Vocational training



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VOCATIONAL TRAINING

INFORMATION BULLETIN

of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

CEDEFOB

EDITORIAL

Is it unexpected that this number of the Vocational Training Bulletin should direct attention once again to the contribution which vocational training can make towards improving the situation of young people who are threatened by unemployment?

We devoted Bulletin No 2 1977 to this theme in connection with the First Consultative Conference organized by CEDEFOP in Zandvoort, the Netherlands, in December 1976. This Conference served primarily as a platform for the exchange of information on the relationship between youth unemployment and vocational training.

In this number we are presenting the results of the work of CEDEFOP in connection with the Second Consultative Conference organized in Berlin (West) in May 1978 on the theme: 'Vocational preparation during the transition from school to work, with special consideration of measures undertaken by the Member States to combat youth unemployment.'

It was not the intent of this Second Conference to arrive at answers to the many complex problems which are now facing all Member States of the Community. However, it did enable the participants, delegated by the organizations of the social partners and by the government services, to engage in a fruitful exchange of views and experiences. In its deliberations the Conference was able to draw on the studies and analyses commissioned by CEDEFOP and on the results of the Centre's preliminary work.

The fact that the social partners were enabled to deepen their knowledge and reflect further already constitutes a significant result. This is a very useful contribution towards efforts being undertaken in the Member States and by the organs of the Community to move towards new initiatives and actions.

This Second Conference emphasized the need to develop a comprehensive strategy aimed at improving initial and specialized vocational training for both young people and adults. This is certainly a basic prerequisite which must be met in order to solve the apparent contradiction which is often encountered between

- results of emergency measures, 1 which are essentially of a short-term nature, and
- medium- and long-term measures, which are more structure-specific.

Is not, in the last analysis, the primary task that of offering all young people a real opportunity to acquire initial vocational qualification?

A policy of vocational training—understood as an integral part of an active employment policy-which has objectives of this type in mind raises the question as to what conditions must be met in order to diversify and develop vocational training opportunities for young people and adults.

We realize how much effort is still required in order to establish a common vocational training policy as postulated in the Treaty of Rome. It is our hope, however, that results achieved to date will encourage those carrying responsibility in the various Member States to join together to arrive at a number of common objectives.

The organs of the Community will continue to work in this direction, whereby they will be able to provide helpful orientation. 2 They are being supported in this effort by representatives of the governments and the social partners.

In June 1978 the European Parliament adopted a Resolution embodying its opinion on the proposals from the EC Commission to the Council for a Regulation concerning the creation of a new European Social Fund aid in favour of young persons. 3

It is naturally very obvious to all of us that vocational training cannot of itself create jobs. But we also know that it is becoming increasingly important as an essential element of an active employment policy in the Member States.

A supplement to this Bulletin will contain additional information on emergency measures undertaken by the Member States to

combat youth unemployment. See the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education of 13 December 1976 containing 'measures to be taken to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate their transition from education to working life, see Commission Recommendation of 6 July 1977 to the Member States on vocational training for young people who are unemployed or threatened by unemployment.

OJ C 131, 5. 6. 1978.

Second Consultative Conference on Youth Unemployment

CEDEFOP

Synthesis report

Objective and procedure of the Conference

The objective of the Conference was to:

- elaborate realistic recommendations for the development of vocational preparation during the transition from school to work against the background of an analysis of the most important measures undertaken by the Member States to combat youth unemployment;
- support the Commission Recommendation of 6 July 1977 ¹ to the Member States on vocational preparation for young people who are either unemployed or threatened by unemployment;
- provide the Member States with information material on this Recommendation and, to the extent possible, with proposals on how to implement it.

The Conference participants, roughly sixty in all, met together on the first and last day of the Conference, 22 and 25 May, whereas working-group sessions were held on 23 and 24 May.

The papers of the first day are summarized in the second part of this report. On the second day three working groups were formed:

- 1. Framework conditions, possibilities, and limitations of vocational preparation, discussion of the educational and socioeconomic background.
- 2. Organization of vocational preparation, distribution of tasks, administrative measures, competences, existing institutional possibilities.
- 3. Subject matter and learning goals of vocational preparation, target groups, methods, participation.

The differing backgrounds of the participants representing the institutions of governments, employers,

address themselves in their capacity as specialists directly to the theme of the Conference and were able and willing to discuss matters of detail in connection with the implementation of the Commission Recommendation of 6 July 1977, other participants expressed greater interest in discussing and interpreting the objectives and tasks of improved vocational preparation vis-à-vis the employment situation of young people in the Community. This led to conflicts of purpose which were reflected in the results of the working groups and hence in the entire Conference (see Conference results, page 6).

and employees quite naturally implied a divergence of

fields of interests. Whereas some participants wished to

Conference, namely, the implementation of the Recommendation on the one hand and the critical appraisal of measures launched to date-undertaken in the papers presented the first day—on the other hand was a causative factor in the partially contradictory nature of the statements made during the Conference. By virtue of this double objective, however, the organizer was hopeful that the varying areas of interest could be given adequate attention and that in addition a working basis could be established for the ongoing tasks of the Centre and possible initiatives of the EC Commission. Although all the participants gave of their very best, the result was only partially successful. However, even this modest success is deserving of recognition, particularly when it is recalled that not so very long ago the conviction prevailed that because of diverging terminologies and socioeconomic situations of the Member States, efforts to arrive at a common basis of understanding would be fruitless. The Conference succeeded in convincingly proving that mutual confrontation of differing problems and fields of interests is far more than just an exchange of views and experiences. New initiatives in the form of further tasks undertaken by the Centre, for example, or concrete projects of the EC Commission may very well evolve from the discussions and results of this Second Consultative Conference.

In one sector, however, there was neither the possibility nor indeed the intention of satisfying expectations: problem solutions which are not yet even in the offing at Member State level certainly cannot be identified at European level. On the basis of bilateral and multilateral information exchange, however, the framework conditions can be created which would make possible a coordinated and effective approach to these solutions, whereby both the Member States and the Community organs would move forward in the same direction. The nonuniformity of instruments and methods used will of course have to remain.

Socioeconomic background (introductory papers of experts)

Unemployment stems to a greater extent from structural than from cyclical causes. This was stressed by the

¹ See Information Bulletin No 3-4, 1977, p. 20 ff.

representative of the EC Commission, who stated that this had been confirmed at the tripartite conference organized by the Commission in the summer of 1977 and more recently at the summit conference in Copenhagen. For this reason, he continued, basic measures of a very comprehensive and diversified nature were required. Unemployment had to be combatted with the most diverse methods. Within this comprehensive strategy the improvement of vocational training and vocational preparation for young people played an important role.

The Commission Recommendation of July 1977 was a significant step in this direction. During the course of this year the Member States would report on efforts undertaken and progress made in connection with the implementation of this Recommendation.

Identification of the target group 1

Because of the steady increase on through the seventies in all Member States in the number of young people staying on at school or college, the employment rate for persons in the target group, in particular young people between 14 and 19 years of age, had dropped more rapidly in nearly all Member States than that for other age groups. This downward trend had greatly mitigated the problem of high unemployment, especially among young people.

However, this favourable development was to a large extent negatively counterbalanced by two factors:

- changes in the industrial structure stemming from technological advance had decreased the demand for workers;
- the birth bulge had led to an increase in the number of young people entering the labour market.

Aggregate unemployment rates for the EC had risen from 2.9% in 1974 to 5.5% in 1977. Unemployment rates for the target group had approximately doubled between 1960 and 1975. The most seriously affected groups had been girls (between 15 and 19 years of age) and young men (between 20 and 24 years of age). This latter group had been particularly badly affected in France, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany and had gone through longer periods of unemployment than had school leavers. And although the enrolment rate of young women under 20 years of age in noncompulsory education had increased, 11% had been unemployed in 1975.

Occupational choice and motivation of young people ²

The course of the choice process and the corresponding decisions were influenced by a series of sociostructural factors. Chief among these were the social origin and the sex of the person. Also important were the structure of the education system, educational and vocational guidance, and the structure of vacancies in the labour market.

The changed labour market had also induced many working-class children to remain within the protective fold of the school. With regard to the motives for early termination of schooling, the studies analysed by the author came to the unanimous conclusion that by far the most important factors were boredom at school and economic reasons, the latter again being predominant in the case of working-class children.

With regard to the sex of the young person, there was a tendency in many Member States for girls to stay longer than boys in full-time general education. However, this was often only a reaction to the inadequate number of openings for in-firm or scholastic vocational training.

As regards work orientation, the studies showed that traditional attitudes towards work continued to prevail. Alternative attitudes were more likely to be met with among better educated young people from middle-class homes. Working-class children were predominately traditional in outlook, the majority of them regarding work as a moral obligation.

It was the less qualified young people who, when questioned about their occupational wishes, responded with quite unrealistic ideas. On the other hand, their concrete job expectations were more likely to be linked to the existing spectrum and given distribution of jobs. These occupational expectations continued to be related to the social background involved. Children from higher-salaried groups tended to reject employment as minor salaried employees, while working-class children shyed away from unskilled work. One might speak of a derogation of less qualified work rather than of manual work in general.

With regard to the readiness of young people to assume responsibility and accept supervisory positions (build a career, for example), it was found that, on the whole, occupational motivation had weakened among young people. The studies did reveal, however, substantial differences when the level of education and the sex of the young people were taken into account. Girls were more interested in helping others rather than in exerting themselves to 'achieve maximum performance'. There appeared to be two types of discrepancy which had led to a change in the attitude of young people towards work, namely, the bad employment situation which existed at present and the structurally determined problems which attended the integration of young people into working life.

In the studies the following behaviour patterns were discussed as possible reactions to both types of discrepancy: occupational instability, indifference

¹ See Barr and Hutchinson, p. 8.

² See Köditz, p. 11.

towards work, little desire for further education or training, finding compensation in leisure time and in various forms of deviatory behaviour. However, the studies produced no evidence of a direct correlation between these discrepancies and the behaviour patterns.

Then there was the growing problem of young people having to accept jobs in which they could not make use of their qualifications. Also problematic was the fact that they were increasingly being placed in the weaker segments of the labour market, as could be seen from the high proportion of small businesses in the youth labour market.

There was general consensus in the studies that initial job experiences following the transition to working life were decisive. Negative experiences tended to foster occupational instability. A 'transitional shock' was far more a problem of structural working conditions than of coping with the job as such. French researchers came to the conclusion that a 'profaning of work' had taken place among the young workers, who considered this to be a realistic adjustment to working conditions and in particular to their having been relegated to the margin of working life.

Opportunity structure for early school leavers 1

The most vulnerable groups in a labour market context were young people without a primary certificate. This showed that the mastering of basic skills was important.

Even a rudimentary education beyond this stage considerably reduced the risk of becoming unemployed.

For young people with very low skills this deficiency in training was in general not remedied through in-firm training, even if they did succeed in finding a job. They usually took up jobs requiring little or no training.

Vocational preparation courses now running in Member States were available only for a minority of young unemployed. Apart from a pilot scheme which had recently been introduced in the United Kingdom, there were no training opportunities for young people who, although employed, were threatened by unemployment. Some of the programmes had been introduced as preliminary measures to combat youth unemployment, even though all available evidence showed that this was far from a passing phenomenon.

Vocational training programmes therefore had to be expanded considerably and made a permanent policy measure in order to have an appreciable effect on the employment prospects of young people. When capacity set the limits as to how many people could be accommodated by a vocational training programme, there was the danger that the most activated and qualified would be accepted.

Rationing led to selection of young people who had the best chances of doing well in the programmes and who were often identical with those who usually had the least difficulty in overcoming the problems of transition from school to work. In a sense, therefore, the most popular programmes might be superfluous because they attracted those young people who would have found employment anyway.

As far as the author knew, there was no supporting data for the belief that vocational education protected more efficiently than general secondary education against unemployment. Furthermore, vocational education as taught in formal education institutions was as much a general form of education as was academic secondary education.

If, on the other hand, there were a serious imbalance in the educational system such that very few, for example, received a vocational education while the large majority concentrated on academic subjects, the latter would tend to be larger and closer to the average than the former.

The general situation in Member States seemed to be that although girls and women had a higher unemployment rate than boys and men, they had been given lower priority in the measures to improve the opportunity structure.

The present situation with regard to the opportunity structure for young unemployed in the Community could be summed up as follows:

- For many young people the spells of unemployment experienced in the transition from school to work was a transitory problem. Their long-term employment prospects were fairly good; all they needed was some assistance during the initial period. For this group job-creation and job-subsidy programmes might be sufficient.
- A second group required somewhat better education, improved strengthening of basic skills, and some knowledge of social skills in order to find a satisfactory niche in the labour market, although few of this group would be able to leave the secondary labour market.
- A third group consisted of the really deprived and unqualified, who needed a programme of work experience and education over a long period in order to be able to meet the world of work on their own. This group required an alternative form of compulsory education, a form which prepared them for the labour market as part of their initial education. Without such a reform there would always be a need for some sort of remedial action afterwards, a state of affairs which was very unsatisfactory.

The second and third group as a proportion of unemployed young people was likely to grow in the

¹ See Magnussen, p. 15.

future. The most important reason was that overall unemployment would stay constant for many years and the tendency was therefore to hire the best qualified school leavers and adults with work experience.

The consequence of this development was that vocational preparation programmes would have to be given higher priority and that educational reform which provided work experience during compulsory schooling for the least qualified would have to be considered. In the present state of affairs, however, these two developments might turn out to be contradictory. If we succeeded in having an institutionalized vocational preparation sector alleviate the problems of transition, the danger would be that the educational problems of the least skilled would be transferred to vocational preparation programmes, thus reducing the incentives to reform formal education. Any success vocational preparation programmes might have in easing the problems of transition might therefore lead to failure in the long run, if the result was a failure to reform formal education.

The view of employers' organizations 1

Two papers were presented by the employers' organizations, one prepared by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and one prepared by the French National Employers' Council (CNPF).

The British paper reported on vocational preparation programmes and on the employment situation of young people in the United Kingdom. The improvement of vocational preparation and of occupational qualifications appeared to have priority over youth employment subsidies, according to CBI. Although the Youth Employment Subsidy (YES) scheme did facilitate a young person's entry into a real working situation, it did not increase the total supply of job vacancies but merely altered the young person's competitive position vis-à-vis older workers. With regard to the qualification of the workers, it was stressed that there was an imbalance between supply and demand. Under open conditions the job market operated like any other market: high quality attracted high prices, low quality low prices, both influenced by conditions of supply and demand. When outside forces, in this case social legislation guaranteeing relatively high pay to less qualified, intervened, however, the balance became upset.

If the balance could not be redressed by the creation of conditions which made it attractive and worth while to recruit young people, then it was only fair to help the young to improve their product, they themselves. Steps could be taken, however, which restored the competitive position of young people. The government could lift certain financial and statutory obligations in favour of young recruits. This would be particular helpful for small firms. Where day-release education was deemed necessary, the costs might be defrayed with financial assistance. Employers were not seeking a return to the days before the new social legislation, as this would be a step backwards. What was needed now was action to complete the other half of the task and recreate the job market balance.

In the paper presented by the French National Employers' Council (CNPF) a distinction was drawn between structural and cyclical measures. The structural measures consisted of employment-training contracts (contrat emploi-formation), apprenticeship contracts, and long-term training courses. The cyclical measures consisted of employers' exemption from social insurance contributions for young employees and in-firm training courses (stage pratique).

CNPF appeared to have given priority to in-firm training courses. These courses could be distinguished from jobs based on the employment-training contract in that the trainee was not considered an employee of the firm and that the training provided served the purpose of integration into working life. One could consider whether it might not perhaps be so that this training measure was best suited to solve the structural problems of the integration of young people into working life.

The employment-training contracts had numerous advantages for young people from 16 to 25 years of age:

- as regards their social status, the contract provided for employment for a period of at least six months remunerated according to the nature of the job;
- as regards training, the practical experience gained during work in the firm was complemented by a training course comprising between 120 and 1 200 hours.

The closing section of the paper was devoted to the problem of transition from school to work:

'If this turning-point is to be navigated smoothly, efforts must focus on accomplishing a supple transition which includes vocational training within the firm conceived as an integral part of the more general continuing education process. Research into the transition should take into consideration:

- the different categories of young people as determined by the different levels to which they have already undergone training in order to improve the quality of their vocational training;
- the possible concept of alternating in-firm training and training at school in order to better coordinate the two systems.

¹ See CNPF page 19 and CBI page 21.

Finally, a vocational preparation policy must be devised which takes into account the following factors:

- identification of the occupations in the national economy and description of jobs;
- initial training and training required to complement
- the effectiveness of experiments already carried out.' 1

The view of the European Trade Union Confederation²

The paper presented by ETUC began with a basic criticism of the measures for the employment and training of young people being carried by all Member States and then proceeded to discuss two types of vocational preparation during the transition from school to work.

- Training had often to be carried out in the firm itself, the obvious purpose being adaption to the job. Young persons were workers in their own right. State aid paid to employers as a contribution towards workers' pay could only amount to that part of the pay relating to the time during which young workers were taking courses and not to the time during which they were at work. The workers' representatives in the firm in question should be enabled to monitor the training.
- In addition to the general and vocational education system, a supplementary education system had to be promoted, the features of which should be as follows:
 - the general responsibility of this system would be committed to the education system (which in many Member States would presuppose new means as regards staff and materials),
 - the alternation of periods in the educational establishment and periods in the firm would be the rule; the education system could carry out a follow-up during the latter periods;
 - the young people would enjoy the status of young trainee workers, would come under the education system and would receive remuneration through that system;
 - the duration of the training period could be very variable, depending on the initial level of each young person, and the result should be adequate vocational training and general education ensuring these young people employment.

Draft conclusions of the rapporteur

The results of the working group discussions are summarized on page 7 of this Bulletin. Two

recommendations of the working groups appear to us to be of particular significance:

- 1. By improving vocational preparation, which is to be provided during the course of compulsory schooling, the process of transition is to become a gradual one, the purpose being to avoid an abrupt change (Working Group I). In order to bridge the gap between school and work, efforts should be launched to achieve smooth transition via improvements in both scholastic vocational training and in-firm practical training. Both types of training should be integrated within the general process of transition (Working Group II).
- 2. With regard to vocational preparation measures, each Member State should develop a concept of principles basic binding on all involved—better still, a basic concept for all Member States—which, however, should allow for flexible adjustment to local and specific conditions (for example, group of participants, local labour market situation, etc.) (Working Group III).

Judging from these recommendations, it is evident that it is not so much concrete, detailed proposals for the improvement of vocational preparation but rather strategic guidelines, concepts, and methods which the EC and the European Centre are expected to provide and which the Member States can then take in hand and adjust to their specific conditions. It is evidently more important to provide general orientation aids than to design concrete steps aimed at improving vocational preparation.

The Second Consultative Conference on Youth Unemployment served very convincingly in our opinion as an orientation aid vehicle. It made very clear to the participants themselves and to their institutions that confrontation with the experiences of other Member could be extremely fruitful in that misdevelopments could then be corrected and pending decisions could be more judiciously weighed. It is of course not possible to assist Member States directly in the task of implementing recommendations. On the contrary, this task must be undertaken in cooperation with all parties directly involved as well as with all responsible parties at firm, local, and regional level.

CEDEFOP

Conference results

The objectives of the Second Consultative Conference on Youth Unemployment and the essential contents of the Conference presentations are summarized below. In

¹ See CNPF paper p. 21. ² See ETUC paper p. 24.

the discussion paper prepared by CEDEFOP on measures to combat youth unemployment conclusions in connection with the studies commissioned by the Centre on measures of the EC Member States to combat youth unemployment are drawn, whereby the results of the studies on occupational choice and motivation of young people are given special attention.

In the course of their deliberations, the sixty participants from the nine Member States, delegated by their respective government services, employees' organizations, and employers' organizations, brought forward a number of recommendations and conclusions (1):

- 1. By providing and improving vocational preparation and vocational training, it is possible to contribute towards solving the problem of youth unemployment. However, such measures cannot in themselves lead to the creation of new jobs.
- 2. Although the *ad hoc* vocational preparation and integration measures launched in nearly all Member States can help to improve the competitiveness of the participants in the labour market, they cannot contribute significantly to the elimination of youth unemployment and in particular of overall unemployment. Other measures which have direct impact on the labour market are also necessary. It was emphasized that the largest group of unemployed young people, namely, girls, had been inadequately covered by the measures undertaken to date.
- 3. With regard to the improvement of vocational preparation, the following proposals deriving from working group deliberations and subsequent discussions in plenary session were brought forward:

Vocational preparation is to be understood as the introduction to working life via training in theoretical and practical knowledge and skills which improve the trainees' chances of finding employment and also help them to find their own niche in society at large.

Vocational preparation should constitute an element of a comprehensive medium- and long-term vocational training and continuing education strategy. The transition from school to work must not remain a one-way street, and the interrelationship between school and work should become an integral part of the corresponding (vocational) educational strategy.

Short-term vocational preparation measures should be replaced by better and more extensive basic and specialized vocational training.

Vocational preparation in the sense of work orientation should commence during complusory schooling and should be intensified particularly towards the end of such schooling, which might also be prolonged. At the same time information and orientation with regard to working conditions and job prospects provided at school and during the transition from school to work should be improved.

Special incentives should be provided in order to induce more young people to undergo vocational preparation subsequent to completed compulsory schooling and to increase participation in vocational training in all its forms, examples being financial incentives and incentives serving to safeguard the social and occupational status of young people. In overall terms there should be substantial improvement in employment prospects subsequent to vocational preparation and vocational training.

The social responsibility for vocational preparation should be reflected by the establishment of appropriate institutions tailored to specific national needs. If not already operating, such institutions should be created at firm, school, local, regional, and national level. Above all governments, employers, and employees should be represented in these institutions.

In revising the contents and methods of vocational preparation, care should be taken to also modify the initial and in-service training of teachers. Provisions should be made for teachers to give instruction in the firms providing training.

4. The participants also discussed the relationship between vocational training and continuing education on the one hand and the problem of the distribution of labour on the other, a problem which has now come to the forefront in connection with deliberations concerning ways and means of combating structural unemployment. Strong emphasis was given to the need to increase efforts to improve and further develop continuing education, understood as being very closely connected with working life.

The Centre would direct the attention of all parties involved to the danger which an institutionalization of the concept of cyclical measures harbours. Cyclical measures should help at short range to combat youth unemployment by integrating young people into working life. Were they to be institutionalized, they would become long-range instruments designed to solve existing problems. For its part, the Centre is of the opinion that quite apart from other measures serving to improve the employment situation, lasting improvement will depend on coordinated actions being launched to further develop both basic vocational training and occupation-specific continuing education.

⁽¹⁾ Summary of the recommendations of the working groups and draft conclusions drawn by the rapporteur.

Dr N. Barr and Dr G. Hutchinson 1

Identification of the target group — a European Community-wide survey

It has been the common practice over the last two decades for policy makers and economists to categorize and analyse unemployment according to the different policies which might be taken to alleviate it. ² A frequently used classification is that of frictional, structural, seasonal, and cyclical (or demand-deficient) unemployment. Within each of these four categories factors determining the supply of and demand for labour might be separately considered.

In analysing youth unemployment within the EC and considering the specific remedies of vocational preparation and training, it is both natural and convenient to maintain this conventional classification and to attempt to obtain the data which might indicate which types of unemployment pose the most serious threat for the target group. In this way it is hoped to identify specifically the areas of greatest need, where measures to counteract youth unemployment are likely to be most effective. The logical structure for this summary will be to consider first the demographic background to the recent dramatic upsurge in unemployment experienced among the target group. Then the education and training alternatives to participation in the labour force will be examined. After these preliminaries the employment and unemployment trends will be analysed.

Demographic considerations

Turning first to the main underlying supply aspects of the target group, the logical starting point is that of the overall population size. This is affected chiefly by the natural population increase (births minus deaths) and by net immigration (immigration minus emigration). For Europe as a whole the natural rate of population increase was 8.7% from 1950 to 1960 and 7.9% from 1960 to 1970. For Western Europe net immigration rates were about one-third of the natural increase. ³ During the 1960s and even more strongly during the 1970s birth-rates have fallen, and it seems unlikely that

they will recover to the peak levels of 1964-66. In all countries except Ireland the birth-rate in 1973 was lower than at any other time in the post-war period.

The time pattern of birth-rates from 1948 to 1973 is remarkably similar in all EC countries other than Ireland. Peaks occurred in the late 1940s and mid 1960s, with a trough in the early 1970s from which little recovery is evident. Belgium, Denmark, Italy and the UK all conform closely to this pattern. The Netherlands has experienced the most pronounced decline (of over 25%) in the number of births from 1969 to 1973. France is somewhat atypical, with a rising number of births since 1968, and in Ireland there was a similar increase, with the number of births reaching a post-war peak in 1973. Ireland is also atypical in its immigration pattern.

Net immigration into Ireland has been positive in recent years, for the first time in decades. In the rest of Western Europe the whole period from 1950 to 1970 had seen heavy net immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, the former losing 3.6 million and the latter 7.4 million persons. This new phenomenon accounted for one-third of the population growth in Western Europe between 1950 and 1970. This immigration was concentrated in a limited number of countries, with France and the Federal Republic of Germany accounting for 8 million out of the net immigration balance of all European receiving countries of 9.2 million between 1951 and 1970. In Belgium, also, immigration made a substantial contribution to population growth. The major flows of migrants have been of people from the New Commonwealth into the UK, from North Africa into France and from Turkey to the Federal Republic of Germany.

There are thus two striking demographic phenomena which are relevant to this study: large inflows of migrants from outside of the EC and the declining number of births over the last decade or so. While these flows have now largely been stemmed by recent legislation, they still leave as a legacy the additional problem that the children of migrant workers must cope with cultural and social difficulties as well as with the threat of unemployment. While it may seem tempting to argue that youth unemployment is a demographic phenomenon, no such definite conclusion can be drawn. Firstly, youth unemployment rates are much higher than those for people over 25, thus indicating that a much greater burden of the recent growth in unemployment has fallen upon the target group. Secondly, there is much evidence, as we shall see later, that structural problems exist on the demand side for young labour and are likely, if anything, to worsen.

The education and training of the target group

Of the total population in the target group a certain fraction will stay in formal education, others will

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The classic reference for such a categorization is R.G. Lipsey, Structural and Demand-Deficient Unemployment Reconsidered, in A.M. Ross (ed.). Employment Policy and the Labour Market, University of California Press, 1965.

³ United Nations, Economic Survey of Europe in 1974, Part II, Table VI.I.

undertake vocational training either in a special centre or in conjunction with a job, a considerable fraction will enter the labour force without any training, and a relatively small fraction will participate neither in the educational sector nor in the labour market. Therefore formal education enrolment rates are determined simultaneously with labour force and vocational training activity rates and the relative proportions in each activity will depend, in part, on economic conditions. For example, it seems reasonable that during a period of low aggregate demand there will be an incentive for young people to stay on at school or college rather than face unemployment and boredom while searching for a job. Alternatively, longer-run changes in the industrial structure of the sort found in the US economy might increase the demand for technicians and 'knowledge workers' and hence encourage higher enrolment rates in education and training.

It would be highly informative if information on enrolment ratios could be used as an estimate of acquired skill levels. But such attempts run up against severe problems because of the very different educational institutions, systems and curricula followed in EC Member States. The Unesco International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) is frequently used as the framework, but since there is no definitive solution to the problem of comparability the following conclusions should be treated with caution. From 1970-71 to 1975-76 there was a 10.7 % increase in the number of pupils and students in full-time education other than pre-school in all Member States. The largest increase (which, of course, depends upon population growth-rates as well as on increasing enrolment rates) was in the Federal Republic of Germany (16·1%) and the lowest in Belgium (1·7%). As a proportion of the population aged between 5 and 24, the increase was from 59% to 64%.

Since the age at which compulsory schooling ends varies from country to country and in most Member States has increased recently, it is instructive to inspect voluntary enrolment rates in non-compulsory education. These have risen in all Member States for both men and women and are generally higher for men than for women. The largest differences occur in Italy and, during the earlier years, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Average enrolment rates appear to be highest in Denmark and Netherlands and lowest in the UK, and, in earlier years, in the Federal Republic of Germany. It would be overstating the case, however, to suggest that high enrolment rates 'prove' that a country has a more educated labour force. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the figures are low because much secondary education is part-time or imparted during apprenticeship schemes.

Although data are sparse, it appears that the proportion of foreign pupils is tending to rise in all EC Member States. The largest rise in the percentage of non-EC pupils occurred in the Federal Republic of Germany, where it has doubled in the five-year period prior to 1974-75 from 1·16% to 2·47%. The proportion in France has been more stable at about 4·5%.

The problem of comparing vocational training systems in the various Member States has proved so far to be an intractible one. The data, such as there are, cannot be properly interpreted because of the complexity in each Member State. Qualifications similarly are impossible to compare because of the differences in the time spent in training (full-time, part-time, or day-release), the different standards and requirements for the awarding of certificates, and so on. In any case, the policy-maker's main interest is in the skill level of the trainee, i.e. the output of a training scheme. Measuring the input (length of time in training) may give a very incomplete and inaccurate measure of output.

Hence the evidence that exists is largely anecdotal. Many researchers in this area claim that smaller numbers are receiving apprenticeships and there is some evidence of large excess demands by young people in some Member States. Clearly much more work needs to be done in this area. For the present one must rely on the descriptions published by CEDEFOP of the various schemes existing in the individual EC Member States.

The labour market experiences of young people in the European Community

Apart from those young people undergoing some form of training, the remainder either do not participate in the labour force or do participate and are employed or unemployed. Amongst the non-participants are those who work at home on family farms or enterprises or perform domestic duties, probably in an unpaid capacity. It is not really known how many of this group are 'discouraged workers' who have left the labour force because they think their chance of obtaining any kind of job is slight, but this group may be quite large. Italian experts have suggested it might be as large as a million workers. Data on those who are neither in education or training nor are in the labour market is almost totally lacking, and so analysis of this group, unfortunately, is impossible. In the absence of sound data we shall focus instead on those employed and unemployed.

In all EC Member States except Italy and Luxembourg the overall labour force has increased, despite declining participation rates, because of population increase. During the decade from 1960 to 1970 three-quarters of the 4 million increase were females. During the same period the number of economically active teenagers declined in all Member States except France and Luxembourg, but the pattern for the whole target group was more mixed, with increases being observed in Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg and the Netherlands and decreases elsewhere. The participation rates for

teenagers fell in all Member States except Luxembourg, thev stayed rather stable, this accompanying the large increases in enrolment ratios in non-compulsory education. The rates for male teenagers have fallen much faster than those for females and now seem to be tending towards equality in almost all Member States. For females between 20 and 24 years of age there have been substantial increases in the activity ratios, reflecting the increased tendency to delay marriage and the first child, the declines in the birth-rate, and the increased attraction of employment where there has been equal opportunity and pay legislation. The opposite situation was observed for males in this age group everywhere except Luxembourg, where the increase was small, just over 1%. In Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the decline in participation rates from about 1960 to 1975 was from over 91% to under 80%.

It is clear, then, that the participation rates across the EC for the target group, and particularly for teenagers, have declined almost everywhere by considerably more than for other age groups. This downward trend must have alleviated considerably the problem of high unemployment, particularly among the young.

Largely offsetting this favourable trend, however, the structural changes which tend to accompany development in industrialized economies have probably simultaneously reduced the demand for labour. Agriculture has continued to show a decline in the number and percentage of the labour force which it employs, affecting men and women about equally. Especially large changes have occurred in Italy, France, Ireland and Denmark. Certain branches manufacturing such as textiles (affecting mainly females) and in some countries steel and shipbuilding have led directly to a reduced demand for young apprentices, as has the decline of the mining sector. At the same time, the service and tourist sectors have expanded in most Member States, and this change has been partly responsible for the increased participation of married women into low-skilled occupations.

Structural unemployment has been defined as that unemployment which results when the matching of workers to jobs takes an 'unreasonably' long period of time and/or large expenditures of other resources ¹ and when it is specific to particular industries, occupations or regions. There is much evidence to suggest that this kind of unemployment is quantitatively important among the target group and that it has been exacerbated by a rising price of young labour relative to capital, by the high cost of geographic mobility, by insufficiently flexible training schemes, and by a variety of legislation such as employment protection acts and informal last-hired, first-fired agreements.

A substantial fraction of youth unemployment is undoubtedly of the frictional variety. Data on the increasing duration of unemployment spells by the target group in France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the UK for 1973, 1975, and 1976 reveal that to a greater extent than any other age group youth unemployment is of short duration. It is inevitable that some time is taken when workers either change jobs or search for their first job and when information is poor occupational requirements and industrial conditions. In such circumstances young people may experience repeated spells of short-duration unemployment as they search for employment which suits their skills and temperament. The cure for this type of unemployment is an improved information network and better counselling.

Nevertheless, these data reveal also the increasing proportion of the target group who are experiencing spells of unemployment in excess of six months. This proportion varied from about one-fifth in the UK to one-fourth in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1976 and reached 29% for young French females in 1975. In the Federal Republic the most striking development has been the increase in long-term unemployment (more than one year) for males and females. This increased in the three years up to 1976 from a few hundreds to 8 400 for males and over 10 000 for females.

Besides being structural in nature, this longer-term unemployment has resulted from the downturn in overall economic activity in the Community since 1974. Aggregate unemployment rates for the EC rose from 2.9% in 1974 to 4.% a year later and 4.9% in 1976. By late 1977 this had reached 5.5%. Unemployment rates for the target group have approximately doubled between 1960 and 1975, with the worst affected groups being the voungest females and males between 20 and 24 years of age. ² This latter group has been particularly badly affected in France, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany, tending to have unemployment spells of longer duration than the school leavers. And, despite their increasing enrolment rates in non-compulsory education, 11% of all Community females under 20 years of age were unemployed in 1975.

This study has attempted to point out trends in the data which throw some light on the causes and hence point out the direction for cures for the problem of unemployment among the target group. Some seasonal unemployment due to the timing of the school year is inevitable, as is some friction due to the time taken for school leavers to make the transition from school to work. Persuasive arguments can also be put forward

¹ See B.M. Fleisher, *Labor Economics: Theory and Evidence*, Prentice Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1970, p. 264.

These conclusions are based on data obtained from various EC labour-force sample surveys. Since the same definitions are used and the same questions are asked, the data are likely to be more readily comparable than the national figures which are frequently based on the registered unemployed.

indicating demographic, structural, and cyclical causes. However, this study is necessarily preliminary, and a real understanding of the underlying problems requires a properly specified, multivariate statistical analysis. Only then can we begin to forecast the magnitude of the problem which will remain when the population of school leavers starts to decline in the next decade.

V. Köditz 1

Occupational choice and motivation of young people

Introduction

Against the background of the current employment situation and the increase in youth unemployment, the question of a possible weakening of occupational motivation and a change of attitude towards choice of occupation on the part of young people has become an important topic of public and political discussion in Western Europe.

But although it is often maintained that there is a motivation crisis among young people, empirical evidence to support this assertion is difficult to find. This is partly due to the differing thematic approach to the problem in the individual Member States. Only in France has there been, for some considerable time, really wide public discussion and correspondingly advanced scientific delineation of the subject. The other problem is that we are dealing with very different psychosocial aspects of the situation of these young people which it is difficult to bring together under the common heading of changed occupational motivation.

Furthermore, because of the dearth of specific studies in this field, it is often necessary to have recourse to less exact social indicators which cannot always be clearly and unequivocally related to changes in attitudes. For instance, occupational instability is often taken as an indicator of a changed attitude towards work but it can just as easily be a mere reflection of the specifics of the youth labour market.

Framework of the report

Similarly to the studies we have from the countries of Western Europe, that part of the synthesis of the

¹ Arbeitsgruppe für Empirische Bildungsforschung, Heidelberg.

Member States' reports presented here is based on two premises:

- 1. It is not admissible to proceed from the assumption of a single occupational motivation. Rather it must be presumed that there are various possible levels of attitude on the part of young people towards work and the job.
- 2. Choice of occupation is not a single, isolated act occuring during the actual transition from school to work but rather a lengthy process which begins with the first educational choices and ends, at the earliest, when the worker has reached a relatively final position in the employment system.

Analyses of occupational choice and of attitudes are closely related in so far as attitudes change or differ as a result of experiences undergone in the choice process. The course of this process and the corresponding decisions are influenced by a series of sociostructural factors, chief among these being the social origin and sex of the person. Important, too, are the structure of the educational system, educational and vocational guidance, the labour market, and other structural factors.

It is to these latter factors in particular that special attention will be devoted in this synthesis, understood as an international comparative presentation.

The influence of sociostructural factors on occupational choice and attitudes

The studies on which this report is based also confirm the strong correlation between the socioeconomic background of the family of origin and the educational/occupational choice of the children. This applies particularly to the first educational choices following primary school which, to a large extent, determine the subsequent occupation or occupational

The coercive effect of this influence on the decision to remain at school after the end of the compulsory period is indicated by the fact that although young people in certain age groups are impatient to start work, only very rarely do middle-class children actually do so.

As regards staying on at school after the end of compulsory schooling, new trends have emerged in various Member States which, however, are due less to a weakening of the influence exerted by social origins than to changes in the employment situation. The changed labour market now induces many working-class children as well to remain within the protective fold of the school, and this trend is being encouraged through specific educational measures for young people who would normally have left school at the end of the obligatory period.

Regarding the motives for early termination of schooling, the studies come to the unanimous conclusion that by far the most important factors are boredom at school and economic reasons, the latter again being predominant in the case of working-class children.

When making their occupational choice, young people are very largely oriented to the horizons set by their social environment. Against the background of the specific Dutch situation, where transfer to a vocational school is possible directly after primary schooling, researchers there speak of 'socially self-evident' occupational choices.

Sex

Together with social origins, the sex of the young person also influences educational and occupational choice.

It is true that in various countries girls now tend to stay longer than boys in full-time general education, but this is often only a reaction to the inadequate number of openings for on-the-job or scholastic vocational training.

Frequently, however, this extended educational period does not improve the employment prospects for girls. French studies refer to much overqualification among girls in relation to the jobs they finally take up.

Data on unemployment among girls in the Federal Republic of Germany show higher unemployment among girls trained on the job than exists among their male contemproraries. A completed apprenticeship appears to bring them little advantage on the labour market.

Structure of the education system

The structure of the education system influences occupational choice and, more especially, occupational aspirations. This is clearly illustrated, for example, in the varying percentages of young people who undergo vocational training in the individual Member States. The various national studies emphasized in particular three aspects of this correlation:

- the occupation or occupational status-determining influence of lower secondary schools,
- the significance of the (regional) 'school/training market'.
- the sex-specific orientation of types of vocational training streams, in particular.

According to the national school system concerned, the educational choice made at the point of transition from primary to secondary school is decisive for the

subsequent occupation or occupational level. It has a decisive effect on occupational expectations and aspirations. A secondary school system providing general education with branch differentiation (as in the Federal Republic of Germany) tends to fix the future level, while a secondary system with distinct vocational branches has to some extent the effect of already determining the actual occupation (as in the Netherlands for instance).

The educational facilities in a particular region (the regional school/training market) influence educational choice and occupational expectations and aspirations. French and German studies have drawn particular attention to this problem.

In certain vocational education/training streams there are very few girls. This is due mainly to the fact that these streams are not tailored to their occupational aspirations or their labour market.

In every Member State girls are under represented in on-the-job training and face greater difficulties in their search for an apprenticeship. Furthermore, the full-time scholastic vocational training courses are frequently not adapted to their needs at all, with the results that this deficiency is compensated for by longer participation in general education. In various countries this is regarded as the normal preparation for female-specific office jobs.

Educational and vocational guidance

The educational and vocational guidance systems have developed along varying lines in the individual Member States and are institutionalized in various ways. Basically, it would appear that Member States having a school system where full-time scholastic vocational education is predominant also tend towards greater integration of vocational orientation in their educational guidance service. This is true of both France and the Netherlands.

Despite these relatively extensive guidance systems, early school leavers appear to be the very persons who, on the whole, lack adequate information about occupations and the world of work generally. Reference is made to this in a French study, which also indicates that little is known about the occupation actually chosen. Various British studies likewise reveal considerable dissatisfaction among secondary school pupils with regard to the vocational and educational guidance they received during schooling.

The following phenomena illustrate the effectiveness of vocational guidance provided by the labour authorities in the individual Member States:

— In nearly every Member State vocational guidance (and job placement) plays only a secondary role as a source of information (and placement). The primary source of information (also the main placement instrument) remains the family or the immediate social environment. This is indicated in Dutch, French and Italian studies. Moreover, an Italian study shows that 40% of the young people questioned had themselves played no active part in the search for a job, everything having been arranged by their family.

- In some Member States, taking advantage of the vocational guidance and placement services appears to be influenced by the level of education, the educational stream taken, and the sex of the young person.
 - In the Netherlands, for instance, vocational guidance services are used primarily by those leaving general education schools. Girls, especially those whose level of education is lower, make little use of the services.
- The extent to which vocational guidance services are used is also dependent on the attitude towards them and experience gained with them. Both French and German studies present a largely negative picture.
- Studies on the degree of satisfaction expressed by young people with the jobs found for them by the placement offices produced contradictory results.

It is essential that we interpret these results with caution, since structure, competence, and areas of intervention differ so greatly in the individual national systems. Reference must also be made to Belgium as a particular exception, since a special situation arises for young people there as a result of the seventy-five day waiting period regulation and the compulsory notification of vacant situations.

Structure of vacancies on the labour market

A manifestly important sociostructural factor in the choice of occupation is the structure of vacancies in the labour market, and this has a double significance for the occupational choice process of young people. On the one hand it is a given factor for those making a choice but on the other hand the side offering the vacancies can actively influence the occupational choice process.

The important point in our context is the restrictions which the structure of the local labour market places upon occupational choice, and very often this structure is already reflected in the regional full-time scholastic facilities. Where on-the-job training predominates, the labour market directly affects the entire spectrum of vocational/educational streams available. German, Dutch and French studies paid particular attention to this problem.

The attitudes of young people towards work and the job

A major hindrance to fruitful public discussion on the alleged change in the attitude of young people towards

work generally and their own job in particular and the weakened motivation imputed to them is the frequent use of the words 'attitude' and 'motivation' as blanket terms. On the basis of the empirical material available to us, we must at least differentiate between the following aspects:

- the significance of work and the job in the life and the career prospects of a young person,
- the nature of occupational aspirations (especially with regard to the evaluation of manual as opposed to non-manual work),
- the occupational choice criteria of young people and their occupational aspirations in order of preference,
- general occupational motivation situations and orientation patterns of young people, with particular regard to sex-specific differences.

The significance of work and the job

Various European labour authorities frequently refer to a change in attitude among young people in that the job and work generally have become less important in their scheme of things. The studies available to us, however, show a varying picture.

In assessing possible changes, differentation is made in this synthesis between three categories of attitudes:

- traditional work orientation indicates an attitude in which work and the job are accorded central importance;
- passive work orientation, on the other hand, indicates a fatalistic and pragmatic acceptance of one's occupational fate;
- alternative work orientation indicates an attitude in which greater value is attached to other aspects of life

The aggregate results indicate a strong and continued preference for the traditional concepts of work. But the picture changes when the factors of education and social class are introduced, when it becomes apparent that alternative attitudes towards work are more likely to be met with among better-educated people from middle-class homes. Working-class children are predominantly traditional in outlook, an above-average proportion of them regarding work as a moral obligation.

Occupational aspirations

Misunderstandings over the results of studies on this problem are often due to the fact that no adequate distinction is made between (ideal) occupational aspirations and concrete job expectations.

Indeed, it is the less-qualified young people who, when questioned about their occupational aspirations,

frequently have quite unrealistic ideas which take on the character of utopian wishful thinking.

On the other hand, their concrete job expectations are more likely to be linked to the existing spectrum and given distribution of jobs. A German study shows that a kind of synchronization of occupational aspirations and actual job distribution comes about quite independently of any vocational guidance.

It is not surprising, however, that the hopes of advancement implicit in these job expectations are still related to the young person's social background.

Many of the labour authorities of the Member States of the European Community refer to the particular problem of 'derogation of manual work'.

The various national studies on this subject, however, reveal a more differentiated picture, primarily determined by the fact that occupational aspirations rarely go beyond the horizon of the young person's social environment. Derogation occurs within this framework. Children from higher-salaried groups accordingly reject above all employment as minor salaried employees, while working-class children shy away from unskilled work. The studies agree in general that what is involved is a derogation of unqualified work rather than of manual work generally.

Criteria for the choice of occupation and job

If one questions young people about their preference criteria for occupations and workplaces, the first thing that becomes apparent in every study is that, taken as a whole, the concrete working conditions play a minor part; this applies especially to working conditions dictated by technical and organizational factors. That this is also largely a problem of inadequate information about working life in general and the desired occupation in particular is indicated by studies which establish that school leavers know very little about these matters.

When describing their chosen occupation, young people attach on the other hand great importance to the social dimension of the job. Pleasant relationships with colleagues and a friendly working atmosphere are among the more important criteria. As regards the order of priority of the preference criteria, especially interest value of the work, pay, and job security, the differences that emerge in the individual national studies are significant.

An Italian study puts job security first, a French study refers to pay as the most important criterion, while German studies emphasize the interest value of the work.

Unfortunately the individual national studies are comparable to a limited degree only and therefore no conclusions about typical national attitudes can be drawn directly from them.

Occupational motivation situations and orientation patterns

Another aspect of occupational attitudes to which prominence is given in German and French studies is the motivation situation with regard to young people's readiness to assume responsibility and accept supervisory positions, build a career, etc. The studies all agree that on the whole occupational motivation has weakened. In this connection parallels are sometimes drawn with general studies covering industrial workers which showed there was little readiness to assume a supervisory role.

In detail, however, the studies do reveal substantial differences when the education level and sex of the young people are taken into account.

A study undertaken in the Federal Republic of Germany, which distinguished between various kinds of occupational motivation situations, found that an above-average number of girls fall into the group 'help others, work without having to think much about it, not willing to strive for maximum performance'. A British study also stresses this sex-specific orientation. There, too, girls were primarily interested in 'helping' and were more inclined to undertake less demanding, pleasant work.

Reactions to possible discrepancies between occupational expectations and the possibility of their realization

The studies refer particularly to two possible reasons for a change in the attitude of young people towards work. One is the bad employment situation which exists at The other present. lies in the general, structurally-determined problems which attend the integration of young people into the world of work. Obstacles to integration include the specifics of the youth labour market, social legislation which favours the older worker, and the limited representation of the rights of young workers.

In the studies the following occupational behaviour patterns are discussed as possible reactions to both types of discrepancy: occupational instability, indifference towards work, little desire for further education or training, finding compensation in leisure time and various forms of deviatory behaviour.

However, the studies could not produce evidence of any direct correlation with the occupational or general employment situation.

Discrepancies due to the employment situation

The bad employment situation makes the transition to working life more difficult, firstly because the search for a job or an apprenticeship is harder. Then there is the growing problem of young people having to accept jobs in which they cannot make use of their qualifications, also the fact that they are increasingly being placed in the weaker segments of the labour market, as may be seen from the high proportion of small businesses in the youth labour market in every Member State.

Young people appear to be reacting flexibly to the demands of the changed employment situation or at any rate want to do so. Despite inadequate infrastructure they are, for example, very ready to be mobile. Readiness to compromise is particularly marked in countries like France and Italy, where there has long been youth unemployment which is officially regarded as being structurally determined.

Personal experience of unemployment, especially over a long period, produces the same reactions in young people as it does in other workers. But the psychosocial damage they suffer, similarly to older workers, is less than it is in the case of workers in the 30- to 50-year age group.

Of particular importance in evaluating youth unemployment is the fact that initial experiences in the world of work generally have a strong determining influence on the subsequent career. Negative experiences at the start of working life can affect a young persons's career in that they may bring about increased occupational instability, for example.

With regard to a change in occupational attitudes, the studies largely agree that experiencing unemployment tends to strengthen traditional and passive attitudes towards work.

A further effect of the current employment situation upon the motivation structure is a general trend towards extended school attendance; for many there is a tendency to remain in the protective fold of the educational system. This trend is most marked in Italy, where because of the necessity to finance this prolongation, it has resulted in the prevalent worker-pupil or worker-student category.

Discrepancies due to the working conditions of young people

The various national studies unanimously indicate that young people find the time directly following the transition to working life fraught with difficulties. But because of the varying national vocational training systems, in particular, this finding must be regarded as relative. In some systems the change is very abrupt and therefore dramatic. Other vocational training systems

ensure a smoother transition. These differences may also explain the varying results with regard to a possible 'transition shock'. Such a shock is far more a problem of the structural working conditions facing young people than of coping with the job as such. This conclusion can be drawn primarily from studies which found relative contentment with the job itself but a rather negative evaluation of the work situation.

French researchers have paid particular attention to the connection between the work situation of young workers and their occupational attitudes and behaviour patterns. They come to the conclusion that young workers, together with other fringe groups, usually find themselves in an underprivileged position. They are far more frequently employed in small businesses which are in a weaker position on the market, and the threat of dismissal is therefore generally greater. Very often their hours of work do not conform with the 40-hour standard and they are comparatively badly paid.

If one accepts the inference of these French studies, occupational indifference and instability and forms of diffused rebellion are more the consequence of the 'normal' work situation than the outcome of the changed employment situation.

According to these authors a 'profaning' of work has taken place among young people, who understand this to be a realistic adjustment to working conditions and, in particular, to their relegation to the margin of working life.

O. Magnussen 1

Opportunity structure for early school-leavers

During the 1970s youth unemployment has become a serious social and economic problem in the Member States of the European Community. For the EC as a whole, the rate of unemployment in the youngest age group, 14 to 19, is almost three times the total rate of unemployment. This estimate may even be on the low side if we count some of the inactive persons among the unemployed.

The labour market is strongly divided between a primary sector with stable employment and a secondary labour market with very high unemployment. This is

¹ Institute of Education, European Cultural Foundation, Paris.

most clearly seen if we compare the rate of unemployment for boys 14 to 19 years of age with the rate of unemployment for men 45 to 49 years of age. According to a labour force survey undertaken in all EC countries in 1975, the latter was only 2% for the EC as a whole, while the former was almost five times higher, or 9.4%. Even if this difference may overstate the relative severity of the unemployment problem among young people, due to the shorter duration of unemployment in this age group, there is no doubt that differences in unemployment by age are unacceptably high and prevent the necessary social and economic integration of the groups in the labour market.

While the large differences in unemployment rates between young people and adults reflect the importance of work experience for the incidence of unemployment, other factors are equally important in determining the level of unemployment among young people. There is, for example, within each age group a clear and distinct relationship between the level of unemployment and the skill level (Italy may be an exception). The most vulnerable groups in a labour market context are young people without primary school certificates, which shows the importance of mastering the basic skills. Even a rudimentary education beyond this stage considerably reduces the risk of becoming unemployed.

For the least skilled this deficiency in training is in general not remedied through on-the-job training even if they do succeed in obtaining a job. They usually enter jobs where little or no training is provided.

The high rate of job change per year among young people may be a sign that the search for a suitable job is ineffective, due to lack of information, and vocational guidance may be needed to reduce the waste of effort devoted to job search.

The characteristics of youth unemployment sketched above have led Member States to introduce various measures to alleviate youth unemployment.

A useful classification of policy measures surveyed in this paper is the following:

- 1. countercyclical measures, i. e. job subsidies and job-creation programmes;
- 2. medium-term measures, i. e. measures with a small structural impact such as vocational preparation;
- 3. structural measures, i. e. reforms of formal education or formal training programmes.

If we compare the numbers attending vocational preparation programmes with the number of people employed by job-creation programmes or through job subsidy programmes, we find that in most countries the latter kind of programmes are far larger in scope than vocational preparation programmes. It is clear that structural measures are at present very insignificant policy instruments. Short-term countercyclical

instruments are still, many years after youth unemployment became a serious social problem, the main response of most governments.

Job-creation programmes which mainly increase job opportunities within the public sector or institutions dependent on the public sector are sometimes described as community service programmes, which means that projects undertaken as parts of this programme should consist of tasks which would otherwise not be carried out. As a consequence, these tasks will in general have low priority and therefore relatively low value in terms of training and work experience. Another consequence is that it will be difficult to combine such projects with educational programmes and training programmes, since the content of these programmes cannot be directly related to the work experience of the participants. The reason for the requirement that the programmes consist of tasks which would otherwise not be carried out is that these programmes should not interfere with the normal hiring of people in the public sector.

The salaries obtained on such programmes have in some instances been much higher for young people than in more permanent jobs or in training contracts. It is possible, therefore, that young people have been diverted from more permanent jobs to job-creation programmes as a result of the higher remuneration.

Job-subsidy programmes may in principle cover both the private and the public sector but are mostly used as a method to increase employment in the private sector. The problems connected with such programmes seem to be as follows:

- (a) Subsidies are paid to all firms indiscriminately, including those which would have expanded their employment of young school leavers anyway. In the UK, 76% of the firms in a survey stated that they would have employed as many school leavers even without the subsidy.
- (b) Subsidies of this type are temporary and do not therefore induce firms to provide permanent employment contracts.
- (c) Job subsidies may lead only to a circulation of unemployed, for as soon as the period for which the subsidy is paid ends, young people engaged on the programme will be sacked and replaced by other unskilled young people eligible for the subsidy.
- (d) Since the provision of on-the-job training is determined by long-term considerations, it is unlikely that such a subsidy will encourage employment in training-intensive industries.

The problems listed here in connection with job-creation and job-subsidy programmes paint, however, much too black a picture of the effects of such programmes. There are also positive effects:

(a) These programmes are easily implemented, at least more easily than vocational preparation

programmes and other programmes which require planning and organization of education and training activities.

- (b) In a situation with a temporary increase in youth unemployment such programmes may be sufficient until activity again picks up and unemployment decreases. And even if the increase in unemployment is not temporary, such programmes are necessary as holding actions until more long-term programmes can be organized.
- (c) They do provide some work experience which could improve employment prospects for some unskilled school leavers;
- (d) The importance of keeping young people off the streets should not be underestimated, especially in inner-city areas. The close connection between unemployment and criminal activity among young people indicates that the indirect social benefits by holding actions such as job-creation programmes may be considerable.

According to the Commission, vocational preparation programmes should include:

- (a) vocational guidance,
- (b) strengthening of basic skills as well as social skills needed at work,
- (c) understanding of basic principles of social and economic organization and rights and duties of workers,
- (d) some specific vocational training,
- (e) practical work experience.

The target group consists of young people who are either unemployed or threatened by unemployment and lack formal educational qualifications.

Very few programmes, if any, meet all the requirements outlined by the Commission, but a few seem to come very close, namely, the vocational preparation courses in Denmark, 'les stages de préparation professionnelle' in France, and the set of courses organized by the Training Services Agency in the UK as well as Community Industry in the same country. The latter needs special mentioning, as it is the only programme to my knowledge where the least skilled are actively encouraged to become enrolled in the programme.

Vocational preparation courses at present introduced in the Member States are available only for a minority of the young people who are unemployed. Apart from a pilot scheme recently introduced in the UK, there are no training opportunities for people who are already employed but threatened by unemployment. Some of the programmes have been introduced as preliminary measures to combat youth unemployment, even though all available evidence shows that this is far from a passing phenomenon. The conclusion therefore seems to be that vocational training programmes need to be expanded considerably and made a permanent policy measure, if they are to have an appreciable effect on employment prospects of young people. When capacity sets the limits to how many people can be accommodated by a vocational training programme, there is the danger that the most motivated and best are accepted. Experience with such qualified programmes, especially in the USA, tend to show that groups participating in equivalent programmes hardly represent the most disadvantaged groups unless participants are deliberately screened. The most disadvantaged often disappear from the labour market and are very difficult to reach by traditional methods. Thus rationing leads to selection of young people with the highest probability of succeeding on the programmes. They are often identical to those who have least problems in overcoming the problems of transition from school to work. In a sense, therefore, the most popular programmes may be superfluous, because they attract those young people who will make it anyway. The effort of programmes such as Community Industry in the UK, which deliberately seeks out the most disadvantaged, is therefore highly commendable.

Very little information is at present available on the relative success of vocational preparation programmes undertaken in EC States. This is not surprising, considering that most programmes were introduced only very recently and that a thorough evaluation is extremely tricky.

There are three main problems connected with evaluation of such programmes which need to be mentioned:

- (a) The fact that somebody gets a job or continues in further education or training after completion of a vocational preparation programme is no evidence of the programme's effectiveness, since the probability of getting a job or continuing in further education is not nil for somebody not attending a programme.
- (b) Successful termination of a vocational preparation programme is no evidence that a person no longer belongs to a risky group in the labour market. This can only be established through longitudinal studies of one to two years' duration which will show whether labour market behaviour has changed significantly (hence the need for a long period of evaluation).
- (c) The success of individual programmes may hide the fact that the overall impact of such programmes may be negligible. For in so far as one is able to place a person in a job, one may only displace another unskilled school leaver. The result may therefore be a lot of gross effort with no net progress.

The information available nevertheless indicates that young people who successfully terminate a programme experience less problems in overcoming the problems of transition to working life than the average unskilled school leaver. A good example is afforded by the

so-called promotion courses in the Federal Republic of Germany, where 98% of the men and 62% of the women were able to proceed to further training after completion of the course.

Data on dropouts are scarce and conflicting. The relative number of dropouts is of course no measure of programme efficiency, but may indicate the ability of participants to benefit from such programmes. In Belgium, for example, only 34% terminated the programme at the centres for guidance and training successfully, while at an equivalent but longer course in France, 64.5% terminated successfully.

We have in this paper considered attempts at reform of formal schooling in the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany, where part-time schooling has been combined with part-time work. Available information gives the impression that these reforms have not been a success, which may to some extent be due to the low status accorded to this type of education as reflected in the professional quality of the teachers, the teaching methods, and the premises. The impression also is that it has been difficult to place young people in part-time work in the Netherlands, where authorities have been forced to introduce a subsidy scheme to encourage the employment of young people in part-time work.

In France vocational subjects and manual activities have been included among the subjects in the secondary school as a device to integrate education and work. Personally I do not believe that a closer integration of work and education will be achieved by this measure, because it is essentially an artificial creation which does not expose pupils to the realities of working life. I have on the other hand no ready-made alternative for the reform of formal education, but a reform of formal education with the intention to bring about a closer integration of work and education must meet, it seems to me, two basic conditions:

- 1. It must expose young people to the real working life, not a sheltered copy within the confines of formal schooling;
- 2. The status accorded to an organization of formal education which combines work and schooling must be comparable with that of alternative arrangements; it ought, in other words, in principle to be available to everybody.

The first requirement seems to be absent in France, while the second is clearly absent in the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany. Needless to say, it will be a most difficult task to secure equal status with other educational arrangements for a reform attempting to integrate formal schooling and work. But this is probably a *sine qua non* for such a reform to succeed.

Related to the debate on the reform of formal schooling is a debate scattered around in the country reports on

vocational education versus general education, the latter being a synonym for academic secondary education. Vocational subjects seem to be closer related to the world of work, and consequently employment prospects would improve for early school leavers if vocational subjects replaced academic subjects in, for example, compulsory school. There are two answers to this argument.

First of all, there is as far as I know no support in data for the belief that vocational education protects more against unemployment than secondary education. What the data show is that more of either reduces unemployment. Secondly, vocational education as taught in formal educational institutions is as much a general form of education as academic education. Both provide the general foundations for the specific training undertaken in firms and other economic institutions. Thus there is no a priori reason believe that vocational education is more in accordance with working life than academic education. If on the other hand there is a serious imbalance in the educational system such that very few acquired a education while the large vocational concentrated on academic subjects, the unemployment of the latter would tend to be larger and closer to the average than the former. The discussion above therefore assumes that a serious imbalance does not exist but that relatively large proportion of young people concentrate on either type of subjects, which is the normal situation in our societies.

We have discussed in this paper a number of general issues which are common to all countries. Some of these have already been considered in this summary: vocational education versus general education, reforms of formal education, and the problems encountered in the evaluation of effects of labour market programmes. Of the other issues under consideration I shall limit myself to some comments on the use of manpower forecasting.

Methods of manpower forecasting have been introduced in some countries, e.g. the UK and the Federal Republic of Germany, to assess future needs for skilled workers. These forecasts are the basis for estimates of required supply of training places in industry. On the basis of available evidence it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the assessment of future demand for trained manpower will entail forecasting errors of such a magnitude as to make the whole exercise useless. In addition, the mal-allocation of labour based on such forecasts may be magnified compared with the errors committed in a more decentralized system.

Since the methodological base for manpower forecasting is rather poor, vocational guidance should not be used as an instrument for allocation of manpower by occupation so as to avoid imagined future scarcity or surplus. The role of vocational guidance should therefore, in my opinion, be to disseminate information on the present state and present trends in the labour

market as well as to assist the individual school leavers in discovering their own abilities and preferences.

In preparing this paper we were asked to pay special attention to the situation of minorities and girls and women. The general situation in Member States seems to be that although girls and women have a higher unemployment rate than boys and men, they have been given lower priority in the measures to improve the opportunity structure. This is also true for minorities. Only the Netherlands has a programme especially designed for minorities, but so far this programme has not been a success.

The present situation with regard to the opportunity structure for young unemployed in the Community may be summed up as follows:

For many young people the spells of unemployment experienced in the transition from school to work is a transitory problem. Their long-term employment prospects are fairly good, and all they need is some assistance during the initial period. For this group job-creation programmes and job-subsidy programmes may be sufficient.

A second group requires somewhat better education, a strengthening of basic skills, and some knowledge of social skills in order to find a satisfactory niche in the labour market, although few in this group will be able to leave the secondary labour market.

The third group consists of really deprived and unqualified young people who need a programme of work experience and education in combination over a long period in order to be able to meet the world of work on their own. This group requires an alternative form of compulsory education, a form which prepares them for the labour market as part of their initial education. Without such a reform we shall always need some sort of remedial action afterwards, a state of affairs which is very unsatisfactory.

The second and third group as a proportion of unemployed young people is likely to grow in the future. The most important reason is that since overall unemployment will stay constant for many years, the tendency is to hire the best qualified young school leavers and adults with work experience in the natural course of hiring and firing. Thus the rate of unemployment for young people belonging to the second and third group will increase.

The consequence of this development is that vocational preparation programmes must be given higher priority and that educational reforms which provide work experience during compulsory schooling for the least qualified should be reconsidered. In the present state of affairs, however, these two developments may turn out to be contradictory. If we get an institutionalized vocational preparation sector to alleviate the problems

of transition, the danger is that the educational problems of the least skilled will be transferred to vocational preparation programmes, reducing the incentives to reform formal education. Thus any success vocational preparation programmes may have in easing the problems of transition may lead to failure in the long run, if the result is a failure to reform formal education.

CNPF 1

Employers' view of the situation in France

1. Overall view of the youth employment situation in France

Each year 650 000 young persons complete their school or university education, a number which will remain constant until 1983. 250 000 of these arrive on the labour market with no vocational training and/or an incomplete general education. An imperfect education system, poor and sometimes misleading vocational guidance, and reluctance to undertake certain occupations are the predominant circumstances in which young people approach working life and also explain in part the fact that 40% of persons seeking employment are under 25 years of age. This structural phenomenon was complicated in 1977 by an unsatisfactory economic situation which resulted in a growthrate of only 3%. Even if in previous years the transition from school to working life can be considered to have been accomplished satisfactorily, it was certain that the young people leaving school in June 1977 would have little chance of finding employment.

The National Employment Programme introduced by the government in July 1977, was intended as both a cyclical and structural approach to the problem. It brought about a situation wherein the number of persons seeking their first job in spring 1978 was lower than those for 1976 and 1977.

The Programme resulted in a total of 627 117 jobs being offered to young persons. The job offers were made on the following bases:

¹ Conseil national du patronat français.

 jobs exempted from social insurance obligations 	229 949	36.7%
- apprenticeship contracts	108 271	17.3%
 practical in-firm training courses 	185 295	29.5%
— employment-training contracts	26 354	4.2%
— training courses	77 247	12.3%
		100.0%

2. Provisions of the National Employment Programme

The five most important measures provided for in the National Employment Programme to facilitate the integration of young people into working life included three structural measures:

- employment-training contracts,
- apprenticeship contracts,
- long-term training courses,

and two cyclical measures:

- exemption from social insurance costs,
- practical in-firm training courses.

2.1. Structural measures

(a) Employment-training contract

This concept was introduced in 1976. It is designed to improve the training provided for young persons and better adapt it to the needs of the national economy. The existing benefits (government funds to partly cover the cost of wages and training) were supplemented in 1977 by an exemption granted to employers from their obligation to pay social insurance contributions for workers employed on this basis.

Its numerous advantages for young people (between 16 and 25 years of age) include:

- a fixed status: the contract provides for employment for a period of at least six months and remunerated according to the nature of the job;
- vocational training: the practical experience gained during work in the enterprise is complemented by a training course comprising between 120 and 1 200 hours.

The employment-training contract encourages the enterprise to take a school leaver, train him for a specific occupation and enable him to obtain a qualification. Simplification of the administrative procedure involved is essential if justice is to be done to

the advantages inherent in this scheme for both employer and employee.

(b) Apprenticeship contract

Apprenticeship contracts concluded within the framework of the National Employment Programme entitle the employer to exemption from payment of social insurance contributions for the apprentice. Two-thirds of the apprenticeship contracts concluded to date have been in the crafts sector one-third in the industrial sector.

After having declined appreciably over the last ten years, the number of apprenticeships concluded in 1977 showed an increase of 20% over the figures for 1976. This tendency should be encouraged. Apprenticeship is a privileged means of training for a first job and is in line with the efforts being made to upgrade manual work. The advantage of apprenticeship training resides in the fact that training is both theoretical and practical:

- theoretical training is provided in apprenticeship training centres (CFA),
- practical training is provided in the enterprise.

In addition to the fact that apprenticeship training leads to the vocational training certificate (CAP), a qualification which is recognized everywhere, the young apprentice enjoys the status of an employee.

(c) Long-term training courses

This type of training course, likewise subsidized by the government, combines a general training with a course of vocational training which may be both a continuation of basic vocational training and a theoretical training in technology. It may comprise periods of work in firms alternating with succeeding periods of theoretical training in a training institution. These training courses are open primarily to young persons between the ages of 16 and 25 who have previously received no vocational training. Training is provided for a number of occupations which are determined by the situation prevailing on the local employment market.

2.2. Cyclical measures

(a) Employers' exemption from social insurance contribution for young employees

It is without doubt this measure which has contributed most to encouraging a number of firms to relax their attitude towards the employment of young persons. The practical effect of the measure is in fact the reduction of the cost of employing additional staff. Reduction of the costs incurred by extraneous factors is the privileged instrument of economic policy when it is necessary to boost demand. Applied to employment, this instrument has encouraged numerous small and medium firms to

increase the number of their staff on a permanent basis by creating jobs which would not have been thinkable without this measure and acting in anticipation of it.

(b) Practical in-firm training courses

Practical in-firm training courses have been the most useful experiment as regards bridging the gap between school and working life in a way which enables school leavers to establish contact with jobholders. It is indeed a course, i.e. a period of training and not merely some temporary job, it is indeed practical in nature in that, unlike short-term study courses for school pupils or students, it is based on familiarization with the working world and is oriented towards the realities of production, commerce and administration, and the fact that it takes place within the firm itself offers the young person the opportunity to acquire a real view of life within a firm.

Practical in-firm training courses can be distinguished from jobs based on the employment-training contract and the apprenticeship contract in that the trainee is not considered an employee of the enterprise and that the training provided takes the form of an adaptation course.

Nevertheless, it is worth considering whether this practical course is not invaluable. It represents an opportunity

- of orientation for those who have no previous vocational training,
- of reorientation for those whose training was ill-adapted to their needs,
- of identifying more suitable employment for those whose initial experiences proved to be failures.

The course provides young people with the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the life in and the operation of the firm and by virtue of this familiarization to better orient themselves without making any final commitment. It can widen their occupational prospects and endow them with a tangible value in so far as on completion of the course they are no longer totally inexperienced.

The in-firm practical training course is proving to be the experimental scheme which could be of greatest value in the debates on the integration of young persons into working life. One could even investigate whether this measure is not the most suitable for solving the structural problems of insertion and integration of young people into active life.

3. Reflections on a better attitude towards entering working life

The innovations contained in the National Employment Programme constitute a framework for reflection as regards ways and means of facilitating the transition from school to working life. It is a generally recognized fact that the search for a first job represents for the juvenile a turning-point betweeen school life, its rhythm and values, and working life.

If this turning-point is to be navigated smoothly, efforts must focus on accomplishing a supple transition which includes vocational training within the enterprise conceived as an integral part of the more general continuing education process. Research into the transition should take into consideration:

- the different categories of young people as determined by the different levels to which they have already undergone training in order to improve the quality of their vocational training;
- the possible concept of alternating in-firm training and training at school in order to better coordinate the two systems.

In more general terms, these measures should be complemented by parallel efforts to improve the employment situation in which emphasis is placed on:

- improving the quality and promoting the development of both personnel services in general and provisions for employing young persons in firms;
- improving job-finding services for young people;

Finally, a vocational preparation policy must be devised which takes into account the following factors:

- identification of the occupations in the national economy and description of jobs;
- initial training and the training required to complement it:
- the effectiveness of experiments already carried out. This effectiveness finds its expression in connection with the procurement of a first job, the conditions of recruitment, and occupational stabilization.

CBI 1

Employers' view of the situation in the United Kingdom

Careers preparation in schools

The provision of careers teachers and careers counsellors/advisers for schools has to date taken a low priority in education establishments.

¹ Confederation of British Industry.

Where career teachers and advisers exist, they have extremely limited access to pupils and are in such short supply that the quality of service they are able to give falls far short of what is required both by them and the pupils. Besides a shortage of financial resources, most careers services have met with resistance from academics to their role as 'recruiter for (amongst others) industry'. Industry's moves to enhance career advice have in the past met with a cool reception, at best tolerance.

In July 1977 the government produced a report "Education in Schools: a consultative document" which, among other things, stresses the importance to the nation's economy of industry. It seeks changes in two ways:

- (a) a realistic influence by industry on the curriculum to reflect the important role played by industry in the economy;
- (b) an expansion of careers advice to give industry appropriate coverage. Here are stressed the advantages of school teachers gaining first-hand experience of industry or commerce either before teaching or during teaching life and a deliberate policy of encouraging girl pupils to opt for non traditional vocations. The latter has met with most resistance from teachers and parents.

Industry welcomes this new direction and has offered its services both nationally and locally to assist in matters of curriculum development and career guidance, not to assume the role of educationalists, for which it is not equipped, but to be available for consultation on industry's needs and its reaction to the end-product of the education system.

Transition from school to work

Very much in line with the situation as depicted above, in most areas of the UK little or nothing is done to assist the young person through the transition from an academic world to the commercial, industrial adult world at a time in his or her personal development in which the pressures of physical and emotional changes already constitute a great burden. Industry itself has not had a good record in this respect, except where formal induction or apprenticeship courses have been undertaken, a small section of total recruitment.

There are notable exceptions, the main ones being:

School-based work experience programmes

Pupils spend up to three weeks at a place of work in a thoroughly planned visit which includes introductions to all levels of employees, explanations of processes and products, limited experience with some machinery, and follow-up discussions. An increasing number of local education authorities are participating in these.

Project Trident

In a three-phase, six-week programme older school pupils undertake community service, work experience, and planned leisure activities which are aimed to encourage personal service and self-awareness and broaden careers education.

Young Enterprise

Teenagers are helped to 'run their own business' modelled on large companies. They meet during evenings and sell shares, man production lines, elect officers, and sell their products. Industry sponsors these projects, providing know-how, staff and publicity.

Understanding British Industry

An independent non-profit organization founded by the CBI, UBI's purpose is to work closely with teachers, schools, local education authorities, etc., on the one hand, and companies, public corporations, and related bodies on the other to provide information about the nature and the role of industry and commerce and the work and problems of present-day schools. Its Resource Centre collects and catalogues existing industry information material and then will advise on where there are still gaps, helping to fill these either with its own publications or by suggesting to others what might be done.

CBI's Introduction to Industry Scheme

This scheme makes arrangements for secondary school teachers of all disciplines to spend three weeks working in commercial and industrial firms. The success of the scheme is measured by the change in attitude of teachers and headmasters towards the aims and methods of private enterprise.

Unified Vocational Preparation (UVP)

A pilot project jointly sponsored by the central government's Department of Education and Science and the Manpower Services Commission, this was begun in 1976 and recently extended on a pilot basis to 1981, despite a discouraging response. The scheme aims to give young people a better start in working life through the development of basic skills needed in adult life and an understanding of how society and industry work and their place in it. Firms are given financial assistance to release their young employees for daily instruction or one- or two-week courses.

Once the scheme wins wider acceptance, it is hoped to cover a large proportion of the 300 000 or so people who enter employment without training or further education each year.

There are today many schemes run by councils, training boards and employers organization which aim to help the transition from school to work. However, added together they still cover only a small proportion of young school leavers who need this help.

Craft training — apprenticeships

Industry in the UK has in the past guarded jealously its role as trainer for its craft workforce. The formation of industrial training boards from 1964 onwards has brought about only gradually a wider view of craft training in the light of shortages brought about by technological changes and many other pressures.

The Report by the MSC 'Training for Skills — a programme for action', published in November 1977, highlights among other things:

- the desirability of maintaining a steady and predictable intake of young recruits for training and
- the need to review traditional apprenticeship training methods with a view to minimizing the losses and other difficulties caused by rigid adherence to practices which were no longer suitable in today's work situation.

Industry welcomes this move as an important step towards resolving the skill shortage/unemployed manpower dilemma which is besetting production and expansion plans of many companies, large and small. There are, however, some warnings of the hazards in this undertaking:

- Manpower planning capacity in this country is in its infancy and no national plan formed today could cope with all the regional and local differences.
- For this reason industry reserves the right to retain the initiative for making changes to its recruitment and training capacity to meet its foreseen needs.
- Economic conditions leading to a more buoyant industrial climate would go a long way towards improving industry's recruitment of young people.

Measures for unemployed young people

Youth Opportunities Programme

The government launched in April 1978 a programme, to cost UKL 135 million per year, to provide work experience and temporary job substitutes for some

230 000 unemployed school leavers in the 16- to 18-year age group. It is not the place here to describe in detail the features of the programme.

It is worth noting that while it will be financed by government fund, it calls on a great deal of community participation, without which it would not function. Not only are there now twenty-eight area boards and a national board made up of different interests in the community to plan and supervise the programme to meet local needs, but each individual project must be initiated at local level by firms, local authorities, voluntary bodies, etc.

Employers have taken part and will continue to do so, though with a preference for the work experience scheme where young people spend some six months becoming acquainted with all aspects of an employer's establishment. Industry accepts the social value of providing for unemployed young people a structured activity where they are helped to obtain life skills and to become familiar with the work environment. But we maintain that the prime objective is to obtain real, normal, permanent employment for young people, and an improvement in the economy would do much of this. Each young participant should at all times be ready to break off from the programme and accept a job if it is offered, and the very existence of the programme should be reviewed annually, nationally, and locally in view of the developments in the employment market.

Youth Employment Subsidy (YES)

This scheme was introduced in October 1976 to help young people under 20 and unemployed for six months or more by offering employers a subsidy of UKL 10 per week for up to twenty-six weeks to employ a young person. This has helped some 6 000 young people to obtain work.

While this scheme has merit in that it facilitates a young person's entry into a real working situation, it does not increase the total supply of job vacancies but merely alters the young person's competitive position *vis-à-vis* older workers.

Conclusion — transition and the employability of young people

The UK school-leaving age was increased from 15 to 16 in 1974. It was intended that this extra year would be used to provide a programme in which the pupils were introduced to the world of work. The year was to be half academic and half careers guidance, with outside visits to firms, careers lectures and projects and assistance for the visits to firms as well as careers lectures and projects and assistance for the individual to orient himself towards a career — a period of

transition. However, this did not happen, and for many pupils the extra year merely prolonged the agony of meaningless, unwanted formal instruction. It was not recognized at the time that such an endeavour needed a great deal more than merely legislation setting the new age requirement. Lacking were experience in careers preparation on the part of educationalists, the right attitude among teachers, the necessary guidance from industry as to what it offers and what it looks for in a recruit, etc. The move to make the extra year a 'careers year' was therefore either still-born or died soon afterwards.

Only some 20 to 25% of the school leavers in the United Kingdom who obtain employment enter into apprenticeship. Amongst the rest, a large proportion receives no training or only the barest minimum.

Failure to provide guidance to a young person at such a crucial stage of his or her development must often lead to disenchantment which in turn leads to resignation or dismissal for poor performance. The next prospective employer will consider a young person's previous employment record before recruiting, thereby completing the vicious circle.

Under open conditions, the job market would operate like any other market: high quality attracts high prices, low quality low prices, both influenced by conditions of supply and demand. However, when outside forces, in this case, social legislation guaranteeing relatively high pay to the less qualified, intervene, the balance is upset.

An employer forced to pay almost the same price for a skilled, experienced and mature worker as for a young unmotivated, poorly prepared novice will naturally opt for the former unless there are incentives to take a chance with the latter. Such incentives are at present lacking.

If the balance cannot be redressed by the creation of conditions which make it attractive and worth while to recruit young people, then it is only fair to help the young to improve their product, they themselves. This harks back to the factor given top priority at the beginning of this paper, namely, training and vocational preparation.

Steps can be taken, however, which restore young people's competitive position. The government could lift certain financial and statutory obligations in favour of young recruits. This would be particularly helpful for small firms. Where day-release education is deemed necessary, the costs could be defrayed with financial assistance. Employers are not seeking a return to the days before the new social legislation, as this would be a step backwards. What is needed now is action to complete the other half of the task and recreate the job market balance.

ETUC

Viewpoint of the European Trade Union Confederation

Vocational preparation during the transition from school to work — what does this mean?

What is the situation at the present time?

Most European countries have carried or are carrying out measures for the employment and training of young people with fairly similar objectives in mind, albeit with sometimes slightly differing techniques. The essential feature of these measures is that they are planned on a short-term basis. We have on several occasions condemned them to the extent that:

- they tend more to help firms without actually modifying their employment policy rather than to seek to guarantee young people employment and training;
- they challenge acquired trade union benefits and social rights (young people are often not considered to be workers in their full right, since their qualification is not recognized);
- by instituting transition periods between the end of the education system and the beginning of permanent employment, they tend to freeze initial training structures rather than renovate them.

What ideas do we propose?

When we speak of 'vocational preparation during the transition from school to work', we must make a clear distinction between two types of training:

First type of training: precise adaptation to a given job

Even if the education system gives young people all-round vocational training, it does not produce 'finished products' who can take on a given job immediately and in a perfectly operational manner. This situation is permanent and does not depend on the economic cycle; it is normal and even desirable. The opposite situation, the mechanical adaptation of training to jobs, would quite simply place the education system totally and directly in the hands of employers.

Thus training must very often be carried out in the firm itself, the obvious purpose being adaptation to the job. In our opinion, this first type of vocational preparation must observe the following minimum rules:

- Young people are workers in their full right. They must have the same rights as other workers, particularly as regards wages, working conditions, trade union rights, etc. One vital point here is that their situation must not be considered to be temporary: if at the end of the training job adaptation period the employer does not want to keep on these young workers, this is a case of dismissal, and the procedure followed must carry the same guarantees as for other workers.
- State aid paid to employers as a contribution towards workers' pay can only amount to part of the pay relating to the time during which young workers are taking courses and not to the time during which they are at work.
- It must be possible for the workers' representatives in the firm in question to monitor the training/adaptation to the job, i.e. to make certain that this training is in fact provided and to supervise the quality of the training.

Second type of training: vocational training and additional general education

The preliminary report of November 1977 drawn up by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training underlined that the present problems of youth unemployment clearly revealed 'the gaps in the education system both as regards quality and as regards quantity'.

It is a fact that education systems in their present form do not give all young persons the opportunity to acquire proper all-round vocational training and proper general education as they should do. It is also obvious that if this deficiency is to be remedied, formulas must be found which enable young people to have much closer contact with work realities in the plant or firm itself.

But must one then conclude that this type of vocational preparation must be provided at post-school level?

- If this means that this training must not be provided exclusively in the locality of the educational establishment but must include on-the-job spells, we are of course in agreement.
- If it means that it must be planned, organized, and controlled outside the framework of the education system, then, on the contrary, we consider this to be dangerous, since there is the considerable risk that an important part of the education system would be placed in the hands of employers and an important principle, that of the public service nature of education, would be interfered with.

A supplementary education system must therefore be promoted, whose features should be as follows:

- The general responsibility of this supplementary education would be committed to the education system (which in many countries would presuppose new means as regards staff and materials).
- The alternation of periods in the educational establishment and periods in the firm would be the rule; the education system could carry out a follow-up during the latter periods.
- The young people would enjoy the status of young trainee workers, would come under the education system, and would receive remuneration through that system.
- The duration of the training period could be very variable, depending on the initial level of each young person, and the result should be adequate vocational training and general education which would ensure employment.

This, in our opinion, is how we can contribute towards the necessary renewal of the education system and increase its capacity for providing all young persons with the vocational training and general education to which they are entitled.

Jobs must be available

We would repeat here once again that although education and training are essential measures which must accompany a policy of full employment, they are not the essential driving force of that policy. The fundamental criticism we have to make of the measures which are at present being implemented is precisely that they conceived in the sole aim of temporarily reducing youth unemployment rather than tackling the real problem, namely, the revival of consumption, the satisfaction of the social needs of the population, of new regional, national, establishment international equilibrium, in short, a new type of development. There is also the question of sharing out the work which is available: reduction of working time, lowering of pension age, etc.

Otherwise, the measures taken in the field of youth employment are likely to result solely in the transfer of unemployment from one age group to another. This would not solve the problem; it might even lead to dangerous gulfs between groups.

Integrating young people is a major problem

Apart from the harmful effects in the education field and at economic level of failure to take serious account of youth employment and education, we consider it important to point out just how serious the situation is. The measures which are at present being taken in the various Member States frequently have the effect of putting young people who are supposed to benefit from them in the position of a marginal group receiving assistance:

- a marginal group, because these measures often give them the status of 'cheap' workers whereas they in fact all work as hard as other workers;
- receiving assistance, because the pay systems which are applied to these young people and which are often insufficient are conceived by them as acts of assistance and not as fair remuneration for work done.

In the atmosphere of violence and adventurism which is at present coming to the fore in Europe, to consider young people from the point of view of marginalization and assistance is to aim for gloomy days ahead.

CEDEFOP

Emergency measures on youth unemployment

The question as to whether and to what extent the measures to combat youth unemployment launched in all the Member States of the Community have achieved their objectives was already in the forefront of our deliberations during the Zandvoort Conference in December 1976. The objectives of these measures were to:

- (a) reduce the rate of youth unemployment by improving the integration of young people into working life and preparing them better for their occupations;
- (b) encourage the creation of new jobs for young people by subsidizing employers either directly or indirectly.

We decided to commission studies in order to determine whether and to what extent these objectives had been achieved. These studies are now in our hands. In addition to vocational preparation measures in the stricter sense, we also covered other measures such as job-creation programmes, job subsidies, and community projects, for example, in our series of studies, the purpose being to establish;

- (a) whether and to what extent these might conceivably compete with vocational preparation measures in the stricter sense as well as with facilities for further vocational qualifications and job opportunities for unqualified young workers;
- (b) whether these measures in their entirety had been able to produce a positive net effect: i. e., whether the unemployment rate among young people had actually decreased;
- (c) whether it might be possible to proceed from some of these measures and by institutionalizing and extending them, improve the transition from school to work.

In the course of the studies a number of advantages and disadvantages of these measures to combat youth unemployment took shape. Difficult and perhaps hazardous as it may be to discuss them collectively, given their great variety, some general conclusions can nevertheless be drawn.

Disadvantages

- 1. By entry into such a measure, young people frequently acquire a special status: they are neither pupils nor apprentices nor young workers; they are therefore set apart from people their own age.
- 2. The measures do not normerly constitute part of a recognized vocational training scheme. They are limited to preparing young people for employment as unqualified or semiqualified workers. These young people therefore continue to be threatened by unemployment.
- 3. The weighting of vocational preparation and vocational training within the framework of these measures varies greatly and quality and quantity are scarcely subject to evalution.
- 4. Employers may select those young workers whom they wish to keep on after completion of training, a situation which induces the young workers to compete with one another.
- 5. The young people have no guarantee that they will remain in employment.
- It is questionable whether all these measures actually result in new jobs being created. Opinion prevails in many quarters that they merely redistribute unemployment.
- 7. These measures compete with apprentice training, higher vocational qualification, and the employment of young workers.
- 8. These measures provide young people with experience in economic sectors and spheres of work which seldom open up lasting career prospects.

Advantages

- 1. Within the context of these measures young people generally acquire what they lack most, namely, work experience. Only on this basis can young people successfully embark on a promising career of their choice.
- 2. These measures enable young people to test their inclinations and aptitudes for a particular occupation without their being committed to a specific, narrowly defined career.
- 3. These measures take young people off the streets and free them from a sense of futility, and the material incentives provided are in some cases very attractive.
- 4. These measures can act as a bridge linking the end of compulsory schooling to the beginning of military service, for military service often constitutes an obstacle to regular employment.
- 5. It is cheaper for the government to finance such measures than to pay unemployment benefits.
- 6. By integrating young people into these measures, labour market statistics are improved.
- 7. With the help of young people community projects can be implemented relatively easily.
- 8. As the economic situation improves, these measures can easily be discontinued.

A comparative analysis of these advantages and disadvantages leads us to the conclusion, as endorsed by all the authors who conducted studies, that the positive effects tend to counterbalance the negative effects. In other words, from the overall economic and social point of view the impact on the labour market is nil.

On the other hand, young people can improve their position by participating in these measures and are subsequently more competitive. As a rule, however, they then take job openings away from young people looking for work who have not participated.

This would tend to confirm working hypotheses (a) and (b), namely, that the positive and negative effects counterbalance each other on the labour market by virtue of the fact that the large number of varying facilities for vocational preparation, continuing education, and integration into working life compete not ony with one another but also with the employment of young school leavers in jobs requiring no further qualification.

It is thus evident that we must be wary of the hypothesis which holds that the lower the training qualification, the greater the risk of unemployment. On the contrary, the studies show a clear correlation with the social background (admittedly a poor social background usually goes hand in hand with low job qualifications), sex, and geographical origin of young people. It is

astonishing, by the way, that during the period of full employment no one raised the argument that young people were underqualified. On the contrary, it was the threat of overqualification which was emphasized.

Transition from school to work — some questions for the Conference

From an evaluation of these measures and in the light of the quantitative and qualitative development of vocational training systems in Member States and of apprentice of training and occupational integration in firms in recent years (see *inter alia* the preliminary report of November 1977), which led, partially as a result of cyclical and structural factors, to less investment in vocational training for young people, we arrived at a number of conclusions which might conceivably help in seeking ways of solving the problem of transition from school to work.

The measures contain very few components which would serve to improve on a long-term basis the vocational preparation and training of young people. They do serve to prepare a young person for a particular job, but as a rule job security continues to be threatened. Since the measures are for the most part linked to cyclical phenomena, more and more Member States are setting out in the light of persistent unemployment to strengthen the structural components embodied in these measures in order to achieve long-term improvement in the occupational integration of young people. Examples of such approaches are the contrat d'emploi-formation in France, the Work Experience Programme in the United Kingdom, and legislation enacted in Italy in August 1977 which also provides for a new type of employment-training contract. Other Member States, in particular Denmark, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany, are taking the more arduous and lengthier course of seeking to improve vocational training itself and to achieve a greater degree of coordination between theoretical and practical aspects, between school and work.

In Denmark an attempt is being made to incorporate apprentice training into schooling while retaining a close link with in-firm practice. In Holland compulsory part-time schooling is being extended to two days. In the Federal Republic of Germany a basic vocational training year either at school or on a school-firm basis is being developed.

Member States with a very high rate of youth unemployment tend to give priority to employment policies. Those with a lower rate intend to lengthen the period of vocational training, thereby postponing the entry of young people into the labour market in the hope that the employment situation will improve.

However, all Member States are aware that the interrelationship between school and work is unsatisfactory and that consequently the transition does not function smoothly. As long as this interrelationship does not improve, there will always be friction at the point of transition, regardless of the economic situation and the employment situation.

From the above considerations we arrived at the following working hypothesis:

Measures to combat youth unemployment intended primarily to improve the situation of young people in the short term have no long-term effect. The measures must therefore:

- be designed on a longer-term basis,
- lead to a recognized vocational qualification, and
- above all open up a broader spectrum of career opportunities.

They must therefore not be limited to preparing a young person for a particular job, although this must remain the prime objective.

A quantitative and qualitative expansion of vocational training facilities is one means to this end, but this is not enough in itself. It can perhaps improve the employment prospects of individual young persons but not of young people as a whole. In order to achieve this other measures which generate employment must be launched concurrently. Vocational training and continuing education could greatly improve the employment prospects of young people if adult workers were given more opportunity to participate in these training offers. They would then drop out of the production process for a time and in this way open up jobs for young people.

Equality of educational and employment opportunities must also be considered from the generation standpoint. On the one hand we have relatively well trained young people and on the other hand we have adults who are threatened with occupational downgrading as a result of technological and organizational changes and whose jobs are therefore becoming increasingly insecure. If we could provide young people with their first jobs and at the same time offer adult workers oportunities for continuing education which are materially and socially more secure, a whole series of structural problems could be solved.

The employment-training contracts developed in some Member States could serve as a means to this end, provided that:

- they are open not only to young people,
- the quality and quantity of training provided is considerably improved and not only industry but also schools and other training institutions make their facilities available,

 much better social provision is made for the trainee workers under contract.

The entry of young people into working life would then not be a once-only, largely irrevocable decision. Adults who are victims of structural change and who are threatened with unemployment could undergo retraining at an earlier stage and/or finally acquire full vocational training qualification.

We propose that in the next stage of the project following this Conference a study be made of the extent to which there are signs of such a development in some Member States. We would undertake to prepare a more detailed study of specific measures in certain Member States in the form of case studies and to question both those involved in the measures and those affected by them. The purpose of this Second Consultative Conference was to help us to assess:

- whether we are moving in the right direction,
- whether we have formulated the correct working hypotheses,
- whether we should formulate them more clearly,
- to what extent and in what form the social partners in particular would like and are able to contribute to the necessary expansion of facilities for qualified vocational training and continuing education,
- what legal bases are needed to get a grip on the problem of youth underqualification and adult dequalification, and
- what the EC should do to solve the problems identified.

The Commission Recommendation of July 1977 on vocational preparation for young people was an important step in this direction. However, we have seen that vocational preparation in the strict sense of the term have played only a small role in these measures to date, if we leave out of account those Member States which are remodelling and expanding their vocational training systems as a whole accordingly. Recommendation emphasizes the need of involvement on the part of the social partners. However, there is as yet no consensus as to how this should be done. Coordination at Member State level does not seem sufficient. The problems present themselves at the level of firms and industrial sectors as well as at local and regional level. Sophisticated machinery for reciprocal coordination between the government authorities and the social partners seems urgently necessary.

Perhaps this Conference can contribute to the formulation of carefully conceived proposals for the establishment of such machinery serving to improve career prospects for young people and concurrently safeguard jobs for adults by expanding the facilities for qualified vocational training and continuing education.

Literature published by and available upon request from CEDEFOP

- 1. CEDEFOP (ed.): Occupational choice and motivation of young people, their vocational training and employment prospects, Member State Reports, Berlin 1978.
- 2. CEDEFOP (ed.): Mesures pour l'emploi et la formation des jeunes dans la Communauté Européenne, une documentation, établi par B. Roy, Berlin 1978.
- 3. CEDEFOP (ed.): Youth unemployment and vocational training a conference report, Berlin 1978.

Information

Implementation of Resolution December 13 1976 concerning the preparation of young people for work and their transition from education to working life

- 1. The Council and Ministers of Education meeting within the Council on 13 December 1976 adopted a Resolution containing measures to be taken to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate their transition from education to working life. This Resolution followed work undertaken to fulfil paragraph 22 of the Resolution of the Council and Ministers of Education meeting within the Council of 9 February 1976, which established the first Community action programme in the field of Education. 1
- 2. The programme agreed for action at Community level and the commitments made, in principle, for its financing, laid emphasis on the implementation of pilot projects to assist in the evaluation and development of national policies. It also provided for a series of seminars and workshops, a programme of intensive study visits, the carrying out of studies on two particular issues and the general improvement of the information and statistical data available concerning all aspects of the process of transition from education to working life.

Pilot projects

3. During the current year (1978) 2.4 million European units of account have been allocated as the Community contribution to twenty-eight pilot projects in the nine Member States. In addition, funds have been committed for the organization of a central team whose function is to provide expert advice, animation and external evaluation for the pilot projects. Expenditure on this scale will continue in each of the next two years.

- 4. The development of criteria for the selection of the pilot projects, was the result of a process of discussion carried out between the services of Commission (assisted by a group of experts organized by IFAPLAN, a Cologne-based institute for social research and planning) and the education authorities within each of the Member States. Amongst the criteria used in selecting projects was the need to ensure that all the six priorities themes indicated in the Resolution of 13 December 1976 were covered, that a geographical balance in the location of the projects was obtained, and that the projects were concerned with the final years of schooling and the compulsory post-compulsory period. Special emphasis was given to the potential for transferability of experience, both within and between Member States, and to the scope for a coordinated policy approach involving public bodies responsible for education, training and placement services, the trade unions and employer associations. In addition it was stipulated that advisory or management committees should be established for all projects, at local or national level, in order to closely associate all those concerned with the problems of transition from education to working life, including teachers and parents.
- 5. After discussion within the Education Committee a first series of projects was approved by the Community November 1977, and the second and final series was approved in March 1978. All twenty-eight projects are of a three-year duration. Some have already been launched, but many will enter their operational stage at the beginning of the 1978/79 school year. The size of the projects varies considerably. In some cases the Community has supported only

a particular aspect of a project which was already in progress or planned, while in others the Community's support relates to the whole of the project. In both cases however the project, or the particular aspect of a larger programme, have been developed in response to the Community programme and its criteria.

6. The following are examples of pilot projects, which have been included in the programme:

Belgium: Development of a system of certification for credit units, largely vocational, which could be acquired at school, or afterwards in technical institutes or firms, or by other routes. The aim is to increase the flexibility of certification so as to satisfy the needs of both pupils and employers. The project will take place in at least three locations.

Project organizer: The (francophone and neerlandophone) Ministries of Education

Denmark: Five sub-projects of a large Danish national project for the young unemployed, which attempt in different ways to help young unemployed, lacking educational qualifications, to prepare themselves better for work, through provisions combining elements of work, training, and education. The sub-projects located in Herlev, Storstrøm, Langeland, Aabaek, North Jutland)

Project organizer: Local authorities.

Federal Republic of Germany To determine what contribution certain independent residential establishments (Schullandheime) can make to prepare pupils, in their final years of schooling at various kinds of schools, for the working world. The focus is on vocational guidance organized by the school, and in-service training of teachers envisaged. The project is being implemented at twenty-six locations

Project organizer: Schullandheimverband, Hamburg.

France Ten experimental schemes for the rehabilitation of 16-18 year olds, who have no qualifications or means of participating in continuing education, are out of work and reject the idea of training. An observer/animateur is to be introduced into the staff-teams involved. These ten sub-projects of a larger national programme are located in different regions: Aix-Marseille, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Lille, Nantes, Nice, Orléans, Paris Project organizer: Ministry of Education.

Ireland Development of curriculum for the last years of compulsory education, relating to the

¹ For the text of the Resolution and its background

see;
(a) OJ C 308 of 30. 12. 1976
(b) From education to working life — Supplement
12/76 to the Bulletin of the European

⁽c) Vocational Training Bulletin 1/1977, p. 15.

reality of the social context and working life, in order to improve preparation for adult life. Curriculum trials in thirty-six schools of a mainly agricultural region (the mid-west) in the course of industrial development. There will be an emphasis on the more disadvantaged.

Project organizer: Curriculum Development unit of Shannon Comprehensive School.

Italy Measures to motivate unemployed and unqualified school leavers for social and vocational reintegration. Five locations in the following regions: Verona. L'Aquila, Rome, Naples, Palermo.

Project organizer: Non-governmental organizations.

Luxembourg To facilitate the integration into working life of unemployed school leavers through an elementary vocational practical programme, followed by work experience and special careers advice. It is expected that the experience gained should suggest new material to be introduced into conventional curricula. The project is located in Walferdange.

Project-organizer: Ministry of Education.

Netherlands The development arrangements for securing better participation by employers in the educational process. The content and timing of both curricula and work experience will be reconsidered, and criteria developed for the identification and the maintenance of work experience places, which prove effective and valuable. The project will start in five locations with probable extensions at a later date.

Project-organizer: Ministry of Education and Science.

United Kingdom Development and trial of a two year bridging course which aims at improving the preparation for working and adult life, of those rejecting school or badly underachieving in it. Both years will include general skills acquisition, personal development, vocational preparation and introduction to work experience. The first year will be based on school with two days weekly in a college of further education, the second year entirely in college.

Project-organizer: Inner London Education Authority.

Interchange of experience and evaluation

7. Provision has been made in the programme to ensure an interchange of

ideas and experience between the projects during the course of their implementation. Links will be particularly strong between projects tackling similar themes, for example, those concerned with the establishment of new structures for guidance and counselling in Aarhus, Shannon, Ludwigshafen, Hertfordshire and elsewhere; those dealing with alternating training and work experience in the Netherlands, Italy, Denmark, etc.; those concentrating on creating new links compulsory postbetween and compulsory education in London, Baden-Württemberg, etc.; those reconsidering vocational education in Belgium, France,

- 8. Individual visits to different project locations are planned for project personnel; seminars and group visits will be organized on themes of common concern. A meeting on the problems of unqualified school leavers who reject the propect of further education or training, has already taken place in Grasse/Cannes in April 1978.
- 9. Probably the most interesting characteristic of the pilot project programme is the attempt to ensure a evaluation so continuous cooperative learning process established and meaning is given to the idea of a Community dimension to the programme. The tasks of evaluation are seen to range from an initial analysis of the continuous objectives and observation of the project's development to an assessment of the potential for wider application either within the national policy framework concerned, or in other Member States.
- 10. To carry out these tasks it is necessary for evaluation to be organized at three levels. The first of these is an auto-evaluation by each project. This has been built into each project proposal. The second provides for the equivalent of one or two full-time evaluators within each Member State, who will be responsible for the evaluation of one or more of the projects taking place within that country. These evaluators who were selected with the agreement of the education authorities of the Member States and the Commission are for the duration of the programme a part of the central team. The third level of evaluation, a Community-wide one, is based on drawing conclusions from the first two levels and concerns the evaluation of the total programme.
- 11. These ambitious tasks of animation and evaluation are being managed on

behalf of the Commission by a small central team organized by IFAPLAN in Cologne.

Workshops

12. The first in the series of workshops provided for by the Resolution, took place in Harrogate, England, in November 1977. It dealt with the theme of the implications for teacher education of attempts to improve the transition from education to working life. Participants in the workshop included educational administrators responsible for teacher training, teacher trainers, principals of second level educational institutions, and those involved in training outside the education system. The workshop was presented with papers concerning interesting experiments in teacher education in Denmark and Italy. In addition a number of visits were made to teacher training and other educational institutions in the area. The papers of this workshop will be published by the Commission.

13. The next workshop is expected to take place in Kassel in the Federal Republic of Germany in early 1979 and it will be followed by workshops in Luxembourg and Ireland.

Study visits

14. A budget of 100 000 EUA has been allocated to the programme for study visits for experts in vocational education and guidance during each of the years 1977 and 1978. The selection of suitable candidates for these programmes is in the hands of the national Ministries for Education, while the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges in London, on behalf of the Commission, together with the host educational authorities, is advising candidates on the particular locations which would suit their special interests, and organizing the operational side of the programme. The study visits can be carried out by individuals or groups, and should last for a period of at least two weeks. All participants in the programme must provide a detailed report to the Commission on their visit.

Studies

- 15. The Resolution provided for the completion of two studies, analysing:
- (a) the experience of Member States in strengthening the coordinated

- planning of education and other sectoral policies in relation to the less-favoured regions of the Community;
- (b) existing and planned provisions and measures under which young persons may return, as part of continuing education, to further study during the period immediately following the end of compulsory schooling.

The results of these studies are not expected before the end of 1979.

Statistics

16. The Commission, together with the Statistical Office of the European Communities, has taken the first steps in order to draw up guidelines for the comparison of existing statistical information regarding the transition of young people from education to working life.

Action at Member State level

17. In addition to action at Community level, the Resolution provided for initiatives to be taken at Member State level, and for a periodic exchange of experience within the Education Committee on Member States efforts' to improve the transition from education to working life.

Sources:

Commission of the European Communities, Directorate-General for Research, Science and Education; Division for education and coordination of vocational training; adult education; youth policy (DG XII.A.1).

Further information on the implementation of this programme can be obtained from the Commission, or in so far as the pilot projects are concerned from IFAPLAN, Von-Groote-Straße 37, 5 000 Cologne 51.

Short news

International organizations

A recent study on youth unemployment carried out by the International Labour Office (ILO) concludes that if all young people were to find a job tomorrow, the problems would still not be eliminated. Young people who undergo rapid transition from a cushioned family life to the harsh realities of the world of work often feel frustrated an abused.

Frequently they are given uninteresting, badly paid jobs and little attention is paid to their needs. Thus, says ILO, parents, teachers and psychologists should all apply themselves to young people's difficulties and should not rely on economists to solve the problems. Just as it is recognized that older people should be prepared for retirement, so should research be undertaken to find ways in which the transition from school to working life may be facilitated. It may be possible, for example, for young people to begin work on the basis of just a few hours per day, with a gradual progression towards full-time work. The study also asserts that vocational training provision is not responding to the current economic situation, insufficient allowance has been made for technological progress or fluctuations in the labour market.

Source: Le Monde, 6 May 1978.

European Community

The 1978 Training Programme of the EC Commission as prepared by the Training Division of the Directorate-General for Personnel and Administration represents a further development of the established format.

Perhaps the most important advance during the previous year, as far as staff training is concerned, was the setting up by the Commission of the Steering Committee on Staff Training and local training committees.

These committees, each consisting of eight members (four from the official side, four from the staff side and an independent non-voting chairman), have a consultative role and are briefed to carry out inquiries into training needs and to make specific proposals as well as to advise on training course content and methods. The committees were fully consulted on the content of the 1978 Training Programme.

Bound by the Staff Regulations of the Communities (Article 24) to 'facilitate such further training and instruction for officials as is compatible with the proper functioning of the service and is in accordance with its own interests. Such training and instruction shall be taken into account for purposes of promotion in their careers', the main constituents of the Commission's programme are as follows:

- induction courses for new officials, giving a brief exposé of the work of the Commission's services and the other institutions, together with an explanation of the working procedures and staff and welfare regulations;
- long and short-term courses for certain categories of officials and for specific jobs, e.g. secretaries, printshop workers, economists, accountants, lawyers;
- seminars on modern management techniques and working methods, together with special courses for computer users, operators, and analysts;
- under the heading of general training, seminars on Member States as well as lectures on broad Community policies;
- the Commission's language courses, both general and specific, which are organized to permit the staff to acquire a working knowledge of supplementary languages (including Greek, Spanish, and Arabic for certain categories of officials);
- continuation of the long- and short-term two-way exchanges of officials between the administrations of the Member States and the Commission, the purpose being to try to bring about a better mutual understanding of national and Community working methods.

Source:

European Communities Commission Staff Courier Special, 14 April 1978.

Following a suggestion by the Belgian Prime Minister that an institute to promote youth work and exchanges be set up, the nine heads of government of the Member States have agreed in principle to the establishment of a European Foundation to promote European integration. The Foundation will promote awareness of Europe's historical, social, and cultural heritage by, for example, encouraging contact and exchanges between students and young workers of all European countries. It will also coordinate research projects other measures initiated by individual Member States which aim to further European integration. The foundation will additionally set up its own research projects and run seminars for specialists in this field.

Source:

IBV der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nuremburg, 17 May 1978.

Federal Republic of Germany

In answer to a question raised by the coalition parties in the Federal Parliament (Bundestag), the Federal Government has drawn up the first extensive government report education policy since 1965. The last twelve years have witnessed a rapid growth in education in the Federal Republic, as the following information taken from the report illustrates. In 1976 there were 3 million more children at school than in 1965, and the number of young people entering the labour market without any qualifications dropped by 50% over the same period. More young people than ever before were able to commence an apprenticeship in 1977. In fact, the Federal Republic now offers more young people the opportunity to gain qualifications of some kind in either full- or part-time education than any other Member State. Since the number of teachers employed had increased by 78% by 1976, there was an improvement in the teacher-pupil ratio in all types of school, in spite of the increase in the school population. The introduction of a further school year, preferably in the form of the basic vocational training year (Berufsgrundbildungsjahr) was acclaimed as one of the most important decisions in education policy of this decade, and support for the amalgamation of the three-tier school system into a system of comprehensive education was reaffirmed.

The number of students in higher education has also doubled in the last ten years and the overall expansion of education and training has helped to relieve pressure on the labour market. Without it, an additional 1.5 million young people would currently be seeking employment.

Source:

Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Große Anfrage der Fraktionen der SPD und der FDP: *Zur Bildungspolitik*, IIA1-0104-6-4/77, Bonn, 12 April 1978

Areas of Lower Saxony and the Saar have been selected as the first so-called 'pilot project regions'. Each area will concurrently operate experimental educational schemes which have already been tested. This venture will be jointly financed by the Federation (Bund) and the Federal States (Länder) as agreed by the Federation-Länder Commission on Educational Planning and Research Development (Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsforderung) in 1977. Under the scheme in Lower Saxony, the study of the world of work, economics, and

technology will be introduced in the ninth school year in preparation for the main subjects common to the basic vocational training year (Berufsgrundbildungsjahr) for all vocational fields. Pupils who progress to the basic vocational training year and sequently to two years of specialized training in a specific career in industry will be followed up and their problems of transition from school to training and then to work will be the subject of a special investigation. The scheme will be supported by an expanded counselling service and additional in-service training for teachers. A similar project operating in the Saar is concentrating especially on improving opportunities for young people with no school qualifications to qualify for a skilled job.

Source:

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft. Pressemitteilung, 1/78, Bonn.

Ireland

Two new projects related to the theme of the transition from school to work were announced in April. Both projects come under an EC scheme to encourage the development of initiatives which will help bridge the gap between secondary education and the world of work and thus qualify for financial support from the European Commission. The first project, which will be centred in Shannon, is directed chiefly at pupils aged between 12 and 15 years of age and aims to develop means of improving their preparation for working life. This will involve both curricular and extra-curricular work for the pupils, while teachers will undergo in-service training to enable them to prepare the pupils better. A three-year programme of social and environmental studies has already been developed at a school in Shannon. This programme will be developed in other schools, evaluated, and then formally introduced into the schools in 1979. The second project, which is to be run by the Irish Foundation for Human Development in north Mayo, is concerned with education for development, i. e. how the education system can encourage local social and economic development and the effects of such development on the needs of the education system.

Source:

The Irish Times, 6 April 1978.

Netherlands

In order to meet the recent increased demand for skilled workers in the

building industry, the government has increased the trade's temporarily vocational training capacity by 40%. Five million guilders have been made available by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken) for the period up to the end of 1978. Later in the year the Government, in collaboration with employers and workers, will decide whether to extend this additional state support into 1979. The greatest shortages are of bricklayers and carpenters, and therefore in twelve out of the twenty-four vocational courses for adults the places for training in bricklaying increased in total by 169 and those for carpentry training by 100. This brings the national capacity up to 900 participants. Bricklayers can carry out skilled work after only a few months of training whereas carpentry training lasts somewhat longer. During training participants receive the minimum legal wage.

United Kingdom

A joint major research project has just been started by the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Britain's two major broadcasting authorities, on ways in which television and radio might be used to prepare young people for adult and working life. The project, which is partly sponsored by the Government's Manpower Services Commission, began on 1 March. It aims to look at current provision for young people in both the general and the educational broadcasting spheres and to produce a set of working models for consideration by the authorities by the end of June. The research will concentrate chiefly on the way in which broadcasting might be used to influence young people's attitude to work. Possible developments using regional television networks and local radio stations will also be examined, together with the possibility of operating counselling services. Young people between the ages of 14 and 19 are considered to be listeners rather than viewers, and therefore the research team is particularly keen to investigate this area.

Source:

Times Higher Education Supplement, 28 April 1978.

New Government arrangements for funding school-industry liaison schemes were announced in April by the Standing Conference on Schools' Science and Technology (SCSST). A fund of UKL 100 000 over the next three years has

been set aside by the Department of Industry to help local projects that promote better understanding of manufacturing industry among pupils and teachers. The scheme administered by the SCSST has the support of the Department of Education and Science. Local projects which are approved by the SCSST will receive up to half their costs from the fund, with the balance being met from local sources. Projects eligible for consideration will be of the following type:

- joint projects involving schools and individual firms which demonstrate the relevance of theory taught in schools, including work experience for pupils;
- joint action by teachers and industrialists to produce teaching and learning materials. This applies to arts subjects as well as to science, mathematics and technology;
- industry-related in-service training courses for teachers of science, mathematics, craft/design and technology and for careers teachers;
- seminars, courses and conferences to study aspects of school-industry liaison, especially as it affects smallto medium-sized firms faced with special difficulties;
- activities fostering closer relationships between schools and further and higher education in an industrial context.

Source: BACIE Journal, June 1978.

France

The '77 Programme and Programme Two

The legislation on the National Employment Programme, which took effect on 5 July 1977, provided an organizational framework for the work of the Government and the enterprises in the effort to combat youth unemployment. It affected unemployed persons between 16 and 25 years of age. On 17 May the Council of Ministers passed a bill incorporating modifications

restricting parts of the programme to take effect on 1 July 1978. The original programme and the modified programme differ as follows:

Exemption from payment of social insurance contributions: An employer having recruited before 31 December 1977 a young person under 25 years of age who had just completed his studies or military service was exempted from the obligation to make social insurance payments for such an employee until 1 July 1978.

From 1 July 1978 to 31 December 1979 this concession will continue to apply to enterprises employing less than 500 persons or having a turnover of less than FF 100 million only. Instead of exemption, the concession granted will be a reduction of 50 % for one year. In order to qualify, enterprises will have to prove that they are taking on supplementary staff and not simply replacing staff who have left the enterprise.

— Employment-training contracts:

If, in addition, the employer arranged for the trainee to undergo a complementary training course, the costs of the latter would be borne by the government, as would part of the trainee's allowance for one year.

This provision remains unaltered except for a simplification of the administrative procedure involved and a modification of the terms of financing.

— Apprenticeship:

An employer who recruited a young apprentice before 31 December 1977 was exempted from making social insurance contributions on the apprentice's wages for the two years during which the apprenticeship indenture was valid.

This measure has been retained. It will obtain for all enterprises until 31 December 1979 and is not conditional upon an increase in the number of personnel.

— In-firm training:

Trainees of 18 years of age and over recruited before 31 December 1977

for a training period of six to eight months were paid an allowance by the State amounting to 90% of the guaranteed minimum salary (SMIC), i. e. ca. FF 1 500 The State also bore the cost of social insurance contributions. The employer was allowed supplement to allowance. During his training period the juvenile was to be given leave to undergo 200 hours of theoretical training to be provided either by the enterprise or by a formal training institution. The cost of training, considered to amount to FF 2 500 per trainee, was covered by the continuing education budget.

In-firm training courses will be available only to manual workers over 18 years of age. Their duration will not exceed four months and the theoretical training will not exceed 120 hours. One-fifth of the trainee's allowance will be paid by the employer.

Long-term courses:

Young unemployed persons were able to undergo long-term training courses in a formal training institution (average of 1 000 hours of training spread over six to eight months). The course was to be approved (by agreement) by the regional delegation on vocational training. The State provided the trainees with an allowance of 90% of the guaranteed wago and reimbursed the training institutions with the cost of training.

The duration of long-term courses will not exceed six months; formal training will not exceed 800 hours. Trainees over the age of 18 years will receive an allowance amounting to 75% of the guaranteed minimum wage (25% in the case of trainees aged 16 and 17 years).

Cost to the continuing education budget 20% of the tax for continuing education (1% of total expenditure on wages) is allocated to in-firm and long-term training courses, either directly by the enterprises or indirectly via the Training Insurance Funds.

Source: Le Monde de l'Education June 1978.

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