaign, and if they indeed find high quality, they will consequently choose such products or measures again and promote them in their social environment. If, however, the quality of the product is worse than the image campaign intimated, the campaign loses its credibility and remains not only an ineffective but also a contra-productive investment.

Image campaigns can only bear fruit, if the quality of the promoted products/institutions is, in fact, better than their social reputation.

If this cannot be ensured in a particular country, it would be advisable to limit the campaign to selected fields or credible institutions/projects and the like.

This correlation can be described well in terms of market value and attractiveness. The market value results from employment and income-generating opportunities, meaning the potential benefit that a person can achieve from vocational education and training. The attractiveness is the social standing, the reputation, or the image of TVET. This reputation can, but does not have to correlate with the market value (see figure 2 and elaborations in chapter 4). Accordingly, the attractiveness of, for instance, the hairdressing profession or office work is in some cultures considerably higher than their market value. This relation may be reversed in specific technical or science-related professions that promise high earning prospects but are nevertheless of little attractiveness.

If individuals seeking education and educational providers can be convinced to invest in TVET, additional resources in the system are likely to increase the system's quality. In turn, this can boost the attractiveness of TVET and – as an indirect consequence – also its market value.

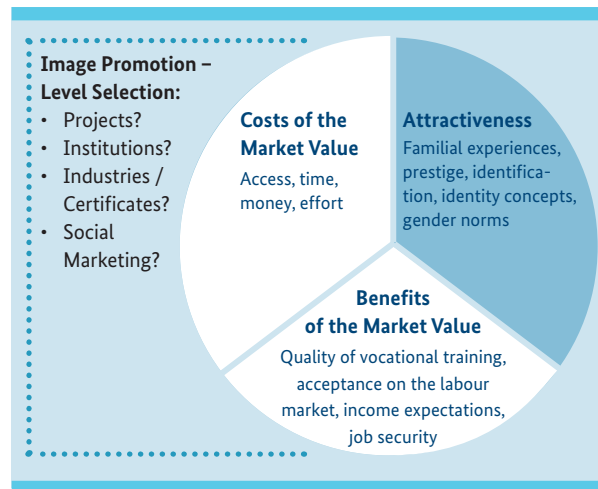


Figure 8: Levels Promoting the Image of TVET (own presentation)

Nevertheless as a rule, it is not useful to only rely on image campaigns to increase the market value. It is more promising to select those fields in which a gap can definitely be determined between good chances for success of graduates and good training quality on the one hand, and a poor image on the other hand. This gap can potentially be bridged by image campaigns triggering positive interactions: an improved image makes clear that decisions to invest in TVET are worthwhile.

Following the thesis that image campaigns can only promise success, if they promote products and institutions that are of better quality than their reputation, then campaigns on more practical levels seem to be particularly promising.

6. Conclusion

Image campaigns have little credibility, if they assert a market value of TVET that does not exist in reality. Investing in TVET is too risky and too important for individuals and training companies and therefore cannot be carried out contrary to rational belief.

Successful image-promoting measures start with the difference between rational arguments related to opportunities and risks of an educational pathway on the one hand, and the emotional and intangible attributes on the other hand. Distributing information can contribute to facilitating an appropriate and reasonable decision; here material considerations play a big role. At the same time, successful image campaigns provide impulses for emotions and associations; this relates to role models and life concepts.

As noted at the outset, traditional, modern and postmodern developments in societies of a globalised world exist simultaneously and parallel to each other, overlap and are often contradictory. Depending on the target group and industry, it will be necessary – beyond the issues of international development and cooperation – to name the specific reasons for the lack of attractiveness of particular occupational activities. Is it because of material necessities or rather because of role models and familial expectations that certain educational paths are not chosen? Can a profession be dishonourable? Unmanly? Uncool? Each of these aspects can play a role in emerging economies as well as in industrial nations (even though the various aspects certainly are weighted differently).

Even more substantial differences exist with respect to TVET structures. Despite the fact that functioning and well-established educational offers do exist within specific industries in developing countries and, on the other hand, there are specific offers in industrial nations that are little known, a certain regularity can be assumed here: in poor,

structurally weak economies where the available training offers are not well-developed and the private sector is weak, a prognosis of realistic income opportunities is rarely possible. In particular (but not exclusively) in countries affected by poverty, the general quality of TVET is problematic in a number of areas. As a consequence, a believable image campaign can at best be one complementary measure of several reform measures, or it can promise success only for individual pilot facilities. In societies or industries with infrastructures that have already been further developed, image-promoting measures commonly aim at well-known and established TVET structures. In systems in which well-known and trustworthy TVET institutions already exist, and whose certificates have reached a certain market value, image-promoting projects can also be introduced on the meso level for bigger programmes, fields or sectors which are likely to be successful.

Finally, image-promoting projects that aim at increasing the overall acceptance of qualified, skilled labour and vocational education and training in terms of a cultural change make sense, if the quality of TVET seems to be in fact better than its 'societal reputation'.

Social marketing involves those areas that go beyond micro-economic interests. Where vocational training programmes or cultural change towards the acceptance of TVET is being promoted, it can be beneficial to win over trustworthy associations such as chambers or trade unions, as well as higher level institutions such as foundations or the International Labour Organization (ILO) as partners.

6. Conclusion

In terms of operational marketing, it could be useful to link campaigns for improving the image of TVET with micro-economic interests of trustworthy training companies or educational institutions of the private sector, in order to build trust and achieve greater sustainability.

As for measures which go beyond the interests of individual companies, they can be particularly successful for purposes of social marketing, if they manage to win over partners that are widely trusted within society (e.g. associations, foundations).

then the measures taken should focus on positive case examples in individual industries or institutions. If this is difficult to achieve as well, image promotion should concentrate on small projects and programmes.

Image-promoting measures can provide impulses and send signals. However, it must not be forgotten that the complex and collective life concepts which are involved in how occupational activities and educational pathways are evaluated can only be influenced to a limited extent.

Ultimately, however, looking at things relatively, the image of certain educational institutions, a course of education or even TVET as a whole can be intentionally controlled only to a limited extent. Image in itself is an intuitive and complex conglomeration of emotions, associations and rational decision-making processes that (fortunately) cannot be completely created by an external source. Nevertheless, image is also a product of social communication and therefore can at least be influential in an indirect way. It seems to be decisive to keep the fact in mind that decisions about one's profession and investments are made not only on the basis of reason and weighing trade-offs, but are just as strongly based on emotions and projections.

Measures that promote a certain image should have both of these starting points: They should deliver facts and information, but they should also mobilise positive images and concepts. Here it is important to name and focus on the advantages of TVET, but not to exaggerate or trivialise. To remain authentic, image-promoting measures need to be embedded in actually existing, real-world conditions. Here, choosing a smaller focus is definitely better than making manipulative or unrealistic promises. If the image promotion of TVET as a whole contains too many risks,

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