

NCLR
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

**THE FORGOTTEN ~~HALF~~:
TWO-THIRDS:
AN HISPANIC PERSPECTIVE
ON APPRENTICESHIP,
EUROPEAN STYLE**

**REPORT OF THE NCLR CONSULTATION
ON APPRENTICESHIP**



NCLR
A SILVER ANNIVERSARY  A GOLDEN FUTURE
1968-1993

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA (NCLR)

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, exists to improve life opportunities for the more than 22 million Americans of Hispanic descent. In addition to its Washington, D.C. headquarters, NCLR maintains field offices in Los Angeles, California; Phoenix, Arizona; McAllen, Texas; and Chicago, Illinois. NCLR has four missions: applied research, policy analysis, and advocacy on behalf of the entire Hispanic community; capacity-building assistance to support and strengthen Hispanic community-based organizations; public information activities designed to provide accurate information and positive images of Hispanics; and special innovative, catalytic, and international projects. NCLR acts as an umbrella for 160 affiliates — Hispanic community-based organizations which together serve 37 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia, and reach more than two million Hispanics annually.

THE FORGOTTEN HALF: TWO-THIRDS:

An Hispanic Perspective on Apprenticeship,
European Style

**Report of the
National Council of La Raza
Consultation on Apprenticeship**

**The Forgotten Half: Two-Thirds:
An Hispanic Perspective on Apprenticeship,
European Style**

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National Council of La Raza
Consultation on Apprenticeship**

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Many people helped to make the consultation a success. Most important were the members of the delegation, whose enthusiasm, hard work, intelligence, and commitment made the trip a continuing pleasure as well as a learning experience. NCLR deeply appreciates the assistance of many individuals and organizations in Europe, especially the former German Marshall Fund minority fellows who shared their experiences. Special thanks go to Rosemarie Wolf-Almanasreh de Carvalho Esteves, Director of the Office for Multicultural Affairs, Frankfurt, and her staff, and Dr. Faruk Sen, Director of the Center for Turkish Studies, and his staff, who helped arrange meetings with individuals, institutions, and employers able to provide minority perspectives. NCLR appreciates the work of Karen Sieber of CDS International, as well as interpreter Barbara Kirchner and Danish representative Frank Anderson; CDS made all meeting and logistical arrangements for the consultation, and accompanied the delegation.

Dozens of individuals in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden contributed their time and

knowledge to help us understand their countries and their school-to-work transition systems; the delegation appreciates not only the great courtesy and kindness, but also the enthusiasm and interest we encountered everywhere. We are particularly grateful to Helga Nagel and other members of the staff of the *Volkshochschule* in Frankfurt; the specialists on minority issues who met with us in the Office for Multicultural Affairs in Frankfurt; Mr. von Bardeleben of the *Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung*, who provided so much statistical and structural information at the end of our stay in Germany; Mr. Jens Pehrson of the Department of Vocational Training and Education and Mr. Johannes Bang of the Department of Primary and Lower Secondary Education in Denmark; Mr. Olof Gardstedt of the Gothenburg Youth Center and the wonderful representatives from other organizations who provided information on minorities in Gothenburg, including union representative Rodney Lowe; and all the instructors and apprentices who talked with us in the three countries. Our many contacts not only provided information, but also reaffirmed our belief in the common values and interests of those who seek to encourage human development and to protect human rights, wherever they live and work.

At NCLR, thanks are due to Diane Cabrales, who assisted with every aspect of the consultation and with research for and "quality control" of this report; Yolanda Bernal, who helped with logistics and coordination for the consultation; and NCLR's desktop publishing expert, Rosemary Aguilar Francis, who prepared the report for publication.

Executive Summary

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, carried out an **Hispanic Consultation on Apprenticeship in 1992**, in order to add an informed Hispanic perspective to the current policy debate about the appropriateness of apprenticeships — and the applicability of a European apprenticeship model — as a school-to-work transition option providing effective career preparation for non-college-bound American youth. In March 1992, a delegation of ten specialists in Hispanic education and employment and training, selected by NCLR, visited Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, and also met in Germany with a group of minority leaders from Europe who had been German Marshall Fund Fellows. Funding was provided by the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Ford Foundation.

This report summarizes the consultation experience and the lessons it suggests. The report typically uses the observations and often the words of the participants to describe and illustrate insights and observations. It provides analyses of and reflections on European apprenticeship systems from the perspective of practitioners knowledgeable about Hispanic education, training, and employment issues. The report draws heavily upon discussions with and materials provided by a wide range of people during the consultation, including public officials, program operators, employers, union representatives, academic and vocational instructors, mainstream and minority apprentices, and minority leaders in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden.

NCLR defines **youth apprenticeship** as *a structured system through which youth in secondary school may choose to combine a solid academic curriculum with vocational instruction including work-site-based training, resulting in competence and certification in a skilled occupation as well as a high school diploma or more advanced educational certificate.*

Apprenticeships are a critical issue for Hispanics because more than two-thirds of Latinos are among the *Forgotten Half*. *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America* — a report by the W.T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future — concluded that the half of 16-24 year-olds in the United States who are unlikely to attend college receive far less "attention, respect, and resources" than college-bound youth. It emphasized the need to improve education and career preparation and facilitate the school-to-work transition for non-college-bound youth. Consider the Hispanic population, and the *Forgotten Half* becomes the *Forgotten Two-Thirds* — or more. Fully 42% of Latino young people 25-34 are not high school graduates and therefore are very unlikely to go to college; moreover, only a little over half of Latino high school graduates enter college immediately after high school, and only about 10% of Latinos 25 and over are college graduates.

The strong Hispanic work ethic has not led to widespread career success. Hispanics, especially Hispanic men, have very high labor force participation rates — they are more likely than White or Black men to be either working or looking for work. However, Hispanics, especially Hispanic youth, continue to suffer from high unemployment, and employed Hispanics are overrepresented in low-paid jobs and therefore among the working poor. Hispanic median family

income in 1991 was 63% of White median family income, down from 70% in 1981. One in four Hispanic families (27%) lived in poverty, compared to one in 11 White families (9%).

Hispanics do not benefit equitably from existing apprenticeship and job training programs. As of September 1992, 22.2% of the 263,000 non-military apprentices in the U.S. were minorities; as of March 31, 1991, just 4.3% of U.S. apprentices were Hispanic. Similarly, the major federally supported job training program, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), serves less than 5% of eligible persons, provides mostly short-term training, and often “creams” — tending to enroll and serve those with relatively high educational levels and job experience, rather than those with the greatest need, such as high school dropouts and individuals with other employment barriers. While the Department of Labor estimated that Hispanics constituted 15% of the JTPA-eligible population in 1991, they accounted for 12% of program year 1991 terminees — indicating 20% underrepresentation — and Hispanic terminees were less likely than non-Hispanics to have obtained employment.

Demographic trends make increasing Hispanic educational attainment and employment preparation a national — not just an Hispanic — imperative. Soon after the turn of the century, Hispanics will become the largest U.S. minority group. Moreover, because Hispanics are the youngest major population group, many more will be entering than leaving the workforce. Hispanics are projected to account for more than one-quarter (27%) of net change in the labor force (entrants minus leavers) from 1988 through 2000 — compared to 47% for Whites, 16% for Blacks, and 10% for Asian and other workers. Unless action is taken to close the education and training gap between Hispanics and other Americans, the mismatch between employer needs and worker skills will have significant negative impact on American productivity and international competitiveness — and on U.S. society as a whole.

Hispanics have not been active “players” in the apprenticeship debate. Hispanics are especially likely to benefit from appropriate new policies and programs directed at non-college-bound youth, while ineffective attempts at addressing the school-to-work transition could disproportionately harm Hispanics — increased “tracking” could further reduce college access; inadequate basic education, “creaming,” or discrimination could close off desirable youth apprenticeship opportunities; emphasis on in-school youth could eliminate essential “second chance” programs for young Hispanic dropouts. The apprenticeship debate, therefore, is of critical interest and importance to the Hispanic community. Yet this debate has occurred with limited minority and minimal Hispanic input, including the discussion of what European systems have to offer the United States.

There are some very significant differences between the populations and societies of Europe and the United States. The countries visited by the NCLR delegation — Germany, Denmark, and Sweden — are far smaller than the U.S. in both population and physical size. Their populations are far less mobile than Americans. Perhaps most important, they have not historically seen themselves as multicultural societies. While more than one-quarter of Americans are Hispanic,

African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, or Native American, and many more fit “ethnic” categories, most European countries have traditionally been far more homogeneous.

Many large European cities have become multicultural, and the countries are increasingly diverse in population, though not necessarily in self-perception. For example, Copenhagen is 20% minority, about 16% of the residents of Gothenburg, Sweden, are of non-Swedish ancestry, and Frankfurt, Germany is officially 25% minority. However, the term “minority” is not commonly used in these countries; many people of foreign ancestry are still called “guestworkers,” even if they are third-generation immigrants. Moreover, in most countries they are not automatically citizens by birth as they would be in the United States, and naturalization is difficult. Minority civil rights protections are far less extensive than in the United States, and there is no effective system to prevent discrimination or enforce anti-discrimination in education and employment. In Germany, the law *requires* that job preference be given first to German citizens, then to Economic Community citizens, and that others be considered last — including the former “guestworkers.” In Denmark, officials reported that anti-discrimination laws exist, but there is no enforcement mechanism.

The NCLR delegation looked carefully at how minorities were faring within European apprenticeship programs, and identified three major concerns related to how European apprenticeship systems might serve the United States in all its diversity: **inclusiveness, tracking, and transportability.**

Inclusiveness is limited; immigrants and minorities do not fare well in the apprenticeship programs the delegation visited, and women rarely enter apprenticeships in traditionally male occupations. In addition to the lack of civil rights protections, there is a clear correlation between economic conditions and apprenticeship opportunities for minorities. Most European countries have low birthrates, so they depend increasingly upon immigrants and minorities to meet labor market needs. However, current economic conditions frequently make these groups unwelcome, and as the European Economic Community (EEC) countries become increasingly integrated and their employment systems “harmonized,” employment of non-EEC citizens may become extremely difficult. There is no provision in apprenticeship programs for serving new immigrants not fluent in the country’s primary language. Women also face inequities. Even in the Scandinavian countries, which have very high rates of female labor force participation, women are highly concentrated in certain occupations, with “family and societal pressure” seen as major obstacles to female participation in higher-paying apprenticeships for traditionally male occupations.

Tracking remains a significant concern. NCLR looked in detail at how the various systems and programs serve non-typical students, from language and ethnic minorities to women, the handicapped, and older trainees. The group believes that careful safeguards are required to assure that Hispanics and other minorities are not tracked in any of three ways:

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- ❖ Tracked into apprenticeships when they should be pursuing the coursework to enter college;
 - ❖ Given less-than-equal opportunity within an apprenticeship system, such that they are seriously underrepresented in apprenticeships providing preparation for occupations offering the best pay and greatest mobility, due to inappropriate or inadequate counseling, poor preparation in elementary and secondary school, biased testing, or employer unwillingness to “hire” minority apprentices; or
 - ❖ Denied access to an apprenticeship system which does not provide alternative entry points for school dropouts, those with special needs (such as the limited-English-proficient), or simply youth who are not prepared to make career decisions at the expected age — and thereby left without the opportunity for the training required for skilled employment.

Transportability is a key question. No matter how effective and successful a European apprenticeship system is in Europe, its value for the United States depends the extent to which it — or key components of it — can be “transported” to the very different environment of the U.S. The delegation considers the following differences between the European and American education and training systems especially important:

- ❖ **Underlying the European system of preparing young people for the world of work are certain shared societal values**, such as a strongly held belief in human resource development, prestige and earning capacity for the skilled occupations, a commitment to a skilled workforce which transcends the current economic situation, and a belief that everyone can and will learn. The U.S. lacks this high level of respect for the occupations for which apprenticeship programs provide training, and there is a widely held though perhaps not majority-held belief that some low-income and minority youth have limited capacity to learn and to perform.
- ❖ **The European education and training systems reflect a strategic national industrial policy, and a clear legislative base and taxing structure which support holistic education and training systems built on a solid social support system.** The structure reflects genuine, ongoing, institutionalized collaboration among the key stakeholders in employment and training — government, business and industry, unions, families, and the not-for-profit sector — from the national to the local level. Theoretical and practical learning are fully integrated; education and training entities work not as separate systems but as partners. A relatively “seamless” system with low dropout rates provides multiple chances for attaining success and several clearly defined but different paths for achieving vocational skills, based on national quality standards which define and describe skilled occupations and the competencies associated with them. Education and training institutions have access to the newest technology. This provided a great contrast to U.S. education and training efforts, which are not a single system, but rather a collection of often disjointed, short-term educational experiences or unrelated programs.

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- ❖ **The education and training system in the countries visited reflects a recognition of the need for lifelong learning, with opportunities for increasing, broadening, and upgrading skills at various stages in the individual's working life.** There is a growing emphasis on developing skills relevant to a family of occupations rather than one single job, as a means of developing a workforce adaptable to economic and technological changes. Preparation is long-term; obtaining the equivalent of a skilled worker's or "journeyman's" certificate typically takes three to four years of combined education and training. In the U.S., a high proportion of workers and youth are not predisposed to returning to "school" periodically to upgrade their skills.
 - ❖ **Apprenticeships in Europe are financially affordable and therefore accessible for nearly all youth.** The countries provide meaningful training wages, so even youth from poor families can remain in long-term training — instead of only those who can afford to be without wages for several years. In the U.S., there is no similar system of training wages, so low-income youth often cannot afford long-term training.
 - ❖ **Strong value is placed on multilingual capacity for global competitiveness.** In contrast, many Americans distrust bilingualism, and only a small minority of U.S. youth learn fluency in a second language.
 - ❖ **The Europeans have far less experience with racial and ethnic minorities than the U.S., and minorities there do not enjoy equal opportunities, particularly in employment.** There is a lack of equal employment opportunity laws, and existing ones generally lack enforcement. Similarly, there are few protections to assure equal access for women, especially in non-traditional occupations.

Successful adoption and adaptation of components of the European system require first of all that the U.S. commit itself to the system's underlying values and concepts — particularly the partnership between government, business and industry, unions, families, and the not-for-profit sector as stakeholders and the unswerving commitment to human resource development as reflected in long-term skill development. Not only the basic educational system, but also the social welfare system and role of government and the private sector are fundamentally different in those countries — as are some very basic values. European *systems* cannot be expected to work in the U.S. unless this country also adopts some European *values*.

Any education and training system adopted in the United States must reflect and build on this country's unique strengths, history, and culture. The U.S. is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society with a strong emphasis on diversity, individualism, decentralization, and flexibility. There is a need to build on existing U.S. structures and capacities, from community colleges to community-based organizations. A U.S. apprenticeship system is most likely to emerge out of a combination of new initiatives and existing vocational education and employment programs and resources.

Some specific aspects of the European education and apprenticeship system should not be emulated, such as late school entry, with children often not starting school before the age of six or seven; limited compulsory schooling which requires as little as nine years of schooling; and early forced choice between academic and vocational preparation, often by age ten.

There is a real danger that the current enthusiasm over European apprenticeship systems will discourage candid assessments of their weaknesses as well as their strengths. The European models are not without their problems or detractors, but many recent reports have given little attention to possible negative factors. The minority perspective as provided to the NCLR delegation is one critical component of this assessment process. Other analyses of the European systems are needed, especially analyses conducted by neutral entities rather than major proponents of U.S. adoption of a European-style system.

NCLR believes that an American apprenticeship system can be successful if — and only if — it reflects and builds on certain basic principles:

1. **School-Workplace Integration:** Youth apprenticeship must be a part of a broader reform of the education system. It must establish a combined academic and workplace system with a strong focus on education for employment, and broad occupational coverage, and should be part of an integrated K-14 (not merely K-12) education and training system, building on existing community colleges, with worksite learning as part of the curriculum.
2. **Seamless System:** The apprenticeship system must be both seamless and flexible, designed to meet the needs of all students. The system must be able to successfully bring in, motivate, and train culturally, economically, and educationally diverse student populations. It must retain for all students the option of university attendance.
3. **Partnership:** Youth apprenticeship requires a genuine and ongoing partnership among sectors and groups, not domination by one sector; it must include business, unions, education, nonprofit organizations, students, and parents and families.
4. **Independent Sector:** The nonprofit sector and especially community-based organizations must be full partners in an American apprenticeship system.
5. **Literacy and Numeracy:** Youth apprenticeship requires that every student receive a strong basic education. Students seeking to enter apprenticeships must not be penalized by poor academic preparation due to underfinanced, ineffective schools.
6. **Vocational Choice:** Students and their families can make appropriate apprenticeship choices only if they receive effective career information, counseling, and exploration from an early age. This is important for all students, but critical for those whose parents have limited education or had limited career alternatives themselves because of poverty or discrimination.

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7. **Tracking and Discrimination:** Youth apprenticeship represents a positive alternative for Hispanic and other minority students only if it includes strong, pro-active protections against “tracking,” discrimination, and exploitation of apprentices as cheap labor. Any system adopted in the United States must address the needs of America’s diverse population.
 8. **Standards and Assessment:** A national apprenticeship system requires both national skills standards and competency-based assessment of skill attainment during and at the end of the apprenticeship. Moreover, assessments must emphasize actual performance, and avoid the biases and inequities common in standardized paper-and-pencil tests.
 9. **Financing:** Funding must be significant, expenses must be shared, and costs must be determined recognizing that the “pay now — save later” principle applies. Government, industry, and families should share the costs of human capital investment. Resources must be sufficient to provide a living wage during apprenticeships; a training wage is not necessarily a subminimum wage.
 10. **Values:** To build on the best of the European system, the United States must adopt not only its approaches, but also its most critical underlying values and philosophy. This includes an overriding commitment to human resource development, a genuine belief that all students can learn, and widespread public respect for skilled occupations not requiring university graduation.

The members of the NCLR delegation believe that it is long past time for a major restructuring of the American system of education and training — restructuring that reflects the above principles, assures multiple avenues from school to productive, skilled work for every U.S. resident, and allows youth to pursue the education and training alternatives most appropriate for them. Given the very long distance to be traveled in reaching such a system, NCLR believes that an incremental approach is essential. Values and beliefs must be re-examined, and alternative models and approaches developed, tested, refined, and institutionalized. NCLR supports youth apprenticeship demonstrations, but believes they need to be much closer to real life if they are to provide any meaningful test of a model suitable for widescale implementation. Hispanics and other minorities are already one-quarter of the population, and will soon be well over one-fourth of the workforce. A youth apprenticeship system cannot succeed unless it effectively reaches and serves these young people. Appropriate testing of various apprenticeship approaches which fully reflect the diversity of U.S. society can assure that every young person in the United States — regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or special needs — has the genuine opportunity to become a productive, skilled member of society.

Introduction

The National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization, received funding from the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Ford Foundation to carry out an Hispanic Consultation on Apprenticeship. The consultation took place during March 1992; the delegation visited Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, and also met in Germany with a group of minority leaders from Europe who had been German Marshall Fund Fellows.

The consultation was designed to add an informed Hispanic perspective to the current policy debate about the appropriateness of apprenticeships — and the applicability of a European apprenticeship model — as a school-to-work transition option providing effective career preparation for non-college-bound American youth.

This report summarizes the consultation experience and the lessons it suggests. The report, prepared by the participant who served as Project Director, typically uses the observations and often the words of the participants to describe and illustrate insights and observations. It is not a research report. It makes no attempt to provide a detailed, “textbook” description of European apprenticeship systems; there are many other sources for that information. Instead, it provides observations and reflections on that system from the perspective of practitioners knowledgeable about Hispanic education, training, and employment issues. It draws heavily upon the discussions with and materials provided by a wide range of people during the consultation, including public officials, program operators, employers, union rep-

resentatives, academic and vocational instructors, mainstream and minority apprentices, and minority leaders in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. Each participant prepared individual summaries of specific assigned aspects of the European system throughout the trip and a final report at the end, as well as helping to develop a joint set of observations and conclusions.

Purposes of the Hispanic Consultation on Apprenticeship

- **To gather practical information on European apprenticeship programs from minority and mainstream perspectives**, including how they serve European minorities and women, in order to increase the ability of Hispanic practitioners and advocates — especially those from community-based organizations — to participate knowledgeably in the current American debate about the appropriateness of apprenticeships as a positive career preparation path for American youth.
- **To document, report on, and disseminate information accurately presenting an Hispanic perspective on the European apprenticeship models**, to contribute to the public discussion and debate about apprenticeships and their potential for improving career opportunities for Hispanics.

Hispanic Education and Employment Status:

A Critical National Concern

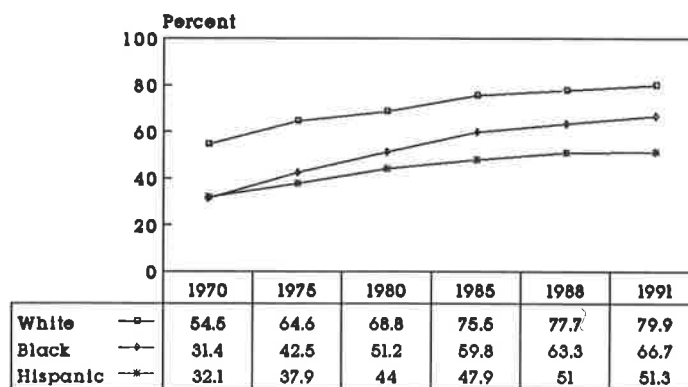
More than two-thirds of Latinos are among the *Forgotten Half*.

The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America — a report by the W.T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future — focuses on the half of 16-24 year-olds in the United States who are unlikely to attend college, a diverse group of young people who, it concludes, receive far less "attention, respect, and resources" than college-bound youth. The Commission study argues that these youth need, deserve, and require far more attention and support in the form of policies, programs, status, and funding, especially in their schooling and career preparation. Like other studies and initiatives —

from *Workforce 2000* and *America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!* to SCANS and *America 2000* — *The Forgotten Half* emphasizes the need to improve education and career preparation, and facilitate the school-to-work transition for non-college-bound youth. Youth apprenticeships have been recommended as one important means of accomplishing this, and many states are already planning or implementing apprenticeship demonstrations building upon the European (especially the German) models.

Instead of looking at the entire population of young Americans, consider the Hispanic population, and the *Forgotten Half* becomes the *Forgotten Two-Thirds* — or more. This is

THE EDUCATION GAP HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATE 1970-1991



Persons 25 & older; Census and CPS data

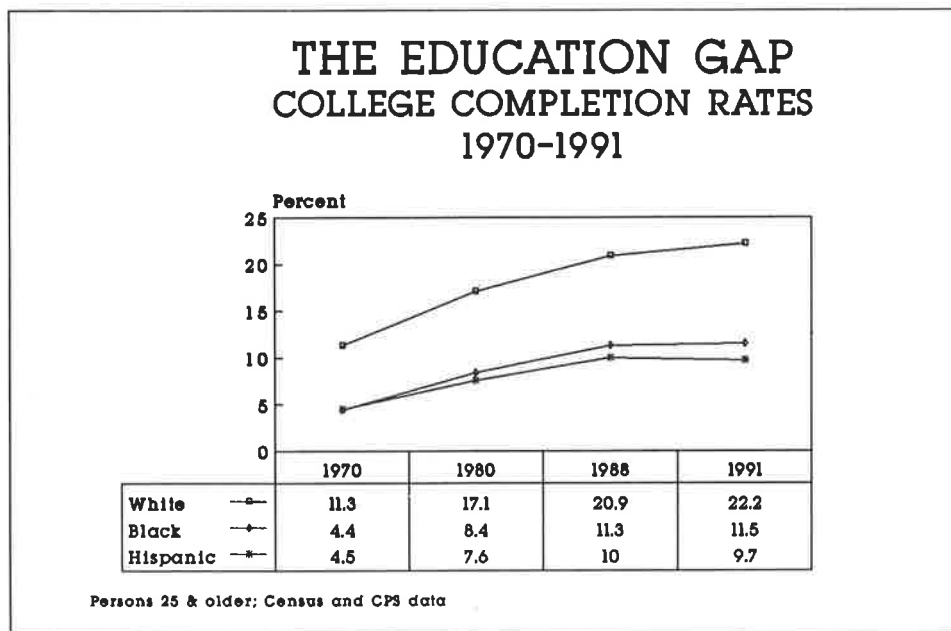
true because 42% of Latino* young people 25-34 are not high school graduates and therefore are very unlikely to go to college. While the other 58% are high school graduates — as are 51% of all Hispanics 25 and older — only a little over half of Latino high school graduates enter college immediately after high school, and only 10% of Latinos 25 and over are college graduates. Moreover, the education gap between Hispanics and other Americans, Black as well as White, is widening.

To put it another way: Hispanics are more likely than other Americans to drop out of school before high school graduation, and less likely than other Americans to go to college;

more than two-thirds of Hispanics are a part of that Forgotten Half.

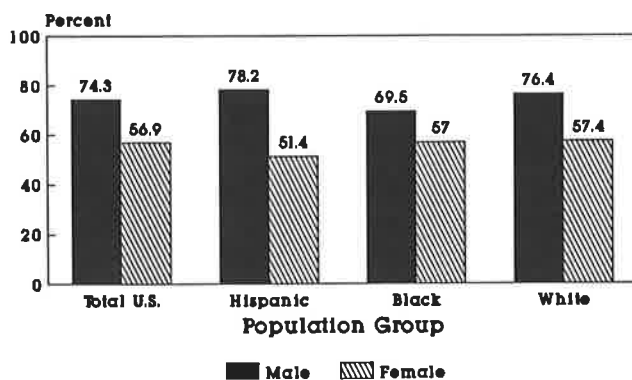
The strong Hispanic work ethic has not led to widespread career success.

Hispanics, especially Hispanic men, have very high labor force participation rates — they are more likely than White or Black men to be either working or looking for work. They tend to enter the workforce earlier and leave it later than non-Hispanics. Labor force participation among Hispanic women is still below that of other U.S. women, but is also increasing.



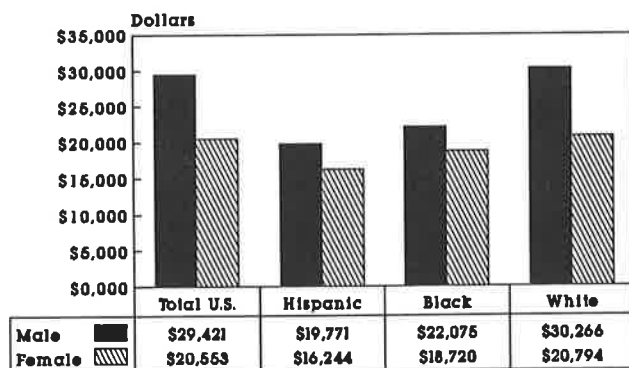
* The terms *Hispanic* and *Latino* are used interchangeably to refer to persons who live in the United States and are of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central or South American, Cuban, or other Hispanic descent.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1991



March 1991 CPS

MEDIAN EARNINGS FOR MEN AND WOMEN EMPLOYED FULL-TIME, YEAR-ROUND BY RACE/ETHNICITY AND SEX, 1991



Money Income of Households, Families and
Persons in the U.S.: 1991

Hispanics continue to suffer from high unemployment. The overall Hispanic unemployment rate in 1992 was 11.4%, 11.5% for Hispanic men and 11.3% for Hispanic women; unemployment among Hispanic youth 16-19 was 27.5%. While considerably below the Black youth unemployment rate of 39.8%, it was also well above the White rate of 17.1%.

When employed, Hispanics are overrepresented in low-paid jobs and therefore among the working poor. Hispanic men and women are far more likely than Whites to hold low-skill, low-paid jobs such as operator/fabricator/laborer and service positions, and far less likely to work in managerial and professional occupations, as the graphs on the following page show.

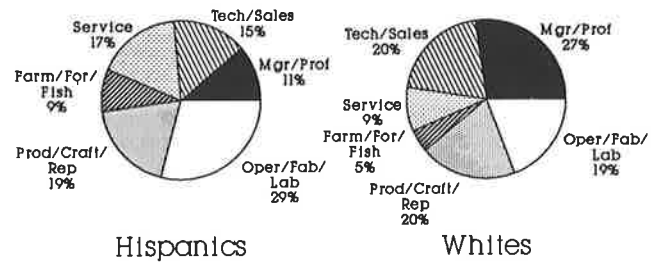
In 1991, the median earnings of employed Hispanics were below those of both Whites and Blacks; this was true for both men and women, for all employed persons, and for those working full-time, year-round (at least 50 weeks).

As a result, Hispanic median family income in 1991 was 63% of White median family income, down from 70% in 1981. One in four Hispanic families (27%) lived in poverty, compared to one in 11 White families (9%).

Hispanics do not benefit equitably from existing apprenticeship and job training programs.

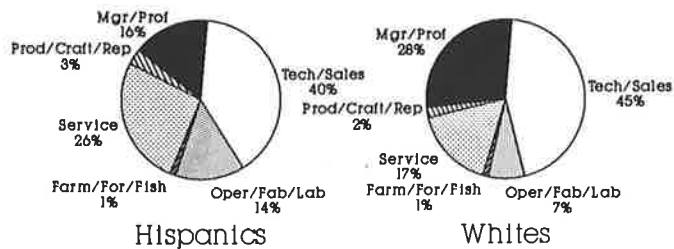
There are about 43,000 apprenticeship programs in the United States. The current apprenticeship system was established through the National Apprenticeship Act of 1937 (Fitzgerald Act). In September 1992, there

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES, 1991 HISPANICS AND WHITES



March 1991 CPS

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES, 1991 HISPANICS AND WHITES



March 1991 CPS

were about 330,000 registered apprentices in the U.S., or 263,000 excluding uniformed military apprentices. While many of the smaller programs are run by employers, the majority of slots are in programs run jointly by unions and employers. More than half the registered apprentices are in the building, construction, and metalworking trades.

Hispanics and women are severely underrepresented in apprenticeship programs. In September 1992, only about 7.4% of registered apprentices were women. The U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training reports that as of September 1992, 22.2% of non-military apprentices were minorities. As of March 31, 1991, based on racial/ethnic breakdowns available for 70% of apprentices, just 4.3% of U.S. apprentices were Hispanic. The African American community has been somewhat more successful than the Hispanic community in gaining access to apprenticeship programs; the African American population is about one-third larger than the Hispanic popu-

lation but nearly three times as many apprentices — 12.7% — were African American. Hispanics were underrepresented in apprenticeships for nearly every occupation, but especially in the higher-skilled, higher-paid trades. For example, Hispanics were just 3.8% of the electrician and 3.9% of the operating engineer apprentices, but 6.5% of the construction worker, 6.7% of the cement mason, and 7.6% of the floor layer apprentices. Even in occupations in which minorities were a majority of apprentices — such as pumper gager, radio station operator, and telegraphic typewriter operator — Hispanics constituted less than 5% of apprentices.

The current U.S. apprenticeship system was developed to train adults, not youth. Fewer than 2% of U.S. high school graduates enter apprenticeships, and they rarely do so immediately after graduation. U.S. apprentices are typically in their mid- to late-20s; the average age is reportedly 29, the minimum age typically 18, and few apprentices are under 21. Prior to the initiation of demonstration European-style youth apprenticeships, only about 1,500 high school students were involved in U.S.-style apprenticeships nationwide.

The major federally supported job training program, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), has not effectively served youth dropouts or others facing serious obstacles to employment. Prior to the most recent amendments, JTPA legislation required that 40% of JTPA resources go to youth, with an emphasis on out-of-school youth. JTPA has long been criticized for its small scale — it serves less than 5% of eligible persons — and for its

“We need more ethnic diversity among the higher-skilled building trades apprenticeships, such as the electricians, operating engineers, and plumbers. In my experience, Hispanics are mainly concentrated in the mud trades — cement, roofing, tile setters, bricklayers.”

— Roger Cázares

short-term, usually limited training. Moreover, studies show that JTPA programs very often "cream" — they tend to enroll and serve those with relatively high educational levels and job experience, since they are easier to train and place, rather than those with the greatest need, such as high school dropouts and individuals with other employment barriers. JTPA's own figures indicate that 43% of JTPA-eligible persons in 1991 were school dropouts, yet for program year 1991, only 28% of JTPA trainees were dropouts.

Hispanics have been consistently underrepresented in JTPA. While the Department of Labor estimated that Hispanics constituted 15% of the JTPA-eligible population in 1991, they accounted for 12% of program year 1991 trainees — indicating 20% underrepresentation. Hispanic participation rates have changed only slightly — fluctuating from 10-12% of trainees since program year 1984. JTPA data indicate that in program year 1991, Hispanic trainees were less likely than non-Hispanics to have obtained employment.

Demographic trends make increasing Hispanic educational attainment and employment preparation a national — not just an Hispanic — imperative.

The Hispanic population grew by 53% between 1980 and 1990; soon after the turn of the century, Hispanics will be the largest U.S.

minority group. Moreover, because Hispanics are the youngest major population group, many more will be entering than leaving the workforce. Instead of the current three U.S. workers for every person on Social Security, there will be only two workers for every retiree by the year 2000; more than one in four workers will be minority, and at least one in ten will be Hispanic. Hispanics are projected to account for more than one-quarter (27%) of net change in the labor force (entrants minus leavers) from 1988 through 2000 — compared to 47% for Whites, 16% for Blacks, and 10% for Asian and other workers. Some cities and states — California among them — will be "majority minority," with Hispanics as the largest single group. The Census Bureau recently estimated that by 2050, minorities will comprise 47% of the U.S. population — with Hispanics accounting for 45%, Blacks 31%, Asians 21%, and Native Americans 2% of the minority population.

Unfortunately, Hispanic population growth and high Hispanic labor force participation do not necessarily mean full and equitable participation in the job market. Unless action is taken to close the education and training gap between Hispanics and other Americans, the mismatch between employer needs and worker skills will have significant negative impact on American productivity and international competitiveness — and on U.S. society as a whole.

Why an Hispanic Consultation on Apprenticeship?

“Hispanics have more to gain — and more to lose — from education and training reform than most other Americans. The outcome of the current youth apprenticeship debate could help determine the education and employment opportunities of our children and our children’s children, for decades to come.”

— Raúl Yzaguirre

What do we mean by “youth apprenticeship”?

NCLR defines “youth apprenticeship” as a structured system through which youth in secondary school may choose to combine a solid academic curriculum with vocational instruction including work-site-based training, resulting in competence and certification in a skilled occupation as well as a high school diploma or more advanced educational certificate.

Improved career preparation for non-college-bound youth could have great benefits for Latinos.

Because Hispanics are less likely than other Americans to enter or complete four years of college, they are especially likely to benefit from appropriate new policies and programs directed at this population. A successful apprenticeship system would have great benefits for Hispanics. On the other hand, ineffective attempts at addressing the school-to-work transition could disproportionately harm Hispanics — increased “tracking” could fur-

ther reduce college access; inadequate basic education, “creaming,” or discrimination could close off desirable youth apprenticeship opportunities; emphasis on in-school youth could eliminate essential “second chance” programs for young Hispanic drop-outs. The apprenticeship debate, therefore, is of critical interest and importance to the Hispanic community.

Although Hispanics have a great deal to gain — or to lose — from an apprenticeship system, Hispanics have not been active “players” in the apprenticeship debate.

Many recent studies have made it clear that some European countries do a far better job than the U.S. of preparing young people for the world of work, especially those young people who will not attend college. Numerous public, private, and inter-sector commissions and advisory groups are studying European apprenticeship systems, holding consultations, publishing reports, and recom-

“A key part of improving the quality of the labor force is the development of a formal system for helping youth make the transition from school to work. The United States is the only major industrialized nation that lacks such a system.”

— Dr. Fred Romero

mending policy action. The European (especially the German) approach to addressing the school-to-work transition has become an attractive model for many U.S. policy makers and researchers; European approaches are already being tested in many states, and under consideration at the national level. Both the Department of Labor and Department of Education have provided funding for the development of national skill standards.

Yet this debate has occurred with limited minority and minimal Hispanic input — and in most cases, the discussion largely ignores the role of minority community-based organizations in both advocating for and providing services to their communities. The report of a December 1990 meeting on “Youth Apprenticeship, American Style,” which NCLR co-sponsored with many other organizations, quotes a senior official of the Department of Education as saying that an American-style apprenticeship system must “recognize and accommodate the diversity inherent in the American populace.” However, when the report talks about the essential elements of European programs, there is no mention of ethnic minorities, and the essential partnership is seen as one involving “business, labor, and governments.” A recent “Issue Brief on Youth Apprenticeship” from the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce of the National Center on Education and the Economy clearly and compellingly defines the need for “Youth Apprenticeship, American Style” without once mentioning minorities (the “economically disadvantaged” receive one reference). Although some reports include statements that skilled crafts need

higher status and apprenticeship should not be seen as negative tracking, there is little substantive discussion of how this is to be avoided for minority youth. Most of the commissions have included only a small number of minorities and sometimes a single Hispanic — and often that Hispanic has been an academican with limited community ties.

Given the lack of an American-style voluntary sector in most European countries, it is not surprising that reports about the European model typically make no mention of community-based organizations. However, community groups are almost entirely ignored

“In my state, we’ve had several groups visit Europe, and not one Hispanic was part of that group. It’s always been higher education people and government people at the state and federal level, but not people at the local level, and no Hispanics.”

— NCLR delegation member

in the discussions of an American-based system as well. Like numerous other reports, the Commission “Issue Brief” referenced above calls for “a national system to prepare young people for work,” based on “the collaboration of government, employers, unions and employee representatives, and education institutions” but does not mention parents, students, or community-based organizations. The *America’s Choice* report calls for the establishment of Youth Centers for school drop-

“ I cannot conceive of an American youth apprenticeship system which could serve Hispanics equitably and successfully without involving Hispanic community-based organizations as full partners in system development and implementation. ”

— Raul Yzaguirre

outs, but does not specify a role for minority-focused community-based organizations in this process, nor are community-based organizations identified as potential sponsors of certified technical training programs.

This lack of specific attention to community groups and minority Americans is of special concern to NCLR. Minority community-based organizations have typically been better able to reach minority group members in need of services, especially the disadvantaged, than public agencies. Hispanic community-based organizations have long been the most effective providers of employment and training services to Latino youth and adults, and have become increasingly involved in education, including alternative schools—some of which report graduation rates above 90% for student bodies composed of public school dropouts and pushouts. Moreover, Hispanics are severely underrepresented in policy-making roles in the public and private sectors, and — unlike the Black community — lack minority-controlled colleges or religious institutions. Thus Hispanic community-based organizations are the community's primary advocates and often their most effective service providers.

Hispanic community-based education and employment practitioners have many questions about how an apprenticeship system would affect Hispanic and other minority youth.

NCLR recognizes that the U.S. has much to learn from Europe; perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in the area of career-related education. Some of the most nagging questions about how a European-style apprenticeship system might serve Latinos can be answered through becoming more familiar with European apprenticeship approaches, and through consultation with apprenticeship experts and ethnic minority leaders in Europe. For example, there is a need for understanding of how ethnic minorities in Europe fare within the apprenticeship system, compared to other young adults: to what extent the overall educational system prepares minority youth for apprenticeship opportunities or university, how tracking of minorities away from university preparation to the apprenticeship system is prevented, what is done to protect minority youth from possible discriminatory treatment by their assigned “masters” or others within the system, and how opportunities are provided for minority youth who “fall between the cracks” of the system by dropping out of school or arriving in the country in their middle or later school years.

For these reasons, NCLR sought and received funding from the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Ford Foundation for a carefully designed consultation in Europe.

The Consultation:

Process and Participants

The NCLR Consultation on Apprenticeship included a two-week study tour in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden from March 14-27, 1992. Designed to provide a direct understanding of European apprenticeship programs, it included visits to mainstream and special apprenticeship and related programs in and near Frankfurt, Essen, Copenhagen, and Gothenburg; it also provided for discussions with minority leaders about how such programs are serving ethnic minorities and the lessons which may be learned from the European experience of minorities. Participants included ten education/employment and training practitioners and organizational leaders working with the Hispanic community, all with extensive community volunteer experience.

The consultation provided for approximately one week in Germany, since the German apprenticeship system is among the most frequently presented models for possible U.S. application, and one week in Scandinavia (mostly in Denmark, with one day in Sweden). The trip provided both a broad understanding and a minority perspective on European apprenticeship systems. It included:

- An initial briefing from former German Marshall Fund Ethnic Minority Fellows, focusing on the legal status of immigrants and minorities in the European Economic Community, and the structure of and experiences of minorities in apprenticeship systems in countries not being visited, primarily the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands (NCLR coordinated the minority fellowship program for several years);
- Presentations by federal, state, and municipal agency officials with responsibility for various aspects of the apprenticeship systems, covering structure, policies, history, standards, and other components of the system;
- Visits to and discussions with administrators, teachers, and students from a variety of mainstream and special apprenticeship and related programs in Frankfurt, Copenhagen, and Gothenburg, including programs with large minority student populations, programs specifically designed for immigrants, and alternative programs for young people with special needs;
- Discussions with minority young people and minority leaders (including former Ethnic Minority Fellows) about how such programs are serving ethnic minorities and the lessons which may be learned from the European experience of minorities; visits to special educational and other programs for minorities; and briefings on related issues such as immigration and anti-discrimination policies and their impact on minorities within the apprenticeship system; and
- Several interim work sessions and a final debriefing on the topic and the entire trip, including planning for back-home involvement in the policy debate on a U.S. apprenticeship system.

NCLR and CDS International, which handled scheduling and logistics for the consultation, provided extensive briefing materials to be reviewed by participants prior to the trip. Participants received a half-day orienta-

Members of the NCLR Delegation*

- ❖ **Roger Cázares**, Executive Director, MAAC (Metropolitan Area Advisory Committee) Project, San Diego, California, which carries out a wide range of housing and community development, employment and training, education, and other human services activities, including job training programs associated with the apprenticeship system.
- ❖ **Mary Elise DeGonia**, President, Capitol Perspectives, Washington, D.C., an expert on employment and training legislation and regulations, including the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), apprenticeships and minority employment issues. Advisor to NCLR and other nonprofit organizations on employment and training.
- ❖ **Richard R. Farias**, then Executive Director, Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans (AAMA), Houston, which runs the first accredited Chicano alternative high school in Texas. Currently Executive Director of the Tejano Center for Community Concerns, a youth-focused nonprofit organization in Houston.
- ❖ **Ana Sol Gutierrez**, School Board member, Montgomery County, Maryland, believed to be the first Salvadoran elected official in the U.S. and the first Hispanic elected to a Board of Education in the State of Maryland. Professional experience in the information industry and computer sciences engineering.
- ❖ **Mary Gonzalez Koenig**, Assistant to the Mayor for Employment and Training, City of Chicago, Illinois, responsible for Chicago's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) program; 30 years of experience in employment and training and community services.
- ❖ **Hernan LaFontaine**, Superintendent of Hartford Public Schools from 1979-1991 and now Professor, School of Education, Department of Administration and Supervision, Southern Connecticut State University, Hartford, Connecticut.
- ❖ **Douglas Patiño, Ph.D.**, President of the New Partnership Foundation, San Francisco Bay area; formerly Director of the Arizona Department of Employment Security, Secretary of the California Health and Welfare Agency, Director of the California Employment Development Department, and President and Chief Executive Officer of the Marin Community Foundation, California.
- ❖ **Fred Romero, Ph.D.**, former director of Strategic Planning and Policy Development, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., and a consultant to many organizations on employment and training issues. Consultant to NCLR on employment and training and farmworker issues.
- ❖ **Raúl Yzaguirre**, President of NCLR, the largest constituency-based national Hispanic organization; Chairman of the Independent Sector and a member of the President's Advisory Commission on Hispanic Education, established as a result of Executive Order 12729, Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans.
- ❖ **Emily Gantz McKay**, NCLR Senior Vice President for Institutional Development and Project Director for the consultation; oversees NCLR national demonstration projects, including the education initiative, Project EXCEL (Excellence in Community Educational Leadership).

* Contact information for all delegation members is available from NCLR.

tion session (including a video on the European apprenticeship system) in Washington, D.C., just before the group departed for Europe, from Karen Sieber of CDS and Anne Heald, then with the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

NCLR prepared for the delegation a specific set of issues and questions to be addressed, along with assignments for participants to focus on certain issues. The most important responsibility of each member of the delegation was to provide substantive input to the policy report, taking individual responsibility for learning two of these issue areas or aspects of the European model and their implications for Hispanics, and documenting that information concisely but clearly for NCLR. Each issue area included some sample questions, which the participants were responsible for getting answered during the trip. This approach was designed to help assure that meetings and visits were clearly focused on obtaining specific information needed to address policy-relevant topics.

The eight issues selected for emphasis included Structure and Control, Components,

Education and Training, Occupational Selection, Employers and Master/Mentors, Unions/Guilds, Outcomes, and Implications for U.S. Policy. In addition, the Project Director took responsibility for obtaining information about laws, policies, and practices regarding minorities, immigrants, and “foreigners” and their implications for minority participation in apprenticeship programs.

In addition to ongoing responsibility for addressing assigned issues, twice during the trip, after the week in Germany and at the end, participants provided summaries of major observations related to their assigned issue areas — as well as any other comments they chose to offer. They also completed a final report after the trip, either in writing or through a telephone interview. The delegation held informal discussions and debriefings nearly every evening, and on the last day, specific conclusions were generated and agreed upon. This NCLR report presents and builds upon the delegation’s individual and group experiences and conclusions.

Issues

1. Structure and Control

What is the basic structure of the apprenticeship system in each country? To what extent is it controlled by the schools, various levels of government, the private sector, guilds/unions, or other entities? To what extent are systems national versus specific to a particular municipality or "state"? Who sets up the technical requirements and does the certification of programs and individuals? Who sets the curriculum? How does the system keep up with constantly changing technology? To what extent are advisory groups or elected bodies involved in oversight of the system?

2. Components

What is the typical path for an individual in each country, in entering and progressing through the system? What is the balance of education, vocational training in a school setting, and on-the-job experience? To what extent do apprentices encounter up-to-date technology on the job, and where this does not occur, is the vocational training school likely to prepare apprentices for using new technology and equipment? How does the system deal with young people who do not receive a strong grounding in basic skills before age 15? How does the system address language needs for language-minority youth? What is being done for minority or other youth who have left the school system or came to the country too late to go through compulsory education and apprenticeships? To what extent does each country have special or "booster" programs, or "youth centers" like those proposed for the U.S., and how do they function? To what extent do European minorities get into and complete these special programs? To what extent does involvement in a special program close off opportunities for entry into programs preparing youth for the most prestigious occupations?

3. Education and Tracking

At what point, and on what basis, are tracking decisions made which determine which youth go into apprenticeship programs and which youth receive university preparation? What are the various educational choices, and how do students enter each? What subjects do apprentices study in the school portion of their apprenticeship, and how are subjects presented? How do youth get tracked into special booster or remedial programs? To what extent is the decision voluntary? To what extent is it based on grades, testing, or other factors? What evidence is there that the tracking decisions are appropriate and are good predictors of later success? If a student in an apprenticeship track decides s/he wants to attend university, how can s/he change course, what are the time and other implications, and how difficult is this to do? Do tracking decisions appear to be strongly correlated with economic class, gender, and/or ethnicity? What are the similarities and differences in how minority and non-minority youth are involved in decisions about whether they should focus on academic post-compulsory education at a university versus apprenticeship training? What systemic or other factors protect minority youth from or place them at risk for inappropriate tracking?

4. Occupational Selection

Within the apprenticeship system or track, how are decisions made concerning which job or job cluster an individual will be trained for? To what extent is assignment to the hierarchy of occupations reflective of interest, grades, ethnicity, and other factors? Do particular entities — schools, unions, or companies — play an especially critical role in acceptance of young people into certain occupations? What happens if the apprentice cannot find a "slot" within a company?

Issues, Continued

5. Employers and Masters/Mentors

How do employers find and select apprentices? What are their responsibilities as employers of apprentices? What size and types of employers are most and least likely to have apprentices, and what are the determining factors? To what extent are apprentices hired by the companies where they were apprentices? To what extent do minority-owned businesses have apprentices? What is the role of "masters" or mentors in the apprenticeship process? How do individuals get to be mentors? How many individuals do they mentor at the same time? How much say does a mentor have in assignments made to him/her? What has been the experience of European minorities with such assignments? Do they appear to receive equal consideration for placements? To what extent do they receive the same kind of mentoring as non-minorities?

6. Unions/Guilds

How are unions involved in the development and oversight of apprenticeship programs? What say do unions or guilds have in tracking and occupational assignments, including assignments to "masters" or other mentors? To what extent is access to training in a particular occupation related to family tradition or other non-merit factors? What has been the experience of minorities in this process?

7. Outcomes

What are the apprenticeship outcomes such as completion or "certification" rates, permanent employment in the field of training, entry into advanced training, etc., for various types of programs and occupations? What factors seem to explain differences in outcomes? How closely correlated are they with economic class, gender, and/or ethnicity? To what extent do Europeans entering a particular profession following an apprenticeship tend to remain in that profession for their entire working career? What European countries and apprenticeship models/approaches seem to have been most effective in serving minorities?

8. Implications for U.S. Policy

What aspects of the European apprenticeship system, if any, appear promising for application in the United States, and why? What aspects of the system appear especially problematic or inappropriate, and why? What aspects seem valuable, but are likely to be particularly difficult to adopt or implement in the U.S., due to systemic differences such as decentralization of educational decision making, lack of national training standards, etc.? To what extent would it make sense to adopt aspects of the model on a state level as opposed to a national level? What policy actions or approaches should NCLR recommend?

Distant Allies:

Differences in Population and Culture

Americans, especially White Americans, often think of Western Europeans as our closest allies and as the societies most similar to that of the United States. Yet there are some very significant differences between the populations and societies of Europe and the United States.

Particularly significant to the NCLR delegation are those differences related to population and multiculturalism.

The countries visited — Germany, Denmark, and Sweden — are far smaller than the U.S. in both population and physical size.

Unified Germany has a total population of 79 million, Denmark about 5.2 million, and Sweden about 8.5 million. The national apprenticeship system in Germany serves a population approximately equivalent to the 14 easternmost states, from Maine to South Carolina — but in physical size Germany is smaller than Montana. Denmark has a population similar to that of Missouri but is physically a bit smaller than Vermont and New Hampshire combined. Sweden falls about halfway between New Jersey and Michigan in total population, and is physically larger than Germany — about the size of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois combined.

The populations of these countries are far less mobile than Americans.

In Frankfurt, officials stressed that there are more apprenticeship slots available than

there are young people to fill them, while there is high unemployment in other parts of the country, including eastern Germany. Yet few youth seem to consider moving from one region to another to find apprenticeship opportunities.

These countries have not historically seen themselves as multicultural societies.

More than one-quarter of Americans are Hispanic, African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, or Native American, and many more fit “ethnic” categories. Although the statistics are changing, most European countries have traditionally been far more homogeneous. As a former German Marshall Fund Ethnic Minority Fellow explained to the NCLR delegation, “A German is only someone with German blood,” while an American may be of any ethnic or racial background.

Today, many large European cities have become multicultural, and the countries are increasingly diverse in population, if not necessarily in self-perception. Copenhagen is 20% minority, compared to 5% for Denmark as a whole; nearly 10% of Danish school children in 1991 were ethnic minorities. In Sweden, about 16% of Gothenburg residents are of non-Swedish ancestry, as are about 25% of Gothenburg school children; Gothenburg calls itself a “City of Immigrants.” Frankfurt, Germany is officially 25% minority, and this may be a significant undercount according to the director of the city’s multicultural affairs department.

The term "minority" is not commonly used in these countries; many people of foreign ancestry are still called "guestworkers," even if they are third-generation immigrants.

The European countries visited by the delegation tended to differentiate refugees and asylum seekers from the other major group of ethnic minorities: "guestworkers." There are reportedly about 15 million ethnic and cultural minority people living in the industrialized countries of Western Europe. Many came to Europe during the 1950s and 1960s as temporary "guestworkers," actively recruited through bilateral agreements with their home countries, to meet the demand for labor in the factories, mines, and seaports of Western Europe. They came from many countries, among them Italy, Greece, and Spain as well as Turkey, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Pakistan, and Morocco.

In Germany, Turks and other nationality groups constitute visible ethnic minorities, although the term is not commonly used. Instead, they are called "foreigners" (in German, *auslanders*), even if they were born in Germany. Prior to the reunification of Germany, the population of the Federal Republic (West Germany) included about 4.7 million resident foreigners, about one-third of them Turks. Most came for economic reasons, often hoping to earn enough to return to their own countries and buy land or small companies. Some returned home during the recession of 1966-67, and came back again after it ended. After encouraging the temporary migration of such workers for some years, in

1973 Germany banned recruitment of foreign labor from outside the European Economic Community (EEC). Before the recruitment ban, the foreigners were called "guestworkers"; those who remained after the ban were called "foreign workers." In 1974, Germany initiated a family reunification program which allowed spouses and children under 18 to join workers already in the country, and they became the "foreign resident population." The age cut-off for children was later dropped to 16, and the program effectively ended in 1981. Several "voluntary repatriation" programs were attempted in the 1980s, but the foreign population in Germany remained relatively stable, with births replacing those who died or returned to their native countries. The "foreign residents" face many legal limitations, including difficulties in buying property or starting businesses.

Today, the ethnic minority population in Western and Northern Europe includes many native-born children and grandchildren of the original "guestworkers." However, except in the Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg) and France, a person is not automatically a citizen because of being native-born.

The status of "foreign residents" in Germany and some other EEC countries is further complicated by the fact that they have no national immigration policy. Thus, for example, there is no legislation specifying that a defined number of immigrants may enter on an annual basis as legal immigrants. Germany does allow persons of German blood to enter the country freely; thus residents of Russia and other eastern European countries may

claim German citizenship on the basis of their ethnic heritage. Denmark closed its borders to immigrants in 1972, although relatives of its former "guestworkers" have been allowed to immigrate since that time.

Most European countries do accept refugees, both directly (as in Germany) and through the United Nations (as in Sweden and Denmark). Recent news reports have highlighted a wave of anti-immigrant violence and the great challenges Germany faces in dealing with immigrants and political asylum seekers during a time of economic difficulties, as well as the efforts of many Germans to oppose racism and violence. Proposals to make the current liberal asylum laws considerably more restrictive are being debated by the German parliament.

Germany does not allow dual citizenship, and naturalization is extremely difficult. Naturalization is less difficult in Sweden and Denmark. Denmark does allow dual citizenship, and now views its former "guestworkers" as permanent residents. Sweden always viewed them as immigrants. Naturalization in Denmark now requires five years of residence, a knowledge of Danish, and evidence of attempts to become integrated into Danish society. Each year a list of applicants are made citizens by an Act of Parliament.

Naturalization will become even more difficult for "foreign residents" of the EEC in the future. While there is now essentially free movement among the EEC member countries,

along with increasing unification comes the "harmonizing" of laws. This process is expected to make immigration and naturalization extremely difficult for anyone from outside the EEC. Germany and Denmark are full members of the EEC; Sweden is not.

Minority civil rights protections are far less extensive than in the United States, and there is no effective system to prevent discrimination or enforce anti-discrimination in education and employment.

In Germany, the law actually promotes discrimination against non-citizens, including those born in Germany. According to minority leaders, the law requires that job preference be given first to German citizens, then to Economic Community citizens, and that others be considered last — including the former "guestworkers." In Denmark, officials reported that anti-discrimination laws exist, but there is no enforcement mechanism.

Sweden does have an immigration policy, with stated goals of equality, opportunity, and cooperation, and also has active programs — often initiated by local governments — to combat racism and encourage appreciation of diversity. Sweden also has specific programs to facilitate integration of immigrants; extensive programs exist in Gothenburg. All three countries guarantee native-language instruction for children of foreign ancestry.

Understanding European Apprenticeship Systems

The United States has much to learn from European apprenticeship approaches. These lessons include values, structures, and components which seem to work well for the youth in these countries, and which might well be transportable to the U.S. The lessons also include weaknesses and caveats which might well limit transportability or applicability of parts of the European systems.

Philosophy and Values: Critical Underpinnings

Certain key values and philosophies underlie the European system of preparing young people for the world of work. These values are of critical importance in understanding — and adopting — aspects of the European system, and some are quite different from the values underlying the U.S. education and training system. NCLR believes that unless the United States adopts certain of these philosophical underpinnings, it is unlikely to successfully implement a European-style apprenticeship system. The delegation found the following values to be particularly significant:

❖ Human resources as the most critical natural resource of the country.

These countries lack the minerals and other physical resources of the United States. They see people — an educated workforce — as their major means of maintaining economic success and competitiveness in the world. There is a shared national commitment by companies, unions, the government, and the

public to human resource development, and the commitment to a skilled workforce transcends any current economic situation. Thus in Denmark, Carlsbad Brewery and in Germany, Bergwerk Prosper-Haniel's mining operations continue to hire apprentices even when they do not expect to have permanent positions for them once they complete their apprenticeships. Company officials assume that sooner or later, they will need skilled workers, so they should continue to train them.

❖ A strong work ethic, inculcated early, and a belief that skilled work benefits the entire nation.

This belief is well exemplified by a motto carved in stone outside the Carlsberg Brewery in Copenhagen: *Laboremus pro patria*.

“The psychological centrality of work in the life of Europeans and the importance of good preparation for work are reflected in the curriculum and the pedagogy of the school and of the workplace. In short, Europeans view education as preparation for employment.”

— Dr. Fred Romero

“A wonderful reality in Germany is the pride and value given to those certified in the crafts and trades. Because of the high standards and requirements, they seem to be on an equal footing with university graduates.”

— Mary Gonzalez Koenig

❖ **Prestige and earning capacity for the skilled occupations.**

As in the United States, university preparation is considered the most desirable alternative for young people, and this view appears to be increasing. People the delegation met with in both Germany and Denmark stressed that the percentage of youth desiring a university education had increased to 50% or more. In 1989, nearly 22% of young Germans were enrolled in higher education, compared to less than 16% in 1980. However, youth who prepare for skilled technical or commercial occupations are also well respected — and this is reflected in their pay levels and the open-ended career paths that credentialing provides. Many of these occupations have been recognized and respected for hundreds of years, reflecting the strong tradition of the guilds. Moreover, especially in Germany, there is a high regard for clear and structured training, directed at meeting national standards.

❖ **A belief that everyone can learn and will learn.**

There is an institutionalized expectation for success for the entire population of young adults. In fact, a young person's failure in the education and training

system is viewed as primarily an *institutional* responsibility. Successful completion of the apprenticeship seems almost assured, dependent upon a supportive environment with employer commitment and responsibility for student success. There are many “second” chances and options. In Denmark, if an apprentice fails the final certification test, the employer is required to pay the individual as a skilled worker until s/he has been prepared to retake and pass the test. In Germany, a senior official from a state Ministry of Education, asked about the percentage of system dropouts, made it clear that there should not be any.

“The most critical general principle I could observe is the firm belief they hold that their youth can succeed.

Their expectations are structured accordingly. Their commitment to the youth is reflected in their policies, their instruction, and their public will.”

— Dr. Fred Romero

Structural Characteristics

Apprenticeship discussions in this country often focus on how an apprenticeship system itself might be structured, without

relating it to the overall education and training system or to any broader economic policy or national priorities. Yet any apprenticeship system must build upon the basic educational system and be coordinated with job training systems for adults—and must have a commitment of ongoing resources.

The NCLR delegation considers the following underlying national policies, financing systems, and institutional structures critically important undergirdings for the apprenticeship systems in the countries visited.

❖ **A strategic national industrial policy which undergirds the entire education and training system.**

The federal governments are closely involved with industry and labor in determining labor market needs and assuring that education and training meet those needs.

❖ **A highly unionized workforce.**

The large majority of workers in these countries are union members. Moreover, many of the unions trace their roots to the medieval guild structure. Unions are a strong and active force in education, training, and employment.

❖ **A solid social support system underlying the education and training system.**

These countries believe that it is the job of young people to obtain education and training, and provide wages or living allowances throughout the apprentice-

“The largest difference between our countries is that the ‘job’ of young people aged 16-24 is to go to university and/or an apprenticeship system. When they complete training and enter adulthood, they have employer-recognized skills and can smoothly enter the labor market. In the United States, the picture is different for many American youth, whose job is to find and pay for shelter, food, and transportation, and if they can afford it, go to school. There is no guarantee that they will receive a good job at the end of training.”

— Mary Elise DeGonia

ship period. This makes it possible for all youth to remain in training for the three or more years required to obtain the skills essential for success in the workplace. Youth from low-income families are under far less pressure than Americans to take a job, even an unskilled one with no promise of future mobility, in order to help support their families.

❖ **A legislative base and taxing structure which support the education and training system and related social welfare programs.**

Companies providing apprenticeships receive some of their money back in the form of tax incentives or direct payments to partially cover training stipends or other costs. There is a continuing, consistent commitment of significant

“ We saw German apprentices using calculus and solid geometry in their work. We saw Danish commercial schools where young people typically spoke three or more languages. These young people are not coming into apprenticeships unable to read and write in their native language, do fractions, or understand percentages. Their basic education is solid and comprehensive. ”

— Raúl Yzaguirre

resources to the education and training effort. In Denmark, all employers and employees contribute to these costs through statutory contributions paid into the Vocational Training Fund; apprentices receive training wages while working for a company, and grants from the federal government during their school periods.

Apart from the apprenticeship systems, school financing and administration in these countries are more centralized than in the United States, although the trend is towards greater decentralization of primary and secondary education. In the U.S., the federal government pays about 6% of primary and secondary educational costs, compared to 45% from state and 40% from local government; the rest comes from non-public sources.

“ [In the countries we visited,] schools emphasize student effort rather than ability, and they emphasize giving most young people an even start....The “proper” mindset of reformers in this country is not there yet. ”

— Dr. Fred Romero

There is no national curriculum. In Sweden, financing of primary and secondary schools is equally shared between the federal government and the municipalities, with increasing local control over administration. Denmark’s school system is highly decentralized; the municipalities control and finance primary and lower secondary schools, with a small amount of federal funding. On the other hand, pedagogical supervision and examinations for upper secondary schools are the responsibility of the federal Ministry of Education. In Germany, the public school system is under state supervision, and there are considerable variations by state. In all three countries, higher education is generally publicly financed and free; in the U.S., the federal government covers about 13% of higher education costs, states pay about 29% and local government less than 3%; the majority of higher education financing is private — and even community colleges and state universities have increasingly high tuition costs.

❖ **A compulsory education system of high quality, which provides the foundation for later school and workplace learning.**

A youth entering apprenticeship training already has strong basic language, literacy, and math skills. S/he does not typically need remedial language or math training, although there are alternative programs for those who do.

A variety of educational approaches are used, and — particularly in the primary and lower secondary schools — the curriculum and approaches vary by state or locality. Some of the approaches used are quite different from those in U.S. schools. In Denmark, for example, there is no ability grouping; students remain with the same fellow students throughout their early education.

Critical Apprenticeship Components

The NCLR delegation identified many aspects of the European apprenticeship systems which seemed particularly important and effective. These components are different from the U.S. education and training structure — although sometimes the differences are a matter of emphasis, glue, and resources. The U.S. has many of the same elements, but their relative importance is different, they do not fit together in the same way, and many are chronically underfunded. It might be argued that the U.S. does not have an education and vocational training “system.”

The following components deserve careful study by U.S. education reformers and practitioners; the delegation did identify some problems related to them, which are also noted.

- ❖ **A partnership of schools, business and industry, and unions which assures that these countries educate for employment.**

“Especially in Germany, there is a seamless system of programs to prepare people for the labor market. Government, education, and business work together at the federal, state, and local level to make the system work. In the United States, we have lots of excellent small programs here and there. We do not have systems.”

— Mary Elise DeGonia

There is genuine, ongoing, institutionalized collaboration which is heavily substantive, not merely procedural. In the German dual system, the decision-making process starts in the Federal Institute of Vocational Training (*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung* or BiBB), which is governed by a tri-partite Main Board including representatives of federal and state government, trade unions, and employer associations. In Denmark, vocational education and training are administered and financed by the federal government, through the Department for Vocational Education and Training within the Ministry of Education, which cooperates closely with industry and labor.

Employers play a major role, along with educators and union officials, in setting national training standards. Committee structures at the national and local levels bring these partners together to help determine school curricula, structure assessment and credentialing instruments, and develop work experience. In Germany, 200 chambers, 1800 technical

largest firms — those with more than 1,000 employees.

In Germany, in-company training costs are borne largely by employers. According to a government study based on 1989 expenses, 48% of the costs went for trainee wages, 41% for training personnel costs, and 11% for training materials and related expenses. From 24% to 67% of the costs of initial training for apprentices are recovered through their productive work, depending upon the type of occupation and industry; productive performance has been estimated at 24% in industry, 36% in small crafts companies, and 67% in agricultural occupations. While employer commitment still appears strong, some large companies have expressed concerns in recent years over the increasing cost of apprentices. Reasons given for this concern include difficult economic conditions, the high economic cost of the reunification of Germany, and a feared loss of international competitiveness due to high production costs.

The involvement of a very large number and range of companies has both advantages and disadvantages; a German official noted that in spite of contracting and national standards, there are significant differences in quality of apprenticeship training not only among occupations but also among firms. For example, some employers, including retail businesses, have used apprentices as low-wage workers rather than focusing on their training.

❖ Coherent, “transparent” education and training paths leading to occupational competency.

The system provides multiple chances for attaining success and several clearly defined but different paths for achieving vocational skills. As Australian researcher Margaret Vickers has noted, of the 26 industrialized member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, only the United States has just one secondary school system, rather than multiple types designed to meet differing student needs.

The German “dual system” actually has three major types of secondary schools, two of which feed primarily into apprenticeships and one into university. Both the German and Danish systems are relatively “seamless,” designed to include and be successful with everyone. Some people do drop out, but the percentage is extremely low compared to U.S. dropout rates — perhaps 5-10% — and an increasing number of “second

“The U.S. stresses the importance of a college education without providing similar emphasis on preparing non-college youth for employment.”

— Dr. Fred Romero

chance” programs help these young people re-enter the system and emerge with the same skills as other youth. Students in Denmark have greater flexibility to move across educational and training paths than in Germany, and may even drop out of the system for a while and then re-enter through an alternative program which offers the same ultimate certification as the mainstream system.

The U.S. probably has greater experience and expertise in running alternative programs, but Germany, Denmark, and Sweden believe they must be available to all youth who have not fared well in the regular system. Sweden’s Youth Centers offer some special, small programs. In Gothenburg, a music program for punk rockers had 12 students learning by developing a band — a far cry from U.S. music magnet schools, typically designed for mainstream, “non-problem” youth, to encourage integration. A self-directed program for female students served young women who had left school or felt uncomfortable in mixed classes due to male dominance; program operators shared results of a study that showed that boys typically receive far more resources and teacher attention than girls in mixed classes. There was some concern within the NCLR delegation that these programs may isolate special-needs youth. Germany’s “second-chance” programs, many of them run by nonprofit organizations, seemed particularly effective at moving youth and young adults into the training mainstream and or providing genuinely com-

parable training, leading to the same certificate as other apprenticeship programs.

❖ **National standards which define and describe a wide range of skilled occupations and the competencies associated with them.**

A wide range of skilled occupations are “apprenticeable” in Europe, and each has a clearly defined set of skill standards and competencies. Preparation time may vary, especially in Denmark, but everyone takes the same test at the end, and thus the resulting certificate is of high value, accepted by employers nationwide — and often in other EEC countries as well. There is a clear definition of education and training outcomes and a system which reflects a commitment to reaching them. Germany has national standards for each occupation, and a certificate earned in the north of Germany is valid in the south as well. In Denmark, the certificate also provides union membership.

“What we have to do is really take a look and review and evaluate our K-12 system. If we don’t start with that, then we’re going to end up constantly with second and third chance programs.”

— Mary Gonzalez Koenig

“ In Germany, ‘masters’ are the key to an ‘ideal’ form of training — one-on-one, learn by doing but guided by an expert. ‘Masters’ are highly qualified and highly respected. They serve as role models to students as workers as well as teachers. This strongly supports the work ethic that underlies the entire school-to-work system. ”

— Ana Sol Gutierrez

While the Centers are user-friendly and comprehensive, the NCLR delegation did hear concerns that career decisions are made very young (often at 15 or 16), and that “too many young people are trained in vocations they do not like, or we do not need.”

Both Germany and Denmark are moving towards an extended period of school-based preparation, a period devoted to exploring a range of vocational options before initiating part-time schooling alternating with on-the-job training.

❖ **Extensive involvement of a “master,” as not merely a highly skilled worker but also a trainer.**

There is great emphasis on assuring that training is provided by highly qualified persons. The title of “master” is used in a very wide range of trades, but with well-defined paths to qualification. Trainers must have both extensive practical experience and “pedagogical training.” Supervision of apprentices on the job must be provided by a “master,” an individual who has not only received a “journeyman’s” certificate and com-

pleted several years of work experience, but also received additional training leading to a second certificate. There is nothing comparable in the United States; senior professionals are often supervisors, but their emphasis is on production, not training.

An official of one large Danish company reported that there were typically five senior workers for every apprentice, so the apprentice had opportunities to learn from many experienced workers. Visits to commercial colleges in Denmark suggest that the concept of a “master” may be more applicable to the traditional — and male-dominated — trades than to the commercial/business sector — which includes far more women. It appears, especially in Germany, that “masters” are far more likely to be males than females, regardless of occupation.

Teachers/masters are also seen as counselors. For students who have dropped out of the system and enter alternative programs, they help to provide positive

“ The credential of the ‘master’ includes mastery of generic skills useful in a cluster of related occupations, high-level mastery of a trade or craft, and knowledge of the pedagogy related to the trade or craft. ”

— Dr. Fred Romero

supports and time to learn through non-judgmental, non-rushed practical successes and experiences. A student can take a year away from formal schooling but still keep multiple options open, re-entering the apprenticeship system.

❖ **A serious hiring process and formalized “contracts” governing the apprenticeship relationship.**

Once a student has made a career choice, or narrowed his/her interests to several possible occupations, help is available from a public agency to identify apprenticeship openings. In addition, family and personal contacts come into play. Finding an apprenticeship is like finding a job; it involves interviews and selection by an employer. In Germany, each apprentice signs a contract with an employer which specifies the skilled trade for which training is to be given, organization and scheduling of various aspects of the apprenticeship, supplementary training measures, length of training, pay, and the personnel policies governing the apprenticeship.

❖ **Recognition of the need for lifelong learning.**

Both Germany and Denmark recognize the growing need for increasing, broadening, and upgrading skills at various stages in the individual's working life. Denmark strongly emphasizes critical thinking, and learning in the context of how the information is to be used. Germany has identified “key qualifications”

which are to be a part of all skill training; they include learning how to learn, problem-solving capacity, skills which are transferable across occupations, and teamwork—including teamwork among people working in different occupations. This is a growing focus. One German official observed that initial training and further education are not efficiently linked; technical colleges in Denmark provide both apprenticeship and advanced training, and the link is clear.

“There is a total quality system from the classroom to the workplace; ours is a collection of disjointed, short-term educational experiences or ‘parts.’ While we focus on the ‘here and now,’ they look at the ‘there and then’ — a global commitment to preparing and maintaining a skilled workforce for the future.”

— Ana Sol Gutierrez

Lessons from the European Apprenticeship Systems

The delegation assessed key elements and aspects of the European systems from an Hispanic and from a U.S. perspective. Much of what the group found was positive, but there were also areas of considerable concern. NCLR

looked particularly at issues related to individual outcomes, inclusiveness, tracking, and transportability.

Outcomes

SPECIAL LESSONS

- **A focus on training early in the development of the individual** — “up-front” occupational preparation for all young people rather than “deficit” training for the unemployed.
- **Long-term training** — skill development which combines education and practical experience, typically lasts three to four years, and leads to a skilled worker or “journeyman’s” certificate.
- **Participant-friendly training**, designed to minimize the fear of failure. Youth grow up expecting to succeed in their occupational preparation. Even the “theoretical” education is typically linked to job needs, so that, for example, higher math is taught in the context of occupational demands.
- **Multiple paths to success**, including programs, often run by nonprofit organizations, which bring dropouts back into the system and enable them to obtain the same certificates as other apprentices.
- **Competency-based training, with competency-based assessment**, and very limited use of paper-and-pencil tests.
- **Strong value placed on multilingual capacity among skilled workers as a component of global competitiveness.** For example, all Danes take five years of English as well as several years of German, and it is commonplace for upper secondary school students in commercial courses to have studied four or five languages.
- **Training not for the “here and now,” but for the “there and then.”** There is a growing emphasis on developing skills relevant to a family of occupations rather than one single job, as a means of developing a workforce adaptable to economic and technological changes.

The members of the delegation have long believed that the key to international competitiveness for the United States is a “trained workforce”; however, this trip provided a new understanding of that term. The delegation sees a clear correlation between the countries which outperform the United States in productivity and quality and the system they use for preparing their workforce.

The overall quality of training appears to be very high. In apprenticeship programs, the primary outcome is a skilled individual, not necessarily a degree or a job. Outcomes are clearly defined and well understood in terms of skills and qualifications required by each trade. Students therefore have a clear picture of the knowledge and skills they will possess upon completion of their apprenticeship, and of their career options. Youth reach adulthood with a documented work record along with a certificate which is portable, nationally recognized, and competency-based; it is evidence of work readiness and exchangeable for continued employment with the training firm, for entry to another employer in the same trade or profession, for continued education or training, or for retraining in another field.

Completion rates appear high — perhaps 90% in Germany — although the training is rigorous, disciplined, and highly regimented. Moreover, nearly all graduates seem to obtain

jobs, though not always in their fields. Those in lower-paid occupations seem more likely than those in higher-paid occupations to complete training but find employment in a different occupations. There were reports, for example, of bakers working in automobile and other factories.

Surprising to the delegation was the lack of apparent emphasis on system research and evaluation. The government officials and local program operators alike found it difficult to provide statistics on system inputs (in terms of funding) or outputs (in terms of statistics on completion or dropout rates). One German official claimed that no one dropped out of school before completion; others agreed that there were dropouts but were unaware of studies or statistics documenting the extent or correlates of the problem. The almost universal response was that “nearly everyone” entered either university or an apprenticeship, that those who had special problems or needs could re-enter the system through a number of alternative paths or programs, and that “very few” young people obtained neither a university degree nor an apprenticeship certificate. There was also a lack of information on what differences specific programs or approaches made; for example, whether the existing Danish vocational guidance system was helpful, or whether it might pressure or force young people into particular careers.

Inclusiveness

Immigrants and minorities do not fare well in the apprenticeship programs the del-

egation visited. The term “minorities” is not commonly used in these countries. In Germany, the non-ethnic-German population includes Turkish and other “guestworkers” and their children (many of them born in Germany) as well as refugees from throughout the world.

There was no provision for serving new immigrants not fluent in the country’s primary language. While the delegation did see and hear about minorities participating in the various apprenticeship programs in Germany, officials seemed to automatically assume that “foreigners,” whatever their status, would be fluent in German before entering an apprenticeship program. There seemed to be few programs which could provide German language training as a part of the technical training; language training had to be obtained first, outside the dual system. The delegation visited one large school which provides German as a second language training for new immigrants; its highly committed staff were extremely busy attempting to meet the need for German skills. The delegation was told that in some cities, “foreigners” have traditionally held unskilled positions; however, these jobs are fast disappearing.

Similarly, in both Denmark and Sweden, “foreign” students were reportedly welcome within all programs, but the implicit language barrier remained. Recent arrivals, mostly refugees, are unlikely to speak Danish or Swedish; they simply cannot participate in apprenticeship programs. Language programs do exist, but not within the apprenticeship system. Immigrants must first learn the language, then seek education and training.

For native-born minorities, the language problem may be removed, but discrimination remains. Swedish program operators admitted that discrimination and racism exist and see this as a relatively recent phenomenon resulting from recent attempts to resettle immigrants throughout the country, bringing some Swedes into contact with immigrants for the first time; the delegation was told about extensive national and local anti-racism campaigns. In all three countries, when contact with immigrants occurs during difficult economic times, it is easy to blame them for the situation.

Officials in Sweden and Denmark reported that experience with second-generation minority group members — the children of immigrants — is very brief. Non-Danish youth born in the country seemed fairly optimistic in spite of the often negative employment experiences of their parents. However, both officials and minority group representatives in all three countries reported that minorities face great difficulties in becoming part of the economic mainstream. Support systems often do not exist to assure that disadvantaged and underrepresented youth have opportunities to participate fully in apprenticeship programs.

In addition to a lack of civil rights protections, there is a clear correlation between economic conditions and apprenticeship and employment opportunities for minorities. In Frankfurt, where there is a shortage of young people to fill apprenticeship positions, *auslanders* were able to obtain apprenticeship positions. In Copenhagen, where there was a 10% unemployment rate and the number of applicants exceeded the number of

available apprenticeship positions, very few minority group members could find positions, and many were serving apprenticeships in the vocational schools — nothing like the regular job-site experience. Overall, these countries have low birthrates, so may depend increasingly upon immigrants and minorities to meet labor market needs. However, the current economic conditions frequently make these groups unwelcome, and as the EEC countries become increasingly integrated and their employment systems “harmonized,” it appears that employment preference will be given to citizens of EEC countries, and employment of non-EEC citizens will become extremely difficult.

Women are greatly underrepresented in non-traditional occupations and in apprenticeships for many of the highest-paying oc-

In Germany, the five most popular occupations for male and female apprentices in 1989 were:

For female apprentices:	For male apprentices:
• Hairdresser	• Mechanic
• Retail salesperson	• Electrical fitter
• Office employee	• Machine fitter
• Doctor's receptionist	• Joiner
• Industrial clerk	• Clerk in wholesale/foreign trade

cupations. The delegation saw almost no women in manufacturing and construction oriented apprenticeship programs in Germany, and only a small number in Denmark. Germany, especially West Germany, has a relatively low rate of female labor force participation; it was just 32% in 1980 and is expected to grow to 45% by 2000. Although 40% of current apprentices are women, they are highly concentrated in certain professions.

Sweden has the highest female labor force participation rate among women in the world, and Denmark is second — over 70% of women are in the workforce in Denmark, and over 80% in Sweden. In Denmark, the NCLR delegation was told about demonstration programs to get women into non-traditional apprenticeships, but such efforts seemed to receive even less emphasis than in the United States. "Family and societal pressure" were seen as major obstacles to getting women into higher-paying occupations.

Some European countries, including Germany, still have work rules to "protect" women in the work force, such as restricting evening work and many factory positions. These laws serve to block women from many of the best-paying apprenticeships. The delegation was also told about considerable resistance to women in non-traditional occupations among male workers in those occupations, with many of the same arguments used as in the U.S. — no women's restrooms, frequent use of "bad language" that might upset women, belief that women lack the strength or tenacity for the job, probable resentment by wives of the male workers, etc. In Denmark, concern that "harmonizing" of labor laws within the European

"In spite of the official explanation that women's interests and federal legislation resulted in the lack of participation in many types of apprenticeship programs, their arguments rang weakly in the face of our advances in the U.S. "

— Hernan LaFontaine

Community would weaken women's rights reportedly influenced the Danish vote in late 1992 against full European integration.

Employers play a critical role in making any apprenticeship system work for minorities and for women. Apprentices must obtain "contracts" from an employer for their workplace training. The delegation saw clear evidence that in recessionary periods, employers were hiring non-minorities instead of minorities, even — according to some instructors — when the minority youth were highly competent. While the United States provides less freedom to discriminate than most Euro-

"If you are a single mom or the head of a household, and you need to pay the rent and put food on the table and clothes on the backs of your kids and educate them, you are never going to be a part of a system that requires long-term training unless it provides living wages during the training period. "

— Mary Gonzales Koenig

“ Given America’s history of placing students of color in special education, we must guard against tracking. ”

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

pean countries, enforcement of equal employment opportunity laws has been modest at best, especially in recent years. Employer sanctions legislation makes employers responsible for determining whether applicants for jobs are legally entitled to work in the United States; according to the General Accounting Office, this legislation has led to a high level of discrimination against U.S. citizens and legal residents who fit immigrant stereotypes. The European system offers little guidance on how to assure that minorities have an equal chance at obtaining apprenticeship contracts.

Since “masters” are so important to the learning process, the delegation felt that they represent both a critical resource and a potential barrier to minorities. The group saw many “masters” who clearly served as mentors, motivators, shoulders to cry on, and sources of enormous support to apprentices. Some of them reported going to the homes of new apprentices with special problems to be sure they got to work on time, and in some cases serving an almost parental role. Teachers in some of the technical colleges clearly served similar roles. The delegation also heard about some workplaces where minorities — or women — faced uncomfortable or hostile environments. The problem is easier

to identify than the solution: What happens if the “masters” discriminate?

Hispanics are significantly overrepresented among non-college-bound students, the group for whom apprenticeships should offer the greatest potential benefits. Thus it is critically important that apprenticeships be genuinely open and inclusive.

Tracking

Tracking remains a significant concern. NCLR looked in detail at how the various systems and programs serve non-typical students, from language and ethnic minorities to women, the handicapped, and older trainees. Given the long history of education and employment discrimination in the United States, the group believes that careful safeguards are required to assure that Hispanics and other minorities are not tracked in any of three ways:

- ❖ Tracked into apprenticeships when they should be pursuing the coursework to enter college;

“ The dependence of the German dual system upon ‘masters’ can be both a strength and a weakness. The ‘master’ can be a critical determinant of success — or the primary cause of failure — for minority apprentices. ”

— Raúl Yzaguirre

- ❖ Given less-than-equal opportunity within an apprenticeship system, such that they are seriously underrepresented in apprenticeships providing preparation for occupations offering the best pay and greatest mobility, due to poor preparation in elementary and secondary school, biased testing, inappropriate or inadequate counseling, or employer unwillingness to “hire” minority apprentices; or
- ❖ Denied access to an apprenticeship system because it lacks alternative entry points for school dropouts, those with special needs (such as the limited-English-proficient), or simply youth who are not prepared to make career decisions at the expected age — and thereby left without the opportunity for the training required for skilled employment.

In Germany, students fulfill their requirement for full-time schooling by age 15 or 16 when they complete nine or ten years of schooling, and either move into an apprenticeship or into an academic program providing university preparation. However, the decision about whether to go to university or into an apprenticeship program is made years before, when they move from elementary school (*grundschule*) at about age ten into one of the three types of upper schools — *hauptschule*, *realschule*, or *gymnasium*. The Danish system is more flexible, with the university option more available, regardless of the type of secondary school attended. Most Germans seem comfortable with a process which divides the entire young population into relatively narrow paths. German officials

assured the delegation that the parents and student have the final decision about whether a student is tracked into a *gymnasium*, an academic high school providing university preparation, or into *hauptschule* or *realschule*, in preparation for an apprenticeship. However, the delegation was unable to obtain studies showing what happens to lower-income or immigrant/minority students, the impact of vocational guidance on career choice, etc.

While career counseling efforts seem to be quite sophisticated, it was not clear how intensive the process is in assuring that students’ career choices reflect both their interests and their skills and talents, and how well it protects students from being pushed into careers which have apprenticeship openings or which seem appropriate to the counselors. Within the apprenticeship system, there are differences in the relative status of different careers — butchers and bakers versus bankers

“In Germany, students go either to university or to apprenticeships. Second-chance programs provide other types of access into apprenticeships, serving as a safety net for those with special needs. It is extremely important that the United States recognize the critical importance of alternative points of entry into any school-to-work transition program adopted. Without such provisions, the options will be unacceptable: university, apprenticeship, or the street.”

— Mary Elise DeGonia

“ German culture rests on a preference for structure and organization. American culture tends to emphasize the value of flexibility. ”

— Dr. Fred Romero

and insurance experts, for example. In the United States, studies have shown that Hispanics often receive less career information than other students, and that counselors sometimes steer them away from college, or into less skilled vocational training due to ethnic stereotypes or negative attitudes. In the countries visited, there are no systems to protect against these problems, or to prevent employers from excluding minorities or “masters” from treating them inequitably.

The German system is relatively inflexible; to move from an apprenticeship track to *gymnasium* might require several extra years of schooling, since the nature of the classwork is quite different. To change careers in mid-apprenticeship typically requires starting again from the beginning; it can be done, but requires a significant loss of time. In Denmark, the system is more flexible both vertically and horizontally.

The delegation saw a number of alternative programs designed to serve dropouts and other students with special needs. However, the apprenticeship systems in the countries visited focus heavily upon serving youth and

young adults; there is no recognized need for programs to reach older adults who did not receive apprenticeship training or to serve new immigrants. In the United States, this could mean that many Hispanics might be “tracked” out of the system entirely.

Transportability

No matter how effective and successful a European apprenticeship system is in Europe, its value for the United States depends the extent to which it — or key components of it — can be “transported” to the very different environment of the U.S.

The European apprenticeship systems reflect hundreds of years of history. They grew out of the medieval guild system. While the current system includes more academic preparation, it reflects a natural progression from apprenticeship programs in the skilled trades which have existed for centuries. The programs are still evolving; at the time of the trip, Denmark had recently completed a major reform of its system, and Sweden was about to

“ The European apprenticeship model evolved historically from medieval times through the guilds; and unions play significant roles....Unions and industry in our country don’t have that historical relationship. Ours is more adversarial. ”

— Roger Cázares

begin significant reorganization. Moreover, the cultural values undergirding the formal structures and informal arrangements in the three countries visited caution against an assumption that their practices are entirely appropriate in or easily transferable to the very different culture of the U.S.

Any education and training system adopted in the United States must reflect and build on this country's unique strengths, history, and culture. The U.S. is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society with a strong emphasis on diversity, individualism, decentralization, and flexibility. The closely structured system with a strong federal role which is effective in Germany could not be successfully replicated here, if only because of the far greater size and significant decentralization of the U.S. The Danish and Swedish systems are based on very different social welfare systems, and far more homogeneous societies. There are some very specific aspects of the European education and apprenticeship system which the U.S. probably does not want to emulate. For example:

“There is no ‘silver bullet’ that will solve all our school-to-work transition problems. We can learn a great deal from the European experience, but we must create a system that is both comprehensive and uniquely American.”

— Emily Gantz McKay

“It is clear that the European ‘dual system’ apprenticeship model is much more advanced and more inclusive than anything we have in the U.S. at this time. But it is yet to be determined how appropriate this system is for the U.S. and how much we may want to borrow to improve our own system.”

— Richard Farias

❖ **Late school entry.** Children in the countries visited often don't start school before the age of six or seven; this is especially true in Germany, where women are far less likely than American women to be in the workforce. The delegation found that most kindergartens in Germany are run by Christian religious entities, and few opportunities are available for Moslem children. U.S. programs like Head Start serve children at three and four years of age, before they enter public school, and also provide services to their families; they provide a valuable opportunity for increasing school readiness, especially for children from low-income families. They are often more educationally focused than European day care programs. Moreover, kindergarten is free and almost universal in the United States.

❖ **Limited compulsory schooling.** NCLR does not believe that the U.S. should adopt a system which has an educational “stopping point” after as little as

nine years of full-time schooling, certainly not until there is a seamless transition to combined academic/vocational training following that period of basic education. NCLR considers it essential that youth apprenticeship provide a high school diploma or more advanced certificate or diploma, preferably at least a one-year certificate from a community college or equivalent.

- ❖ **Early forced choice between academic and vocational preparation.** NCLR does not support a system which requires a child of ten to choose between three different types of secondary schools, only one of which provides clear preparation for university entrance.

Other countries have tried to "borrow" components of the European apprenticeship system, with disappointing results. The British experience suggests the dangers of trying to import parts of someone else's youth training system without considering the underlying social and economic system on which it is based. Former German Marshall Fund fellows identified significant weaknesses in the

British system, which seems largely dependent upon industry, rather than operating as a partnership with education, labor, and other major groups. Most apprentices do not receive a combination of school- and work-based preparation; many receive no school-based education. The system

depends almost entirely upon employers to determine the content and delivery of training. Moreover, in a recessionary economy, employers have not provided the expected number of training slots. Researcher Margaret Vickers stresses that the British experience should set off warnings for the U.S. because of certain similarities to the American system. Among them are a general lack of national occupational or certification standards and a generally deregulated industrial system, a history of labor-management strife and distrust rather than cooperation, and a lack of existing "masters" in the workplace with both the technical and pedagogical skills to serve as mentors for apprentices.

Any system adopted in the United States must fully involve the independent sector.

No data were found in the countries visited to assess the level of participation or results of the programs run by nonprofit organizations. It is clear, however, that community-based nonprofit organizations play a critical role in employment and training in this country, and have a special capacity to reach and serve minorities and the disadvantaged. Program year 1990 terminnee data from JTPA's Job Training Quarterly Survey illustrate this point. Nonprofit organizations served 22% of the classroom training trainees in 1990, providing basic education and occupational skill training. Nonprofits were much more likely to serve minorities than public vocational/high schools, community colleges, or for-profit schools — the other three major providers of classroom training; 60% of program year 1990 trainees receiving classroom training in nonprofit organizations were minority group members. Nonprofit organizations providing

"We have looked at a system that works. But let's take a look at why that system works and what we have to change or add or modify here in this country to make it work for all people."

— Mary Gonzalez Koenig

classroom training also served a higher proportion of dropouts, limited-English-proficient persons, offenders, persons with reading skills below the seventh grade level, and homeless persons than the other three major providers of classroom training. JTPA targets the disadvantaged and school dropouts; 43% of trainees served by nonprofit organizations were school dropouts, compared to 25% of for-profit school, 29% of community college, and 30% of vocational/high school trainees. Moreover, although nonprofit organization trainees had a relatively low median length of stay (21 weeks, compared to 30 weeks for public vocational/high schools), they had the highest percentage of trainees who attained employability enhancements—53%, compared to 40% for public vocational/high school, 39% for for-profit school, and 27% for community college trainees. Nonprofit organizations were also second to for-profit schools in the percentage of trainees immediately entering employment.

Many of the “new” ideas embodied in European apprenticeship programs have in fact been tried in the United States, on a demonstration basis or at the state or local level. For example, Denmark has an employer’s tax to pay for youth training wages. Some years ago, California created a California Employment Panel which taxed employers through unemployment insurance and collected \$55 million per year for worker training. However, the results of these efforts are often poorly documented and disseminated.

All members of the delegation agree that it is unrealistic for the United States to expect to copy the European system of employment and training. However, certain key elements and approaches appear adaptable and adoptable. There is a need to build on existing U.S. structures and capacities, from community colleges to community-based organizations. There is also a need to consider significant changes in some of those systems, such as current high schools, to fit the requirements of a true integrated school- and workplace-based system. Most important, “transportability” must be assessed in the context of not just the apprenticeship system, but also the underlying social supports and structures.

“The European apprenticeship models provide the United States new options in maximizing the enormous dollar outlay for education and training to produce more competent and confident labor force participants. We must invest wisely up front to minimize human potential losses and the need for second-chance programs.”

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

Resources and Options

A U.S. apprenticeship system is most likely to emerge out of a combination of new initiatives and existing vocational education and employment programs and resources. Some of the most important ones are summarized below.

Current Programs and Resources

Job Training Partnership Act

The Job Training Partnership Act remains the nation's major publicly-funded training program for unemployed and disadvantaged youth and adults. With the beginning of a new Administration in Washington, D.C., its future is unclear. Restructuring of employment and training systems can be expected, but the role of JTPA within a revised system has yet to be determined.

Since JTPA's inception, NCLR has monitored the program and its local implementation, focusing on Title II-A programs, and has

emphasized its tendency to "cream" (serving those who are easiest to place in jobs rather than those with the greatest needs), its limited capacity to reach and serve school dropouts and youth, and its emphasis on placing participants in jobs as fast as possible — usually low-paying positions with minimal mobility — rather than providing in-depth education and skills training which would increase long-term employability and create a qualified workforce. Across the country, many individual projects have effectively recruited, trained, and placed Hispanic youth, dropouts, women, farmworkers, limited-English-proficient persons, and other target populations. But the overall system has underserved and too often poorly served these groups. More than four years ago, NCLR issued a report that documented major problems with JTPA and its inadequate services to Hispanics and women.

After four and a half years of debate, JTPA has been substantially reformed by Congress. The revised JTPA will now have a separate youth employment program (Title II-C), targeting disadvantaged youth aged 16-21. In addition, JTPA will require more focus on the "hard to serve." Programs should be more long-term and focus on improving basic skills as well as vocational skills.

JTPA may also better target the 8% Education Coordination set-aside, requiring that these funds be used only to coordinate and involve state programs for (1) school-to-work transition (including recovery of high school dropouts), and (2) adult literacy and non-traditional training programs for women and minorities. This means that JTPA now holds

“The JTPA system was put together to get people off welfare; it was not put together to create a qualified workforce. It's a second chance program of band-aid remedial work; its success is measured by how many people got off welfare. We have to make long-term training accessible and affordable.”

— Mary Gonzalez Koenig

promise for supporting demonstration apprenticeship-type programs.

However, resources remain extremely limited. In program year 1991, JTPA enrolled about 654,000 people through the block grants to the states through Title II-A and the Title III displaced worker programs; only about 3% of eligible displaced workers received services. In Fiscal Year 1993, JTPA has a total appropriation of \$4.1 billion (excluding President Clinton's proposed additional \$1 billion for summer youth programs), including \$1.7 billion for adult and youth services, \$966 million for Job Corps, \$670 million for the summer youth program, \$566 million for displaced workers, and the rest for migrant and seasonal farmworkers, Native Americans, veterans, and other national programs.

Vocational and Technical Education

Most vocational training is primarily paid for by state and local governments; they spend an estimated \$11 billion a year, compared to \$1 billion in federal spending. Amounts vary greatly by state.

Federal vocational and technical education (the Carl Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Act) was reformed more than two years ago, but final regulations took two years to complete. It includes a new focus on basic grants targeted at improving services to the disadvantaged, persons with limited English proficiency, and persons with disabilities. A small pot of money (\$12 million, spread over all the states) is reserved for a partnership between community-based organizations and vocational education. This funding has enabled community-based orga-

“ If the U.S. cannot consolidate K-12 into K-10, to allow for two additional years of worksite training with a job-related academic component, then we have no choice but to extend to K-14, to assure that our youth are occupationally skilled for the workforce. ”

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

nizations to provide “pre-vocational” and basic skills to prepare minority and disadvantaged students and dropouts for vocational training, and to develop partnerships with community colleges and other vocational education providers. The program as implemented varies greatly by state in target populations and approaches.

To help increase minority participation in high quality vocational/technical education, the State Directors of Vocational Education have established a partnership project with community-based organizations; NCLR is a part of this partnership and several of its affiliates are participating. For example, the Idaho Migrant Council works closely with the Idaho Department of Education in a multi-year effort to increase Hispanic participation in vocational education programs. NCLR affiliates in Arizona also participate in partnership efforts. Similar partnerships, funded through state vocational education agencies,

are operating with NCLR affiliate involvement in other states, including California and Pennsylvania.

Also included in the Vocational Education Act is the "Tech Prep" program, also called "Two Plus Two." It includes several projects which are the result of education reform initiatives developed

and percolated up from the local and state level. Funding for such efforts is increasing. Participants in the program spend the last two years of high school in a special vocational/technical training program, then attend two years of college. The school experience coordinates high school and college, usually community college. Students completing the program have four years of training by about age 20. The program has not yet been operational long enough to generate long-term outcome data.

The Vocational Education Act as amended reflects a growing recognition of the need to avoid narrow training in a time of rapid technological change. It now requires that program participants be exposed to "all aspects of the industry," not just a single occupation.

National Youth Service/Youth Corps

National Youth Service Corps/Youth Corps also developed at the local and state level and then was adopted through federal legislation. Through Youth Service, students, both secondary and post-secondary, are required to

volunteer for a minimum number of hours. Through state and federal Youth Corps programs, youth work on a variety of tasks including conservation. Both approaches provide work experience to students, and are designed to ease the transition from school to work. A major new National Youth Service initiative has been proposed by President Clinton.

Tax Policy

Throughout Europe, tax policy is used to finance the apprenticeship system, although few local practitioners can fully explain the tax and financing side of the system. In the United States, there are no mandatory taxes for training, but a variety of tax incentives exist to encourage training and education of employees. For example, the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, which has expired legislatively but is expected to be re-established with the support of the Clinton Administration, provides employers tax credits of up to \$3,000 to cover first-year costs related to hiring members of 12 specified target groups. Similarly, employer deductions for employee training costs encourage employers to pay for worker education as a cost of doing business.

State and Local Apprenticeship Initiatives

European-style apprenticeship models are being tested in many states and localities, in varying ways and at differing levels of effort. There has been a flurry of activity in creating both small-scale and statewide school-to-work/apprenticeship programs which reflect many components of the European systems.

**"Not to invest successfully
in youth is not to invest in
our future."**

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

California, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Oregon, and Wisconsin are developing apprenticeship models through planning grants from the U.S. Department of Labor. Oregon has an ambitious program which calls for full implementation of the *America's Choice* recommendations; the Maine program will begin in the 11th grade and end with a one-year certificate from a Maine technical college. The Association of Chief State School Officers (ACSSO) is providing technical assistance to five states which have apprenticeship program implementation grants: California, Maine, Minnesota, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. In addition, ACSSO received Ford Foundation funding for helping states improve school-to-work linkages for at-risk youth, and in late 1992 held a conference for interagency teams from Arizona, Arkansas, Maryland, New Mexico, Ohio, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia. The National Governor's Association and the Council of Great Lakes Governors are involved in demonstrations in several states. Jobs for the Future is working to expand and assist apprenticeship-type programs, and in partnership with the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation is conducting a qualitative assessment of promising school-to-work transition programs.

There are significant limitations to many of these demonstration efforts. While they are typically testing certain innovative school-to-work transition approaches, the models often lack many of the major components of European systems. Moreover, the recession and limited finances have their impact on state-level demonstrations; some states are

scaling back planned apprenticeship efforts due to state budget deficits, and many of the current demonstrations are extremely limited in scope and size. They often involve only a very few occupations and a very small number of students. Moreover, participants are often carefully chosen; many have high grade-point averages, and might be expected to attend college rather than enter a youth apprenticeship program. The programs typically include a strong school-industry partnership, but union, community-based organization, and parent/community participation varies.

Many U.S. efforts build upon existing entities and expertise, such as those of community college systems; a very few have a strong minority focus, and even fewer serve Latinos. Boston's Project ProTech provides a health-focused program linking three Boston high schools, six hospitals, and a local community college. A partnership between Socorro School District and El Paso Community College in Texas combines a vocational magnet school in health with preparation for study in a technical field (Tech Prep). Southwestern Community College in San Diego hopes to create a Tech Prep program to give Hispanic

“ It is time to stop talking about reforming education and agree on integrated educational and vocational standards with clear outcomes for K-12, with shared responsibility by education, business/industry, and the not-for-profit sector. ”

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

elementary school-age children early exposure to the field of engineering. The project will work closely with industry and with San Diego State University, as well as the college's Technical and Professional Advisory Committee and the Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers.

Proposals and Future Policy

Future national policies and resources for apprenticeships depend to a considerable extent upon the priorities of the new Administration. President Clinton has consistently expressed support for a youth apprenticeship system, and new legislation is expected in 1993. Program scope and scale will presumably be limited by resource availability.

Skill Standards

There appears to be broad consensus that the United States should work towards skill standards for at least some types of jobs. Major reports such as *Job Training 2000* and *America's Choice* have called for development of national skill standards. After several years of work, SCANS (the Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills) has developed a series of skills that all youth should have before they graduate from high school. President Clinton is expected to call for legislation to establish a National Skills Standards Board which may replace the SCANS initiative. The next phase in the development of standards is that of occupational skills; both the Department of Education and the Department of Labor are independently funding major research projects

aimed at developing occupational skills standards; total funding is about \$5 million and has gone primarily to industry-related groups. The first standards may be completed in about three years; how they will be disseminated, adopted, used, and updated is not yet clear, in the absence of any federal partnership including unions, the private sector, public and private vocational schools, and community-based organizations which provide skill training.

Apprenticeship Systems and Demonstrations

A growing number of local and state apprenticeship demonstrations are now under way, and President Clinton is committed to expanding such efforts. The Administration's Fiscal Year 1994 budget request calls for \$250 million for apprenticeship demonstrations, and proposed legislation on apprenticeships is expected soon.

Many apprenticeship proposals were introduced in the 102nd Congress, including legislation based on major studies and the work of national commissions. In 1990, the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, an initiative of the National Center for Education and the Economy, put forth a bold proposal, *America's Choice*, which called for massive private-sector retraining, a national apprenticeship system, National Youth Service, and the expansion of Swedish-style youth centers as alternatives for all youth aged 16-21 who have not completed high school or lack some form of "certificate of mastery." Hillary Rodham Clinton was a member of the Commission.

Conclusions

The NCLR consultation had a profound effect on its participants. Prior to the NCLR trip, many of the consultation participants had serious reservations about using the European apprenticeship system as a model for a revised school-to-work transition system in the United States. While many concerns remain, consultation participants were extremely impressed by many aspects of the European system. The NCLR delegation “buys into” many of the underlying values and concepts of the education and training system as structured in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden. Participants agree that U.S. policies and practices guiding preparation of youth for jobs need major restructuring, and — while the American solution must reflect our nation’s unique history, multiculturalism, and institutional systems — much can be learned from the European experience.

NCLR participants were most impressed by the solid commitment of these countries to individual human resource development — the shared belief that people represent the nation’s most critical “natural resource,” and that preparing skilled workers is a joint na-

“ We need to recognize that our high school students have the maturity to learn an occupation in the worksite. We expect too little from our youth; therefore they meet our low expectations. ”

— Dr. Douglas Patiño

“ The apprenticeship system works in Europe because there is a real commitment to be the best and most competitive workforce in the world — it is not what they say; it is what they do. ”

— Mary Gonzalez Koenig

tional responsibility, shared by business, labor, the education system, parents, youth, and voluntary organizations where they exist. While it appears that the European model as transplanted to the United Kingdom does not reflect this partnership, the German, Danish, and Swedish models clearly do, and employers are a critical element in the transition of youth from school to work.

The delegation considers the following differences between the European and American education and training systems especially important:

- **Underlying the European system of preparing young people for the world of work are certain shared societal values,** such as a strongly held belief in human resource development, prestige and earning capacity for the skilled occupations, a commitment to a skilled workforce which transcends the current economic situation, and a belief that everyone can and will learn. The U.S. lacks this high level of respect for the occupations for which apprenticeship programs provide training, and there is a widely held though perhaps not majority-held belief

that some low-income and minority youth have limited capacity to learn and to perform.

- **The European education and training systems reflect a strategic national industrial policy, and a clear legislative**

“The European countries we visited have a cradle-to-grave system of social and educational supports. This is substantially different from the United States, which has a *laissez-faire* educational and social service system.”

— Mary Elise DeGonia

base and taxing structure which support holistic education and training systems built on a solid social support system. The structure reflects genuine, ongoing, institutionalized collaboration among the key stakeholders in employment and training — government, business and industry, unions, families, and the not-for-profit sector — from the national to the local level. Theoretical and practical learning are fully integrated; education and training entities work not as separate systems but as partners. Education and training institutions have access to the newest technology. A relatively “seamless” system with low dropout rates provides multiple chances for attaining success and several clearly defined but different paths for achieving

vocational skills, based on national quality standards which define and describe skilled occupations and the competencies associated with them. This provided a great contrast to U.S. education and training efforts, which are not a single system, but rather a collection of often disjointed, short-term educational experiences or unrelated programs.

- **The education and training system in the countries visited reflects a recognition of the need for lifelong learning, with opportunities for increasing, broadening, and upgrading skills at various stages in the individual’s working life.** There is a growing emphasis on developing skills relevant to a family of occupations rather than one single job, as a means of developing a workforce adaptable to economic and technological changes. Preparation is long-term; obtaining the equivalent of a skilled worker’s or “journeyman’s” certificate typically takes three to four years of combined education and training. In the U.S., a high proportion of workers and youth are not predisposed to returning to “school” periodically to upgrade their skills.
- **Apprenticeships in Europe are financially affordable and therefore accessible for nearly all youth.** The countries provide meaningful training wages, so even youth from poor families can remain in long-term training — instead of only those who can afford to be without wages for several years. In the U.S.,

there is no similar system of training wages, so low-income youth often cannot afford long-term training.

- **Strong value is placed on multilingual capacity for global competitiveness.** In contrast, many Americans distrust bilingualism, and only a small minority of U.S. youth learn fluency in a second language.
- **The Europeans have far less experience with racial and ethnic minorities than the U.S., and minorities there do not enjoy equal opportunities, particularly in employment.** There is a lack of equal employment opportunity laws, and existing ones generally lack enforcement. Similarly, there are few protections to assure equal access for women, especially in non-traditional occupations.

The delegation is absolutely convinced that successful adoption and adaptation of components of the European system requires first of all that the U.S. commit itself to the system's underlying values and concepts — particularly the partnership between government, business and industry, unions, families, and the not-for-profit sector as stakeholders and the unswerving commitment to human resource development as reflected in long-term skill development. The delegation feels that the extent to which the European system can be adapted to meet U.S. needs remains a significant question, since not only the basic educational system, but also the social welfare system and role of government and the private sector are fundamentally different in those countries — as are some very basic values. European systems cannot be

expected to work in the U.S. unless this country also adopts some European *values*.

NCLR is concerned that some of the European-based school-to-work proposals now being considered and demonstrations now being undertaken in the United States ignore the importance of the underlying infrastructure, values, and components of the European systems. Many of these proposals and program designs appear to reflect a narrow, one-sector focus, or — at best — fail to include some essential components.

The delegation recognizes the critical need for an education and training system which is able to meet the needs of all students. The delegation's unique emphasis was on how the various systems and programs serve "non-typical" students, from language and ethnic minorities to women, the handicapped, and older trainees. The delegation believes that a system which can effectively serve a diverse population will best serve the needs of Hispanics as well.

There is a real danger that the current enthusiasm over European apprenticeship systems will discourage candid assessments of their weaknesses as well as their strengths.

“ ‘Apprenticeship American Style’ cannot merely include non-college-bound Hispanics and other minorities; it must focus specifically on meeting their needs. They are the groups most poorly served by existing education and training programs. ”

— Emily Gantz McKay

The European models are not without their problems or detractors, but many recent reports have given little attention to possible negative factors. The minority perspective as provided to the NCLR delegation is one critical component of this assessment process. During the trip, one senior German official was extremely candid in identifying both positive and negative aspects of the dual system. The NCLR delegation also was told that some American employers in Germany, while participating in the dual system, reported that their high training costs were difficult to explain to their U.S. headquarters. An article in *The European* (March 26, 1992) reported that some German industrial giants, including BMW, BASF, and Bosch, are leading an exodus out of the country, decreasing domestic employment and increasing overseas investment. Reasons given included rising wages and high corporate taxes. Other analyses of the European systems are needed; most helpful are analyses conducted by neutral entities rather than major proponents of U.S. adoption of a European-style system.

“When it comes to preparing young people for employment, you can pay now — in high quality education and training for all — or you can pay later — in retraining, welfare, crime, and wasted human resources. The countries we visited prefer to invest now rather than paying later.”

— Raúl Yzaguirre

The delegation believes that systemic changes in the U.S. education system are required from pre-school through college, for the benefit of all students, including the non-college-bound. An apprenticeship system imposed upon the current educational system will almost inevitably lead to lack of full access and equity for low-income and minority students, since they are especially likely to attend underfinanced inner-city or rural schools which provide poor academic preparation. An apprenticeship system which ignores this differential preparation will in effect penalize students for the inadequacy of the schools they must attend. Schools must be held accountable, and the quality of U.S. elementary and secondary schools must be improved at the same time that an apprenticeship system is being developed.

Development of a new school-to-work transition system must be an integral part of comprehensive education reform. At the same time, it is dangerous to demand a massive overhaul of the system that goes nowhere due to lack of resources or lack of will. Incremental changes which test key concepts and approaches are also valuable, provided they are based on a clear vision of the kinds of outcomes which must ultimately be attained, and reflect a commitment to institutionalize approaches and systems which prove effective.

Financing is a significant concern. In the long run, implementation of an education and training system building on the European model will require a resource shift rather than a resource increase; in the short run, additional funds will be required. A major reform

in the education and training system will require funds not only for demonstrations, but also for planning, information sharing, consensus building, and initial implementation. If a school-to-work transition system should become fully implemented, more funding will be required up front, to finance education and training which develops skilled workers, but less money should be needed in long-term social welfare costs, from retraining to overcome skill deficits to welfare costs and prison expenditures. This is truly a question of deciding to "pay now" rather than "pay later."

The terminology used in describing school-to-work transition systems is itself problematic. The terms "apprenticeship" and "vocational education" have long since become "negatively loaded" in the United States. Hispanics are severely underrepresented in adult apprenticeships, and may distrust a system which seems to build on that very imperfect one. The terms also connote specific, relatively limited aspects of a comprehensive education and training system. The NCLR delegation recommends that new terms be agreed upon, such as "occupational skill development" or "technical and commercial skill development," which reflect commitment to a redesigned system reflecting a new social compact.

Principles for Assessing School-to-Work Proposals

The National Council of La Raza believes that an American apprenticeship system can be successful if — and only if — it reflects and builds on certain basic principles. Some of these principles have been identified by many other observers and experts; others have been largely ignored or overlooked. NCLR proposes the following principles against which to assess proposed policies and programs related to youth apprenticeship:

1. School-Workplace Integration:

Youth apprenticeship must establish a combined academic and workplace system with a strong focus on education for employment, and broad occupational coverage. It should be part of an integrated and improved K-14 (not merely K-12) education and training system, building on existing community colleges, with worksite learning as part of the curriculum. The system must recognize the key role of a “master” or mentor, and assure that experienced individuals are appropriately prepared to undertake this role.

2. Seamless System: The apprenticeship system must be both seamless and flexible, designed to meet the needs of all students.

The system must be able to successfully bring in, motivate, and train culturally, economically, and educationally diverse student populations. It must retain for all students the option of university attendance. The European system focuses almost exclusively on youth or recent dropouts, not on adults, except for retraining and advanced training; an American system must offer alternative

routes for entering and progressing through the system, including “second chance” entry points for dropouts. There is a need to include services for adults and linkages to the current adult apprenticeship system, as well as to the 60 or so federal programs providing some aspect of vocational training.

3. Partnership: Youth apprenticeship requires a genuine and ongoing partnership among sectors and groups, not domination by one sector; it must include government, business, unions, education, nonprofit organizations, students, and their parents and families.

Many observers correctly emphasize the critical role of business, but fail to recognize the equally key roles of other groups. Years of competition, distrust, or exclusion will have to be overcome, roles re-examined, and stakeholders educated and “bought in.” Moreover, private-sector involvement must include extensive involvement of small businesses.

4. Independent Sector: The nonprofit sector and especially community-based organizations must be full partners in an American apprenticeship system.

This group has been largely ignored by many U.S. proponents of apprenticeship programs. Voluntary organizations, especially those with a strong community base, are essential to reach, motivate, and help serve diverse populations, including special-needs groups such as minorities, dropouts, and persons with disabilities. Even in Europe, where the voluntary sector is far less

developed than in the United States, nonprofit organizations play a key role in the education and training system, particularly the alternative paths to occupational skills which appear most effective with non-typical students. Their role will be even more critical here. Moreover, minority-focused nonprofit organizations will be important in generating public support for the significant changes in the education and training system which will be required to initiate a youth apprenticeship program of any magnitude in the United States. Some current youth apprenticeship demonstration funding does not even recognize community-based nonprofit organizations as eligible entities; this must change.

5. Literacy and Numeracy: Youth apprenticeship requires that every student receive a strong basic education. High quality primary and basic education provide a necessary theoretical foundation of knowledge on which practical applications can be built. Substantial improvements in general education are essential so that all students can take advantage of the many options a transformed school-to-work transition system will provide. Students seeking to enter apprenticeships must not be penalized by poor academic preparation due to underfinanced, ineffective schools.

6. Vocational Choice: Students and their families can make appropriate apprenticeship choices only if they receive effective career information, coun-

seling, and exploration from an early age. This is important for all students, but critical for those whose parents have limited education or had limited career alternatives themselves because of poverty or discrimination. The U.S. must create a new structure for vocational guidance centers, with new technology and high quality career and labor market information. These centers should be staffed by people well versed in providing/interpreting labor market information, education and skill requirements for various occupations, career counseling related to occupations and required skills, job search skills, and worksite learning. Part of elementary education must include gaining knowledge of vocational choices. There should be such a center in every community, with automation assuring sharing of information across communities.

7. Tracking and Discrimination: Youth apprenticeship represents a positive alternative for Hispanic and other minority students only if it includes strong, pro-active protections against "tracking," discrimination, and exploitation of apprentices as cheap labor. Any system adopted in the United States must address the needs of America's diverse population. A system which can effectively serve a diverse population will best serve the needs of Hispanics as well. There must be specific provisions and procedures to prevent discrimination as to who enrolls in apprenticeships and who gets hired at the end, and careful documentation and

analysis to determine ethnic and racial minority participation in apprenticeships related to specific occupations, to prevent minority concentration in the "mud" occupations. Skill training needs to assure exposure to families of occupations rather than narrowly defined jobs. Also important are careful employer agreements which prevent employers from taking advantage of apprentices as low-wage workers or assigning them keep-busy tasks rather than meaningful work.

- 8. Standards and Assessment:** A national apprenticeship system requires both national skills standards and competency-based assessment of skill attainment during and at the end of the apprenticeship. A set of widely accepted yet flexible standards are needed for a wide variety of occupations, as a basis for skill development leading to certification which will be transferable across cities and states. Apprenticeships must be available for a wide range of occupations, not just the building and metalworking trades, and skill standards will be needed eventually for the full range of covered occupations. Some occupations lend themselves particularly well to skill standards: the health occupations, computer technology, and the building trades could offer useful models for the joint participation of unions, employers, and government in the development and adoption of standards. If the system has certification, it must also have evaluation of competency. Perfor-

mance-based examinations conducted jointly by employers and educators would attach more value and recognition to a person's qualifications than current practices. However, these assessments must emphasize actual performance — e.g., finding and fixing the problem on a mechanized assembly line — and avoid the biases and inequities common in standardized paper-and-pencil tests. Traditionally, standardized assessment systems have not taken into account cultural differences. Provisions against cultural bias and disparate impact must be included in guidelines for standardized assessments, and experts in the evaluation of limited-English-proficient youth must be consulted in the development of all assessments.

- 9. Financing:** Funding must be significant, expenses must be shared, and costs must be determined recognizing that the "pay now — save later" principle applies. Government, industry, and families should share human capital investment costs. Resources must be sufficient to provide a living wage during apprenticeships; a training wage is not necessarily a subminimum wage.

- 10. Values:** To build on the best of the European system, the United States must adopt not only its approaches, but also its most critical underlying values and philosophy. This includes an overriding commitment to human resource development, a genuine belief that all students can learn, and widespread public respect for skilled occupations not requiring university graduation.

Looking Ahead

The members of the NCLR delegation believe that it is long past time for a major restructuring of the American system of education and training — restructuring that reflects the principles listed above, assures multiple avenues from school to productive, skilled work for every U.S. resident, and allows youth to pursue the education and training alternatives most appropriate for them. Given the very long distance to be traveled in reaching such a system, NCLR believes that an incremental approach is essential. Values and beliefs must be re-examined, and alternative models and approaches developed, tested, refined, and institutionalized. Careful pre-planning and testing are essential to avoid the kind of inappropriate borrowing of aspects of the European apprenticeship system which occurred in Britain.

NCLR supports youth apprenticeship demonstrations. However, we believe that these demonstrations need to be much closer to real life if they are to provide any meaningful test of a model suitable for widescale implementation. At a minimum, emphasis must be placed on demonstrations which:

- Involve not just educational institutions and private industry, but also genuine broad-based partnerships including community-based organizations, organized labor, and parents and family members of the youth to be served.
- Test out the youth apprenticeship approach in occupations which have not formerly been “apprenticeable” in the United States.

“ To begin to develop an American youth apprenticeship system, we need to introduce a common model to test on a well organized and centrally structured basis, possibly through the Department of Education. We also need to strengthen school-to-work transition models that are currently in place. For example, Montgomery County, Maryland, has strong community college/labor union programs which we should bring into the high schools. To have a meaningful test of these models, we must open up demonstration programs to youth from varied backgrounds, instead of creaming. ”

— Ana Sol Gutierrez

- Operate in locations most likely to include large numbers of non-university-bound youth — such as inner cities and rural areas.
- Involve entities most likely to reach and serve non-university-bound youth — inner-city high schools and community-based organizations.
- Deliberately and equitably include and serve youth with varying academic records and motivation — a cross-section of high school youth including at-risk youth, not the carefully selected “cream” of their classes.
- Fully involve Hispanics, other minorities, and women in the whole range of occupations.

- Provide alternate paths to skill development, such as second-chance programs for dropouts, and therefore serve young adults as well as youth.
- Test not only integrated school and workplace training, but also other aspects of the school-to-work transition system, such as career counseling and information models and short-term career exploration.
- Avoid high-stakes use of standardized assessments, especially paper-and-pencil tests, at least until they have been shown to carry no bias or disparate impact against minority and limited-English-proficient youth.
- Provide credentials which are accepted by employers and are "portable" — accepted throughout the country.
- Test ways to overcome union concerns, including possible negative effects of youth apprenticeships on adult workers and adult apprenticeship programs.
- Begin immediately to "invite in" the broadest possible cross-section of com-

munity leaders, experts, and public interest groups, so that they are a part of the development process.

Hispanics and other minorities are already one-quarter of the population, and will soon be well over one-fourth of the workforce. A youth apprenticeship system cannot succeed unless it effectively reaches and serves these young people. NCLR is prepared to join with other groups to help attain a critical mass of support for action to adopt policy and programs at the national, state, and local levels which will bring the best practices of the European education and training systems to the United States. The delegation believes that such action can assure that every young person in the United States — regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or special needs — has the genuine opportunity to become a productive, skilled member of society. The delegation's members, individually and as a group, commit ourselves to working with our own constituencies to adopt and test model projects reflecting what we have learned.

“ The only way to assure an appropriate school-to-work transition system in the United States is by including and involving minority leaders and practitioners — and minority community-based organizations — as full partners in the planning and pilot testing of new approaches. If we are excluded now, the system will fail. And that failure will imperil the economic health of the entire country in the 21st century. ”

— Raúl Yzaguirre

APPENDIX A:

References

The NCLR delegation received extensive briefing materials before the trip, provided by CDS International and NCLR. The group also received a great deal of written information in Europe, including both published English-language materials and unpublished charts, tables, copies of overheads, and summaries. Statistics and verbal summaries were also provided from untranslated materials in German and Danish. Additional documents were reviewed during the preparation of this report.

Following are the major documents used in preparing the report, including published documents and other materials available from government or other sources.

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APPENDIX B:

Consultation Schedule

DATE	ACTIVITY
Evening of March 13 or early March 14	Americans travel to Washington, D.C.
11:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. March 14	Orientation in Washington, D.C.
Afternoon of March 14 - Morning of March 15	Americans travel to Frankfurt
Noon March 15 - 5:00 p.m. March 16	Session with former Ethnic Minority Fellows
Morning of March 17 - Noon of March 19	Visits to apprenticeship programs and meetings with minority leaders in Frankfurt
Noon March 19 - Evening of March 20	Travel to Essen; meetings in and near Essen
Morning of March 21	Travel to Copenhagen
March 22	Weekend day in Copenhagen
Morning of March 23 - Evening of March 24	Visits to apprenticeship programs and meetings with minority leaders in Copenhagen
March 25	Travel to Gothenburg for the day; visits to apprenticeship programs in Gothenburg; return to Copenhagen
March 26	Final meetings in Copenhagen Debriefing meeting (Copenhagen)
Morning of March 27	Return to the United States

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