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# VOCATIONAL TRAINING

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**Lifelong learning:  
retrospective  
and perspectives**





# The case of Life Long Learning

Life Long Learning (LLL) is an appealing proposition as witnessed by Edith Cresson's contribution to this issue and the White Paper. 1996 has also been made the "European year of LLL" by the White Paper. The bottom line is, of course, the search for a positive policy solution to the European unemployment situation and the problem that continued upgrading of work-related knowledge is becoming a must for everybody holding a job, and not only a few of us. Could such an idea possibly be wrong?

The idea is, however, not at all new, and the practice of LLL over the post-war years, as documented in Denis Kallen's article (and by the evidence reported by, for instance, Albert Tuijnman from the early Swedish experiment) tells the story of everything but success. Kallen's sombre conclusions, based on hard facts, are in sharp contrast to the White Paper. Can he possibly be right?

Of course, LLL is not a well defined issue. The Swedish experiment was rather a case of recurrent *education*. Education is something much more narrow than *learning*. It failed and the failure illustrates the large distance between vision and execution. Even policy makers have to take their time to learn *how* to do things to achieve their ambitions. And in his reading of the White Paper, Alain d'Iribarne (article in this issue) questions the paradigms and the operational content of the White Paper, especially when it comes to reconciling economic realities with social ambitions.

## Some economic fundamentals

Let us take a look at some of the economic fundamentals, which have been documented in the articles of this issue. Is there a case for positive implementation of the political rhetoric? Here are some facts. With age

a) the individual *capacity* to learn eventually declines, and

1996 was designated "The European Year of Lifelong Learning". The idea of creating the conditions conducive for all to have access to knowledge throughout life is an underlying democratic concept of how our societies operate. At a time when advances towards the information society and the acceleration of technical and scientific progress risk creating a dichotomy between "those who know" and "those who do not know", this idea and its topicality echoed in the guiding principles of the Commission White Paper "Teaching and learning. Towards the learning society". As time passed, however, these founding principles have had to withstand stress, particularly on account of economic and budgetary constraints which have a much too pronounced effect and which restructure vocational education and training.

With this double issue, the European Journal "Vocational Training" wishes to respond to the invitation issued by Madame Cresson in her speech on 2 February 1996 in Venice to open broad debate on the White Paper as part of the European Year of Lifelong Learning. The Journal also wished to ensure its presence at the national policy meeting, the Entertains Condorcet, in France where the issue of lifelong learning was discussed in depth.

The decision to link issues of the Journal to such events was prompted by the desire for access to arguments and hard facts which could underpin debate. In giving the floor to policy, in tracing the history of this grand idea and in showing the correlation between creating principles and the situation as it exists in a number of countries, the Journal hopes to fulfil its foremost role of contributing to debate on vocational training in Europe on the basis of well-pondered and rigorous information and argument.

**Johan van Rens**  
Director of CEDEFOP

b) *economic incentives* to learn diminish

because the pay back period of learning investments shortens with age. Jose Morais and Regine Kolinski emphasize (in their article) the sequential nature of learning and that some intellectual faculties have to be developed early. If true, the *economic* case for LLL weakens with age and vanishes at some time – different for different individuals – along the work life cycle. This is at least so for a large group of individuals who lack the capacity for efficient learning, and the data in Norman Davis' article reflects the same story.

A positive case for LLL would then require: a) that the organization of learning be radically improved, and b) financial support for learning that increases with age.



Other circumstances, however, work for LLL. In recent years the depreciation rate of skills has been steadily increasing making the acquisition and maintenance of skills increasingly important for holding a job and for getting back to a job if you have lost it. There are two sides to this problem. Technology is rapidly raising and changing the demands on knowledge of labour. Workers in other countries are fast learners. To stay where you are you have to move ahead.

To avoid a growing share of “functionally illiterate” workers who can read, write and communicate with great effort but not sufficiently to be employable *at reasonable wages*, LLL simply has to become a workable proposition. This is a tough, but positive, observation. Is there a new “educational technology” that will achieve it, or subsidies, or legislation?

### **Who profits from education?**

A first observation to make is that where private rationality rules, those who receive education at the expense of employers, or those who pay for it themselves are those already well educated and talented. To constitute a privately profitable recipient of training and educational benefits on the job, you, therefore, have to demonstrate *a capacity to learn efficiently (receiver competence)*. One criterion for that is an already demonstrated capacity to learn. Uneducated, middle aged workers with little or no experience from on-the-job retooling, therefore, often find themselves being bad educational investment objects. This can be observed in employers’ practice (see for instance Hillage’s and Planas’ articles), and it reflects perfectly rational behaviour on the part of employers, only that such practice excludes some from educational opportunities on the job.

### **The cumulative nature of learning**

Directly useful human capital has mostly been acquired on-the-job. This is obvious from a number of recent studies and Jordi Planas’ article provides plenty of evidence. The capacity to learn on-the-job then becomes critical for labour market performance, and this capacity depends critically on the early school experience. *Learning is cumulative*, and it

becomes increasingly costly for the individual, and for the society, to correct a bad learning experience in early school, a situation that makes the economic case for LLL even worse for those who “need it most”, as observed in Hillage’s article. I am not talking of academic capacities developed at school but of a more broad based active school experience that contributes to the individual’s capacity to take initiatives, to work in a disciplined and organized way and to learn on the job (cf. for instance Laestadius article in this journal No. 6/95 on the very skilled workers with very little formal training), even though academic skills are becoming increasingly needed to learn and to communicate efficiently at modern work places. The most important platform for continued learning on-the-job therefore is built already in school, making the case for LLL very much dependent on an efficient early schooling organization. And even though family background matters more for performance in school than we want to think, the improvement in educational practice needed to make LLL the success asked for in the White Paper, has to begin at early school.

### **Individual effort is decisive**

We apparently face a dual labour market problem; the young who have to get on the right learning track and those of age who have already missed the string of learning opportunities that are generously provided in practically all wealthy industrial countries.

For the young there will be few future excuses if found functionally illiterate. The individual learning outcome depends on their individual input of *effort*. Or should we demand such responsibility and effort of the young? Or could it be that the organizing of formal schooling and of later vocational training is so bad that individual responsibility and effort do not help?

For the rest, one of the most pressing social problems is to organize new and efficient learning opportunities for those who have missed the first boat. Edith Cresson and the White Paper emphasize that. But education is an enormous, resource-using, protected and publicly run industry with a long tradition of instruc-



tion-led learning faced with the enormous task of fostering capable individuals. Will the old, or a new, publicly run LLL organization be capable of providing these services? To expect results in the form of useful knowledge without imposing much tougher demands on the individuals is wishful thinking. Demanding more of individuals in distress, of innovative behaviour in public schools and of vocational training centres, however, is not going to be well received. We rather find suggestions to place responsibilities elsewhere, like making the firms pay.

### **Make the firms pay**

Making the firms pay has been a standard argument of unions and of Governments with budget problems. Making firms responsible for training might, however, create an even worse situation. Learning performance is something very different from resources invested in education. Initiative and efforts on the part of receiving individuals and the performance of the educational organization are what matters. To impose responsibilities of this kind on an institution not naturally inclined to be interested in solving the problems of the disadvantaged is not recommended practice. Firms are concerned with fostering corporate cohesion and competent team behaviour. As pointed out by François Germe and François Pottier, firms will allocate the resources they consider necessary for good firm performance on those individuals they expect to be willing and capable of usefully (for the firm) receiving instruction. They expect the Government to take responsibility for the disadvantaged and unemployed. Furthermore, to create a situation where continued training depends on initiatives of the employer is not only going to increase the passivity of the workers, but also to institute an unequal and unfair benefit situation.

### **The necessity for LLL**

But what is the problem? Cannot the rich industrial countries go on as before and allow the disadvantaged to relax on social security as age diminishes their capacity and incentives to learn?

The answer is NO, and for three reasons.

*First*, industrial technology is changing at an increasing rate, forcing firms that cannot cope into distress or bankruptcy.

*Second*, competition from the less advantageous world is increasing, and particularly so at the low and not intellectually demanding end of production in the wealthy economies. Everybody has to keep training to upgrade his or her competence to stay where they are.

As a consequence employees can no longer expect to stay on the same job for their entire working life. They should rather expect to be in the market looking for a new job, and a more knowledge demanding job at that, one or two times during their working life, and very early as well, if they cannot counter that situation through efficient LLL and through moving to a better job before being laid off. The efficient allocation of competence in an advanced society furthermore depends on the active individual search for new job opportunities that matches the capacities of the individual. And getting a new job at anything near the previous pay, once unemployed is a lost case for those who have not attended to their LLL from early school. Ingrid Drexel (article in this issue) has good reasons to be worried about the erosion of the standard vocational training and labour market model in Germany, based as it is on the vested interests and practices of an industrial structure of the past. The same worries apply, for the same reasons, to most European countries.

*Third*, social security solutions to compensate for this belong to the past. Public finances of Western European countries are no longer capable of funding the generosities they used to, and for reasons we do not have to discuss here.

The articles in this issue are not very articulate on these critical linkages between the efficiency of useful learning and the functioning of the labour market, or the market for competence. On the other hand these matters have been running themes in earlier issues of the journal (see for instance my articles in No. 2/1994) and the journal format unfortunately limits the possibilities of addressing the whole complex in one context.



In conclusion then: avoiding continued high unemployment in Europe, widening income gaps and a growing share of functionally illiterate and unemployable workers requires an efficient LLL system. But no such system is going to work if it is not supported by an efficient primary and secondary schooling system – in most European countries an almost 100 percent

Government responsibility and monopoly – by initiatives and much enhanced efforts to learn on the part of individuals themselves, and by a reorganized labour market that induces people to move in search of better opportunities and to learn along the way. These are primary public responsibilities that are crucial to solving the LLL problem.

**Gunnar Eliasson**



# Lifelong learning: retrospective and perspectives

(Double issue)

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*"(...) the generous and encompassing concept of lifelong education as it was conceived in the early stages no longer fits the present-day efficiency-oriented "no nonsense" market economies."*

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*"(...) so that the professed objective - reconciliation of economic perspectives of competitiveness, personal perspectives of self-development and collective perspectives of social cohesion by means of "lifelong learning" - can have a chance of success - the players with a predominant role in the "deconstruction/reconstruction" phenomena must accept to play a game of complementarity."*

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*Lifelong learning is certainly an objective consistent with humanistic ideas. But is this objective also consistent with our knowledge of cognitive function?*

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*One of the theses advanced in this article is that moves to introduce new ideas, such as the White Paper and the European Year of Lifelong Learning ignore an underlying dilemma facing programmatic work at the supranational level. The problem lies not so much in the conceptual and political core of the argument as the psychological and educational infrastructure in which it is set.*



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# Towards a policy of lifelong learning



**Edith Cresson**

Member of the Commission responsible for research, education, training and youth

The role of education in personal development and social advancement has long been recognised in Europe, and the growing correlation over time between education and training on the one hand and employment on the other is further confirmation. In 1994 unemployment hit 11% of the working population without, and 8% of those with secondary education, compared with only 5% of holders of a higher educational qualification.

Education and training are factors contributing to social progress and the consolidation of democracy. Their role is central to competitiveness and growth. The concept of education and training lasting a lifetime should, therefore, encourage an individualised pattern of learning in which personal factors combine with economic ones.

The challenge confronting those responsible for education and training policy at a time when unemployment is running high and the economic and social environment is in the throes of radical transformation, rendering implementation of such a policy particularly complex, is how to ensure that every individual has constant access to training.

## Europe - an environment in transformation

We are living at a time of considerable change. On the one hand, the globalisation of the economy and the internationalisation of trade make it necessary for Europe to become more competitive, particularly through innovation and by enhancing the skills of its labour force. At the same time, the steady advance of the information society is rapidly altering working methods and ways of life so that each one of us is obliged to adjust to the new technology involved. Finally, the rapid pace of scientific and technical

***The Council of Ministers and the European Parliament have designated 1996 the European Year of Lifelong Learning<sup>1</sup>, reflecting the consensus within the Community on the need to increase and consolidate educational activity. With the aim of provoking a wide-ranging debate at every level on the need for education and training to continue throughout a person's life, the objectives have been set out in the form of guidelines for action in a White Paper designed to serve as the basis of the Commission's policy in the field of education and training<sup>2</sup>. The intention underlying these two initiatives, which follow on from the analysis of the role of education and training in growth and employment in the White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment adopted in 1993, is to sensitise Europeans to the upheavals brought about by the advent of the information society, the process of internationalisation and scientific and technical progress, and to the potential contribution of education and training towards meeting this challenge.***

progress makes the need for permanent access to information and knowledge particularly acute.

All this makes it important that everyone should have the opportunity to update and extend his or her knowledge throughout life - at school, at work or on their own initiative. This presupposes that the system itself becomes more flexible, the means of education and training more varied, that systems of certification that recognise competences acquired through work experience are introduced, and funding mechanisms overhauled.

The will to implement a concerted policy of education and training directed to lifelong learning is a primary condition for guaranteeing everyone access to knowledge, ensuring that progress does not end up leading to inequalities and becoming another cause of social exclusion.

## The trend of employment

The employment situation is still a cause for concern in most EU Member countries with long-term unemployment continuing to rise and the exclusion of peo-

1) Decision of 23 October 1995

2) White paper: "Teaching and Learning. Towards the learning society" Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1995



ple from the labour market that hits young people, women and those without qualifications particularly hard. More than one in five young people of working age in Europe is unemployed. The unemployment rate for young people is twice that of people over 25 and the average duration of joblessness is on the increase. Employment and the return to work of problem groups, particularly young people, is thus a matter to be given priority by our society, in the awareness that many of them will have lost the habit of learning and the desire to learn. Evolving new teaching strategies focused more on the individual and taking account of the specific environment can go a long way to creating the necessary motivation.

## Developments in the labour market

The way in which the labour market operates at present tends to reinforce the selectivity of initial training. Lengthening the period of compulsory education and the needs of the economy have led to a marked increase in demand for a higher level of basic education. This has duly resulted in an increase in people's qualifications which in itself is positive. However, the fact that people with ever-higher qualifications are entering the labour market threatens to deprive those with few or no qualifications of their jobs and at the same time generate substitution effects for certain categories of occupation which traditionally have benefited from a policy of internal promotion. To encourage access to continuing training for workers with lower qualifications, for those who have become discouraged and, especially, those in the older age groups is nowadays a prime duty of society and a central aspect of any policy of lifelong learning.

## Changes in the nature of employment

We are today witnessing a growing flexibilisation of the labour market that is reflected in the shrinking number of permanent jobs and an increase in the number of self-employed, part-time work-

ers and fixed-term contracts. Yet firms are the principal source of funds for continuing training, which in the main is aimed at employees with higher qualifications and job stability. However, we need to devise ways and means of providing access to training for workers who are excluded from traditional forms of continuing training, particularly by encouraging personal initiative. Such initiative must meet with the appropriate response in terms of suitable training and have the support of adequate funding, particularly in the case of the less advantaged.

The points made above, which make no claim to being exhaustive, give some idea of the importance and scope of a lifelong learning policy. They also give some idea of the enormous task to be faced at both national and Community level.

## Some of the White Paper's proposals concerning education and training

**A White Paper of the European Commission entitled "Teaching and Learning. Towards a Learning Society"** contains a number of recommendations and proposals centred on five major objectives. They are:

□ **Encourage the acquisition of new knowledge:** People must be given access to learning facilities suited to their needs. The methods and means are becoming more varied, the places where training is given more numerous and work experience particularly may prove a fruitful way of learning that should be exploited. Accreditation systems must take account of this variety of possible learning routes, locations and means. One proposal the White Paper makes is to develop a European system for the accreditation of technical and vocational competences based on European networks incorporating centres of research and vocational training, firms and branches of industry. To encourage student mobility the Commission also wishes to extend the mutual recognition of course credits<sup>3</sup> towards the award of a paper qualification. Finally a study is being made of ways and means of eliminating the administrative and legal ob-

3) ECTS - European Credit Transfer System



stacles that hinder the exchange of students, trainees, teachers and researchers.

□ **Bring schools and the business sector closer together:** Strengthening the links between the school system and potential employers is still a very necessary step in most countries of the European Union, even if such links are already well established in the formal structure and practical operation of some systems, particularly at vocational training level. The possibility of pursuing a course of study thanks to recognition of knowledge acquired through work experience is just one aspect of this closer relationship. The White Paper also proposes forming the training centres in the various European countries into networks and to encourage apprentice mobility through an Erasmus-type programme. The creation of an apprentices' charter is also being considered.

□ **Combat exclusion:** The number of young people without qualifications is still very large and a major cause of unemployment and social exclusion. The White Paper recommends helping them to enter working life through training based on positive discrimination and focusing especially on young people in disadvantaged areas. Assistance will be given to pilot projects started as a result of local initiatives with a view to recycling young people who have left school without any sort of qualification into the training system.

Furthermore, the launching of a European voluntary service should enable young people in difficulty to gain some work experience in another European country and thus to build up their knowledge in a way that will make it easier for them to find jobs and become integrated into society.

□ **Proficiency in three Community languages:** Mastering the languages of the Community is an important factor for communication, exchange and mobility within Europe. The White Paper proposes inter alia that assistance be provided for the development of materials and innovative learning methods for people of different age groups and educational levels and to encourage language learning from the earliest years of schooling. It also proposes the creation of a "School of Europe"

quality label to be awarded, provided a number of criteria are satisfied, to schools whose language teaching facilities are best-developed.

□ **Treat capital investment and investment in training on an equal basis:** The White Paper proposes that monies invested in training should be treated similarly for tax and accounting purposes in all member countries. Measures could be taken to help companies devoting funds to training. At the same time training fund schemes could be devised for those wishing to update their knowledge and skills.

## The European Year of Lifelong Learning

The aim of the European Year of Lifelong Learning is to set in motion wide-ranging discussions at European, national, regional and local level as to ways and means of implementing a policy of lifelong learning. This debate will take place at more than 500 events that will be organised at all levels in the form of conferences, seminars, competitions, multimedia development work, the designing and dissemination of educational software, television programmes and publication of examples of good practice. All forms of formal and informal training will be covered.

The emphasis in these discussions will be on a number of key issues in the development of lifelong education and training.

□ **Devising a new approach to teaching, learning and training:** The idea of basic education and training as sufficient to ensure employability is now outdated. Continuing education and training have become an indispensable basis on which to build careers that have become far more complex with increasing mobility and major changes in work location due to technological innovation or changes in work organisation.

□ **Introduce the principles of lifelong learning into education and basic training:** Stimulating young people's intellectual curiosity, inculcating a desire to learn and teaching them how to learn are major elements of a lifelong learning pro-



gramme which teachers and trainers must be equipped to undertake. Acquiring key skills, developing the ability to analyse and judge, to take decisions and solve problems, and to work in a team are basic principles of lifelong learning.

□ ***Develop bridges between school, training and the world of work:*** The training available should be adaptable to the needs of society and of increasingly diverse social groupings. Flexibility in training provision to permit crosslinking between routes, levels and methods of training, as well as the development of systems of accreditation compatible with these routes is vital.

□ ***Help organisations with their learning process:*** Concentrating on training individuals does not necessarily guarantee that organisations will learn as well. A specific organisation-oriented approach will be needed, especially at a time when wide-ranging restructurings are taking place. When making such changes firms are keen to create "learning organisations" which could well prove useful qualification tools.

The European Year of Lifelong Learning is being coordinated at central level by

Directorate General XII of the European Commission, which is responsible for education, training and youth, and a number of international bodies are participating in the various events that will be taking place. The national coordinating bodies appointed by the member states will help to create awareness of what is involved, direct projects at national, regional and local level, disseminate information and contribute to the assessment and follow-up in their countries.

## Conclusion

Our economies have developed remarkably over the past fifteen to twenty years. Productivity has increased and employment has become more flexible at the cost of reduced job stability. Yet this has not gone hand in hand with lower unemployment and a lesser degree of exclusion. New efforts to adapt will very probably be needed and will only be accepted if there are genuine trade-offs in terms of jobs, less exclusion and social advancement. Assuming the willing involvement of all national and Community bodies, training can open up important vistas in this field.



# Initial and continuing training in Portugal: Present situation and future outlook

## Interview with Eduardo Marçal Grilo, Minister of Education



**Eduardo Marçal Grilo**

Minister  
of Education,  
Portugal.

*The conditions for evolving an education and training policy based on the principle of lifelong learning vary from one country to another depending on their differing characteristics and structural mechanisms. A knowledge of these conditions is essential for an understanding of the problems each country will have to face.*

**CEDEFOP:** *The countries of the European Union are experiencing a two-fold development. On the one hand, people's initial qualifications are tending to rise; at the same time companies are organising more short training courses in order to meet their own particular needs. Is this also true of Portugal?*

**EMG:** Yes, the trend is noticeable but as yet not generalised. This is because the structure of Portuguese industry is still somewhat uneven and types of organisation that could almost be described as archaic exist side by side with others that are far more sophisticated. The former have little concept of the importance of training while the second pay much more attention to it.

**CEDEFOP:** *Does Portugal have a strong tradition of continuing training aimed at the social advancement of its population and based on personal initiative?*

**EMG:** In some sectors of industry it has. The trend would seem to be directly related to the opportunities for promotion or attending training courses at work. When the opportunity or stimulus is there people sometimes go back to school. The tendency would seem to be for those who did not reach the level of higher education when they were younger to try again later.

As for the tradition you refer to, if this is what it can be termed, it is emerging and tends to be focused on the aptitude for promotion at work rather than social advancement. This statement might seem paradoxical since a doctorate degree carries with it considerable social prestige but there is no indication, for instance, that more people are pursuing higher education courses purely with a social end in view.

I should also point out that as yet employers offer little in the way of continuing training. And without a specific stimulus, whether social, cultural or occupational, employees are unlikely to seek it.

**CEDEFOP:** *Is there a tradition of firms investing in training and if so since when and in what form?*

**EMG:** I do not think it is yet very customary for firms to invest in training. This may have something to do with the fact that most firms are not yet in line with modern standards.

It is also noticeable that many firms are not much concerned with modernising in terms of either technology or information. And unless they have some incentive from this quarter they show little enthusiasm for providing continuing training for their employees.



**CEDEFOP:** *Are there in Portugal public-sector bodies with a vocational bias able to promote the integration of problem groups throughout their working life?*

**EMG:** Nothing that might be termed systematic. For the time being government activity is mainly confined to providing assistance to those out of work through payment of a regular benefit. It also intervenes in the labour market to a certain extent to ensure that jobs are made available to the unemployed and uses Community funds to subsidise training courses to help firms retrain their own workers.

**CEDEFOP:** *Turning to education and training policy, how does the degree of attention paid to initial vocational training under the school system compare with that given to vocational training organised by the social partners with a view to helping people find jobs and then later during their working life?*

**EMG:** A contact group has been created to liaise between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry for Qualification and Employment and coordinate activity in this area.

I see this joint effort, which is just beginning, as a way of continually monitoring training policy at both school and labour market level so as to have a very clear picture of actual needs.

**CEDEFOP:** *The arrival on the labour market of people with a steadily rising level of qualifications and the growing flexibility of conditions of employment threaten to penalise people with fewer qualifications and those who are older. How should the government intervene as a regulator in the interests of the more disadvantaged groups?*

**EMG:** It should do two things - give assistance to individuals and to firms. As far as individuals and the education system are concerned, action should be taken at primary school level.

The higher the standard of primary education, the better prepared people will be to continue with their schooling. And it is at this level that we intend to intervene. The school system can provide an excel-

lent basic education, even if it is not vocational or vocationally oriented, in order to prepare young people for coping with the difficulties they will encounter in the world of work and open up wider horizons where continuing training takes over.

Another potential field for action is that of higher education. We see the institutes of higher education (universities and polytechnics) as playing an important role in developing the provision of training courses and the like, but always with the proviso that the training received should be broadly based.

**CEDEFOP:** *Looking at the developments taking place one has the impression that there is a growing call for individuals to take responsibility for their own career development at a time of serious unemployment and far-reaching changes. What does this development mean for Portugal, especially as regards the role of the social partners?*

**EMG:** I see the trend as very significant. One can now no longer consider that a person's learning process stops short when they leave school or becomes unnecessary once they are firmly established in a job.

People have to realise that the knowledge they gained at school needs to be regularly updated to keep pace with the social, economic and cultural changes that are taking place, and which in turn make for enormous changes in the working environment. And for them to grasp this fact, means firms and the social partners must do so as well. Here a great deal of responsibility devolves on the trade union organisations, which at times are too keen to hang on to outmoded ideas. They have to show their members and those they represent that a constant refreshing of knowledge is a must if they are to achieve an improvement in working conditions and in their own standard of living.

**CEDEFOP:** *Bearing in mind the situation in Portugal and from the point of view of lifelong learning what are Portugal's priorities for EU support?*

**EMG:** There is one particular priority, namely the vocational schools, which



would mean providing assistance at secondary school level.

The vocational schools came into being with the help of Community funding and ended up dependent on it. This will create problems when the second Community support framework expires in 1999. Until then we shall continue to provide assistance, correcting a number of anomalies that have been identified, but we shall have to find an alternative source of finance.

On the level of assistance we are going to have to analyse the situation that will be created by expiry of the second Community support framework which will, of course, lead to other problems at the financing level. Even so, we hope to be able to overcome the difficulties as a result of the talks we are having with the Community authorities.

So far as our priorities are concerned they are, as I have said, primary education and then the final period of secondary education as a means of preparation for working life.

**CEDEFOP:** *Specifically, in the context of these priorities, what is the relative importance attributed to efforts being made to*

*combat illiteracy and to training in advanced technology? That is to say between conventional teaching and new types of training?*

**EMG:** They balance each other out to a certain extent. Illiteracy is still a cause for concern but it is concentrated in the older sections of the population who have largely left the labour market. We are keeping an eye on the situation and doing what we can to give these people a chance to acquire some education through our adult education facilities.

As far as advanced technology is concerned we need both the equipment and the appropriate training staff. Here again we are doing what we can.

**CEDEFOP:** *What specific assistance should the European Union provide to help make education and training available to everyone throughout their working life?*

**EMG:** I see this as taking place at two levels - through legislation by the approval of Community guidelines which take account of the differing situations in the various member countries and at the level of finance by channelling funds earmarked for specific projects and policies that accord with these guidelines.



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**"(...) the three major lifelong learning paradigms that still guide all relevant thinking were developed by the Council of Europe, UNESCO and the OECD. (...) It is with hindsight remarkable that all three developed almost at the same time a lifelong learning concept that pursued the same global purposes. (...) The political and the economic climate of the 1990s is very different from that of the 1960s. It is not favourable to the somewhat utopian, idealistic philosophy of the earlier lifelong learning paradigms. It is propitious for plainly work and employment related "lifelong training" programmes, preferably private and with little claim on public money."**

# Lifelong-learning in retrospect

Among the educational paradigms that bestrew the history of education, "lifelong education" occupies a peculiar place. It pursues in its several variants a great wealth and a great variety of aims and espouses a wide range of causes. Its legitimations reach from simple corrections to educational and social policy to all-embracing innovatory or even revolutionary inspirations; its societal aims range from radical-egalitarian to conservatory and confirming the existing order; its target groups embrace the young and the old, the workers and the retired; its structural models reach from a network of liberal adult education programmes to work-based or work-related schemes for professional training (the present "corporate learning" sector) to models that embrace all education and training.

The explanation for this potential to represent so many and different, if not contradictory, legitimations and to serve so many interests lies in the nature of the lifelong paradigm variants itself: they accommodate a series of existing and new concepts and have thus become hybrids that have an amazing capacity to mobilise the most diverse interests and to adapt to new needs and trends. But at the same time that is their great weakness: they risk losing their soul in the process and estranging those who conceived them.

In short, this is what has happened to the three main lifelong learning concepts that will be discussed in the following and this is perhaps also one of the main reasons why none of them has made it to the top of the political agenda. Worse still: those elements that have reached political maturity and that have indeed been implemented, are at best much reduced versions of the original concepts. Not one of the intergovernmental organisations that participated in their birth has given its lifelong learning model a substantive place in its own programme - a fact that is sometimes bitterly commented on by those who were its "founding fathers". Thus Paul

Lengrand, one of the key persons who conceived the Unesco lifelong education thinking, observes that "no significant change has since been operated in Unesco's programmes" and that, if there have been changes, they were rather of the negative kind (Lengrand, 1994, p.115).

In the following, the history and the development of the "lifelong learning" concept in its several main configurations will be briefly retraced and a few comments made as to their role in present international and national educational policy. Inevitably, a brief representation of such a diversified and complex part of educational history risks being incomplete and partial. The following text focuses on the relevant policies of three intergovernmental organisations, all three based in Europe, that are active in the field of education: the Council of Europe, UNESCO and the OECD.

## A brief excursion into the history of an idea

The genesis of the concept of lifelong learning is in itself an interesting example of the simultaneous appearance of new ideas: in the early 1970s, a variety of educational policy concepts saw the light of day that had in common the principle of learning as a lifelong activity, not restricted to the first stage of a human being's existence. The idea as such that life and learning go - or should go - together was not new. It goes back to the earliest known texts that have guided humanity. The Old Testament, the Koran, the Talmud and many other sacred books are, to varying degrees, explicit about the need for man to learn throughout all his life.

The 19th century saw the first organised movements that advocated and promoted learning for adults in out-of-school environments. Gruntvig, the "father of the folk high school", laid the foundations in Denmark for an emancipatory, liberal



model based largely on voluntarism that rapidly spread throughout Scandinavia. In the major industrialised European nations, movements in favour of educational programmes for the new industrial working class sprang up.

The main thrust of these initiatives was not to prepare adults for their working tasks. Their legitimation was primarily cultural, social and, indirectly, political: giving the new workers access to culture, endowing them with the knowledge and insight needed to take their destiny in their own hands, vis-à-vis their employers and vis-à-vis administration and bureaucracy. "Social and cultural emancipation", "cultural power", a "democratic and popular culture", "a new humanism" were among the catchwords of the "popular education" and "workers education" movements. Naturally, they were mostly situated to the left of the political spectrum and often closely associated with the trade unions and with the new left-wing political parties - if the initiative did not come entirely from these sources.

Adaptation to work and work-related goals played at best a secondary role - and more often than not no role at all. The only link with adults' working life concerned the ability of workers to defend their interests. The frequent association with the emerging trade union movement fitted within this context. On the other hand, employers at that time showed little sign of initiative or even interest in adult education as a means to maintain or improve professional qualifications.

The connection with formal education is another element that did not occupy an important place in these early concepts. Certainly, many of the activities that were organised in the framework of adult or popular education could be termed "educational". Occasionally, attempts were made to improve the participants' mastery of the basic skills, reading, writing and numeracy in particular. But there was in most cases no explicit intention to complement initial education and training, nor was there an all-embracing education concept.

The development of adult education has in the course of history been strongly determined by specific social and eco-

nomical factors: industrialisation and the creation of massive housing complexes for industrial workers and miners in the 19th century, the great economic crisis in the twenties and thirties, and in Anglo-Saxon countries the return of millions of demobilised young people from the war. The latter case is interesting in two respects. On the one hand because it led to the return of great numbers of young people to formal education after the interruption of the war-years. For the first time the universities had to deal with students whose experience, whose family situation and whose age differed from that of their customary clientele. On the other hand, those who returned had to be made familiar with new techniques and competences, due to the fantastic technological progress that had been achieved during the war period. Thus for the first time experience was gained with "second chance" or "recurrent" education and for the first time the need for organised retraining of workers was recognised.

The decades after the war have on the other hand witnessed the strong expansion and the institutionalisation of the pre-war liberal adult education efforts. The study circles in the Scandinavian countries and the "Volkshochschulen" in Germany became organised, recognised, and on the whole publicly financed undertakings of adult education. In England, adult and further education witnessed an enormous expansion. From predominantly voluntary undertakings many of them now became semi-public and received public support. With public money came minimum rules and regulations as to programmes, admission of participants and possibly accreditation. Remuneration of teachers and "animateurs" had to respect public scales. In all respects a certain "rapprochement" took place with formal education that made it possible to envisage a common policy framework for all education, initial and adult, formal and informal.

## The new paradigms

The 1960s led to much debate and reflection on the future of adult education, on the merits of what existed and on the best way to satisfy the rapidly increasing needs. Planning and rationalisation had

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***"(...) in Anglo-Saxon countries (with) the return of millions of demobilised young people from the war (...) for the first time experience was gained with 'second chance' or 'recurrent' education and for the first time the need for organised retraining of workers was recognised."***

***"With public money came minimum rules and regulations as to programmes, admission of participants and possibly accreditation."***



***“The Council of Europe had in the 1960s introduced the theme of permanent education (‘éducation permanente’) in its programmes (...) Permanent education was expected to represent a more effective strategy than the current educational system for promoting equality of educational opportunity (...).”***

become standard features of the policy making scene and the conditions had been created for assigning to adult education a well-defined place in overall educational, cultural and socioeconomic policy-making. Parallel to pertinent efforts undertaken at the national levels, the major intergovernmental organisations were faced with the challenge of bringing more coherence into their own programmes and in particular of outlining a new relationship between education and training on the one hand and their activities in the social, cultural and economic domains on the other. Their member countries expected them to come up with new ideas and concepts that would establish the necessary coherence.

It is in this context that the three major lifelong learning paradigms that still guide all relevant thinking were developed by the Council of Europe, UNESCO and the OECD. Each of these organisations had its own reasons, its own constituencies, its own focal points as to policy making in these sectors. It is with hindsight remarkable that all three developed almost at the same time a lifelong learning concept that pursued the same global purposes.

The **Council of Europe** had in the 1960s introduced the theme of permanent education (“éducation permanente”) in its programmes and it was soon called on to play a major role in the organisation’s educational, cultural and political activities. In one of its publications on permanent education it is said that “the introduction of the general theme of permanent education during the CCC’s (Council for Cultural Cooperation) general policy debate in 1966 marked a turning point in the history of educational policy within the Council of Europe framework” (Council of Europe 1970, p. 9). The Council had in the preceding years attempted, not very successfully, to accelerate the harmonisation and adaptation of the traditional educational systems of Member countries. Permanent education was seen as a “fundamentally new and comprehensive concept ... an overall educational pattern capable of meeting the rapidly increasing and ever more diversified educational needs of every individual, young and adult, in the new European society” - a target that had proved to be beyond the reach of initial educational systems as they

had failed to effectively meet the needs of a large proportion of their pupils, in part due to an insufficient diversity of their programme offer.

The three principles or “fundamentals” of the new Council of Europe policy were “equalisation”, “participation” and “globalization”. Permanent education was expected to represent a more effective strategy than the current educational system for promoting equality of educational opportunity; it would be organised with the full agreement and participation of the participants and it would bring together theory and practice, knowledge and competence, learning and doing (see the just quoted 1970 publication and also: Council of Europe, 1977 and Council of Europe, 1978).

**UNESCO** faced from its worldwide membership a similar demand for a mobilising global educational policy concept. Its developing member countries witnessed a rapidly widening educational gap between a growing part of their younger generations and a largely illiterate adult population. On behalf of democracy and of their economic development, ways and means had to be found to equip at least a large part of the adult population with a minimum of knowledge and competence. On the other hand, the organisation’s educational, scientific, socio-political and cultural programmes had followed separate developments and the need was felt for a common conceptual framework.

The strongest impulse for the organisation’s policy and activities in the domain of lifelong education was provided by “Learning to Be”, the report of the International Commission on the Development of Education under the chairmanship of Edgar Faure (Faure, 1972). The report’s philosophy was to a large extent the work of its brilliant chairman and it distinctly bears his mark. However, it also built on earlier UNESCO work. Several major international conferences had been organised on adult education (i.a. Elsenaur, as early as 1949, and Montreal, 1960). They had laid the conceptual foundations and prepared the ground for a new, comprehensive policy concept that could inspire and guide UNESCO’s entire educational programme, while at the same time allowing it to establish the organic connec-



tion with its scientific, cultural and socio-political activities.

“Learning to Be” had in 1970 been preceded by Lengrand’s “An Introduction to Lifelong Learning” (Lengrand, 1970), a work that had set the tone and outlined the main contours that the Faure report was to elaborate. The philosophy on which “Learning to Be” is constructed can best be characterised as a “new humanism” that is rooted in man’s innate desire to learn and that makes it possible to work towards a new, more humane society, alongside the lofty ideas that had inspired the creation of the Organisation. The concept agreed with UNESCO’s general political and socio-cultural mission and in particular with its commitment to world understanding and peace, to cultural and scientific advancement for the benefit of humanity and to internationalism as a means to bar nationalism from becoming once more the cause of conflict and war. It brought together the UNESCO member states, developed and developing, South and North, representing a wide range of political régimes, around an idealistic and mobilising concept to which they could all subscribe. The aims were indeed formulated in a sufficiently global and flexible way to be acceptable to countries at different stages of economic and cultural development and with different political régimes.

**OECD’s** “Recurrent Education: a strategy for lifelong learning” (Kallen and Bengtsson, 1973) had, according to the subtitle, a more modest thrust: it defined recurrent education (the term was used by the Swedish U’68 Commission and made internationally known by Olof Palme, at the time Minister of Education in Sweden) as a strategy, the essence of which consists in spreading educational lower case opportunities over the individual’s lifetime, in such a way that they are available when needed (see for this: G. Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 113).

The recurrent education paradigm was advocated as an alternative to the ever-lengthening period of initial education that kept young people in school - and away from “real” life until at least late adolescence. OECD’s concept was strongly inspired by the wish to break this cycle of uninterrupted initial education

and also by the massive evidence of its ineffectiveness and its rising cost with disappointingly low returns - evidence that the Organisation’s reports on education had done much to corroborate.

Criticism of the existing school system did indeed play a large role in the OECD thinking. Much of education’s inefficiency was due, so it was thought, to the “information-rich but action poor” nature of the school (the expression had been borrowed from Coleman’s publications). Alternation between education and work or other activity was therefore an essential element of the proposed new strategy.

In line with OECD’s overall mission, recurrent education had a strong economic connotation. It made it possible to bring initial formal education and adult and on-the-job training together in one single policy framework whose aims related to a common set of educational, economic and social objectives. A more flexible relationship between education and training on the one hand and work on the other, that would enable education and training to be attuned to the real needs of the labour market and of individuals, was seen as one of its main outcomes.

Such a policy of recurrent education would require a gradual, but in the long term radical change of educational policy in favour of organising all postcompulsory education in such a way as to allow for alternations between education/training and work and for effective return to education, formal or informal, when needed. The report stressed, however, that besides work, also leisure and retirement should be given a place and that recurrent learning should also serve to improve their quality. Recurrent education would thus remedy some of the main shortcomings of the educational system while at the same time “offer a full-scale educational alternative that would fit the needs of future society” (op.cit. p. 7).

### **The early 1970’s: balance of the past and blueprints for the future**

The synchronism of the above three international lifelong learning paradigms in

***UNESCO: “(...) The philosophy on which ‘Learning to Be’ is constructed can best be characterised as a “new humanism” that is rooted in man’s innate desire to learn and that makes it possible to work towards a new, more humane society (...).”***

***“OECD’s ‘Recurrent Education: a strategy for lifelong learning’ (...) defined recurrent education (...) as a strategy the essence of which consists in spreading educational lower case opportunities over the individual’s lifetime, in such a way that they are available when needed (...).”***



***“The synchronism of the above three international lifelong learning paradigms in the early 1970s had a parallel in the contemporaneity of a multitude of highly critical publications about formal education.”***

the early 1970s had a parallel in the contemporaneity of a multitude of highly critical publications about formal education. Much of this directly inspired and influenced the thinking about new concepts and policies for lifelong learning.

The system's poor record in promoting equality of educational opportunity had - for the USA - already been demonstrated by Coleman. Jencks later brought convincing evidence of the weak impact of the school as compared to pupils' SES\* and innate aptitude on occupational status and on income. His work has often been used as an argument against more investment in education and against costly educational reforms (Jencks, 1972).

In Europe, Husén's research had largely yielded the same conclusions, but it had also made it possible to identify the specific school variables that promote educational performance and thus helped to justify educational reform, (see Husén, 1974).

Nevertheless, the basic message of all relevant publications was that initial education, however well funded and however well organised, had a low capacity to attain its goals, whether equality of opportunity, teaching knowledge, skills and competences or qualifying for the labour market.

The school had also come under attack from other quarters. A key thrust of these criticisms was aimed at the school as the institution that pretended to have a monopoly of knowledge transfer that it had since long lost. The school, it was further said, was an instrument of indoctrination and of oppression of spontaneity in the hands of States that were obsessed by the need to teach children respect for the law, disciplined behaviour and other virtues that its “good” citizens should possess. School tended to perpetuate the existing social hierarchies, to train the docile labour force that the employers wanted. It killed children's initiative and innate curiosity. One of the authors, Paul Goodman, called his early relevant analysis “Compulsory Miseducation” (Goodman, 1962, reprint 1972). He quotes Einstein who said that “It is in fact nothing short of a miracle that the modern methods of instruction have not yet entirely strangled the holy curiosity of enquiry”.

Of the many proposals for radical change, “Deschooling Society” by Ivan Illich (I. Illich, 1970) is probably the best known. Its radical message has somewhat obscured his proposals, some of which are still relevant, such as his concept of educational networks. But Illich's optimism as to man's desire to learn - an optimism shared, for that matter, by many authors of radical blueprints for education - and as to his ability to meet the right people and create himself the necessary conditions for learning, was widely thought to border on utopia - although in our time of the Internet some of Illich's thinking may appear less unrealistic.

Few critics went as far as Jencks, who concludes his “Inequality” with the memorable statement (that he has often been criticised for in a USA where this was considered as crypto-communism): “If we want to move beyond this tradition (i.e. of counting on the school to contribute to economic equality) we will have to establish political control over the economic institutions that shape our society. This is what other countries usually call socialism...”, (op.cit. p. 265).

The 1960s and early 1970s had also witnessed much fundamental reform of initial education. Many countries passed new legislation and many global proposals for reform were made: the “Rahmengesetz” in the FRG, the “Loi d'Orientation” in France, the “Contourennota” in the Netherlands, the report of the Ottosen Committee in Norway and the already mentioned final report of U'68 in Sweden. The principle of lifelong education was espoused by all of them - as in England, where it had already figured in the 1944 Education Act.

## **What happened to lifelong education?**

The new theorems were on the whole well accepted by policy makers in the most developed countries, who saw here a way out from further lengthening and increasing costs of initial education as well as a means to better adapt education to the needs of the labour market. The developing countries were impressed by the logic of “Learning to Be” that responded

\* Editorial note  
SES: Social-Economic Status



to their demand for a wholly new approach to education in the framework of overall development.

But as a matter of fact, little haste was made with the translation into educational policies. From the OECD side it is reported that the Conference of European Ministers of Education held in Berne in 1973 endorsed the general principle of recurrent education, an endorsement that was confirmed in Stockholm in 1975. But after that little progress was made and whatever had been achieved "was still of a piecemeal nature, unevenly spread across the countries" (Papadopoulos, 1994, p. 115).

In UNESCO a similar development can be observed. Successive General Conferences have endorsed the concept of permanent education, but it has rapidly been reduced to a few specific dimensions, literacy programmes in the developing countries and support to "traditional" adult education in particular (see Lengrand, op.cit. p. 125).

The Council of Europe has in its general approach perhaps remained most faithful to the "éducation permanente" philosophy, but in its programmes the more traditional and established sectors of education have over the years got the upper hand and in its original connotation the concept has in a way been shelved.

Nevertheless, like the Loch Ness monster, lifelong education and its equivalents regularly make their appearance in international policy statements primarily to place in a wider perspective and to give broader conceptual backing to the many "piecemeal" programmes that have indeed been promoted.

Listing these partial implementations of the lifelong learning concept is beyond the scope of this article. It may help to see in what ways the present adult education programmes of all kinds do not on the whole correspond to the original concepts:

□ little progress has been made with the osmosis between education and training on the one hand and cultural and social development on the other. The only sector in which this osmosis has long since largely been achieved is that of traditional,

"liberal" adult education programmes, in particular those that focus on community development;

□ the liberating, emancipatory and politically progressive aims of lifelong education -that were admittedly not explicitly espoused by the international organisations, nor by most of their member countries- have made way for more "realistic" ones that serve to maintain and improve the existing social systems, but are not set on introducing any radical change;

□ little has become of the idea of "recurrency". The universities have missed the opportunity to reorganise their teaching so as to make real "recurrency" possible and to open their doors to new clientèle (Kallen, 1980).

Other essential elements of a lifelong learning policy are missing. Thus legislation on paid educational leave has been passed in only a few countries and it has been made conditional on professional training. Little has been done in terms of the harmonisation of credentials and the diploma from formal education still has a quasi-monopoly in terms of access to qualified employment.

The political and the economic climate of the 1990s is very different from that of the 1960s. It is not favourable to the somewhat utopian, idealistic philosophy of the earlier lifelong learning paradigms. It is propitious for plainly work and employment related "lifelong training" programmes, preferably private and with little claim on public money. "Corporate learning" is rapidly gaining ground. An exception is made where acute social problems are concerned that threaten the social climate, such as youth unemployment. Here the public hand itself takes the initiative and organises and finances programmes that allow a "return" to education.

A good dose of optimism and tolerance is needed to endorse the view that the concepts of lifelong learning have nevertheless survived unscathed. Admittedly, the general idea has caught on, in policy makers' statements and also in many education and training programmes. But the connotation has to my mind profoundly

***"(...) the present adult education programmes of all kinds do not on the whole correspond to the original concepts (...)"***



changed. In a way this was to be expected, considering the change in political climate of the past decades and the evolution of the economies of the developed countries towards a liberal model:

the generous and encompassing concept of lifelong education as it was conceived in the early stages no longer fits the present-day efficiency-oriented “no non-sense” market economies.

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# A discussion of the paradigms of the White Paper on education and training:<sup>\*</sup> a contribution to the debate

It is well worth reading European Commission "White Papers" carefully, particularly in view of their hybrid status. Generally presented as a source of proposals, a platform launching ideas to stimulate a debate - "a wide-ranging debate involving all those with a key interest,"<sup>1</sup> - their status may become tantamount to the founding texts of an idea which in turn may quickly move in the direction of an official doctrine in view of the "quality" of its origins and its very nature: reflections for action.

Is this perhaps incommensurate with the intentions of the authors of these White Papers? It does not really matter. From this point of view, the White Paper on "Growth, competitiveness, employment", published in 1993, which "sets out to foster debate and to assist decision-making"<sup>2</sup>, is fairly edifying since its role within the expression of the European Commission's orientations is familiar. It functions as a veritable work of reference - a veritable bible? - leaving little scope for contradiction or, naturally, contestation.

The White Paper on education and training, a co-production of DG XXII - Education, Training and Youth - and DG V - Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs - is positioned within the perspective of "lifelong education and training", the angle of interest to us in this article. However, since it is to a certain extent also a focused extension of the White Paper on growth, we proposed to examine the text from this angle. We therefore examined the premises which provide the basis for the development of its analyses and action guideline proposals. These foundations are beliefs and

paradigms of reference which function as postulates, rendered all the more formidable by their implicitness, and play a determining role in the development of the ideas of the White Paper. This is the only - to a certain extent epistemological - approach possible for a valid discussion of the White Paper.

An analysis of the White Paper in these terms is enthralling since it offers a better insight into the intellectual universe of the Commission and its difficulties in finding an effective conceptual framework on the major problems it presents as being those faced by the European Union: to prevent unemployment and maintain the European model of reference in a largely open economy. This analysis highlights the contradictions - in our view practically irreducible - between the accepted foundations for action and the objectives assigned to that action. From this point of view, the text of the White Paper largely facilitates the task of the reader since it clearly spells out what the constraints, the challenges, the objectives and the action guideline proposals are considered to be.

In view of the central role the White Paper attributes to relations between competitiveness, employment, social cohesion and questions of education/vocational training and in order to provide readers with a point of reference on our own position, in the following we shall largely be referring to our own CNRS publication of 1989<sup>3</sup> and various documents issued since that date. These publications in fact also attempt to demonstrate the extent to which questions of the competitiveness of enterprises and nations stem from educational challenges and constitute a social challenge



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**The White Paper "Teaching and learning - Towards the learning society" is an important document in view of its implications. Emphasising direct relations between training and the needs of firms, it regards paper qualifications as a source of rigidities and therefore archaic. On the basis of a critical analysis of the lines of argument in the White Paper, the author expresses his concern about a movement which could have detrimental effects for wageearners, despite the good intentions shown.**

<sup>\*</sup>White Paper "Teaching and learning - Towards the learning society", Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1995.



***“ (...) although the paradigms may be generous, the concrete forms to which they correspond at a given point in time in a given country may largely differ as a function of the ‘societal’ constructions inherent to each of them.(...) our discussion of this White Paper shall to a certain extent remain very French in essence.. “***

***‘Work in the field of the history of technology (...) shows the degree to which, in retrospect, the “systemic” perspective is the only one which can be retained. This perspective in fact necessarily privileges interdependencies between all the components of societies, be they of a technological, economic, social, cultural or religious nature... “***

and how “social innovations” become determinative when one seeks to reconcile economic competitiveness with social cohesion. But they are based on analyses which are radically different from those of the White Paper and advocate both private- and public-sector management policies which are far removed from the policies currently in vogue.

The emphasis placed on the influence of combined “macro and micro” management choices on mechanisms involving work, employment and lifestyles reposition educational and training actions involving “lifelong learning” within the framework of productive paradigms and constructions of “wage relations” whose determining character in this field is familiar (indeed, it will be recalled that the “wage relationship” combines production standards and consumer standards). It means that the challenges of the utilisation of the “labour force” can be repositioned in its combined situation as a factor of production and a basis of well-being within a twofold and indissociable perspective of production and distribution of wealth.

However, as can be seen from the length of the articles in the Vocational Training Journal, the paradigms may be generous, but the concrete forms to which they correspond at a given point in time in a given country may largely differ as a function of the “societal” constructions inherent to each of them. It must therefore be specified that our discussion of this White Paper shall to a certain extent remain very French in essence...

### **Serious doubts concerning the legitimacy of the premises**

The White Paper opens with a kind of declaration of principle that three factors inescapable of transformation are imposing themselves on Europe, “three factors of upheaval”, namely “the dawning of the information society”, “the internationalization of trade” and “the relentless march of science and technology”. The questions raised do not relate to the importance of the trends characterising the respective fields of technological innovations, ex-

changes between “nations” and scientific and technical know-how - these are indisputable. They concern the way in which their future perspectives and their relations with other trends in our societies are handled, interrelationships which in fact play a determining role in the extent and nature of the relevant “upheaval”.

### **The information society**

Quoting the Bangemann report of May 1994, the White Paper points out “that throughout the world, information and communication technologies are bringing about a new industrial revolution” and further on it continues, “it is [...] certain that information technologies have radically changed the nature of work and the organisation of production” and “information technologies [...] bring.. the “learning system” and the “producing system” closer together”<sup>4</sup>.

The language used here is reminiscent of an all too familiar perspective: that of technological determinism, or, in a slightly more sophisticated form, a determinism of “relations of production.” From this “one best way” perspective, innovative technologies substitute old technologies in “optimal combinations of factors”, thus imposing themselves by their superior effectiveness. This reflects a very classical “economism”, largely disparaged by all the empirical work in the field of industrial economics and labour sociology over the last 20 years. Work in the field of the history of technology, moreover, shows the degree to which, in retrospect, the “systemic” perspective is the only one which can be retained. This perspective, in fact, necessarily privileges interdependencies between all the components of societies, be they of a technological, economic, social, cultural or religious nature. This perspective is clearly demonstrated by Bertrand Giller in his “History of Technology” which is still a work of reference in France.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, although one can easily subscribe to the hypothesis of the emergence of new information and communication technologies” (NICTs), they must also be viewed as a component of a new “technical system”, fitting into the present system according to the dynamics of “deconstruction-reconstruction” whose nature is



particularly difficult to foresee since “major innovations” are involved, i.e. innovations calling an existing economic and social order into question. This is why it seems essential to recall that these technologies are merely tools which, like all the major technological innovations in the course of history, reveal the contradictions of our societies, or, if you like, the real state of forces at work beyond rhetoric. They act as a factor which both reveals and permits change.

The “social and economic effects” of NICTs shall therefore strictly depend on the institutional and social forms each collective body is capable of creating. They shall first and foremost depend on public options, the “political”, in fact, constituting the top level of the regulation of economic and social relations. The same holds true for the respective places of the “economic” and the market in the regulation of relations of production and trade, alongside other dimensions essential to humanity such as the symbolic, the poetic or the spiritual. This is the standpoint we tried to defend in favour of a “European information society”<sup>6</sup>. A similar perspective was expressed by the group of experts convened by Commissioner Flynn in its interim report of January 1996<sup>7</sup>.

### Internationalization

Turning to the perspective of internationalization, the White Paper indicates: “This option involves improving the competitiveness of our economies and will increase the quality of life through the efficient distribution of resources in the world”<sup>8</sup>. Just like technologies which must be positioned on a single optimum, the international division of labour via the free allocation of factors apparently assures a collective optimum of well-being by the most effective exploitation of territorialised resources.

The problem of the “internationalization” of the economy is twofold. It refers, on the one hand, to the relations which may exist between the territorialisation of persons and that of productive activities and their conditions of harmonisation and on the other hand, it refers to relations which may exist between an expansion of competition in the product markets and standards of living, these being measured by

the relations between the costs of goods and services consumed and labour income. The postulate in this field is that free movement of goods and factors of production lower prices in the wake of the combined effect of productive efficiency and competition, triggering moreover a “surplus” authorising a remuneration of factors which is equal or higher than the present levels.

This reasoning may be valid in the very long-term - approx. a century - but is completely contradicted by the facts when viewed from the perspective of a generation, as shown by our economic and social history. For example, at the end of the 18th century, the opening up of markets combined with the need for investment triggered a much higher increase in prices than wages, generating profits and therefore the capital to build industrial powers in Europe. Thus Earl Hamilton wrote that by involuntarily sacrificing its real income by the compression of wages vis-a-vis prices, the working class bore the weight of material progress, the benefits of which were reaped by following generations of workers at the same time as other social groups<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, in the second quarter of the 19th century in France, textile workers were paid half as much as in 1800, whereas miners' wages were halved between 1792 and 1850. In England, homeworking weavers who earned 30 shillings per week around 1820 earned only 7-9 shillings 20 years later.<sup>10</sup>

These rapid pauperisation mechanisms of the population groups most directly affected by the abrupt opening up of markets are so familiar that no further comment, is required. It is, nevertheless, essential to keep them in mind to understand what is happening today and to look into the future since these mechanisms are already in action. They cannot be ignored, even if there are major difficulties in grasping their present reality and determining points and forms of action, once they have developed.<sup>11</sup>

### The scientific and technical world

Having noted that “the developments and dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge is accelerating [...]” and that “industry relies increasingly on science [...]”, the authors of the White Paper de-

***‘The ‘social and economic effects’ of NICTs shall (...) strictly depend on the institutional and social forms each collective body is capable of creating.’***



***“It is essential to keep it essential to keep (...) these rapid pauperisation mechanisms of the population groups most directly affected by the abrupt opening up of markets (...) to understand what is happening today and to look into the future (...).”***

***With the emergence of consumer and ecological movements towards the end of the 1960s, the questions began to be raised on the ‘natural’ benefit of science and its developments.***

***“It is (...) no coincidence that a twofold debate is beginning to develop today around and within science on the epistemological and cosmogonic foundations of our knowledge and the ‘democratic control’ of the direction in which science is moving. “***

plore that “instead of celebrating progress as was the case a century ago, public opinion often perceives scientific ventures and technological progress as a threat [...] matched by a sense of fear which has some parallels in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance”, concluding that “it is by disseminating knowledge that this irrational climate can be overcome”<sup>12</sup>.

As in earlier texts, it is not so much the facts which are called into question as the underlying normative judgements, in particular the assimilation between technological innovation and technological progress or the acceptance of the idea of equivalence between scientific progress, technical and economic progress and social progress. Comparing a present-day situation to the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance is also significant in that it manifests a belief in the “natural” benefit of science and its developments, relegating all those who may think otherwise to implicit “obscurantism”.

The deviations from these beliefs which appeared in the industrialised nations in the late 1960s with the emergence of the consumer, followed by ecological movements, are not exempt of factual legitimacy. Similarly, the parallel emergence of the notion of “major risk” to qualify not only “natural disasters”, but in particular “man-made disasters” related to applications of scientific and technical developments, is no coincidence. The corresponding debates originate not only in the “profane” world, ignorant of “scientific achievement”, but, on the contrary, in the scientific milieu themselves, who began to question their own orientations and direction internally. It is therefore no coincidence that a twofold debate is beginning to develop today around and within science on the epistemological and cosmogonic foundations of our knowledge and the “democratic control” of the direction in which science is moving.

It is no less of a coincidence that scientists themselves - or at least those with a so-called scientific training - tend to be rather privileged players in the development of sects and fundamentalist religious movements. It is quite correct that from a long-term historical perspective, our relations with the world and knowledge,

which gradually developed in Europe from the Renaissance to the century of “Enlightenment”, are probably being called into question in this present phase of our history.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore clear that questions relating to the place accorded to scientific and technical knowledge in culture and questions relating to the “ethics of sciences” are essential, but they should be viewed from a different angle than that proposed.

## **The transition from a flexibility/adaptability to a fluidity/liquidity paradigm**

These analyses of the general postulates of reference may be completed by an analysis of the productive paradigm underlying the action guideline proposals. Here again it is elucidating to return to the text of the White Paper.

### **A paradigm of flexibility**

The White Paper stipulates that “mass production is declining and giving way to a more customized type of production”, that “corporate organisation is increasingly turning towards flexibility and decentralisation” with a “search for flexibility”, “the development of network-based cooperation” and “increased use of sub-contracting”. Information technology is “contributing to the disappearance of “routine and repetitive work which can be codified, programmed and automated ...”. The result, according to the White Paper, is “a higher level of individual autonomy for workers” in the organisation of their work...”, “thus bringing the ‘learning system’ and the ‘producing system’ closer together”<sup>14</sup>.

The above-mentioned bases for future developments correspond fairly well to the analyses conducted in what has been called the search for a “new productive model”. The driving force behind this movement are the strategies predominantly established by firms worldwide, seeking to improve their relative competitiveness vis-a-vis their competitors. Mobilising the resources offered today by NICTs to this end, they are transforming their organisations in search of greater flexibility/adaptability<sup>15</sup>. This leads to the



emergence of “network enterprises” whose legal and organisational contours are so blurred that it is unclear exactly where they start and where they end (a multitude of business names, financial mazes, umbrella companies...). It is true that survival in productive structures of this type calls for high economic, social and cultural assets, not only to position oneself in their “nebulous expanse”, but also to negotiate the appreciation of one’s resources.

It is correct that the technical-economic tendency to privilege the short-term (real times and interactivity), together with enlarged trading areas, gives rise to a generic instability of the global production system, itself reinforced by an instability of monetary parities and cyclical variations in volumes and prices, linked to the competitive strategies of the firms. However, this dominant instability of the productive organisation, translated by a considerable reduction of predictability, is confronted with a social demand for stability, translated in turn by the search for an anchor of identity in nearby communities and territories... Europe is therefore left with its contradictory perspectives among which it is up to the political arena to make a choice.

### **Labour as a commodity: the destruction of wage-based society**

The answer is to a certain extent provided in the summary preceding the actual body of the White Paper text where one reads that a “global employment market is closer than is generally thought...”; that “this White Paper advocates [...] a more open, more flexible approach” in particular to “encourage the mobility of workers”. It believes it is “today striking to observe how much easier it is for goods, capital and services to move around Europe than it is for people and knowledge!”. The White Paper also regards a turnaround of “the traditional pattern of growth in paid employment” as inevitable, “i.e. full-time and permanent (employment), seems to be in decline” linked with the “development of self-employment”.<sup>16</sup>

With the transition from the management of production and its organisation to “labour force” management and the func-

tioning of the “labour market”, one moves to a different analytical sphere, entering the field of the interrelationship between economic perspectives and social perspectives. The question is how flexibility of employment shall be organised in Europe<sup>17</sup>. The emphasis previously laid on legal aspects finds its full significance in this context in relation to employment status. The logics of “flexibility/adaptability” lead to an initial precarisation of the wage relationship with the development of fixed-term and part-time contracts in a more or less global perspective of restructuring of working time. However, beyond this, the pressure for the transition from the pattern of paid employment towards self-employment, as an extension of a restructuring of the respective position of the market and the institution in the regulation of productive organisation, reflects the issue of a return towards piece work, the complement to which can be identified within “teleworking”. It is a question of no more - or no less - than returning to those who contribute their working capacity the responsibility for its management in the context of uncertainty already mentioned above.

This therefore represents a full step backwards from all that was once the great historic movement of the development of labour relations in Europe and the major industrialised nations since the interwar period. It is clearly to the detriment of those who contribute their working capacity to the “market”. One can therefore understand the White Paper’s concern about those groups of the population in Europe whose training has not equipped them with the sufficient adaptability to cope with situations resulting from perspectives of this kind. The question is whether the Commission’s concern “to maintain the European social model” is credible in view of this scenario. It seems significant that at a recent seminar organised for the European Commission, the overwhelming response from both European trade unionists and researchers was clearly negative<sup>18</sup>.

### **The paper qualification called into question as basis of “certification”**

Finally, the White Paper deplores the fact that “the traditional route pursued by the individual is the quest for a paper quali-

***“(...) this dominant instability of the productive organisation, translated by a considerable reduction of predictability, is confronted with a social demand for stability(...)***

***“The logics of ‘flexibility/adaptability’ lead to an initial precarisation of the wage relationship (...) However, beyond this, the pressure for the transition from the pattern of paid employment towards self-employment (...) reflects the issue of a return towards piece work (...) It is a question of (...) returning to those who contribute their working capacity the responsibility for its management in (a) context of uncertainty”.***



***“The diploma draws its legitimacy from its recognition by the state (...) it is true that initial paper qualifications have such weight in terms of social benchmarking that they largely determine access to the various occupational categories and in parallel structure social hierarchies by virtue of the hierarchy of skills. The likelihood of such social constructions being called into question in the short term remains highly improbable(...).”***

fication” and the “image of the paper qualification as the near-absolute reference point in terms of skills”, producing “perverse effects”, intensifying “the lack of flexibility of the labour market” and causing “substantial wastage by locking out talent which does not correspond to standard profiles”. It suggests changes in the “genuine recognition of knowledge within the European Union, not only recognition of paper qualifications, but also recognition of the different components of which they are comprised”. Skills should be validated “irrespective of whether or not they were acquired via a paper qualification” and therefore based on “personal skills cards”<sup>19</sup>.

Here again, with reference to paper qualifications, comments are made on the social rigidities which are apparently preventing European society from embarking on the wide open seas of modern times. The authors suggest that the paper qualification is a kind of archaicism which curtails the opportunities of those who are not amply endowed with qualifications from the onset and offers no second chance to make up for lost opportunities. They refer to the need for a certain “abolition of privileges”: “In most European systems, paper qualifications are designed with a view to filtering out at the top the elite which will lead administration and companies, researchers and teaching staff. In certain countries, they are even the quasi-absolute reference points for assessing competence...”<sup>20</sup>.

It would take too much time to discuss the respective pros and cons of paper qualifications and the significance of the social constructions established around them within the various Member States of the European Union, a subject touched upon by other contributions to this edition of the Vocational Training Journal. To return to the question of skills and paper qualifications, it is true that in France paper qualifications constitute a reference point of “certification” in that a diploma certifies that its holder has acquired the overall knowledge corresponding to the course in question. The paper qualification gives its holder a “vocational qualification”, “validated by the diploma”. The diploma draws its legitimacy from its recognition by the state. Again in France, it is true that initial paper qualifications

have such weight in terms of social benchmarking that they largely determine access to the various occupational categories and in parallel structure social hierarchies by virtue of the hierarchy of skills.

The likelihood of such social constructions being called into question in the short term remains highly improbable, and the idea of their substitution by another “reference system” with little legitimacy is an illusion. This has been understood by a number of large French companies which, with the same objectives as those advocated by the Commission, have tried to design their continuing training programmes according to a dual legitimacy: an internal legitimacy linked to “action-oriented competencies” with a view to productive efficiency, and an external legitimacy with a view to social legitimacy, which remains essential. To this end, they have adopted a form of continuing training which, although financed internally, leads to a state-recognised paper qualification (formation diplomante)<sup>21</sup>

The term competence emerged in France in the early 1980s at a time when employers began to feel that the “how” was not yielding the same rate of return as the investment they had made in the “know”. This was also a time when workers in general were being asked to accept a more collective approach to the functioning of labour and a greater degree of responsibility in the workplace. It was therefore up to the firms to send out a signal to indicate a movement in “job requirements”, from knowledge towards “action-oriented competencies”<sup>22</sup>.

Piecing together all the components of the movements observed, one can therefore legitimately ask whether employers, in view of the pressure and the financial model, have not embarked on a new phase, seeking to surpass the “flexibility/adaptability” paradigm and impose a “fluidity/liquidity” paradigm on those providing their working capacity. From this perspective, it is absolutely correct that the stumbling block is labour; or, to be more precise, the social constructions on which it is based which may be considered as essential to rapidly “demolish”. The result of all this is an enormous question mark with respect to the White Paper. The point in fact is how - given the structural



conditions observed elsewhere - the action guideline proposals advanced by the White Paper can really lead to the objectives to which they are assigned, given the uncertainties confronting the "suppliers of their working capacity".

### **For a competitiveness based on an adaptability/solidarity paradigm**

In our view, the main interest of the White Paper lies not in the concrete answers it seeks to give to the questions raised, but in the fact that it opens our eyes to the movements which are necessary and the consistencies which must exist in the interrelationship of the players - be they public- or private-sector decision-makers - affected by all the aspects of the economic and social functioning of Europe, if our continent is to preserve its social identity and at the same time remain an "equitable" place of production and distribution of wealth for all those living here in the future.

From this perspective, it is necessary at all levels to jointly and consistently construct an economic, social and monetary policy. This is particularly imperative in international relations in conjunction with European integration. This is an eminently political task even if the stakes are eminently economic and social since they involve the conditions of the creation and distribution of wealth. Reflection at this level seems inescapable. It is a matter of a fundamental question for the social sciences: How "can the forms of modern individualism be espoused while at the same time preserving the complexity and autonomy of collective and social phenomena?"<sup>23</sup>.

### **Constructing expansive forms of social networking**

One can perfectly understand the interest of the White Paper's proposals on the usage of INTCs in the field of education and training, in particular in terms of their interactive developments. These new technologies could be a means of renewing educational programmes for young people and especially adults by tapping new resources such as the "electronic campus"

or new structures - at least in France - such as knowledge resource centres. Each person can find in these structures material and "resource persons" in relation with information and social exchange networks based on "distance education" and "cooperative learning" concepts<sup>24</sup>.

One can also understand the objective of bringing schools and the business sector closer together and of developing apprenticeship/training in the form of alternance, thus bringing initial training closer to the realities of the firms, "insofar as there are aspects of knowledge which can only be acquired at school with the help of the firm, no matter the quality of the practical training dispensed just as, conversely, there are aspects of knowledge which can only be acquired in the firm with the help of the school..."<sup>25</sup>. Indeed, there are many countries today which draw on this school/company interface in an attempt to succeed in creating this transition between two worlds whose rules are so different.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, one can clearly understand the new methods for funding of continuing training by the introduction of types of "individual vouchers" offering greater and freer solvency of continuing training as a function of more personal projects. In the same vein, agreements signed on the intelligent use of the reduction in working hours, with or without restructuring, and the "time chosen" to combine the new resulting flexibilities with the opportunities to develop one's own competencies and personal thirst for knowledge are also viewed in a positive light.

Actions of solidarity in the form of neighbouring (social or territorial) redistributions and which, embedded in logics of exchange going beyond mere commodities, might then take their place alongside more traditional mechanisms. This represents an entire field of action for associations which, supported by public aid, have a wide range of opportunity in the framework of an "economy of solidarity".

### **Surpassing the flexibility/adaptability paradigm by an adaptability/solidarity paradigm**

One nevertheless clearly feels that such actions, useful as they may be, would not

***"(.. ) it is necessary at all levels to jointly and consistently construct an economic, social and monetary policy."***

***"How 'can the forms of modern individualism be espoused while at the same time preserving the complexity and autonomy of collective and social phenomena?'"***



***The actions proposed, "(...) useful as they may be, would not suffice to counteract the devastating effects of the economic and organisational upheavals presented as facing the European Union (...)".***

suffice to counteract the devastating effects of the economic and organisational upheavals presented as facing the European Union, according to a kind of law of nature: progress. It would seem that the authors of the White Paper themselves clearly perceive the contradictions between micro-industrial forms of productive management developed by companies and the macro-social orientations they propose. This is why they also refer to the need for firms to change their accounting practices and in particular their conditions of arbitration between investment in tangible and intangible capital in order to "re-internalise" the "externalised" costs, as economists so elegantly put it. However, they make no reference to the need to introduce equally substantial changes to the massively developing practices of human resources management, although this is no less essential with respect to their own objectives.

Thus, in view of the dominant practices of the firms, one cannot but feel puzzled by the passage devoted to a broad knowledge base. Given that firms try not to pay for this when it does exist, how can one ask them to finance its acquisition? It is not even clear that the authors really believe this themselves. In fact, when one considers the sections devoted to the two types of response to the "three upheavals", the arguments on the broad knowledge base are much weaker than those relating to the "development of everyone's employability and capacity for economic life"<sup>27</sup>.

Similarly, in view of the present conditions of access to foreign languages, how can proficiency in two languages other than one's mother tongue be envisaged when proper command of one language is far from acquired, even among graduates of higher education?

More fundamentally, so that the professed objective - reconciliation of economic

perspectives of competitiveness, personal perspectives of self-development and collective perspectives of social cohesion by means of "lifelong learning" - can have a chance of success - the players with a predominant role in the "deconstruction/reconstruction" phenomena must accept to play a game of complementarity. This is far from the case if one considers the example of large French companies which, by breaking the tacit "social pact" with their wage earners, have unsettled the conditions of the French labour market by abandoning the forms of compensation between contributions and wages throughout occupational life, to the advantage of a much narrower association of the two terms of the exchange along more American lines.

Similarly, this is far from the case as far as the managerial method of downsizing is concerned. Although the risks of this process for the firms themselves are now being denounced, the macrosocial damages in the labour market triggered by the extent of the personnel shed in large firms has not yet been fully assessed<sup>28</sup>. Similarly, the multiplication of fixed-term contracts, systematically used as a recruitment measure, is in the long run weakening the conditions of accumulation of the competences needed by the firms themselves. Moreover, the more rapid the successions of lay-ons and lay-offs and consequential periods of absence from the workplace become, the more people's "employability" is reduced.

One can therefore understand why of the some 2.9 million unemployed in France in March 1995, according to the ILO definition, 45% were long-term unemployed while 2 million people were in assisted employment in 1994<sup>29</sup>. One can also measure the length of the structural path ahead if lifelong learning as so generously designed by the European Commission is to be fully credible.

#### **Footnotes, bibliographical references**

1) There will be a very wide-ranging debate involving all those with a key interest in education and training: the relevant competent national authorities, teachers, enterprises, the social partners, and so on. This interaction which the Commission believes will be very fruitful will be followed by more detailed proposals. They will all have one and the same objective: to prepare Europeans to

pass smoothly to a society based upon the acquisition of skills, where one continues to learn and teach throughout life. In other words, a learning society". Forward by Edith Cresson and Pádraig Flynn to the White Paper, "Teaching and learning - Towards the learning society", Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg, 1995, p. 3.



- 2) "Growth, competitiveness, employment. The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century", Commission of European Communities. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 6/93, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- 3) **Iribarne (A. d.)** "La compétitivité". Defi social, enjeu éducatif". CNRS Editions. Collection sociologie. 2nd edition, 1993.
- 4) White Paper, op. cit., pp. 22 and 23.
- 5) **Gilles, Bertrand** (headed by) "Histoire des techniques", Gallimard, Collection Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Paris, 1978, 1649 pages.
- 6) **Iribarne (A. d.)**: "For a European information society" in "The ethical, cultural and democratic stakes of the information society". Symposium organised by the European Commission and the Episcopal Commission of the European Community (COMECE), Brussels, 13 October 1995, ed. Directorate General XIII, Brussels, pp. 42- 53.
- 7) "Constructing the European information society for everyone". First reflections of the high-level experts group, interim report, January 1996. European Commission, ed. Directorate General V, Brussels, 96 pages.
- 8) White Paper, op. cit. p. 24.
- 9) **Hamilton, Earl**: "War and prices in Spain 1651-1880", Cambridge, Mass. 1947, p. 225.
- 10) **Hamilton, E**, op. cit., p. 21.
- 11) On the income gaps which are rapidly developing, see also **Robert Reich** "The world economy" (French translation published by Editions Dunod, Paris, 1993). It is also of interest to reread the endeavours to make use of the long historical analyses to understand the downturn in growth in the mid-1970s. See **Boyer, Robert**: "La crise actuelle: une mise en perspective historique" in Critique de l'économie politique. New series no.7-8, April-September, pp. 5-113.
- 12) White Paper, op. cit., p. 25.
- 13) These questions have been examined in greater detail in:  
- **Iribarne (A.d.)**: "L'évolution technologique facteur de progrès?". Communication aux journées nationales de l'organisation hospitalière. Saint-Malo, 17-18 May 1995. Reproduced document, Lest/CNRS. Aix en Provence, 9pp.  
- **Iribarne (A. d.)**: "Communication of scientific knowledge and democracy". Paper presented at the V. international conference: "The future of science has begun. The communication of science to the public: sciences and media." Milan, 14-16 February, 1996. Reproduced document, Lest/CNRS, Aix en Provence, 19 pages.  
See also the recent publication by **Francois Lucrat**: "L'autorité de la science". Edition du Cerf. Paris, 1995, 347 pages.
- 14) White Paper, op. cit., pp. 22 and 23.
- 15) **Iribarne (A. d.)** "La compétitivité..", op. cit. pp. 81 - 171.
- 16) White Paper, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 22 and 23.
- 17) A sound analysis of how flexibility was introduced in the various European countries can be found in: **Boyer, Robert** (headed by) "La flexibilité du travail en Europe". Editions La Découverte. Paris, 1986, 350 pages.
- 18) "The avoidance of mobile wage-earning workers' exclusion. The guidance role in continuous training". Universitat Atonoma de Barcelona. Institut de Ciències de l'educació. Col·lecció Jornades 51, 1996.
- 19) White Paper, op. cit., pp. 7- 9.
- 20) White Paper, op. cit. p. 32.
- 21) This refers to the considerable efforts of the French Ministry of National Education and Industry from the early 1970s to develop examinations on the basis of credit units in an attempt to reconcile the requirements of paper qualifications and continuing training policies. This explains the term *formation* diplomante, "training leading to a paper qualification". Cf. **Claude Dubar** et al: "Innovation de formation et transformations de la socialisation professionnelle par et dans l'entreprise", LASTREE/CNRS (ed.), Lille, 1989, 45 pages.
- 22) **Iribarne (A. d.)**: "Compétences et diplômes a l'heure européenne", Reproduced document Lest/CNRS. Aix en Provence, March 1996, 9 pages.
- 23) **Dupuy, Jean-Pierre**: "Introduction aux sciences sociales. Logique des phénomènes collectifs." Ellipses Editeur, Paris, 1992, page 7.
- 24) **Arnaud, Michel**: "L'apprentissage coopératif dans la maison du savoir", LARIC, Futuroscope, October 1995, Reproduced document, 10 pages.
- 25) **Lichtenberger, Yves**: "Alternance en formation et qualification professionnelle" in "Construire la formation professionnelle en alternance". Les éditions d'organisation 1995, pp. 69 and 70.
- 26) **OECD**: "Les formations en alternance: quel avenir?", Paris, 1994, 167 pages.
- 27) The White Paper devotes a little under four and a half pages to a broad knowledge base and twelve and a half pages to the development of employability (pp. 31-43).
- 28) **Kauffmann, Sylvie**: "Entretien avec Stephen Roach: "L'obsession du 'dégraissage' menace l'industrie des Etats-Unis", Le Monde newspaper, 29 May, 1996, page 16.
- 29) **CSERC**: "Les inégalités d'emploi et des revenus, mise en perspective et nouveaux défis". La Découverte, Paris, 1996, 224 pages.



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**This article uses data from the Labour Force Survey to show how participation in education and training varies within the European Union between different groups in the population and the labour force. It seeks to explain the reasons for some of the observed differences and also highlights the caution needed in interpreting the data. The data reveal clearly the way in which training opportunities decline with age and are lower for those such the low skilled or unskilled and the unemployed who are already at a disadvantage in the labour market. Special attention is given to the higher rates of training provided in the service sector compared to those in industry and how these influence the situation for women and part-time workers whose employment is concentrated in the service sector.**

# Who participates in education and training? - an overview at European level

It is now accepted that a skilled workforce is essential if the European Union and the Member States are to respond successfully to the challenges they face - the pace of technological and organisational change in the work place, increasing competition from existing and emerging industrial countries and the need for greater cohesion within society. These challenges require that workers at all levels throughout the Union both have the skill needed and that those skills are continually updated. Despite this awareness, however, information on training, particularly that relating to lifelong learning remains one of the least developed of the key economic indicators at Community level. Existing data at national level necessarily reflect national institutional arrangements and policy needs for which national concepts, definitions and classifications are used and which, therefore, are not comparable between Member States.

This information gap at Community level was addressed in the FORCE Programme which called for comparable data to be collected on continuing vocational training and, in particular, required a community-wide survey to be carried out with the co-operation of the Statistical Office of the European Community (EUROSTAT) on the continuing training provided by enterprises. The results of this survey, carried out in 1994, will be known later this year. Within the framework of the LEONARDO Programme, EUROSTAT and DG XXII, with the support of CEDEFOP, also have an ambitious five year programme for the development and collection of statistics on training - both initial and continuing.

In the meantime, the principal source of comparable data on training at Community level is that collected in the EC Labour Force Survey (LFS) carried out annually in all Member States based on questionnaires, concepts and definitions laid down by EUROSTAT. The LFS is a house-

hold survey, carried out in the spring of each year. The survey collects a wide range of data on the personal characteristics of the adult members of the household, their status as regards the labour force in the reference week before the survey and, if employed, the characteristics of their employment. In addition, the LFS is also used to collect data on any education or training received in the four weeks prior to the survey.

This article is based largely on the results of the LFS. Its focus is on the variations in training opportunities between different groups within the population and labour force.

## Value and limitations of the LFS

The LFS is a rich source of data allowing participation in training activities to be analysed by a wide range of personal and employment characteristics. However, it can only represent a part of the overall picture. This is so for two reasons. First, being a household survey, its focus is that of the individual's perception of their activities and their ability to describe themselves in terms of the survey's requirements. This point is particularly relevant to questions on training because it is known from other surveys carried out at national level that data obtained from individuals may not agree with data collected from employers. This is so even when the intention is to collect comparable data from the two sources. Individuals and employers may have a different perception of what counts as training.

The second note of caution is that because the LFS collects data on the training received in a reference period of only four weeks, it cannot provide estimates of the total number receiving education and training during in a year. This will mean that for continuing training among

\*Continuing Vocational Training Survey



the older age groups, characterised by courses of short duration, the numbers receiving training in a four week period will understate considerably the number of people receiving training at some time during the year.

For practical reasons also, but particularly relevant in the context of life-long learning in its broadest sense of this article, participation in education and training have been combined in this article. This is because the distinction between education and training is often blurred with educational establishments in some countries, providing what might be called training. Many universities, for example, are now providing continuing training programmes at an advanced level for mature students from industry. It cannot be certain, therefore, that respondents to the LFS from different countries respond in the same way to the questions from which the distinction between education and training is made in the analysis of the results.

Also, for initial education and training, national practices vary quite sharply between those countries, such as France, in which much early training is provided by the educational system with most young people staying on at school until they are 18 and those countries, such as Germany, in which a dual system involving employer based training operates.

Despite these qualifications, however, the main value of the LFS is that it is a unique source of data which shows the *relative* situation, as regards the education and training received, of different groups within the population as a whole and in the labour force.

## Participation by age and sex

Table 1 below provides an overall summary from the LFS of participation rates in education and training in a four week period in the Spring of 1994 for the population of 15-64 years of age, in the then twelve Member States of the EC, analysed by gender and broad age groups.

Even allowing for the comments made above about the limitations of the data, this table shows clearly the way in which

training opportunities decline with increasing age. What is perhaps more surprising is how, in total and for the different age groups, the distribution is remarkably similar for both males and females. This latter finding is perhaps not expected given that the composition of their labour market and employment characteristics are quite different for the two sexes and that leaning opportunities also vary between groups within the labour market. Females, for example, account for two-thirds of the economically inactive population and for 85 per cent of all part-time employees. In contrast, two-thirds of all full-time workers and three-quarters of the self-employed are men. Differences in the education and training rates between these and other groups within the population will be examined later. This will shed some light on the reasons for the similarity in the overall education and training participation rates between the two sexes. However, in all countries for which data exist, there has been a tendency for the gap between males and female rates of participation in training to narrow.

Overall, for the younger age groups, the figures in Table 1 are clearly influenced by the numbers continuing their full time education at school or university and those receiving long term initial vocational training. In the older groups the continuing training provided whilst in employment becomes the more dominant influence. Although the focus of the article is on a comparison between different groups within the EC as a whole it should be noted at this stage that initial education and training rates and continuing training rates vary between the Member States. This is illustrated in Table 2. For illustrative purposes, participation rates in edu-

***"(...) the main value of the LFS is that it is a unique source of data which shows the relative situation, as regards the education and training received, of different groups within the population as a whole and in the labour force."***

***"(...) training opportunities decline with increasing age."***

***"(...) in total and for the different age groups, the distribution is remarkably similar for both males and females."***

**Table 1: Percentage of population aged 15-64 in education and training, EC - spring 1994**

Age group	Total	Males	Females
15-19	81.3	81.1	81.5
20-24	35.7	35.0	36.4
25-34	11.7	12.7	10.7
35-44	5.8	5.8	5.8
45-54	3.5	3.5	3.5
55-59	1.6	1.6	1.5
60-64	0.6	0.6	0.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>16.5</b>



**Table 2: Percentage of population in education or training, EC - spring 1994**

Country	Aged 15-19	Aged 35-44
Belgium	84.2	2.5
Denmark	87.1	17.0
France	92.5	2.6
Germany	93.2	6.1
Greece	79.7	0.6
Ireland	82.7	3.8
Italy	72.8	2.2
Luxembourg	80.3	2.7
Netherlands	91.5	14.0
Portugal	71.2	3.1
Spain	77.8	2.5
United Kingdom	66.9	13.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>81.3</b>	<b>5.8</b>

*“For young people the rates varied between over 90 per cent in Germany, France and the Netherlands to under 70 percent in the United Kingdom. The other countries were distributed throughout this range.”*

*“(...) for people aged 35-44, the education and training rates in three countries, Denmark, Netherlands and the United Kingdom, were over twice the EC average (...)”*

*“Data on the proportions participating in training do not say anything about the duration or quality of that training.”*

education or training are shown for only two age groups - 15-19 and 35-44 years of age.

For young people the rates varied between over 90 per cent in Germany, France and the Netherlands to under 70 percent in the United Kingdom. The other countries were distributed throughout this range. In contrast, for people aged 35-44, the education and training rates in three countries, Denmark, Netherlands and the United Kingdom, were over twice the EC average and in the case of Denmark, at 17 percent, nearly three times so. With the exception of Germany, the rates in other countries were significantly below - and often less than half - that of the EC average. As always, some care is needed in the interpretation of these figures. Data on the proportions participating in training do not say anything about the duration or quality of that training. For young people, of course, much of their training will be of long duration leading to a recognised qualification. In contrast the training received by adult will often be of much shorter duration lasting for only a few days or weeks

The LFS does ask questions on the duration of the training received but the quality of this data has yet to be evaluated and should only be used with caution. However, some indication of the importance of this point can be illustrated by looking at the reported differences between for Germany and the United Kingdom. Data from the 1992 LFS suggests that in Germany, nearly 50 per cent of those

in the 35-44 age group who said that they had received some education or training also said that the duration of the course was over one year with only 15 percent saying that it lasted for less than one week. In contrast, the situation in the United Kingdom is reversed. While, as shown in the table, a higher proportion in the United Kingdom had said that they had received some training, 50 per cent said that it had lasted for less than one week and only 22 percent reported attending courses of more than one year in duration. On the surface, this evidence would suggest that while in Germany fewer adults receive training each year, compared with the United Kingdom, the intensity of that training is much greater. Another possibility is that despite the intention to try to collect comparable data, German respondents significantly understate their participation in short courses.

### Participation by labour market status

Returning now to the education and training participation rates for different groups within the population, the figures for some key broad groups are shown in Table 3. Some interesting patterns are evident.

Looking at the economically inactive first, this group comprises two distinct sub-groups. Those who are full-time students delaying their entry into the labour market and those, such as women who are economically inactive mainly for domestic reasons or those in the older age groups those who have taken early retirement. This explains the higher than average education and training participation rates for this group up to the 25-34 years of age and the lower than average rates thereafter.

Among the economically active, the figures for all categories in the younger age groups are influenced by the way in which initial training patterns are linked to economic activity. The linkages, however are not always the same. For full-time employees, the high education and training rates for 15-19 year old employees are undoubtedly due to the numbers taking part in apprenticeship/dual training systems in which their training is linked to their employment. In contrast the high



rates of education and training among young part-time workers is because many of these are often full-time students doing part-time work to help finance their way through school or college with probably little or no other connection existing between their job and their studies.

More surprisingly, perhaps is the way in which education and training rates of part-time employees remain higher than those of full-time employees for most of the older age groups. Reasons for this will be discussed later in the context of the education and training rates of employees in different sectors in which the patterns of full-time and part-time working are also different.

In the European Union there were nearly 20 million workers in 1994 who were classified as self-employed. Table 3 shows that in all age groups they had significantly lower education and training rates than the average and even in the older age-groups the rates are lower than those for the economically inactive. These figures could suggest that the self-employed may be more concentrated in traditional occupations and sectors of the economy in which the pace of technological change is slower and therefore where the need for continuing training is also lower. However, it may also be because, as a group, they experience particular difficulties in taking time off for training. Given the known difficulties and higher costs experienced by small firms in providing training for their employees it would seem likely that the latter reason is at least a major factor.

More surprisingly are the low education and training rates reported by the nearly 18 million unemployed in the EU since they are a group in particular need of the skills necessary to help them compete for

**Table 3: Percentage of population in education or training by age and labour market status, EC - spring 1994**

<b>Labour market Status</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-34</b>	<b>35-44</b>	<b>45-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>	<b>60-64</b>
Economically inactive	32.0	93.5	72.1	21.7	4.1	1.3	0.4	0.3
Economically Active	9.2	48.4	17.5	9.5	6.1	4.2	2.6	1.5
<i>All employees</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>57.8</i>	<i>19.1</i>	<i>10.2</i>	<i>6.8</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>2.0</i>
<i>Full-time</i>	<i>9.4</i>	<i>52.2</i>	<i>16.3</i>	<i>9.7</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>1.9</i>
<i>Part-time</i>	<i>15.0</i>	<i>72.3</i>	<i>37.2</i>	<i>13.4</i>	<i>7.6</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>2.4</i>
<i>Self-employed</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<i>35.7</i>	<i>9.7</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>9.2</i>	<i>23.0</i>	<i>13.8</i>	<i>9.4</i>	<i>5.3</i>	<i>3.5</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>0.9</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>81.3</b>	<b>35.7</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>0.6</b>

jobs. These low rates may, in part, be due to the fact that, in the LFS, people who would be otherwise unemployed but who are on employer based Government training schemes are classified as employed. Never-the-less, the figures speak for themselves and reinforce further the economic and social disadvantage of the unemployed within the Community.

### Participation by occupation and sector

It was alluded to earlier that some of the reasons for the similarity between the training rates for men and women and also for the higher training rates among part-time workers may be found in an examination of the training rates among workers in different sectors of the economy or in different occupations.

Table 4 shows the percentage of employees aged 35-44 receiving education or training in the spring of 1992 analysed by broad sector groups and whether they

**Table 4: Percentage of employees aged 35-44 in education or training by sector, EC - spring 1992**

<b>Broad Sector</b>	<b>Full-time</b>	<b>Part-time</b>
Agriculture	3.1	2.3
Industry	3.6	3.5
Services	6.7	6.6
<i>Males</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>9.6</i>
<i>Females</i>	<i>7.2</i>	<i>6.5</i>

*“Among the economically active, the figures for all categories in the younger age groups are influenced by the way in which initial training patterns are linked to economic activity.”*

*“(...) education and training rates of part-time employees remain higher than those of full-time employees for most of the older age groups.”*



**Table 5**  
**Percentage of full-time employees aged 35-44 in education or training by occupation, EC - spring 1992**

Legislators and senior officials	11.7
Professionals	11.5
Technicians and associate professionals	7.0
Clerks	4.6
Service workers and market sales workers	3.7
Skilled agriculture and fishery workers	1.9
Craft and related trade workers	2.8
Plant and machine operators	1.9
Elementary occupations	2.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5.5</b>

***“The relative favourable position of part-time workers as whole in the age group (...) is therefore due to their concentration in those sectors of the economy in which more opportunities for training are provided.”***

were working full-time or part-time. It shows that within the two main sectoral groups, industry and services, there is little difference in the training rates between full and part-time workers. More significantly, however, the table shows how training in the service sector is nearly twice that in the industrial sector. This pattern confirms the evidence reported from national surveys in the Member States which have shown that a low level of continuing training is offered in certain industries, such as construction, while high rates of continuing training have been found in the financial services sector. These two industries may be taken, for illustrative purposes as representing two extreme types of employers. The construction industry is characterised by having a large number of small enterprises often using traditional skills which are acquired during initial training and which are relatively little affected by technological change. For both of these reasons, therefore, lower continuing training rates may be expected. The financial services sector, on the other hand is dominated by large enterprises which have been subject recently to rapid technological and organisational change and which therefore require a higher level of investment in continuing training. As with other comparisons given in this article, therefore, any judgement on the differences in training participation rates must also have regard for the different levels of training that may be needed.

Table 4 does go some way in helping to explain the similarity in the training rates for females as a whole in the age group shown earlier in Table 1 despite the fact

that many more females than males in this age group are economically inactive. In 1992, 80 percent of females aged 34-44 worked in the service sector compared to only a little over half of males. The training rates for females have therefore benefited from their high concentration in the sector of the economy which offers the highest levels of training. Furthermore, over 80 per cent of part-time workers in the age group were females working in the service sector for whom the training rate was similar to the sector as a whole. The relative favourable position of part-time workers as whole in the age group as shown in Table 3 is therefore due to their concentration in those sectors of the economy in which more opportunities for training are provided.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in this review of education and training activity rates is a brief look at the differences by occupational groups. The reason why these comparisons are important is they show the impact of initial education and training on the likelihood of receiving continuing training in later life.

The figures in Table 5 above are from the 1992 LFS. The table again only shows the training rates for full-time workers in the 35-44 age group. It demonstrates quite clearly, however, how continuing training is more common among workers in those occupations for which more advanced qualifications, normally obtained during initial education and training, are often required. Indeed it would be possible to show also how those with the highest level of educational attainment are also those who benefit most from continuing training throughout their working lives.

The pattern described above is also reinforced by evidence from surveys in some countries which show that it is also workers in the more senior jobs who expect to receive continuing training while workers in relatively unskilled occupations do not see training as featuring strongly in their working lives. One possible reason for this is that the better educated and trained employees view their work as a career in which progression or advancement is expected. In contrast, for those who see work as merely doing a job, training may be envisaged only if a change of job is necessary.



# In-company continuing training - a contribution to lifelong learning?



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Of the almost 20 million people who took some form of continuing training in 1994, approximately eight million were enrolled in continuing vocational training organized on the initiative of, and financed by, trade and industry.

Given the importance of in-company continuing vocational training programmes, it seems reasonable to examine whether and to what extent they live up to the expectations of the European Commission's concept of lifelong learning. The article begins by looking at the present state of in-company continuing training, including the specific training environment and its limitations and possibilities.

The article will conclude by considering the extent to which the Commission's lifelong learning concept can help shape in-company continuing training.

## Importance and external determinants of in-company continuing training as a major element of continuing vocational training

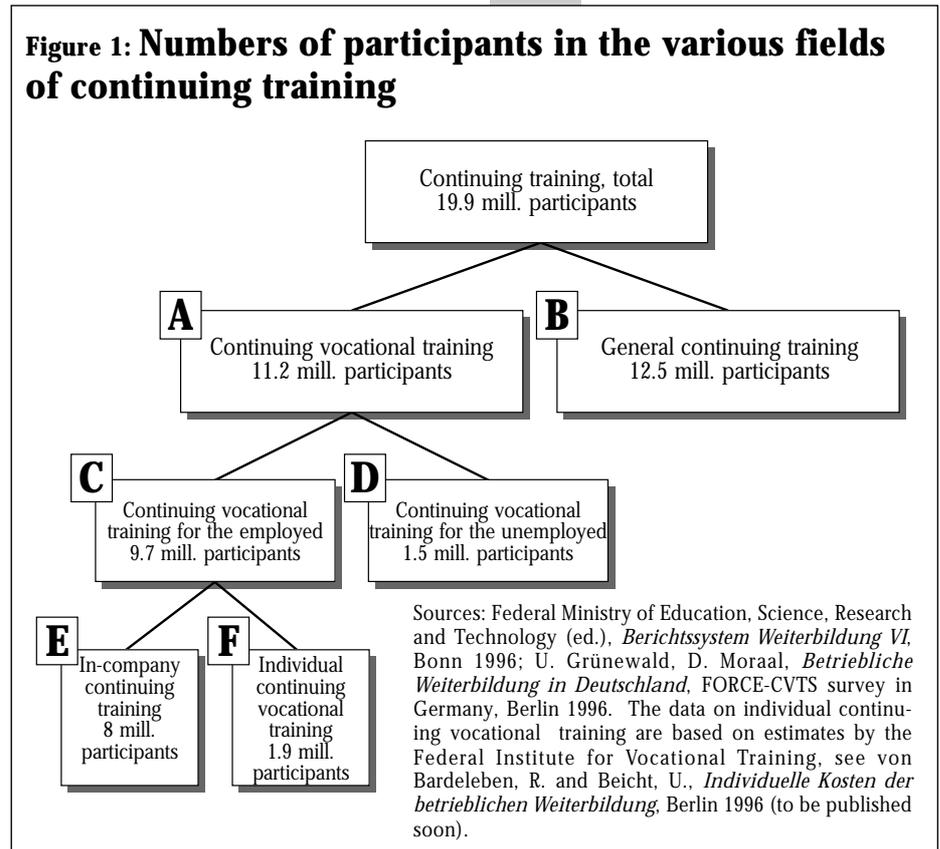
If we examine the entire scope of continuing training programmes serving the goal of lifelong learning, we find a total of 19.9 million participants in 1994. According to available sources, this figure can be broken down as follows:

Depending on how broadly we define in-company continuing training, we find it encompassed between 25% and 30% of the workforce in 1994. Focusing on in-company continuing training limits find-

ings to a restricted area within the broad spectrum of continuing training (see Figure 1):

1. We are examining only the field of **vocational** training (A). The areas of continuing general and political education do not figure in our considerations.
2. The sample of continuing training participants is limited to the employed. Continuing vocational training of the unemployed (D) is financed from other sources and is usually conducted by other training providers. Assessment of enrolment

**The following article is intended to establish the relationships and connections between the educational concept of lifelong learning, which was outlined in a 1996 European Commission white paper and to which the Commission has dedicated a year of awareness, motivation and mobilization, and a specific segment of vocational training - in-company continuing training.**





***“Goals are usually defined to cater for short-term policies. Qualification needs are usually the result of technological and organizational changes in the enterprise.”***

***“Enterprises see continuing training as the crucial instrument to increase labour productivity.”***

1) A continuing training survey in connection with the European FORCE programme provided representative data on continuing training participation by sex, age and occupational status. See Federal Institute for Vocational Training, Statistisches Bundesamt, Betriebliche Weiterbildung in Deutschland, Berlin, 1995 (available free of charge in German, English and French from the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB), Berlin)

figures is complicated by the fact that the same member of the workforce may have attended vocational training courses both as a jobholder and an unemployed person during the same year.

3. The continuing vocational training programmes (C) involve three financing and/or initiating agencies, sometimes allied in a combined financing scheme: the trainee, public institutions (government bodies, municipal agencies, corporations funded by the social partners) and business enterprises. The following investigation concentrates on continuing training programmes initiated by and predominantly financed by companies in the private sector (E). Continuing vocational training programmes arranged by individuals are also excluded (F).

In-company continuing training is characterized by the following points:

- A base level of general education is assumed. Inclusion of general education subject matter is the exception. Training in extrafunctional, cross-discipline skills gain substantially in importance.
- Initial vocational training in Germany or completion of a dual-system vocational programme, is a prerequisite for advanced training and specialization programmes. Several years of occupational experience are often required as well.
- Training achievement is normally measured in terms of company objectives. Goals are usually defined to cater for short-term policies. Qualification needs are usually the result of technological and organizational changes in the enterprise.

### **In-company continuing training is exclusive**

It hardly needs saying that the unemployed are almost completely excluded from this avenue of continuing training. Only where public finance is provided and at the interface with re-employment does in-company continuing training play a role in training those who are out of work. Under certain circumstances, the induction of new employees can be a less expensive alternative to ongoing qualifi-

cation in a school or in-company vocational training system.

In-company continuing training is also selective in terms of specific occupational groups.

In general terms, this exclusion is less evident in the area of discrimination by gender, although certain branches provide notable exceptions to the on-the-whole positive trend, and these are more marked in branches which employ an above-average proportion of females.

Age discrimination is more prevalent. From age 45 onwards, participation drops off sharply.

Selectivity varies most of all with occupational status. Only **7%** of unskilled and semiskilled workers, while **26%** of skilled blue- and white-collar workers and **42%** of managerial staff attended in-company continuing training courses in 1994<sup>1</sup>.

The most important reasons for exclusion from in-company training are the specific objectives and motives underlying a company's training activities, which are correlates of business policy rather than sociopolitical goals.

### **Corporate objectives and motives for offering continuing training**

Enterprises see continuing training as the crucial instrument to increase labour productivity. This is why the percentage of programmes based near the workplace has increased considerably in the past 10 years.

Growing competition and accelerating technological and organizational change mean that those lacking skills have to be trained faster and closer to the job.

To this extent lifelong learning in central operational and functional units, at least as far as the employed are concerned, is an inevitable consequence of the modern provision of goods and services. Those who are not prepared to update their skill profiles constantly and to treat changing work organization as an active



learning process are in danger of losing their jobs.

Certain forms of work and learning, such as team work, demand a high degree of flexibility and willingness to learn. Exclusion of "older" employees (an age limit of 45 is implied) and employees with an "outmoded" complacency (e.g. based on decades of experience as an industrial foreman) has long been common practice.

### **Special learning opportunities in on-the-job continuing training**

The relevance of in-company continuing training, the timeliness of the subject matter it conveys and the proximity to the changing work pattern are the features which lend particular weight to in-company training as a form of lifelong learning.

A threat affecting continuing vocational training in particular looms ever larger - a growing rift between the qualifications taught by non-business-related continuing-training providers and the knowledge, skills and behavioural patterns which can be translated into productive labour.

Enterprises have varied options for in-company continuing training: near-the-job or off-the-premises, company-organized or contracted programmes (with a broad range of providers among which schools, specialized institutions of higher education, and universities play a minor role).

### **Marketability and benefits of in-company continuing training**

Unlike initial vocational training, in-company continuing training yields a direct benefit for the enterprises which invest in this area. The courses are usually designed to achieve short-term goals. They ensure a benefit is reaped from the improved qualifications of company employees or make it possible to capitalize on the potential benefits of technological and organizational change or of the operation of new plant and equipment.

The benefits company employees reap from continuing education have traditionally been increased job security and a competitive edge over other employees within the company.

Since continuing training measures tend to be more accessible to members of the core staff than to the marginal work force, the external marketability of the former has been a minor concern.

Structural change in many industries, reinforced by the restructuring of the economy in the former East Germany, has had a lasting negative impact on job security for members of the core or permanent work force.

When plant closures occur, it is very difficult for employees with many years of occupational experience and continuing training to demonstrate their career-acquired potential to prospective employers.

### **Possibilities and limitations of in-company continuing training as a tool to implement the lifelong learning concept**

What has been said so far was to illustrate the numerical significance and the broader context of in-company continuing training.

Continuing training programmes initiated and financed by business enterprises are a central element of the career development opportunities offered to adults. However, these programmes are tied to special conditions for the use of the skills they provide.

Measuring the state of in-company continuing training against the five general objectives listed in the 1996 European Commission White Paper on the concept of lifelong learning, we may state the following:

#### **Objective 1: Encouraging acquisition of new knowledge**

This objective has no strategic significance for in-company continuing training, which

***"Unlike initial vocational training, in-company continuing training yields a direct benefit for the enterprises which invest in this area."***

***"Continuing training programmes initiated and financed by business enterprises are a central element of the career development opportunities offered to adults."***



***“Employees need no encouragement to join in-company training programmes.”***

***“Schools and universities are minor providers of in-company continuing training.”***

reflects the necessity to adapt the qualifications of employees to changed work requirements, new products and new production technologies. The programmes are mostly demand-oriented rather than supply-oriented.

Employees need no encouragement to join in-company training programmes. There is a danger that employees who do not participate will suffer destabilization of their employment status and a reduction in their potential functions within the company.

Ongoing upgrading of qualification potentials, though opportunities to reap the benefit of these efforts are likely to arise more in the medium term, accords with the concepts advanced by the Commission, but this model has become a reality only in a small minority of in-company continuing training programmes.

Moreover, since in Germany no dialogue exists between employers and employees or between their representative bodies at the company level or in the provision of external continuing training programmes (Chambers of Industry and Commerce or Chambers of Handicrafts), changes can only be implemented in the longer term.

The Commission is heading in the right direction by urging the elaboration and widespread adoption of transnational projects to develop instruments for integrating personnel and skills development, as it did in the FORCE programme in the first half of the 1990s. Nevertheless, one should be careful not to overestimate the numerical importance of such policies in enterprises, including those in Germany.

**Objective 2: *Bringing the school and business sectors closer together***

Schools and universities are minor providers of in-company continuing training. This is a finding of the German section of the European Continuing Training Survey conducted under the FORCE Action Programme. Less than 7% of corporate expenditure on external continuing training courses, and approximately 1% of their total expenditure, is allotted to this sector.<sup>2</sup>

The reason for the poor utilization of the qualification courses offered by schools and universities is that these public institutions are usually unfamiliar with company qualification problems. The trend toward training closer to the workplace has further dimmed the outlook for involvement of school and university resources in enterprises' range of continuing learning programmes. As long as the interest of establishments of higher education in developing and teaching skills in business enterprises remains as limited as it is now, we cannot expect any great changes. Exceptions are cooperation involving some institutions of higher education at a national level and the implementation of the COMETT and FORCE programmes of the European Union.

It would be interesting to examine the experience of Dutch public educational institutions, which were compelled by a new national government policy to finance part of their budgets by offering training to private enterprises. We should seek to establish whether and in what areas this has brought educational institutions and the business world closer together.

**Objective 3: *Combating exclusion***

A central objective of a company's continuing training is to increase the productivity of individual employees. Enterprises are only willing to foot the bill for the continuing training of their staff if they can anticipate a direct business benefit from this training.

The only way to reduce selectivity in in-company continuing training would be to include co-funding of certain programmes by public agencies or to provide support through some kind of fund. In the light of the current discussion on excessive non-wage labour costs in Germany, employers are extremely unlikely to be willing to take steps in this direction, since the establishment of a fund of any kind would entail additional costs for them.

The almost complete exclusion of the unemployed from in-company programmes could only be changed by affirmative action on the part of the Federal Labour Office. Even if many experts claim that company-related or “dual” train-

2) See: U. Grünewald, D. Moraal, *Kosten der betrieblichen Weiterbildung in Deutschland, Ergebnisse und kritische Anmerkungen*, Berlin, 1995, page 21



ing measures are the ideal instrument for reintegrating the unemployed into the labour market, the tight budget constraints facing the Federal Labour Office make it unlikely that new instruments will be developed which broaden the scope of in-company continuing training to include the unemployed.

The most promising approach is found in the numerically insignificant Danish-inspired pilot projects which combine continuing training of the employed with employment of the unemployed, although - numerically speaking - they represent a negligible quantity.

The ADAPT initiative of the European Social Fund provides a framework for testing relevant transnational networks.

**Objective 4:** *Developing proficiency in three Community languages*

However desirable this objective may be as a basis of communication for a successful process of integration in Europe, there is a huge gap between policy statements and actual practice in German enterprises. Despite internationalization, the number of employees who deal with another Community language in their day-to-day work remains small. This has been confirmed by FORCE sectoral analyses. The most common solution to the language problem engendered by the growth of market connections or the transfer of operations to other countries is to recruit employees who grew up with two languages. This policy favours the small Member States of the Community, particularly the BENELUX countries, which have a head start in meeting this Commission objective.

Proficiency in **three** Community languages as a basis for employment will not gain any great significance over the next ten years, and in-company continuing training will provide only little encouragement in this direction.

During the next five to ten years, even bilingual employees will remain the exception in the European Union and be confined to certain key corporate areas, despite the ongoing trend towards globalization and internationalization.

**Objective 5:** *Treating capital investment and investment in training on equal terms*

Viewing in-company continuing training from an investment perspective is an intriguing approach which goes beyond the scope of this article. In this context, two comments will suffice:

First, scholars are far from agreement on who currently participates in "investments" in in-company continuing training. The proportion of programmes which have been rescheduled outside the trainees' working hours and taught by part-time instructors is growing.

Current surveys have identified personnel costs for the continuing training participants as the greatest single cost factor, but they do not shed light on whether the time lost is made up through intensification of work, support from fellow employees or the performance of duties outside normal working hours.

Second, we must consider how far instruments can be developed which would improve the transparency for all concerned of the effects of investment in continuing training, including that in the new, expanding near-the-job forms of continuing training, and of subsequent occupational experience. Certification of such learning processes would make the results of in-company continuing training marketable and accountable.

In the United Kingdom such a tool, labelled "accreditation of prior learning", was developed to supplement the modular NVQs. Unfortunately, no findings are yet available that would document or certify even individual cases where informal learning processes and on-the-job training influenced output.

## Conclusions

The concept of lifelong learning developed in the 1996 European Commission White Paper must be able to be gauged in terms of the justification of objectives and the attainability of a vocational training policy geared to these objectives on the actual design of adult vocational education in major sectors of our society.

***"Enterprises are only willing to foot the bill for the continuing training of their staff if they can anticipate a direct business benefit from this training."***

***"Proficiency in three Community languages as a basis for employment will not gain any great significance over the next ten years."***



***“If we consider how far the Commission’s objectives lend themselves to revamping or refining in-company continuing training, it becomes clear that it will be difficult to reconcile the rationale for designing in-company training programmes with overall educational and sociopolitical objectives.”***

In-company continuing training is one of the largest of these sectors, and not only in Germany.

If we consider how far the Commission’s objectives lend themselves to revamping or refining in-company continuing training, it becomes clear that it will be difficult to reconcile the rationale for designing in-company training programmes with overall educational and sociopolitical objectives.

Besides objectives which fail to target the motivation of participants and therefore make little sense in the area of investigation (Objective 1), other goals race far

ahead of corporate reality and lack acceptance even in the context of the work of “professional Europeans” (Objective 3).

Other objectives reveal interesting approaches to the development of education and training policy instruments when they are considered in the specific context of in-company continuing training.

It is vital for the competitiveness of European enterprises to build on these concepts and contribute to a discussion of such approaches and to a transnational dialogue on the further development of in-company continuing training. This was the intention of this article.



# Employers' Approaches to Work-Based Training in Britain



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## Training in Britain

According to the UK Labour Force Survey, around a quarter of UK employees received of job-related training in the 13 week period to spring 1995. Of those who had not had any training, most had received some training from their employer, but more than 13 weeks prior to the survey. However the rest, around a third of all employees, said that they had never been offered training by their current employer either on or off the job.

Over the last ten years, the proportion of employees receiving training has steadily risen. Figure 1 looks at the data relating to employees who had received training within the last four weeks. It shows that around 8 per cent had training in 1984, compared with over 15 per cent in 1990. Since then, the pattern has stabilised during the economic recession. In 1995, 13.1 per cent of the UK employees received training within the previous four weeks<sup>1</sup>.

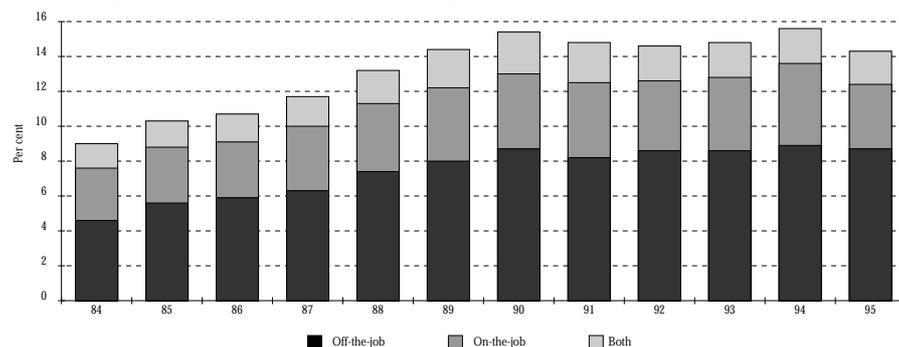
## International comparisons

International comparisons are difficult due to the different definitions and techniques used to measure participation in job-related continuing education and training and the different training and education systems. However the data that do exist suggest that employees in the UK are more likely than those in most EU countries including France, Germany and Italy to take part in work-based learning activities. Only Denmark and the Netherlands had higher participation rates (DfEE, 1993).

Comparisons based on training expenditure are also fraught with difficulty. A major study in the late 1980s estimated that across the economy as a whole, Britain spent at least three per cent of national income on training (see Ryan, 1991 and Training Agency, 1989). While this looks favourable against levels of one or two per cent in countries like Germany

**This article reviews the current level of work-based training in Britain. It shows that while most UK employees receive some form of training or other learning opportunity from their employer, for many training is not an ongoing activity. Training provision is skewed towards larger service sector employers and to employees in high level occupations. Relatively few employers adopt a formal or systematic approach to training. One of the consequences for public policy is that the very employees who face the bleakest future in the labour market, ie lower skilled employees, have the least access to the training and education that could help them adapt to changing skill demands.**

**Figure 1:**  
**Method of training for employees of working age receiving job-related training within the last four weeks**

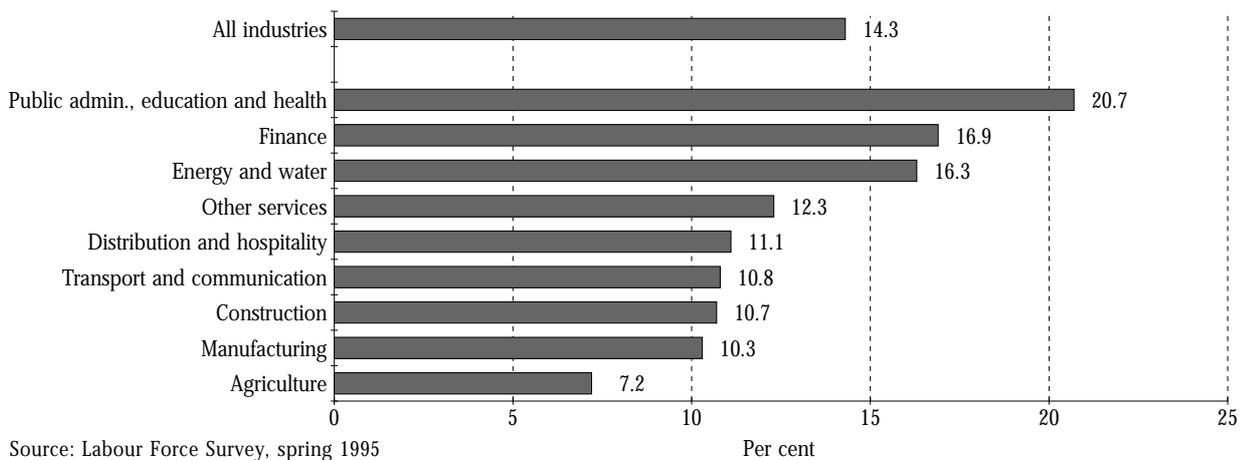


Source: Labour Force Survey, spring of each year

1) In the summer of 1994, the Labour Force Survey questionnaire was changed. This may have altered the way respondents answered the four week question and that there may be a discontinuity in the data series (DfEE, 1996).



**Figure 2: Employees receiving job-related training by industry**



***“Employers are the main funders of job-related training. (...) Larger employers are more likely than smaller ones to provide training (...)”***

and Japan, it may not be a like-for-like comparison as these countries concentrate more on initial education.

The key test lies in the outcome of education and training, ie the skills and qualities of the workforce. In this respect, detailed analyses of comparative productivity and skills across a range of production and service sectors concluded that Britain had a relative skills deficit compared with countries such as Germany (see for example, Steedman, 1989 and Prais, 1989). Other data suggest that relative skill deficiencies are not uniform across all occupational groups. At higher levels of qualifications/skills (ie at first degree level), the UK performs as well as most of its competitors (CERI, 1995). It is at the intermediate and lower skill levels that a shortfall is more apparent. Furthermore, the problem appears to lie less with new entrants to the workforce, where a higher rate participation in full-time education in recent years is leading to a higher level of qualification among new entrants to the labour market (DfEE, 1996). It is among the bulk of the workforce already active in the labour market that the problem is most severe.

### Form of training

The data in Figure 1 show that most training is conducted off-the job, although it takes place more often on employers' premises rather than off-site at an education institution or training establishment. There is evidence (eg Industrial Society,

1995) to suggest that the use of techniques such as distance learning and computer-based learning are on the increase.

### Who provides training?

Employers are the main funders of job-related training. Two-thirds of the employees receiving training in Spring 1995 had their fees paid by their employer. Under a fifth paid the costs themselves and around 13 per cent relied on the State.

However the pattern of training provision is not evenly distributed among all employers. Larger employers are more likely than smaller ones to provide training and, generally, to support employees undertaking training by paying fees, giving paid time off and providing books and materials (see for example, Metcalf et al. 1994). Smaller firms tend to rely more heavily on informal on-the-job training and State provision. However, there is evidence to suggest that the level and character of the training provided in small firms varies by industrial sector and that its informality does not necessarily mean that it is inferior in terms of meeting business or employees' needs (Abbott, 1993).

However it is not just size but also ownership that appears to be important in explaining whether an employer trains their workforce or not. Dench (1993) found that the majority of non-trainers were small, single-site firms or part of a small organisation. Where these sort of workplaces did provide training, they



were much less likely to report an increase in their training provision than those belonging to larger firms.

The pattern of training also varies significantly by industrial sector. The data in Figure 2 show that around 20 per cent of the employees employed in the public administration, health and education sectors received training, compared with only around 10 per cent in manufacturing or construction. Financial services and energy and water are other sectors where more training than average is undertaken. The relatively low level of training in the production sector is not due to an absence of need, as employers in these industries generally report a higher level of skill shortages than those in the public and private service sectors.

### Who receives training

Within the workplace, access to training varies by occupation. Employees in professional, technical and managerial occupations are far more likely than those manual occupations to have received training in the previous four weeks (see Figure 3). Not only does the availability of training decrease with occupational status, but the nature of the training provided also varies, focusing on more short-term and job specific considerations. Metcalf (1994) found that people in higher level occupations had more access to training for promotion and other non job-specific reasons than those in lower-level

jobs. While this was partly due to objective training needs linked to the job and to progression, provision of training was also affected by more subjective and stereotypical considerations of an individual's importance. This suggests the possibility of a potential mismatch between an employers' and an employee's view on whether the level of training provided is sufficient. Gallie and White (1993) found evidence of a 'training gap,' particularly among less skilled groups, with higher proportions wanting training than expecting to receive it. A recent survey by the Manufacturing, Science and Finance union (MSF, 1995) found 91 per cent of their members interested in undertaking further training. So there is considerable evidence of an unmet demand for training among the workforce.

Generally, men and women have equal access to training although men tend to get more training (in terms of length of the average episode). There is some variation by sector and occupation. Men are more likely than women to have received training in the industrial sectors that provide most training and women are more likely than men to have been trained in the occupations where training is most prevalent.

Younger employees are much more likely than their older colleagues to receive training. Figure 4 shows that 20 per cent of employees aged under 20 were provided with training. Employees aged over 40 were less likely than average to receive training.

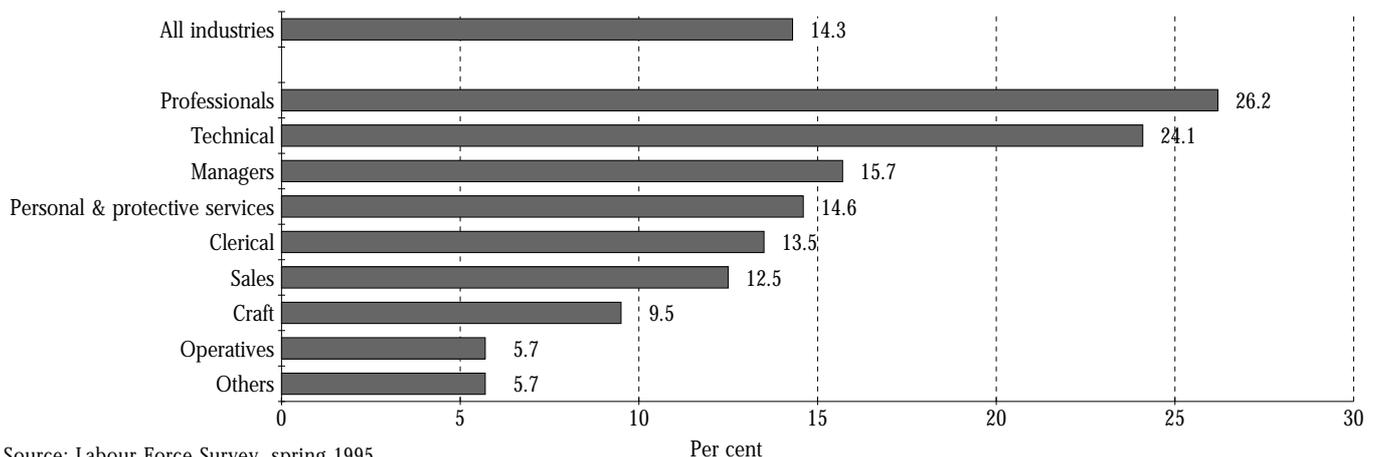
***"The relatively low level of training in the production sector is not due to an absence of need (...)"***

***"(...) there is considerable evidence of an unmet demand for training among the workforce."***

***"Generally, men and women have equal access to training although men tend to get more training (...)"***

***"Younger employees are much more likely than their older colleagues to receive training."***

**Figure 3: Employees receiving job-related training by occupation**



Source: Labour Force Survey, spring 1995

Per cent



***“Part-time staff are much less likely than full-time staff to obtain training.”***

***“Size, sectoral and occupational reasons only provide part of the explanation for the different patterns of training provision in the UK. Of more importance is the influence of the changing environment in which employers operate and the way they respond in terms of new products and services, working practices and application of new technologies.”***

Part-time staff are much less likely than full-time staff to obtain training. For instance, according to the Labour Force Survey (summer 1995), eight per cent of part-time staff took part in work-related training in the previous four weeks compared with 14 per cent of full-time.

Training is therefore concentrated on a proportion of the workforce: namely younger, full-time staff in professional and managerial jobs. Despite the growth in training in the UK in recent years, a large number of people remain unaffected. Some 30 to 40 per cent of working age individuals do not expect to undertake any further education or training and only seven per cent of those over 25 are pursuing a qualification.

### Why do employers train?

Size, sectoral and occupational reasons only provide part of the explanation for the different patterns of training provision in the UK. Of more importance is the influence of the changing environment in which employers operate and the way they respond in terms of new products and services, working practices and application of new technologies.

An example of the former is health and safety. The most common type of off-the-job training is health and safety training

(PAS, 1995). There is evidence to suggest that the amount of health and safety training has increased in recent years in the wake of EU inspired regulations covering pervasive risks such as the use of VDUs and manual handling. To meet the requirements of the new regulations, employers have been training managers in control techniques and all employees in the general awareness of health and safety in the workplace (Industrial Society, 1995).

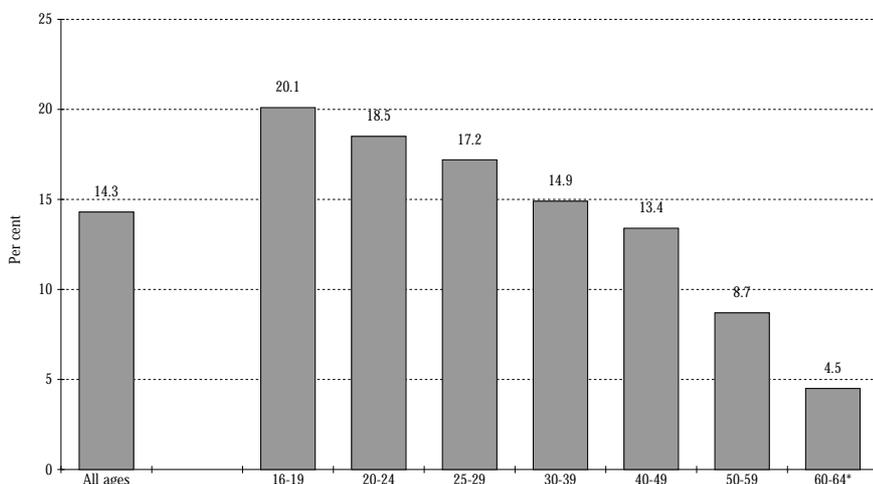
As an example of the latter, Williams (1996) in a recent survey of the UK travel sector found that updating staff with new products and services and training them how to use new equipment was considered to be the single most important reason for providing training.

Dench (1993) found a strong association between workplace change and the provision of training. Many of the employers in her study who provided training, or reported an increase in training, had introduced changes in working practices, organisational structures, the technologies or equipment employed or the products or services provided. A common theme underlying their response to these changes was the need to improve quality standards.

However it is not just the existence of change which appears to be important, but also the way employers react to that change. In particular it depends on whether they adopt a dynamic or a strategic approach to training or take a more pragmatic ad hoc attitude. A number of studies (eg Felstead and Green, 1993, Metcalf, 1994, Dench, 1993) draw a distinction between the two approaches as a key determinant of training provision.

The more strategic organisations (ie those attempting to control their business environment and anticipate change) appeared to Metcalf to provide more training per se and in particular more training for people in lower level occupations. While this was partly due to these organisations encountering a greater amount of change, as they responded dynamically to market and other changes, it was also a reflection of their greater belief in the need for highly trained staff and in the benefits of training.

**Figure 1: Employees receiving job-related training by age**



\*men only

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1993



## Employers' strategies towards training

On the basis of an analysis of the literature, and our own work in this area, we can draw some conclusions as to the general approaches towards training and workforce skill development adopted by UK employers. Broadly speaking there appear to be four prevailing types of employer. They can be characterised as follows:

**Non-trainers** – employers who provide limited if any formal training for their employees. They rely heavily on experienced staff who have acquired their skills over many years of performing the tasks required of them and recruiting new staff who already possess the required level of skill.

**Ad hoc or informal trainers** – employers who provide formal training to meet specific needs, eg the introduction of a new process or technology or to meet the needs of a new recruit, or at the behest of key employees. While some training may lead to a qualification, this would not be the norm. The rest of the training they provide is unplanned and informal, relying on ad hoc interventions by more experienced employees. This group is characterised by a lack of formal systems (eg training plans, training evaluation etc.). Some of the training undertaken by this group may not be clearly related to business or employee needs.

**Formal, systematic trainers** – these employers adopt a more formal, even strategic, approach to training and are likely to have training plans, systems for identifying training needs and for evaluating the training they provide. They provide a mix of off and on-the job training as required to meet the identified business needs. Line managers as well as specialist training managers are likely to be involved with all employees in identifying and meeting training needs.

**Learning organisations** – this term has been variously used to describe a range of organisational concepts (see Guest 1995). At its most ambitious it relates to organisations that are constantly transforming and evolving as their employees continually work and learn together to

adapt to new circumstances. Here we ascribe a more modest meaning to the term and use it to depict organisations that provide their employees with a range formal training and educational opportunities (both vocational and non-vocational). They also recognise that skills are acquired through less formal means such as projects, coaching and mentoring as well as distance learning techniques. However they are distinctive not just in the range of learning opportunities they provide, but also in their purpose. Employees learn as much to meet future as for current needs and as much for their own development as for the requirements of the business.

Obviously not every employer will neatly fit into one of the four typologies. Indeed, some will adopt different strategies for different groups of staff, treating, for example, their management or professional core differently to other staff. However, it is likely that most employers in Britain fit into one or other of the first two types. Fewer adopt the third approach, akin to those who have reached the Investors in People standard (see below). Less than five per cent of employees work in organisations that have attained Investors status. Fewer still fit our final learning organisation model, although a number of organisations of all sizes would claim to aspire towards it.

## Implications for public policy

We have seen that work-based training in Britain is skewed towards younger, full-time staff in professional and managerial jobs. Large sections of the workforce, particularly those in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, enjoy limited learning opportunities at work. However, these jobs have been and are likely to remain in long-term decline. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the jobs that remain are likely to require a higher level of skill. Around half of those employed in skilled and unskilled manual occupations report an increased demand for skills (PSI, 1993). In particular there has been a growth in 'multi-skilling' with employees expected to carry out a range of higher and lower level tasks and be more self-reliant.

***“Non-trainers – employers who provide limited if any formal training for their employees.”***

***“Ad hoc or informal trainers – employers who provide formal training to meet specific needs, (...)”***

***“Formal, systematic trainers – these employers adopt a more formal, even strategic, approach to training (...)”***

***“Learning organisations – (...) organisations that provide their employees with a range formal training and educational opportunities (both vocational and non-vocational).”***



***“Encouraging further work-based education and training would appear to be a key element of any future policy.”***

***“(...) more recently, policy interest has centred on the development of ‘individual learning accounts’, to which individuals employers and the State contribute and on which individuals can draw to fund approved training (...)”***

The public policy response to the issue of current skill levels among the adult population has concentrated on three levels.

First the Government has reformed the system of vocational qualifications and is introducing National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs). The new system is designed to increase the take-up of qualification-based training by making training more accessible with enhanced transferability and progression between and within occupational skill areas. However, take-up by individuals within formal education and in the workplace has so far been slow.

Separately, training providers and further and higher education institutions have been encouraged to become more responsive to labour market demand from both employers and individuals and make their courses more accessible.

Second, the Government has pursued a policy of exhortation and exemplification through instruments such as:

- National Targets for Education and Training – including Lifetime Targets covering the skill levels of the workforce in the Year 2000
- Investors in People – a national standard for employers’ training and development activities
- National Training Awards – to recognise excellence and innovation in workplace training

Finally, there are a number of limited market interventions by the State to correct specific imperfections – these cover both employers, mainly small firms, and individuals, through the provision of support mechanisms such as Career Development Loans.

The State can take some comfort in the improvements in Britain’s training per-

formance over the last ten years, with more training taking place and higher skill levels being attained. However, it is not clear whether progress is sufficient to make a significant impact on the country’s overall competitive position, eg through meeting the National Targets set for the millennium and, in particular, addressing the severe and perhaps increasing polarisation of learning opportunities and outcomes.

Encouraging further work-based education and training would appear to be a key element of any future policy. That means encouraging more employers to adopt a more formal/systematic, or even ‘learning organisation’, approach to training. Evidence from the evaluations of Investors in People suggest that such an approach has a positive impact on the training of lower skilled groups (Spilsbury, 1995).

A number of ideas have been mooted (eg Layard, 1994, Senker, 1994). They tend to fall into three broad camps:

- first, a return to some form of training levy whereby employers are required to contribute towards a central training fund, perhaps determined sectorally
- secondly encouraging employers to achieve the Investors in People standard eg through tax breaks or levy exemptions etc.
- thirdly, and more recently, policy interest has centred on the development of ‘individual learning accounts’, to which individuals employers and the State contribute and on which individuals can draw to fund approved training (eg to achieve a vocational qualification).

In the absence of further improvements in the UK’s training performance it is likely that the next Government, of whatever complexion, will be examining at least some of these ideas.



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**Continuing vocational training has grown considerably in France over the last twenty years. Enterprises and the occupational integration policies of the State have been responsible for most of this growth. People attending training at their own initiative are in the minority. It is paradoxical that the most mobile population that has coped best with labour market trends has far fewer opportunities for vocational training than the population stably employed in enterprise. Changes in working conditions and the supply of training are needed if lifelong education is to be able to match the occupational routes, nowadays very diversified, of the working population.**

# Own-initiative continuing training in France: decline or renewal?

The vision of the growth of European societies, set out in the European Union's White Paper "Teaching and learning: towards the learning society" highlights learning, access to skills and knowledge as the key issues in adapting Europe to the globalisation of economies and technological and social change. This vision has a policy implication: lifelong education. Lifelong education does not just cover the necessary mix, throughout life, of education, training and other social and economic activities. From the point of view of Europe, it has specific features.

In the first instance, the stress is placed on individual responsibility, motivation and initiative in the acquisition of knowledge and skills. Individuals have to be the protagonists of their own training, i.e. they must be able to take those initiatives and make those choices that they consider necessary.

Second, lifelong education is seen as an answer or a counterpart to changes in employment. A more flexible labour market and more flexible employment in enterprises make it necessary for people to be more mobile and to be able constantly to adapt the skills and knowledge that they possess.

Lastly, the ways in which knowledge can be acquired have proliferated as a result of the growth of information and information technologies not just in society but also in training (multimedia training tools).

Lifelong education is therefore in some ways an ideal which is more accessible nowadays because of the changes in access to information and knowledge.

Does this mean that lifelong education is a reality towards which we are moving?

Do past and present labour market and training system developments mean that individual initiative has a more important role to play in access to continuing vocational training? Do labour market changes, increasing flexibility and more precarious employment go together with the development of continuing vocational training? In other words, is lifelong education driven or is it inhibited by the actual changes in training and employment systems and what obstacles are raised?

This article attempts to answer these questions by examining the situation in France and focusing in particular on the role of individual initiative and the links between the labour market and vocational training.

## The extent of own-initiative training

Over the last thirty years, both initial and continuing vocational training have grown substantially in France.

This development of continuing vocational training is set out in an agreement between the social partners dating from 1970 and in a 1971 law. According to its leading advocate, Jacques Delors, one of the main objectives of the policy of lifelong education that the law attempts to introduce is to allow "every man and woman to cope with the predictable and unpredictable changes that take place in professional life ... and to play a part in the fight for equal opportunities"<sup>1</sup>.

One of the ways in which this objective of adaptation to change is achieved is by making it compulsory for enterprises to play their part in financing continuing

1) "Genèse d'une loi et stratégie du changement" [Genesis of a law and strategy of change], Jacques Delors, Formation-Emploi No. 34, April-June 1991, CEREP, Documentation Française, p. 31.



vocational training (1971 law) by paying wages during training as well as training costs (at present 1.5% of the gross wage bill). Enterprises can satisfy this obligation either by organising training for their employees by negotiating a training plan with personnel representatives in the enterprise, or by paying the amount of the levy to a mutual organisation so that it can then be used to organise training schemes in particular for small and medium-sized enterprises.

The second objective of equal opportunity is promoted by the individual right of employees to attend training during working time and at their own initiative. This is what is known as Congé Individuel de Formation (CIF - Individual Training Leave) (1976 codicil) which gives employees an opportunity to attend training without breaking their contracts of employment, while continuing to receive most of their pay and having their training costs reimbursed. Other systems play a part in achieving this objective. These include the supply of "social advancement" training which is financed by the State and offers training, often leading to qualifications, that people can freely attend outside working hours and at their own initiative. The higher education offered by the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (National Conservatory of Crafts and Trades) throughout France is a typical example of this training. In practice, the equal opportunity objective means that people who could not or did not want to continue their initial education have an opportunity to return to in-depth vocational or general education. This training is most often recognised by the award of a certificate identical to those awarded in initial education; people possessing this certificate can in principle make major career and social advances. Social advancement training has more to do, however, with a recognition of the crucial and growing role that initial education plays in helping people to move up the hierarchy of the various socio-occupational categories.

### **The development of continuing vocational training**

The 1971 law on continuing vocational training placed employee training on a

more dynamic footing so that it could meet the training needs of enterprises. The number of trainees financed by enterprises doubled in fifteen years: from 2 million in 1980 to 4 million in 1994. The finances involved are huge: FF47million in 1994 (costs of running training and trainee pay). These expenses account for 3.33% of the wage bill of enterprises with over ten employees which is double the statutory obligation. This training is, however, of a short or very short type (the average length of the training schemes included in enterprise training plans is 42 hours) and is intended to help employees to adapt to job changes.

In line with this increase in the training effort of enterprises, the increase in unemployment from the end of the 1970s and the growing problems raised by the occupational integration of young people have led to the development of training programmes for young people and adults with labour market problems that are run by the State or the Regions and now accommodate two million people in comparison with one million fifteen years ago. The finances are huge in this case as well: FF33.3billion in 1994. These training schemes are longer on average than the previous training: some 280 hours.

Taking continuing vocational training on its own, some six million people therefore attend State- or enterprise-funded training schemes every year out of an active population of some 18 million people.

### **Own-initiative training**

What is the position with training that adults attend at their own initiative outside of working hours or by taking individual training leave?

38,200 people took individual training leave in 1994. The average length of this leave was 1075 hours and the average cost was FF114,000<sup>2</sup>. The number of adults attending training at their own initiative is much greater, however, than the number of people taking individual training leave. Current estimates place this figure at around 500,000 people. Exact figures are difficult to calculate and require an ex-

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<sup>2</sup>) Individual training leave was attended by 21000 people in 1986, 25600 in 1990 and 30000 in 1992.



***“(...) own-initiative continuing training accounts for a small and declining proportion of all continuing training. (...) People enter training strictly at their own initiative and their reasons for doing so have to be seen as part of an individual career plan (...)”***

amination of the people attending the various existing training institutions.

For instance, over 160,000 of the people registered with universities, i.e. some 12% of overall numbers, are adults attending traditional university courses or are registered at their own initiative for continuing training schemes. The Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers (CNAM), the oldest body offering higher education for adults in the form of evening classes, also accommodates over 90,000 people in Paris, its fifty or so associate centres throughout France and its specialist vocational institutes (Pieuchot, 1996). The Ministry of Education's vocational lycées, organised as local networks (known as GREtas) provide a substantial proportion of adult manual or non-manual worker training at the request of enterprises. In 1993, however, over 35,000 adults registered for this training at their own initiative. Many local authorities also organise vocational training. The city of Paris, for instance, has for many years been organising evening classes in a wide range of occupational, cultural and artistic subjects. Over 25,000 people attended this training in recent times (Nicolas & Tremblay, 1996). Lastly, a wide range of cultural, professional, trade union and political associations provide a considerable number of training hours for a very varied public. The Phylotechnique associations in Paris and its immediate area alone accommodate 10,000 trainees per year. Over 200,000 people are registered at their own initiative for correspondence courses at the National Distance Learning Centre (CNED). Many are young people who left the education system prematurely and want to obtain an upper secondary education certificate or enter one of the many public service competitions.

Six million people on one side compared with half a million on the other: own-initiative continuing training accounts for a small and declining proportion of all continuing training. While it accounted for close on one quarter of trainees in 1980, it now accounts for no more than 8% (Berton, 1996).

There are very clear-cut differences between these 500,000 people and people who attend training in their enterprises or under programmes to combat unem-

ployment. Their labour market mobility is particularly marked. They enter training strictly at their own initiative and their reasons for doing so have to be seen as part of an individual career plan whose achievement depends on the use of training as a resource. Admittedly, individual initiative may in some cases play a part in training financed by enterprises and the training schemes offered under programmes to combat unemployment. This is, however, marginal. The main aim of the training forming part of human resource management in enterprises is to adapt the largest possible number of people to the needs of the enterprise and the jobs that they occupy. This training is not organised to any great extent to meet the needs of people's own career paths. Individual initiative plays a more important role in the training offered under public employment policies. In order to attend this training, however, people have to be in a particular situation, i.e. unemployed. It offers no more than short-term help for people who are in a crisis situation.

In summary, while the resources channelled into continuing training have grown substantially over the last twenty years, little of this increase has gone into own-initiative training which has become very peripheral within continuing vocational training as a whole. Continuing training has developed in two main ways: either at the initiative of enterprises and or as a result of public policies to help with occupational integration or to combat unemployment.

## **The links between training, the labour market and employment**

The development of continuing training in France outlined above has gone together with several very marked changes in the role of training and its links with the labour market and employment.

### **Enterprises and continuing training**

The 1971 law gives enterprises a very important role. Training started to be managed in a much more rigorous way by enterprises during the 1980s. The term



“investment in training” reflects the steps that enterprises have gradually taken to step up efficiency. Enterprises have in particular tried to define precise training objectives based on an analysis of jobs, the skills required by these jobs and the skills that their employees possess. Increased competition and the constraints that competitiveness places on enterprises have consequently not just entailed increased expenditure but have also given training a much more economic role. It has gradually been realised that training is a factor in industrial efficiency as it makes it possible to adapt the labour force to the changes in skills brought about by changes in technology, changes in production organisation and the need for quality. This economic role of training, very widespread in industrialised countries, has been left to a large extent to the discretion of enterprises, bearing in mind the continuing vocational training responsibilities attributed to them by the 1971 law. This has led to the development of continuing vocational training schemes focusing chiefly on the short-term adaptation of employees to job changes in the enterprise and therefore to the development of specific skills and qualifications. Training schemes set in motion by enterprises have become shorter and are organised in a way that tends to disregard or marginalise employees’ individual initiative so that the closest possible links, controlled and organised by the enterprise, can be forged between training and employment. Employers’ and trade union organisations have also organised a supply of training to meet these short-term needs. Measures to meet medium-term needs have been largely in the area of initial vocational training. Enterprises have managed training in a more specific way that is more in keeping with short-term economic interests with the result that any training to meet medium-term career plans or not connected with immediate objectives has been disregarded. This is a breakaway from the past. Twenty-five years ago, when the 1971 law was being adopted, employees and their employers were working to timescales that were similar enough for them to negotiate how the resources that the enterprise had by law to pay were to be used. This common horizon no longer exists and the main responsibility for financial resources lies with employers.

While this may be overstating the case somewhat, the way in which continuing training is currently organised by enterprises gives priority to training for the most stable and highly qualified employees of larger enterprises and gives rise to specific skills rather than general skills that can be put to use in the labour market.

### **The link between training, promotion and mobility**

The most striking fact in the long term is the gradual disintegration of the link between training and upward career mobility. At the beginning of the 1970s, 55% of employees who had attended training at the initiative of their enterprise moved up the career ladder (change of occupational grade or greater hierarchical responsibility) following this training. The figure for 1993 is no more than 9% (Podevin, 1995). The link has also disintegrated for employees attending training at their own initiative. At the end of the 1960s, 35% of these employees moved up the career ladder at the end of their training, whereas the figure is now 11%. Increasing numbers of young people are, moreover, using this training to find a first or another job: 17% now as against 3% twenty-five years ago.

The very rapid growth in the number of precarious jobs (fixed-term contracts, temporary work) and changes in the structure of employment (employment in industry has fallen sharply, whereas service-sector employment has grown) have led to a sharp rise in forced occupational mobility. Four and a half million employees changed jobs between 1988 and 1993, in comparison with three and a half million between 1980 and 1985. This mobility has had the most impact among the youngest age-groups and among workers in sectors undergoing major restructuring. 29% of employees aged under 45 and 38% of employees of private enterprises changed jobs between 1988 and 1993 (source: INSEE’s vocational training and qualification survey, 1993).

Paradoxically, the most mobile groups have far fewer opportunities for continuing training. Between 1988 and 1993, 42% of employees who continued to work in the same public-sector enterprise received training at the initiative of the enterprise

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***“The very rapid growth in the number of precarious jobs (...) and changes in the structure of employment (...) have led to a sharp rise in forced occupational mobility. (...) Paradoxically, the most mobile groups have far fewer opportunities for continuing training.”***

***“Traditional types of mobility within enterprises are therefore tending to dwindle away as a result of direct recruitment from the labour market with the result that the link between continuing vocational training and promotion is disintegrating.”***

***“While the economic situation and the control of continuing training by enterprises have therefore played a part in marginalising employee initiative and training of the social advancement type, the constraints of unemployment and the problems raised by the occupational integration of young people have meant that the State has not been able to counterbalance this trend.”***

in comparison with 29% of employees who continued to work in the same private enterprise and only 21% of the people who changed jobs during this period.

These changes in the links between mobility, promotion and training can be explained largely by changes in the labour market. The internal labour markets within enterprises that played a key role in promotion, sometimes together with training, are now less important than the external market. Enterprise employees are now having to compete for jobs with jobseekers on the labour market. Direct entry into employment at the various levels of the enterprise hierarchy has become more common, especially as initial education is now producing a massive and growing outflow of graduates at all levels. Traditional types of mobility within enterprises are therefore tending to dwindle away as a result of direct recruitment from the labour market with the result that the link between continuing vocational training and promotion is disintegrating.

### **Training and unemployment**

While the economic situation and the control of continuing training by enterprises have therefore played a part in marginalising employee initiative and training of the social advancement type, the constraints of unemployment and the problems raised by the occupational integration of young people have meant that the State has not been able to counterbalance this trend. Continuing vocational training schemes supported by the State have grown apace but their objectives have again left little scope for individual initiative since their aim is one of coping with a crisis situation. The budget constraints weighing on the State have meant that there has been little encouragement or promotion of individual training.

### **Training and individual initiative**

While continuing vocational training has grown considerably in overall terms since the beginning of the 1970s, it has also undergone far-reaching change. This overall change is out of kilter, however, with

the types of continuing training that are most in keeping with European approaches. It seems that fewer people are attending training at their own initiative than in the past. The systems set up by the public authorities and the social partners are stagnating or declining and the initiatives launched by the social partners are producing only limited results. Lifelong education seems therefore to be based on a double paradox: on the one hand, stable employment promotes training and mobility discourages it and, on the other hand, career advances are less often brought about by continuing vocational training. In practice, we are moving away from rather than towards the opportunities that lifelong education offers.

However, everything is relative. There is an ongoing demand for training from individuals during their working lives. The nature of this demand has changed, however, since it is now shaped by new occupational routes.

### **Occupational routes and training**

People attend training, which takes up their time and income, for a variety of reasons. This is borne out by the study of own-initiative trainees in the institutions mentioned above (Correia, 1996; Fond-Harmant, 1996).

In the 1960s and 1970s, people attended training during their working lives so that they could obtain a significant career promotion. At that time the main objective was to obtain the highest possible qualification as it was felt that qualifications enabled access to a higher occupational grade. Promotion from technician to engineer after obtaining an engineering diploma in continuing training was an archetypal example. This 1960s- and 1970s-style training for career or social advancement (Terrot, 1983; Thuillier, 1977), predominant twenty years ago, has now taken a back seat. This type of training was in keeping with the industrial model of the 1960s and 1970s. The labour management methods of that time, based on fairly stable employment, encouraged promotional mobility within large enterprises or outside in markets of an occupational type. The length of training, which could



be as much as a few years if it was necessary to combine training with work, was not therefore a deterrent since people were in stable employment and were very likely to be promoted when their training was complete.

This model has given way to the more flexible labour market typical of small enterprises and the services sector which is growing rapidly and bringing about new occupational routes and new uses of training.

The horizons of some employees' working lives have been greatly foreshortened, in the sense that they can no longer predict how their careers and professional lives will develop in the long term. Many people are therefore giving themselves shorter-term objectives. The continuing training that they attend is structured around these objectives. Once these have been achieved, they set themselves new objectives that may entail a further cycle of training if they feel that this training will allow them to make headway.

Other people, often young employees, undergo a succession of disappointing work experiences as a result of constant changes in the content of their work brought about by rapid changes in jobs. Training is then used as a way of looking for and finding a more interesting job.

In addition, the constant rise, particularly rapid since the beginning of the 1990s, in the initial educational level of young people leaving the education system has shaken up the requirements needed to enter the various social strata. Many young people consequently feel that the job that they are in is not in keeping with their initial training. For them, training is then a way of combatting the feeling that they have been downgraded.

For some employees, training is not of immediate use. They form a group with different motivations. Some feel that their jobs are threatened, others are looking for jobs and others would like to be better situated in their professional environment. For all these people, training is a way of accumulating knowledge that they can convert, when the time comes, into occupational skills.

## Individual initiative and the new labour market

While none of these routes or uses of training are new, they seem to have become much more important over the last ten years. The relatively linear paths of long-term social and career advancement have been replaced by a whole range of different paths themselves involving training that is more diversified in terms of its length, organisation and content. Between the most stable employees, who benefit most from training organised by enterprises, and groups with major labour market problems who benefit from public funding from the State or Regions, there is now a considerable gap that is occupied by a working population that is very mobile in the labour market but for whom access to continuing vocational training raises genuine problems. It is this latter population that is gaining importance within the training that people attend at their own initiative discussed above, while in contrast the population in the most stable employment is gradually accounting for less and less of this group.

Examination of the occupational and training routes of people who attend training at their own initiative shows that the reasons for attending training are changing. The population attending this kind of training reflects the current changes in the labour market and the new roles that training can play in helping people to achieve their career plans. The different ways in which these people are using training point to the existence of training needs that are not connected with either the immediate needs of enterprises or the needs of groups with major labour market problems and which cannot therefore be satisfied by training organised by enterprises or by programmes to combat unemployment. These needs have been shaped by changes in the labour market and the development of the role that training plays in occupational mobility. These people do not just want to obtain promotion in the enterprise in which they are stably employed but rather to find a better job or a job that they prefer in terms of salary, working conditions, personal interests, etc. They also want to be in control of their mobility and its occupational development and the risks and

*"In practice, we are moving away from rather than towards the opportunities that lifelong education offers."*



***“Examination of the occupational and training routes of people who attend training at their own initiative shows that the reasons for attending training are changing.”***

***“Over the last fifteen years, working conditions have changed to such an extent that it has become increasingly difficult to attend training at one’s own initiative.”***

***“(…) the relationships between training levels and employment grades, between the use of continuing training and chances of promotion and between training levels and reduced risks of unemployment (..) are tending to become confused.”***

***“In the near future there may well be a crisis of confidence in the usefulness and interest of all forms of training.”***

opportunities of the labour market and to use the resources that are available to them: time, money, the available training supply and possibly public assistance schemes.

## **Obstacles to the development of lifelong education**

The population that has coped best with labour market changes and more generally the population that is most mobile in this market and is accounting for an increasing proportion of the labour market, faces problems of access to vocational training because of the way in which it is currently organised. This is probably because there are obstacles to individual initiative in the area of training. These obstacles are of at least three types: working conditions, the training supply and the link between employment and training.

Over the last fifteen years, working conditions have changed to such an extent that it has become increasingly difficult to attend training at one’s own initiative. A number of factors have played a part in this. The pressures of work have risen sharply as the various surveys available show. Employees are rarely allowed to change their working hours so that they can attend training. Combining the effort required by a job with the effort required by training is another major obstacle even though working hours have become shorter. If own-initiative training is to be revitalised, new compromises will have to be found between individual initiative and enterprise measures that make it easier to combine work and training.

The existing supply of continuing training is often unable to offer training schemes matched to a range of occupational routes. The polarisation of the supply into long-term training leading to qualifications and very short training, the fact that people with different needs are offered the same curricula, the failure to take account of any professional experience that has been acquired, etc., are relatively well-known shortcomings on the part of the supply. The introduction of more modular training and personalised

training routes, the validation of academic and professional experience, the organisation of training outside or during working hours and the development of guidance during working life are all slow processes that entail a radical overhaul of continuing training in France whose organisation has long been modelled on initial education.

However, a further obstacle that is more difficult to overcome may well curb the development of lifelong education: the link between employment and training. An initial aspect of this link has to do with the increasing importance that is attached to certificates and initial education in social attitudes, enterprises’ recruitment practices and career prospects. An initial education certificate is a necessary filter in any access to a social or occupational category. Continuing training and its certificates are seen only as “back-up routes” or “second chances” that are of less value and importance in the labour market. The most efficient investment is considered to be the investment in initial education.

A further aspect of the link between training and employment lies in the relationships between training levels and employment grades, between the use of continuing training and chances of promotion and between training levels and reduced risks of unemployment. These relationships are tending to become confused. While there may be fewer opportunities for forging a career in an enterprise, it is often the case that training is no longer seen as providing protection against unemployment. There is a growing gap between what employees can expect from training in order to plan their careers and their employers’ needs from the point of view of adapting production systems or labour organisation. In the near future there may well be a crisis of confidence in the usefulness and interest of all forms of training.

There are consequently many obstacles in the way of the development of lifelong education. They have probably become worse in recent years. Reversing this trend and re-balancing the French system by giving a more important role to individual initiative in training will therefore be a very difficult task.



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## Ingrid Drexel

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**After 1945 career progression and social advancement were powerful factors motivating young people to put enormous effort into acquiring further training, without which the reconstruction and modernisation of the economies of Europe would not have been possible. Today we are confronted with a similar need for a large-scale upgrading of qualifications, expressed in the slogan of "Lifelong learning", but without any conceptual framework. This article therefore seeks to analyse the relationship between further training and career progression with reference to Germany in order to see what lessons can be drawn for the present. A new model for this relationship would seem to be needed in which given companies' tendency to de-layer the two central motivating factors career progression and improvement and change in a person's employment situation are newly linked in "diagonal career patterns" and underpinned with new types of training courses.**

# The relationship between further training and career progression - the German model, its strengths and risks in the context of lifelong learning

## Lifelong learning and postwar experience - scope of this article

After 1945 career progression and social advancement were powerful factors motivating young people of the postwar generations to put enormous effort into acquiring further training, without which the reconstruction and modernisation of the economies of Europe and of society would not have been possible. Today once again we find ourselves confronted with a similar need for a massive restructuring of industry and upgrading of qualifications, expressed enticingly but somewhat dauntingly in the slogan of "Lifelong learning", although without it being made clear how either the necessary motivation or financing is to be generated. Given this situation it is worth asking how the relationship between further training and career progression so successful in postwar years has developed and what we can learn from it to help us in the upgrading of qualifications and skills with which we are faced.

In this article we shall discuss these questions with reference to the Federal Republic of Germany,<sup>1</sup> concentrating on the connection between the education and training of those already in gainful employment and their career progression (intragenerational career progression) which is particularly relevant given the present need to renew and upgrade qualifications.

Holding out prospects of promotion as an incentive to employees to pursue fur-

ther education and training under such slogans as improved opportunities for the disadvantaged or even equal opportunities for all has obviously been the practice in a number of European countries, but especially France and Germany. The same is true of the provision of institutional and financial support for broad-based promotion of those in middle-level jobs through further training. However, the methods adopted to bring about this whole process have varied so greatly that one can justifiably talk of specific national development models for training and career progression emerging increasingly in the first forty years after the war. Over the past ten years, however, these models have become less clearly contoured, with the traditional German model particularly showing definite signs of erosion.

We shall begin by outlining the principal characteristics of this model for the relationship between education and training and career progression and then discuss the various threats to its continued existence. We shall conclude with a number of considerations as to how this relationship might be renewed and revitalised in the context of lifelong learning.

As most of those reading this article will not be German, we shall not go into too much detail, concentrating for simplicity and space on the area that is most interesting for our purpose, namely technical qualifications covering mainly skilled workers, technicians, master craftsmen and engineers. Since the German statistical data available for the less recent past is not very detailed, more recent data stems from different sources, and space



does not permit a discussion of their results and limitations, we are obliged to restrict ourselves to outlining the main developments in the relationship between lengthier, more ambitious forms of training<sup>2</sup> and intragenerational career progression in qualitative terms, basing ourselves only partly on quantitative indicators.

## **Relationship between further training and intragenerational career progression in Germany - an overview**

Typical of what we shall call the "German model" is the fact that intragenerational career progression based on further training mainly involves the promotion of skilled workers and other employees who obtained their qualifications under the dual system. This is due to the centralised structure of the German education and training system. In the first place the system of initial training for blue-collar and technical and commercial white-collar workers is highly developed but, unlike other countries, there is no initial training prior to tertiary level (universities and specialised colleges of higher education) providing a "side-door" into a middle-level job. Secondly there are a whole series of highly institutionalised, demanding training courses specifically designed to encourage upward mobility on the part of all employees, particularly to the level of technician and even master craftsman (foreman). Thirdly, until very recently access to university and colleges of higher education was barred to anyone without an Abitur (upper secondary leaving certificate) or more modest equivalent, which technicians and master craftsmen do not usually possess.

Because of the institutional nature of the German training system, intragenerational career progression based on training has traditionally been almost exclusively confined to skilled blue-collar and white-collar workers. The possibility of technicians rising to qualified engineer positions common in other countries, especially France, is very rare, not merely because of the Abitur requirement but because such promotion would make no social sense. Stu-

dents completing a course with an Abitur under the dual system and wishing to progress further in their career do not take the roundabout path of a technician's training course but go directly to a college of higher education.

Two main paths of promotion are open to employees in the context of the upward mobility to which we have referred:

- The first is the possibility of a skilled worker, and under certain conditions also a semi-skilled worker, rising to a middle-level technician or master craftsman (foreman) position, though also to a large number of less clearly profiled middle-level technical office jobs such as technical planning.
- The second is the possibility of the same workers rising to higher, university-level jobs.

In the next two sections we shall look more closely at these two forms of career progression based on further training - the traditional promotion of skilled workers and what is known as the second-chance training route - and trace their development in the decades since the war.

### **Promotion of skilled blue- and white-collar workers to middle-level positions**

(1) The possibility of skilled workers and others reaching technician and master craftsman (foreman) positions naturally depends on the decision of their employers. Generally, however, such appointments are made when the person concerned has completed a demanding course of further training ending in a publicly regulated examination and the award of a technician or master craftsman/foreman certificate. Although they differ in legal status, these courses are designed on very similar lines. To qualify as a foreman in industry one must either take the normal training route under the dual system in the field concerned - metalworking or woodworking for instance -, have at least three years' working experience in this field and then pursue a training course leading to a master craftsman/foreman qualification (which involves about

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***"Two main paths are open to employees in the context of upward mobility:  
- The possibility of a skilled worker, and under certain conditions also a semi-skilled worker, rising to a middle-level technician or master craftsman position.  
- The possibility of the same categories of workers rising to higher, university-level jobs."***

1) This is an expanded version of a paper presented by the author at a colloquium organised by the DFP, CEREQ and CNAM entitled "De la promotion sociale à la formation tout au long de la vie?" in Paris on 25 March 1996.

2) For a general survey of continuing training measures organised at company level see article by U. Grünewald



***“(...) in this type of further training leading especially to technician and master craftsman qualifications it is generally the employees themselves who take the initiative in pursuing a course and who bear a large part if not all of the burden of time and money involved.”***

a year full-time or three years part-time) or, in the case of people who have not studied under the dual system or have been trained in another branch of activity, have seven years' experience in the field in which qualification is sought as well as following the relevant master craftsman training course. The same conditions apply for obtaining an officially recognised technician qualification, except that the period of experience required is somewhat shorter and the training somewhat longer.

(2) A particular feature of the German system of interest from the point of view of lifelong learning and the increasing call for employees to contribute to the cost of training is that in this type of further training it is generally the employees themselves who take the initiative in pursuing a course and who bear a large part if not all of the burden of the time and money involved. They often pursue their course unknown to their employers, although often, too, with their encouragement and prospects of promotion to a technician or foreman position when they have qualified. Even more important, however, is the indirect incentive provided by a firm's insistence that candidates for such jobs should possess the relevant qualifications.

In general, as we have said, employees themselves bear the relatively high costs of the training involved. For a long time they were able to borrow the money needed from quasi-government funds managed by local employment offices, always on condition that the employment office concerned considered that there was sufficient demand from employers for people with such qualifications. In the course of time, however, such funds have become less freely available as governments and the economic situation have changed and with competition for funding to train the unemployed and the like. In the seventies and early eighties funds were fairly easily come by, but were then gradually cut back and finally stopped altogether. Firms themselves are often willing to help with finance as part of their practice of recognising employees' efforts to enhance their skills. Nonetheless, the heaviest investment is undoubtedly that made by the employee in attending classes in his spare time - in the evenings

and on Saturdays - or, when training is full-time, in foregoing his wage packet.<sup>3</sup>

The trend in the number of people attending further training courses - both fulltime and part-time - is very informative. Initially the likelihood of promotion due to the economy's expansion, but also to other factors to which we shall refer later, and the availability of public-sector financing caused the figure to rise. But even in the eighties and nineties the number of people attending further training courses did not decline when the government tightened its pursestrings, as might have been expected. On the contrary, if we just take the courses leading to the master craftsman/foreman qualification we find that the number of those passing the examination between 1980 and 1993 rose from around 6,200 to around 16,000 (figures from the report of the German Ministry for Training Research 1995, p.313) - a very strong rise despite more difficult conditions.

(3) There are no reliable statistics to show how far employees' efforts to acquire further training actually led to promotion to the appropriate job level and how the success rate developed over time.<sup>4</sup> The only detailed information available dates from a survey of 30,000 people conducted in 1992 by the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB) and the Institute for Employment Research (IAB), which for the first time provides accurate data as to where those passing master craftsman/foreman and technician examinations ended up and to the qualifications of those actually in foreman and technician jobs. We shall therefore base our remarks concerning the success rate of those pursuing further training courses largely on past and present case studies<sup>5</sup> despite the difficulties involved in generalising from the particular. The precise figures of the BIBB-IAB study survey provide an interim picture of the situation at the start of the nineties.

Our studies show that for a long time workers in medium-sized and larger industrial firms made marked and steady upward progress until at least well into the eighties. In the sixties, seventies and to a lesser extent still in the eighties, completion of a technician's qualifying course was in the great majority of cases re-

3) In the last-mentioned case when the economy was more prosperous the loss of earnings was often made good by the Federal Labour Office.

4) The relevant figures of the micro-census are insufficiently detailed. The highest qualification category combines training under the dual system and training at specialised colleges of higher education, thereby concealing the very difference in which we are interested. Moreover, the position at work, which would also be of interest, is too vaguely defined, covering as it does "selected qualified skilled workers, designers, judges, senior teaching staff, section heads, foremen, overseers and gangers" (Althoff 1996, p.29).

5) A study by the author dating from the late eighties and early nineties and two studies currently in hand.



warded with an appropriate job at technician or equivalent level, often only slightly below the level of an engineer, and often also by further promotions to managerial positions which on occasion placed those concerned above younger people with engineering qualifications. Then, in the eighties, the likelihood of workers with a technician qualification rising to a higher position decreased in many firms as technicians were gradually replaced by young engineers from the colleges of higher education and because of the increasing number of people with a technician's certificate. The success rate of those completing master craftsman/foreman training courses once these became government-regulated in the seventies was obviously also very high. But again, in the nineties especially, opportunities for promotion of employees with a foreman qualification deteriorated considerably<sup>6</sup> - a result both of the growing number of those with such a qualification and of a gradual process of de-layering. The by no means few cases of master craftsmen/foremen being replaced by engineers from colleges of higher education in the recent past tend, however, to be more in the way of an experiment.

Despite the worsening situation, in 1992 the chances of promotion of employees holding a technician or master craftsman/foreman qualification were still relatively favourable. According to the BIBB and IAB survey<sup>7</sup>, 24% of workers holding a technician or equivalent qualification had a corresponding job and 45% of them a senior white-collar job or managerial responsibility. Only 17% were still at skilled-worker or lower office worker position. Those with a master craftsman/foreman qualification proved even more successful: of those employed in industry 40% were in a foreman's or equivalent job, 16% in a skilled white-collar job, 26% in more senior or managerial posts, while only 17% were still employed as skilled workers. Thus over 80% of those completing technician or master craftsman/foreman training in 1992 ended up in an appropriate level job.

In summary, therefore, when considering the relationship between demanding, government-regulated further training and career progression in the sixties, seventies

and eighties, we find a situation of cross-fertilisation between employees' efforts to obtain further qualifications and firms' personnel policies. Firms showed their appreciation of efforts to acquire further training with fairly substantial opportunities for promotion and even by increasingly restricting access to such jobs to those with the relevant training. Given this policy, employees in their turn seized the initiative and attended further training courses, generally entirely in their own time and partly at their own expense - and, when other sources of funds were lacking, even paying the whole cost out of their own pockets. This was what might be called an anticipatory acquisition of training at own expense but with limited risk.

(4) However, as a comparison between France and Germany (Drexel 1993 a and b) shows, this cross-fertilisation imposed certain conditions. In Germany the training courses involved were not exposed to competition from initial training for young people as was very much the case in France. Instead firms' increasing need for higher qualifications was met by a number of successive improvements of both existing initial training and of further training courses. The training given under the dual system was raised substantially in standard and, thanks to the arrival at this level of a growing number of young people with a better general education (intermediate secondary school followed by Abitur) established on a sounder educational basis. The further training courses leading to the master craftsman/foreman and technician qualifications were also considerably improved by lengthening, improving the quality and standardising admission requirements etc. The main improvement was that they were subjected to government regulation so that the qualifications are now recognised throughout Germany. The absence of competition from medium-level initial training under the school system and the general raising of the level of school education, from which skilled blue- and white-collar workers also benefited, considerably boosted the interest of both employers and employees in further training leading to formal qualifications. It also led the government to commit itself to financing training aimed at promotion and to its regulation, although its actual con-

***“When considering the relationship between demanding, government-regulated further training and career progression in the sixties, seventies and eighties we find a cross-fertilisation between employees' efforts to obtain further qualifications and firms' personnel policies.”***

6) In a (non-representative) telephone survey carried out in 1995 among 100 large and medium-sized firms we found that 85 firms had a surplus of men with master craftsman/foreman qualifications that was in some cases very substantial. Case studies have revealed branches of industry in which between 50 and 100% of the workforce hold such a qualification.

7) The author thanks the BIBB for making these figures - soon to be published in the vocational training report of the Ministry for Training, Science and Technology for 1996 - available to her in advance.



***“Intragenerational career progression for a long time outstripped intergenerational progression, later existed alongside it and was at the root of the enormous effort made by employees to acquire further training.”***

tribution has remained limited and unreliable.

This institutional configuration of education system, firms' workforce structures and labour market was matched by the personnel policy stance of a large part of German management. Employees who had worked their way up from the bottom and had years of practical work experience behind them are traditionally often given preference over the holders of “theoretical” qualifications coming from the colleges of higher education. This attitude is on the one hand the result of good experience with the output of the dual system - including master craftsmen/foremen and technicians - but also of the fact that a great many managers during these decades were themselves the product of the dual system. This attitude is generally shared by the works councils, who influence personnel policy to a greater or lesser degree, and are also largely the product of the dual system.

When the economy was expanding and the educational and training system undergoing wide-ranging reform, these social factors helped to channel many lower-paid workers hoping to get ahead into the dual system and the training courses based on it. Intragenerational career progression for a long time outstripped intergenerational career progression, later existed alongside it and was at the root of the enormous effort made by employees to acquire further training, largely on their own initiative.

However, as we shall show, after briefly describing the second major model of the relationship between training and career progression, this cross-fertilisation is now in jeopardy.

### **Career advancement via the second-chance route**

There is an alternative to further training leading to middle-level qualifications, namely the various ways and means whereby employees can gain access to university or higher education college courses and thus - since we are more concerned here with the technical field - can qualify as engineers. The traditional

route to a career as an engineer for skilled workers was via what used to be known as engineering schools - that is vocational schools that did not ask for an Abitur. However, in 1969 these engineering schools were merged with the tertiary education sector and became specialist colleges of higher education, which do demand an Abitur as an entrance qualification. The step was bitterly criticised by employers, who reacted by recruiting more technicians and with new ways of training “practice-oriented” engineers, chief among these being the college of advanced vocational studies in Baden-Württemberg<sup>8</sup>. These developments and the considerable discussion of the need to provide better training opportunities for workers' children led to the devising of various ways and means of enabling skilled workers to go on to university.<sup>9</sup> These variants of intragenerational career progression, which usually require that students first obtain an Abitur and give up their job, were widely used in the seventies and eighties. Especially young workers in highly skilled occupations who had gained their experience in large firms with a reputation for good training left their employment in droves once they had qualified in order to “get on”.

This dynamism was the product of several factors:

For skilled workers with a steadily improving level of education and subsequent training - a skilled electrician or technical draughtsman with a Realschule (intermediate secondary school) education is a typical example - whose pleasure in learning and self-confidence had been encouraged during their time in the dual system, the subsequent reality of factory work frequently came as a severe shock from which they sought escape, particularly when they realised that the real advantages in terms of higher salary and more interesting work were only accessible to those with a higher educational qualification. At the same time, the fact that average educational levels were now higher and the time needed to obtain an Abitur shorter meant that university was within easier reach. Moreover, there was now a generous system of grants and scholarships while the demand for higher qualifications on the part of employers

8) This college works together with firms to offer a three-year course leading to a BA in engineering. Half the course is spent in the factory and the other half attending theoretical courses (Drexel 1993a; Zabeck, Zimmermann 1995).

9) The last, tardy step in this direction was the decision of the majority of German *Länder* in recent years to open specialist colleges of higher education running master craftsman/foreman and technician courses.



lessened the risk of abandoning one's job in order to study. And firms accepted this behaviour on the part of their best young skilled workers, relying on their returning as qualified engineers with practical experience and a bond of loyalty to the firm - the particular qualities of engineers who had taken the second-chance route.

The significance of the second-chance system declined however, as the grant system was subjected to cutbacks and jobs became less easily available. At the same time, it was in part replaced by a "shadow" second-chance system in the sense that more and more young people who had acquired an Abitur at a Gymnasium or academic secondary school subsequently diverted into the dual system for training before going on to higher education. This trend, too, was the product of several factors, among them the growing number of young people attending the academic secondary schools, the growing importance of the *numerus clausus* limiting the number of students accepted for certain university courses, as also the growing desire of those leaving school with an Abitur to boost their chances of getting a good job by underpinning their academic qualification with work experience. In 1993 30% of all young Germans starting courses at university or college of higher education had attended training courses under the dual system - 19% in the case of those starting university and 57% of those starting at a college of higher education. These figures include both students who had followed the traditional route and those following the "shadow" second-chance route. The latter account for 17% of all those starting university or college of higher education (14% of those starting university and 24% of those starting college of higher education). This means that altogether 13% of those starting a course of higher education in 1993 (5% of those starting university and 33% of those starting college of higher education) came via the conventional second-chance route. The proportion of those with vocational training qualifications starting an engineering course was especially high. In the case of males, who predominate here, the proportion of those starting at a college of higher education was 74% in 1993 - the trend had been rising since 1988 - while the figure for those starting an engineering course at

university was 27% (with the trend also rising). This gives a total for the year of 56% (BMBF 1994/95, p.176, 173, 180).

In summary we can say that in Germany the number of people in employment who start or resume demanding, career-oriented training courses on their own initiative and at their own expense and risk is very high, particularly in the case of engineering, and has not declined despite the serious deterioration in the underlying conditions. Here again, one can speak of a cross-fertilisation in which the interests and behaviour of firms and their employees are mutually reinforcing. But as in the case of further training leading to technician and master craftsman/foreman qualifications, trends have become established which strain this model of the relationship between career progression and further training to its limits.

### **Gradual erosion of the traditional relationship between career progression and further training**

The German situation is thus generally characterised by two parallel systems of cross-fertilisation based on the same constellation of interests and social conventions and in which a good level of initial training, and a considerable commitment of time and money by employees in the interests of further training and upward mobility underpin and strengthen one another and sustain a continuing broad-based tendency to anticipatory qualification - hence processes central to a realistic concept of lifelong learning. Inherent in these systems of cross-fertilisation, however, are eroding elements which we shall now discuss in order to gain a clearer idea of the model's future.

The continuing of the close relationship between demanding further training at an employee's initiative and career progression in future is hedged about by caveats that ultimately are a consequence of the fact that promotion was never the sole way of gaining more senior posts and that the direct path of higher-level schooling followed by a university or equivalent course of study always proved to have

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***“The German situation is generally characterised by two parallel systems of cross-fertilisation based on the same constellation of interests and social conventions and in which a good level of initial training and a considerable commitment by employees of time and money in the interests of further training and upward mobility underpin and strengthen one another and sustain a continuing broad-based tendency to anticipatory qualification - hence processes central to a realistic concept of lifelong learning. Now, however, these two systems are tending to erode.”***

the edge. The lifetime income of those with a university degree is higher (Tessaring 1993), their jobs are generally more interesting and their careers similarly so. This realisation influences individuals in their decisions and leads to a continuing rise in both the number of young people attending academic secondary school in order to go on to university - with or without a diversion through the dual system - as well as in the number of skilled workers who after several years of disappointing work experience make the great leap forward to university or specialist college of higher education.

These options open to a future employee have in recent years been underpinned by a changing trend in firms' personnel policies. By pursuing a policy of substitution firms themselves are now contributing to an erosion of the traditional model that in the past has supplied them free of charge with so many qualified personnel. They began by replacing technicians with engineers trained at colleges of higher education, thereby assuring themselves of a surplus of qualified technicians in their workforces. The result was that ambitious skilled workers opted increasingly for a course leading to a master craftsman/foreman qualification - as the tripling in the numbers completing such courses testifies. The consequence was exactly the same as happened in the case of technicians: in the last five to ten years firms have had a large surplus of skilled workers with a master craftsman qualification but no prospects of a job at appropriate level. Such substitutions are clearly encouraged by the growing number of young engineers being turned out by the higher education system, particularly “practice-oriented” engineers arriving via the normal or “shadow” second-chance paths.

The two processes of cross-fertilisation that originally operated in parallel are thus now increasingly encroaching on each other's territory and, much would indicate, undermining each other in a manner designed to diminish the attractions of further training courses leading to middle-level positions or to an engineering qualification. As yet such a situation is a long way off, and the complete disintegration of the traditional model is only one possible future development. None-

theless the probability of its occurring is great.

This means German society faces the risk that the system whereby firms' and employees' interests adjust to one another, which hitherto has sustained the widespread practice of the anticipatory acquisition of qualifications useful in many types of job, is on the verge of collapse. Such an event would oblige firms, who have hitherto been able to meet their need for skills and qualifications from an existing pool, to pursue them with specific further training measures.

### **Attack the best form of defence: Diagonal career patterns and lifelong learning.**

(1) Such a development would put Germany in a situation that clearly already exists in other countries, but without the institutional resources to cope with the consequential problems that those countries have already been able to develop under better economic conditions. We refer to laws on further training and a system of funding able to ensure a minimum of further training activity. The task would be rendered all the more difficult because it would have to be coped with at a time of government spending cut-backs, the radical restructuring of whole sectors of industry, individual firms, occupations and job contents - thus at a time where exceptional demands on large segments of the working population are being expressed in a call to lifelong learning.

The demands of this restructuring process cannot be met to an optimum degree by mere appeals, nor by pressure through the labour market. The only way to achieve the necessary restructuring and upgrading of qualifications in an affordable manner will be with a new model for the interplay of interests of the parties concerned which, like that of the postwar years, is capable of mobilising and maintaining the necessary formal and informal qualification processes. This model could well follow a similar pattern for all the EU member states, though its



specific features might vary according to their different education and employment systems, labour market structures and industrial relations.

Clearly, given the present trend of companies to de-layer, the new model could not simply reproduce traditional models of further training and career advancement. Even so, the latter - which after all have given good service over many years - could well provide some general guidelines for the future. Especially important are effective incentives to people to undertake further training and a form of certification that would be recognised throughout the labour market, as an assurance that their activities would be appreciated even in the event of their own employers being unable or unwilling to do so.

(2) What form might a forward-looking model, able to support the process of qualification upgrading inherent in the concept of lifelong learning, actually take? We shall no doubt have to rethink systematically the forces behind the desire for career advancement. For an employee, promotion invariably implies an improvement in his situation vis-a-vis his employer - in his wages, job content, working conditions and general employability, as well as a change in this situation as his career progresses. These two aspects of career progression can and must find new expression in de-layered company structures and must and can be linked in new ways with different processes of qualification in the course of education, training and working career.

To put it more specifically: there would seem to be a need for what have been

called "diagonal career patterns" (DREXEL 1993a, 1994) able to replace the traditional vertical path of career advancement in a de-layered structure and at the same time generalise the positive aspects of improvement and change. This idea is not so abstract and Utopian as might at first appear. Precedents for such diagonal careers already exist - such as the switch out of manufacturing industry into maintenance, or out of maintenance into technical marketing and sales, always accompanied by further training, more interesting work and a pay increase, although hitherto they have often been the result of chance or the personnel policy of a particular firm, and hence restricted to certain groups of employees. New career paths of this type would have to be thought out on a broad base, negotiated and tested in a carefully weighted mix of flexibility and reliability. And further training systems would have to be devised to support this kind of diagonal career progression with the relevant qualifications, capable of developing employees' multiple skills for each new job and guaranteeing their validity in the labour market as a whole by certification, against the event of job loss or change. Such diagonal careers could take place not just within a single firm but between firms - as between manufacturers and their suppliers.

There is much to argue that the concept of lifelong learning can only develop its potential positive effects in such a radically different, generalised, revitalised relationship between further training and improvement plus change, for as Jacques Delors has written: "Adult education can only be negotiated training that builds on the goals, needs and strengths of those being trained." (Delors 1991, p.31)

***"In this changed situation firms who have hitherto been largely able to meet their need for skills and qualifications from an existing pool would be obliged to pursue them with specific further training measures."***

***"The only way to achieve the necessary restructuring and upgrading of qualifications in an affordable manner will be with a new model for the interplay of interests of the parties concerned which...is capable of mobilising and maintaining the necessary formal and informal qualification processes."***

***"There would seem to be a need for what have been called "diagonal career patterns" able to replace the traditional vertical path of career advancement in a de-layered structure and at the same time to generalise the positive aspects of improvement and change (in the employment situation)."***

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**Lifelong learning requires specific structural conditions and mechanisms. They can be identified in the education and training system, in company organization and in vocational training methods. Collective agreements can also help to improve continuing training and access to continuing training and thus facilitate lifelong learning. The social partners play a leading role in shaping the structure of continuing training through contracts, joint activities or through the implementation of government regulations: all these approaches are components of a "systematic model" of continuing training. They encompass the different policy levels of social dialogue: enterprise - sector - (national) continuing training system.**

# Lifelong learning - a theme of social dialogue and collective agreements

Lifelong learning has not been the specific subject of agreements between the social partners up to now, but it is the background for multiple efforts, including collective agreements, to improve continuing training and access to this training for enterprises and workers and to thus facilitate lifelong learning. Collective agreements are agreements between the social partners based on the prevalent national institutional conditions (in contrast to individual agreements between the employer and the employee). In the following some examples and typical approaches will be presented in which the social partners can play a leading role in shaping the structure of continuing training through contracts, joint activities or through the implementation of government regulations: all these approaches are components of a "systematic model" of continuing training. They encompass the different policy levels of social dialogue: enterprise - (economic or occupational) sector - (national) continuing training system. "Social dialogue" - if we take the European definition - is the term for talks and negotiations between the social partners, whose contents, forms, scope and commitment vary according to prevalent national institutional conditions. The presentation draws on the findings of a project promoted by the European Union within the framework of a LEONARDO programme which analysed examples of continuing training in social dialogue to explore their transfer capacity<sup>1</sup>, and the author's experience of the support system for social dialogue on continuing training in Europe.<sup>2,3</sup>

## Trends in industrial relationships and continuing training

In order to have a better understanding of the subject, it is necessary to first give a brief survey of some trends in industrial relationships and continuing training in Europe.

- *Modernization of the economy* has become a topic of dialogue or negotiations between the social partners in all countries of Europe and in this context *vocational training and in particular continuing training* has also developed into a central *theme*.
- The wide-spread social processes of deregulation have led to a *narrowing of negotiation margins*, and in particular to a shift of emphasis to the enterprise level; at the cross-sectoral policy levels only the frame conditions can now be negotiated.
- In their dialogue the social partners also express - with regard to continuing training - the *wishes and demands they address to policy-makers*, and which should be incorporated in global and generalized solutions.

In the field of *Vocational Education and Training* the following trends may be identified:

- *initial vocational training* is, in most countries, a public task but the social partners are steadily assuming more responsibility in order to adapt the training to economic requirements and to improve the social integration of newcomers to the labour market;



□ the increasing importance of *continuing vocational training* is to be seen in the context of modernization of the economy and the enhanced competitiveness of companies and (national) economies;

□ in this context a *new type of continuing training* emerges at company level: closely related to work processes and work problems, integrated in the organizational development of the company, mostly non-formal and short-term but continual - this type of training goes beyond the conventional definition of vocational training and is often not regarded as "continuing training" by professional vocational training practitioners;

□ in all Member States of the EU there are *agreements between the social partners* on vocational education and training - more or less formal, with sometimes strong and sometimes less strong binding mutual commitments, at different levels; they not only cover workers with "regular" jobs but also those in the growing number of "non-typical jobs" (part-time workers, shift workers, etc.);

□ often negotiations and agreements on continuing training are tripartite, i.e. they include the national or regional *governments as the third partner*, and are thus integrated in economic and employment policy;

□ in keeping with the growing significance of vocational education and training for corporate goals in the context of economic modernization, the *enterprise level* plays a greater role in agreements, but a culture or tradition for negotiations on this subject at this level does not exist in all countries; the best conditions seem to exist in countries with a formal structure for the representation of worker interests at company level, e.g. in countries with a works council system; on the whole, the number of formal and non-formal agreements or joint activities of social partners in the company is rising.

At *European level* the framework for the Social Dialogue is to be found in Article 118b of the Single European Act of 1986. Here, the policy of joint opinions of the confederations of the European social partners has led to more mutual under-

standing at the inter-professional level, but only to a few joint activities or agreements as envisaged in Article 118b. Recently, the first joint projects have emerged within the framework of the LEONARDO programme - and this shows how important the promotion programmes of the EU are for the further development of relations between the social partners. The sectoral European level seems to be the key area for the implementation of joint vocational training activities; however, up to now, few examples of this are to be found (sector dialogue in the chemical industry, agreements in the railways sector, joint project in the retail sector).

### **Lifelong learning - individual attitudes and structural conditions**

*Lifelong learning requires* specific attitudes on the part of the individual and specific structural conditions and mechanisms. The specific attitudes of the individual have been described as *curiosity, courage, confidence* and *competence*.<sup>3</sup> The *structural conditions and mechanisms* can be identified and provided at the following levels:

- in the general and vocational education and training system,
- in the organization of the enterprise,
- in the (teaching) materials and methods of vocational education and training.

Apparently, there is not *one* right path, but a *mix of instruments* at all these levels is needed to provide the conditions for lifelong learning. However, these instruments can only be *offers* which have to be taken up by the persons concerned. Examples of agreements and activities of the social partners are to be found at all three levels, but mainly at the level of the vocational education and training system and at the level of company organization.

### **Level of action: the education system**

At the level of the *education system* we find *paid educational leave* in several

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***“The classical example of paid educational leave which has been instigated by the social partners and guaranteed through legislation, is to be found in France.”***

***“In Denmark too, there are possibilities of getting release from work for continuing training on the basis of collective agreements and legal provisions.”***

***“Examples for the sectoral regulation of resource endowment or resource use are mainly to be found in the French-speaking and the Mediterranean countries.”***

***“The legal regulation (...) on the “training account” in the Federal state of Upper Austria in Austria created an instrument which enables the refund of the individual costs of continuing vocational training.”***

countries in different forms; it is often constituted or implemented through agreements between the social partners and offers training facilities which respond to individual needs and which do not necessarily have to be selected in keeping with company requirements. The classical example of paid educational leave which has been instigated by the social partners and guaranteed through legislation is to be found in France. Here, the individual has a right to participate in a training scheme - average duration in 1993: 950 hours - however, the financing has to be approved by the funds organizations belonging to the social partners in line with existing priorities and available resources. It has been observed that the share of paid educational leave is extremely small in comparison to the training provided by the enterprise: 0.2% of persons with a right to educational leave actually make use of this right as against 20% who participate in the continuing training provided by the company's training plan. This is why an attempt has been made in the last few years to couple paid educational leave more closely with company requirements. In 1994 the feature “training time capital” (capital temps de formation) was contractually established and legally ensured; through this, under certain conditions, individual educational leave can also be taken within the framework of a company training project, i. e. when company and individual interests coincide. In Denmark too, there are possibilities of getting release from work for continuing training on the basis of collective agreements and legal provisions: through the job rotation model, developed by the social partners and ensured through legislation, the granting of educational leave (and other job release possibilities such as parental leave) to employees is linked to the recruitment of unemployed persons as substitutes.

The *financing arrangements* for continuing training have a significant impact on the exploitation of opportunities for life-long or job-long learning. In a number of countries, issues related to the provision of resources for the continuing training of employees, for risk groups on the labour market, or for freely chosen individual qualifications, or related to the division of resources between the compa-

nies, have been the subject of agreements at sectoral or company level. Examples for the sectoral regulation of resource endowment or resource use are mainly to be found in the French-speaking and the Mediterranean countries. The legal regulation - brought about through the activities of the social partners - on the “training account” in the Federal state of Upper Austria in Austria created an instrument which enables the refund of the individual costs of continuing vocational training. Motivation to participate in training schemes can also be created through the *recognition of qualifications*. This is why activities of the social partners are also directed towards new ways of validating qualifications which are not acquired in formal education/training measures or are acquired outside the conventional education/training system. The new system of “competence-based qualifications” in Finland recognizes qualifications acquired through job experience and - in contrast to the UK NVQ system - integrates them in the vocational education and training system and relates them to the qualifications of the regular vocational training system. The social partners are actively involved in the implementation of this new system.

In several countries we find the establishment of a *global system* of continuing training through the social partners. In France this developed historically: through agreements between the social partners which were moderated by the State and subsequently incorporated in labour legislation, a system of (outside-the-company) continuing training was built up which includes job-release regulations for individual continuing training and its organization and funding; however, in-company continuing training is not included in this system. In Spain a tripartite agreement and a bilateral convention between the social partners laid the foundations in 1992 for a continuing training system based on social concertation and the responsibility of the social partners for sectoral and corporate implementation. Financial support of in-company continuing training from the funds maintained through employer and employee contributions is coupled with the establishment of in-company or joint inter-company training plans. This means that the national agreement itself already makes



provision for implementation right down to the company level. A global system of this nature can set up the framework conditions for the provision of (vocational) lifelong learning opportunities, but the actual implementation will have to take place essentially at the company level.

## **Level of action: the enterprise**

At the *level of the enterprise* the need for continuing training parallel to the work process has steadily gained significance. In the context of in-company *organizational development*, an expansion of - mostly non-formal - training is to be observed. The reason for this is not only the introduction of new technologies but, to a growing extent, the development of new forms of company and work organization and the greater emphasis on quality of products and services as an instrument for enhanced competitiveness. Thus, in addition to continuing training for adaptation to technological change and the traditional upgrading training, a new type of continuing training has emerged: it's strategy is oriented to the specific management concepts of the enterprise and it is often embedded in an overall concept of organizational development in the company. Organizational development means the establishment of methods to change work processes, for team work and, above all, activation of the staff to ensure a permanent adaptation to new requirements.

Such corporate strategies are intended to reach all staff members and they set up a continuous process of organizational development which is supported by continuing training. This implies a change in the nature of in-company continuing training: it becomes more conceptual and its implementation is, in organizational terms, closer and more directly oriented to the workplace. This development seems to create a foundation for permanent learning in the work process. But, in this context, the question of access to continuing training also has to be examined anew. The chances of access to continuing training improve for worker groups which were not or only marginally included up to now, sometimes to the extent that par-

ticipation in in-company continuing training develops into a more or less compulsory component of the job. The workers concerned often experience this as a new climate in the company in which work and continuing training are very closely related to one another, and the possibilities of active participation in company developments are improved.

Does this mean that lifelong learning - or specific learning while in employment - has now been guaranteed for all employed persons? We see that these new forms of extended "basic continuing training" and upgrading training are still separate areas. The selectivity of access to continuing training is apparently not eliminated. But the tendency to extend basic continuing training to cover all members of the staff offers the opportunity of creating sound pre-conditions for a closer association with continuing training activities which can promote career advancement or other forms of occupational mobility of the workers. The pre-conditions have improved because the new concepts give ability to learn and willingness to learn a much broader anchor than they did in the past. Thus the potential for mobility-oriented continuing training is greatly enhanced. This means that, in future, groups of workers who were neglected in the past now basically have a chance of being included in in-company selection for participation in upgrading and mobility-oriented continuing training. What is important for the improvement of access to continuing training is, whether and in what way the companies link up the broad basic continuing training addressed to the staff as a whole with upgrading and mobility-oriented continuing training activities. This is a core problem in ensuring mechanisms for lifelong learning at the level of the enterprise.

Thus the *planning of in-company training* could be used as an instrument to ensure mechanisms for lifelong learning and could link up the new forms of organizational learning with traditional continuing training forms, personnel development and personal career advancement. Unfortunately, in all countries the planning of in-company training is often regarded as a formal routine matter, and neither the management nor the works councils nor the trade union representa-

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***“What is important for the improvement of access to continuing training is, whether and in what way the companies link up the broad basic continuing training addressed to the staff as a whole with upgrading and mobility-oriented continuing training activities.”***

***“It is also necessary to make a realistic evaluation of the chances of regulation through social dialogue and collective agreements.”***

tives of worker interests use the planning process as a chance for innovations such as the establishment of lifelong learning mechanisms. However, in countries with a “culture” of in-company agreements or the co-determination of worker representation groups, there are possibilities of participating in the design of the structure. For instance, in Germany, in-company agreements between the works council and the employer or the management play a leading role in the regulation of in-company vocational training. In particular, the “new type of continuing training” mentioned above, - i.e. the training linked to the further development of work organization, to quality assurance of products and services and to corporate culture - is the subject of agreements at this level.

### **Contribution of vocational training methods to lifelong learning**

Finally, *vocational education and training methods* can help to stimulate motivation to participate in vocational training, especially for persons unaccustomed to learning. The traditional methods of “frontal teaching” in seminars are no longer up to date. More flexible forms of learning which involve and encourage the active participation of the learner can stimulate motivation. In this field there are numerous developments in educational establishments and in in-company training, many of which were initiated or are actively supported by the social partners. The FORCE programme of the Eu-

ropean Union has promoted transnational developments in this area. Another important aspect is to prepare workers unaccustomed to learning to take part in formal continuing training schemes. For instance, trade unions in several *Länder* organized seminars and counselling sessions for their members to prepare them for formal training measures.

### **Possibilities of making collective agreements generally applicable**

The collective agreements of the social partners on continuing training are components of a “systematic model” which covers all levels and creates mechanisms for lifelong learning. But such collective agreements can only be offers and mechanisms which encourage lifelong learning. For this reason they are indispensable. But they have to be used by persons interested in or in need of continuing training, in particular those falling within the responsibility of the social partners, i.e. workers and employees. It is also necessary to make a realistic evaluation of the chances of regulation through social dialogue and collective agreements. On the one hand, we see that, in many countries in Europe, collective agreements are the predecessors of generalized legal regulations and that the implementation of these legal regulations necessitates the involvement of the social partners; on the other hand, collective agreements only cover a part of the regulatory field, and if they are to be generalized, they have to be backed by political and legal provisions<sup>4</sup>.

1) Winfried Heidemann (Ed.), *Berufliche Weiterbildung in Europa. Materialien zum Sozialen Dialog*. Berlin 1966. (Also in English, French, Spanish and Italian).

2) *Kompodium I des Unterstützungssystems für den Europäischen Sozialdialog zur Berufsbildung*. Brussels, October 1994

3) *Kompodium II des Unterstützungssystems für den Europäischen Sozialdialog zur Berufsbildung*. Brussels, May 1996

4) Winfried Heidemann, Wilfried Kruse, Angela Paul-Kohlhoff, Christine Zeuner, *Sozialer Dialog und Weiterbildung in Europa - Neue Herausforderungen für die Gewerkschaften*. Berlin 1994. (Also in English and French).



# Continuing training for young adults - follow-on or second chance?



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## The training routes

The available data (Tables 1 to 4) make it possible to identify six major factors in the relationship between training in its different forms and the complex training routes pursued by young people.

### Blurred distinction between initial and continuing training

A priori one would assume the sequence of training that marks the transition from school to working life to be more or less as follows: A young person completes their schooling and may then supplement it with some form of specialised training. They then look for a job and when the job they find involves retraining or promotion or they move to a new job they launch into continuing training.

This preconceived sequence, which many hold to be the true one, is incorrect for a number of reasons (see Tables 2 and 4). In the first place the various elements in the training routes pursued by young people are more varied and secondly they do not follow a standard sequence.

As a result the distinction between initial and continuing training, whether in the form of courses or work experience, are steadily becoming less clearly defined. Training for young people is largely becoming a continuum in which school education and training, non-school training courses and work follow each other in no fixed sequence. Young people are taking increasing advantage of continuing training measures. This fact, which shows up clearly in the data produced by our study, is corroborated by other sources in the case of Spain and is also traceable in other European countries (AUER 1992).

***The changes that have been taking place in industry in recent years - rapid technological progress, new manufacturing processes and products, greater job mobility and new forms of work organisation - mean that education and training are becoming necessary throughout a person's working life. They also influence the training routes taken by young people from the outset.***

***At the same time, the greater volume and variety of available training courses exert both an objective and subjective influence on the opportunities for training and the desire to acquire it of the population as a whole, but especially young people. The rise in the latter's basic education level in turn increases their demand for qualifications.***

***What is being referred to as a "lifelong learning" has permeated and altered the path of training young people pursue. On the other hand, if we observe how people update and enhance their knowledge and skills or seek re-training, we frequently find that the type of training is that already given at initial training level.***

***This article sets out to describe, on the basis of a longer-term project conducted with young people in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona<sup>1</sup>, how initial education and training provided under the school system can be linked to continuing training during the subsequent career of the young people concerned (aged up to 31).***

While still at school some young people undergo periods of practical training similar to continuing training that will be of fundamental importance for their future.

Recent years have seen a marked increase in courses run outside the Spanish education system, which we refer to here as "non-school courses". These are an important element in training curricula and young people begin to attend them while still at school and as early as primary level, although the extent to which they do so varies according to social grouping and increases as they get older. Such courses are now playing an increasing role in young people's training, both as a result of private initiative when they are used as a supplement to training received at school and are paid for by the family or by a firm, or in the context of government measures to ease the transition from school to work. These measures have increased considerably since Spain joined

1) The study referred to was carried out by the Education and Work Research Group of the Institute of Educational Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose director is the author of this article. The purpose of the study was to analyse the routes followed by young adults as regards training, entering the job market and becoming socially integrated, as well as to establish the relationship between formal and informal training and then to see how they influence young people's integration into the world of work and society at large, but particularly their family. This long-term, retrospective study was carried out in 1991 with 650 young adults up to the age of 31 in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. The method used was interviews by the researcher concerned at the subjects' homes.



## The concepts used

- ❑ Training components: The various elements of training within or outside the school system and of a formal or informal nature actually included in the training routes followed by young people. They fall under four headings:
- ❑ School training: Courses whether or not completed.
- ❑ Continuing training: We shall consider both formal non-school training courses and informal training such as work experience and life experience.
- ❑ Non-school training courses: Courses organised outside the education system which are shorter than school training courses but are clearly intended to provide training and formally organised. They are generally targeted at specific groups.
- ❑ Work experience: Experience acquired while doing a job for which one is paid, whether while still studying or afterwards.
- ❑ Significant life experience: Studies carried out show that an important part of young people's training takes the form of experience which, though difficult to classify, goes a long way towards explaining their working ability. It includes the ability to assume responsibility in a group situation etc.
- ❑ Complex training routes: Training components combined to build individual training routes.

have left school but that courses are pursued in parallel in a kind of continuum. As is logical the weighting of courses and work experiences tends to increase as students grow older, although there is a degree of overlap between school and non-school training courses and work experience at all ages.

Table 3 shows that two-thirds of the non-school training courses are further training courses or are highly specialised. This fact together with what has already been said testifies to the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between initial and continuing training. In fact, some young people have already adopted an attitude in line with "lifelong learning" while others, chiefly those with a lower education level, do not display the same dynamism.

### Polarisation of training take-up...

Non-school training courses are not used as an alternative to initial training nor as a kind of second chance to make good omissions. On the contrary, as the breakdown of course attendance by educational level in Table 1 shows, training paths start to diverge according to the level of training received under the education system and it is those who have done best at school who go on to acquire the most training from other sources. A minimum of school education equivalent to the period of compulsory schooling is clearly necessary for acquiring subsequent training.

### "Spontaneous" alternating of education and work experience

In the course of preparing for working life and gaining a foothold in the job market many young Spaniards combine their education with work. In a training system which, like the Spanish one, has until recently been mainly confined to a school environment we can, paradoxically, find elements of sandwich-type training with theory alternating with practice because young people have chosen to take a job while studying.

The figures given in Table 4 for the number of students in Spain as a whole, who at the time of interviewing were combining their studies with a job, and of workers who were also studying corroborate

***"The number of courses run outside the Spanish education system has recently increased."***

***"Far from compensating for the inequalities in school education, other forms of training tend to widen the gap."***

***"In a training system which, like the Spanish one, has until recently been mainly confined to a school environment we can, paradoxically, find elements of training in which theory alternates with practice because young people have chosen to work while studying."***

the European Union thanks to the resulting access to the structural funds, especially the European Social Fund whose chief function is to promote initial training for young people and facilitate their entry into working life.

As things stand at present, approximately half of young Spaniards in the age group we are considering have attended courses of this type (Navarro and Mateo 1993). However, the training is not spread evenly over the population as a whole because, as the figures in Table 1 show, the ones who attend most non-school courses are those who already have a higher educational level. Far from compensating for the inequalities in school education, therefore, recourse to other forms of training serves to widen the gap. This is true both of courses paid for privately and those which are financed out of public funds which, paradoxically, are intended for young people with a low educational level or who are having difficulty finding a job.

The different elements do not follow a fixed chronological order but often run parallel to initial training

Tables 2 and 4 show that people do not wait to attend training courses or to acquire work experience until after they



rate the data obtained for the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona and permits us to assume that between one-third and a half of young Spaniards have worked while studying for a period of at least a year. This tells us at least two things, namely that a substantial proportion of the school-to-work transition was bridged by a period of school plus work, and that at least half the young people have some work experience. This implies a greater or lesser spontaneous "dualisation" of training in that work experience begins to be acquired while young people are still in formal education and not only once they have left the system.

**School training tends to have a lesser weighting** in the very varied training routes being followed as non-school training facilities increase, **although in qualitative terms its importance is increasing** because it paves the way for and gives some order to complex training routes both during and after school. This fact enhances the selective function of school training as regards the possibilities of life-long learning.

## Complex training routes and how they come about

From what we have said it is clear that young people, at least those in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona, do not follow a course of training that is pre-designed in the same way as school education. As a result their training tends to be far more complex and influenced by the changes in the content of qualifications and the increase in training facilities that society offers young people to enable them to obtain them.

The question of how young people have learnt to do what they know how to do currently demands an answer in global terms and an analysis of training routes that have departed from rigid institutional preconceptions.

To do this we must first consider the components of training and how they are combined in complex routes.

From what has been said it is clear that the training routes followed by young

**Table 1:  
Breakdown by educational level of non-school courses attended up to the age of 31 (in %)**

	0	1	2 or 3	4 or more	Total
Primary	72.6	12.4	9.5	5.5	100
Voc. training	53.8	9.9	19.1	17.3	100
Baccalaureate + COU	38.7	19.3	24.2	17.8	100
Higher education	26.3	6.0	27.1	40.6	100

people are composed of at least three elements - formal education, non-school training courses and work experience.

A more detailed analysis (Planas 1991 and 1993) shows that to these more easily identifiable and quantifiable components there must be added others such as significant life experience and absorption of culture. However, since we are confining ourselves to the study carried out with young people in the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona we shall concentrate on those already mentioned, adding the occasional element of life experience such as the ability to fit into a group environment.

Table 5 sets out 13 models for training routes constructed on the basis of the variables mentioned<sup>2</sup>. These models follow the trends identified using the previous data and show a polarisation of training routes A and B, which belong to the first two quartiles and define a poor level of training (always in relative terms) or destructuring. Routes C and D on the other hand are typified by a large number of the various components and by success.

This polarisation is underscored by the correlation between training routes and their results in terms of working career.

### Training routes and working careers - a double concordant dualisation

Table 6 shows that a correlation exists between the complex training routes and the results in terms of job success using the success indicators which the study we carried out found to have the greatest

***"The training routes followed by young people are composed of at least three elements - formal education, non-school training and work experience."***

<sup>2</sup> These routes have been constructed using the Automatic Classification by Multiple Correlation technique (Lebart et al. 1981) for age quartiles of people entering the labour market and considering their relative weighting in the sample. The A routes represent stable employment or unemployment situations begun at the age of about 16 (the minimum working age), the B routes situations that began between the ages of 16 and 18, the C Routes those begun between 19 and 22 and the D routes stable employment situations from 27 onwards.



**Table 2:**  
**Percentage breakdown by age of school education combined with non-school training**

Age	School only	School and non-school	Non-school only	Total
14	85.9	4.6	0.4	90.9
15	62.7	6.0	2.3	71.0
16	54.6	7.5	4.7	66.8
17	44.1	9.2	4.3	57.6
18	33.3	9.1	7.2	49.6
19	28.7	8.3	6.6	43.6
20	23.4	7.1	5.0	35.5
21	20.0	7.0	6.5	33.5
22	16.3	5.3	10.2	31.8
23	13.3	5.3	10.4	29.0
24	11.7	3.5	11.8	27.0
25	8.1	3.2	14.4	25.7
26	6.5	3.3	12.2	22.0
27	7.2	3.0	14.1	24.3
28	7.7	1.6	16.4	25.7
29	5.4	1.9	19.3	26.6
30	5.2	1.0	18.3	24.5
31	4.4	1.2	16.5	22.1

validity, namely the job situation at age 31, the working career and each person's subjective view of his success.

The information given shows on the one hand a marked polarisation in training terms in the majority training routes for the extreme quartiles. On the other hand, they show the nuances introduced by training components other than academic qualifications, permitting a more subtle, qualitative analysis of the training processes undergone by the young people and their results in job career terms.

Table 6 similarly shows there to be a marked divergence in terms of career success, both subjectively and objectively, between the routes of the first and second quartiles (A and B) and those of the third and fourth quartiles (C and D).

The greatest difference, in terms both of training and of the results achieved, is between routes A.2 (17.4% of the sample) and D.1 (14.9% of the sample). A.2 is a minimum training route which correlates with a high probability of unemployment and job instability in unskilled jobs with dissatisfaction as regards training, the

job and career prospects. D.1 on the other hand is an extended route rich in all types of training components which goes hand in hand with a successful career in stable employment, and a high degree of satisfaction as regards the training received and clarity as to personal objectives, achievement of which results in satisfaction as regards both job content and payment.

This general tendency towards polarisation in the training routes and the results in job terms are accompanied by a number of minor exceptions represented by route A.1 (2.5% of the sample) and route D.3 (6.5% of the sample). Route A.1 is the route taken by those young people who, despite starting work early with no training and in precarious jobs, overcome their initial training deficit by attending non-school training courses and returning to school in order to obtain an educational qualification. This route increases the probability of gaining a skilled job and attaining satisfaction as regards the achievements in terms of job level and stability.

Route D.3 is the opposite case. It covers young people with a high educational level but a disappointing record in terms of training and work. It shows a considerable failure in job terms which the subject experiences as such.

It is important to note that young people with the greatest chance of becoming entrepreneurs are those who have followed success at school with a large number of training courses.

Finally, the chief conclusion to be drawn from the data is the existence of a **process of dualisation which tends to polarise training routes on the basis of initial training and which continuing training serves to strengthen**. The correlation between this dualisation in training and the results in terms of employment emerges from Table 6, which shows a **"double concordant dualisation"** between the training routes and the dualisation of the labour market (Recio 1991) through the results in terms of employment. Moreover, this dualisation will logically tend to establish itself more firmly to the extent that firms concentrate their training on their best-qualified work-



ers, use of public-sector training facilities tends to shift towards secondary and higher education levels, and access to better jobs is restricted to those young people with the longest periods of initial training.

In a context of job mobility, lifelong learning and a plentitude of educational qualifications, career success will be governed by a person's ability to gain access to continuing training whether formal or informal, which in turn, as the data in Tables 5 and 6 show, will largely depend on previous school education. In this sense the career success achieved solely on the basis of work experience and an early start to working life will tend to disappear.

The data shows clearly that the significance of continuing training is growing with the emphasis being put on lifelong learning. Moreover, it tends to be concentrated on young people who have acquired their initial training at secondary school or a higher level, and who throughout their life widen the skill and qualification gap between themselves and those who do not have sufficient initial training. If continuing training does not make it possible to compensate for deficiencies in initial training and provide access to the relevant formal qualifications, it is difficult to see it as a "second chance" to be seized as a means of complementing good initial training.

## The new central role of formal education

Two other points must be added to our statistical findings.

The growing complexity of training calls for a new ability on the part of young people - namely the ability to design and manage their own training similarly to the way they build their own social and occupational identity (Dubar 1991). This ability is based on factors that are not strictly educational. There is a clear relationship between this ability, access to training, the family and the general environment in which the young person has developed (Carnoy, Castells 1995, and Planas, Garcia and Zaldivar 1995).

**Table 3:**  
**Attendance of non-school training courses (in %)**

Level	Men	Women
Initial	33.7	34.1
Further training and specialisation	66.3	65.9
	100.0 (736)	100.0 (911)

From what has been said it will be clear that the school is assuming a new role that is central to the ordering of more varied training processes, developing in a more democratic manner than families are able to do the ability to manage complex routes. This is what G. Franchi (1984, 1992) called "the new central function of school in ordering the system of systems in which the new forms of training are being structured".

## Training the least trained

In Spain as in other countries the difficulties encountered when entering the

***"Continuing training tends to be concentrated on young people who have acquired their initial training at secondary school or higher level, and who throughout their life widen the skill and qualification gap between themselves and those who do not have sufficient initial training."***

**Table 4: Percentages<sup>3</sup> of young people of various ages combining formal education with work**

Age	Working	Student	Total <sup>4</sup>
16	7.8	14.4	22.2
17	9.7	14.5	21.0
18	8.3	12.7	21.0
19	9.0	11.0	20.0
20	6.7	8.1	14.7
21	5.6	10.5	16.1
22	4.7	8.4	13.1
23	4.1	7.5	11.6
24	3.0	7.7	10.7
25	2.0	7.0	9.0
26	1.4	6.8	8.2
27	1.7	7.0	8.7
28	1.2	7.5	8.7
29	1.0	5.2	6.2
30	0.8	5.1	5.9
31	0.4	4.6	5.0

3) All the percentages are in terms of the reference population

4) Total percentage of young people who both work and study, whatever the proportion of the two elements. They could be described as student workers or working students.

**Table 5: Complex training routes**

Ref.	Description	%
A.1	Leave school early, return as adult and gain qualification, work during return to school and non-school training	2.5
A.2	Low level of all aspects of training	17.4
A.3	Leave school early, return as adult without gaining qualification, large number of non-school training courses	2.0
B.1	Compulsory schooling with certificate. No subsequent training	12.9
B.2	Compulsory schooling with certificate. Fail secondary school. Non-school training courses	3.0
B.3	Compulsory schooling with certificate or made good with level 1 vocational training, work experience while attending school and non-school training	6.1
C.1	Baccalaureate, short university course but no qualification, many non-school training courses and some experience of a group environment	5.8
C.2	Level 2 vocational training qualifications, non-school training and considerable experience of a group environment	4.0
C.3	Short-cycle university qualification with considerable work experience while in formal education and many non-school training courses	4.0
C.4	Compulsory schooling with certificate, some non-school training, late obtaining stable job	10.1
D.1	Great deal of all types of training: higher formal qualifications, much work and group experience, many non-school courses	14.9
D.2	Level 2 vocational training qualifications. Late starting work	16.0
D.3	Higher baccalaureate, late obtaining stable job, return to school (university) unsuccessful, little additional training	6.5

***“The growing complexity of training calls for a new ability on the part of young people - the ability to design and manage their own training just as they build their own social and occupational identity.”***

world of work affect all young people. However, as we have pointed out, it hits hardest those without a minimum of initial training. These young people are most at risk of seeing themselves condemned to job instability and precarious, low-grade jobs in the secondary labour market.

Although these young people have more training than their parents ever did, the changes wrought in the Spanish labour market by technological change, the

globalisation of the economy and the general increase in educational level of their contemporaries places them at more of a disadvantage. In other words, the way in which the Spanish labour market is evolving tends to exclude, or at best push into the secondary labour market, young people with less training. Whether because of their lack of qualifications or because of the differences in level compared with their contemporaries, young people with fewer educational and vocational qualifications are in general those who most run



**Table 6: Relationship between complex training routes and initial employment**

Situation at age 31			Training route				Subjective assessment					
Route rel. absolute value sample	Degree of activity	Occupational group**	Type of work	Entry level	Working career	Stability	Pay	Type of work	Vocational training	Study and inf. better	Study someth. else	Would look for other job or occupation
A1 (n=15) =2.5 %	full-time	GP-3	production	low middle	upward	slight success	not v. good	success	success	yes	yes	yes
A2 (n=105) =17.4 %	non-active	GP-4	production subordinate	middle/low	no change lengthy unempl.	not very good	not v. good failure	not v. good	little success	$\bar{X}$	yes	yes
A3 (n=12) =2.0 %	part-time	GP-3 GP-4	administration production subordinate	low middle/low middle	lengthy unempl. complex route	failure	not v. good	not v. good	failure	yes	yes	yes
B1 (n=78) =12.9 %	non-active irregular	GP-3 GP-4	production	middle/low	no changes	failure	poor	not v. good	failure	yes	yes	yes
B2 (n=18) =3.0 %	full-time	GP-3 GP-4	administration	low	no changes complex route	failure	poor	failure	failure	yes	yes	yes
B3 (n=37) =6.1 %	non-active	GP-3	administration	middle	no changes no info	failure	failure	failure	failure	yes	yes	no
C1 (n=35) =5.8 %	full-time	GP-2	manager/techn. director maintenance production	middle middle/high	upward	success	success	poor	success	$\bar{X}$	no	no
C2 (n=25) =4.0 %	full-time	GP-1 GP-2	manager/techn. director PR maintenance	middle middle/high	upward complex route	success	poor slight success	success failure	success	yes	no	no
C3 (n=24) =4.0 %	full-time	GP-1 GP-2	manager techn. director PR, technician R&D	middle	upward	success	success	success	success	no	no	no
C4 (n=61) =10.1 %	irregular part-time	GP-2 GP-3	manager PR	middle	upward lengthy unempl.	poor	poor	$\bar{X}$	$\bar{X}$	yes	$\bar{X}$	no
D1 (n=90) =14.9 %	full-time	GP-1 GP-2	manager techn. director R&D	middle middle/high high	upward	slight success	success	success	success	no	no	no
D2 (n=9) =1.5 %	non-active	GP-2	maintenance production	middle middle/high	upward	success	success	success	success	$\bar{X}$	n.c.*** no	n.c. no
D3 (n=39) =6.5 %	full-time	GP-2	administration technician R&D	middle/high high	slightly upward unemployed	failure	failure	failure	failure	no	n.c. no	n.c. no

\* See routes in Table 5  
 \*\* GP-1 = company owners  
 GP-2 = technicians  
 GP-3 = skilled workers  
 GP-4 = unskilled workers  
 \*\*\* n.c. = no comment



***“The new central function of school in ordering the system of systems in which the new forms of training are being structured.”***

the risk of exclusion from both the world of work and from continuing training (Planas, Garcia, Zaldivar 1995).

**What can be done to give young people with less training access to continuing training?**

The reply to this question - that we should design continuing training able to meet the needs of such young people and create an awareness in them of the need for training - is banal. But the fact that it is banal does not mean it is easy to put into practice. Designing complex training routes is a matter of compromise between wishes and expectations and opportunities. When this compromise has to be reached at a time when more training is available but the future as regards employment is uncertain, the ability to design effective training routes is a must if they are to be comprehensible and consistent to other people.

Developing such an ability as far as continuing training is concerned means at least four things:

- a) A minimum of basic training in order to have access to standard continuing training courses
- b) The ability to use an offer of continuing training that is somewhat dispersed by accessing information and understanding the significance and content of what is available.
- c) A working environment that appreciates and rewards training, and
- d) A personal interest in acquiring training.

The analysis shows clearly that actions designed to encourage untrained young people's access to continuing training involve swimming against the tide and, to be effective, need decisive political intervention in the four areas mentioned.

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# The cognitive constraints of lifelong learning

Lifelong learning is an objective which is clearly consistent with humanist ideals. But is this objective also consistent with our knowledge of the cognitive functions? More precisely, what forms of learning may be continued throughout an entire lifetime? And if certain learning processes can only take place during childhood, to what extent can these processes be distinguished from those which remain within our reach as adults? In particular, we shall examine whether or not the latter form of learning process is affected by normal cognitive ageing and whether or not unschooling and illiteracy definitively condemn the development of an adult's cognitive capacities. Discussion of these questions shall serve to illustrate how our knowledge of the cognitive factors involved may inspire lifelong learning programmes under the increasingly demanding conditions of the "learning society" which we are in the process of building.

The behaviourist approach, very influential in the years 1920-1960, sought to develop general laws of learning, valid for different types of behaviour, different animal species and different life periods. Today this approach is discredited. The general laws sought by the behaviourists were based on the sensitivity of organisms to the statistical regularities between a conditioned and an unconditioned stimulus. However, it was observed that even animals have predispositions for certain associations of stimuli. For example, rats very quickly learn to associate sensations of nausea with drinking water of a particular taste and to associate the sensation of an electric shock with the sight of light, but have much greater difficulty in associating nausea with light or an electric shock with water (Garcia & Koelling, 1966). Organisms are therefore prepared to learn certain associations

rather than others. This associative bias is species-dependent. For example, the sensation of poisoning is more easily associated with the colour of water among diurnal species, but with its taste among nocturnal species (Wilcoxon, Dragoin & Kral, 1971).

## Sensitive periods

Human beings have the gift of language and their linguistic dispositions are recorded in their genetic make-up. Scientific data show a very marked sensitivity to the spoken language from the very first days of life and even before birth. The sucking behaviour of neonates in response to syllables pronounced in the left or right ear indicates a cerebral laterisation within the left hemisphere of the brain at the age of only 3 - 4 days (Bertoncini, Morais, Bijeljac-Babic, MacAdams, Peretz & Mehler, 1989). Moreover, the sucking behaviour of infants shows that they are already familiarised with their mother tongue (Mehler, Jusczyk, Lambert, Halsted, Bertoncini & Amiel-Tyson, 1988) and by the age of four and a half months infants already recognise the sound patterns of their own names (Mandel, Jusczyk & Pisoni, 1995). Between 6 - 10 months, infants' perception is already influenced by the vocalic and consonant repertory of their mother tongue (de Boysson-Bardies, 1996). Beyond this age, and certainly over the age of 2, young children have considerable difficulty in discriminating sounds corresponding to different phonemes in languages other than their own (e.g. Japanese children confronted with our distinction between /r/ and /l/). Moreover, children deprived of early linguistic experience develop an extremely poor linguistic communication capacity, as demonstrated by the so-called "wild



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**The cognitive approach distinguishes between the acquisition of basic linguistic and perceptive abilities which takes place in a very early stage of life, during so-called sensitive periods, on the one hand, and learning involving knowledge and information processing strategies which may be prolonged throughout life, on the other. Unschooling and illiteracy greatly compromise the development of the latter type of ability but not definitively. Similarly, ageing has a greater impact on the retention of the latter type of ability than on the former. Nevertheless, constant exercise of cognitive activity means that a high level of performance can be maintained and makes new learning processes possible.**



***“ (...) unschooling and illiteracy dramatically affect higher-level cognitive processes. “***

children”, in particular Genie who lived in isolation up to the age of 12 and was subsequently subject to very intensive re-education efforts (Curtiss, 1977). In other words, the sensitive period of spoken language acquisition is also a **critical period**.

These few observations, taken from the vast literature on this subject, suffice to demonstrate that the learning of basic language skills cannot take the form of life-long learning. **The learning of the fundamental processes** used by other **perceptive** (visual, etc.) **systems** is in itself also limited to a sensitive period which **does not extend beyond the first years** (in some cases the first months) of life (for detailed but accessible specifications, cf. Mehler & Dupoux, 1990, and Pinker, 1994).

This conclusion however only implies a pessimistic prognosis for those subjected to absolutely dramatic linguistic or perceptive deprivations or traumatism since childhood. **Unschooling and illiteracy** certainly have an impoverishing impact on the development of cognitive capacity, but **are in no way detrimental to the constitution of basic linguistic and perceptive capacities**. For example, the perception of scenes and visual objects, the initial analysis of objects in elementary dimensions such as shape, colour, direction, etc. an analysis conducted automatically and unconsciously, i.e. prior to the conscious recognition of the percepta - seems to be just as high among unschooled adults as university students (Kolinsky, Morais & Verhaeghe, 1994). Similarly, as far as the perception of the spoken words is concerned, data on initial analysis in terms of acoustic and phonetic units, identification of which depends on language, shows no difference between preliterate children, illiterate adults and literate adults (Morais & Kolinsky, 1994).

### **The cognitive consequences of unschooling and illiteracy**

However, unschooling and illiteracy dramatically affect **higher-level cognitive processes**. The strategies of recognition,

memorisation, recovery of information in the memory, problem solution and intentional analysis and integration of knowledge are much more developed and effective among the literate schooled population. Not to mention, of course, the enormous superiority of the literate in terms of wealth and complexity of knowledge, in particular knowledge implying abstract concepts. To illustrate the differences in cognitive capacities, the short-term verbal memory-span of unschooled adults is only approximately half the score of university graduates (approx. 4 and 8 items respectively). The results obtained by illiterate adults in classical intelligence tests such as WAIS are also very poor, placing 69% of them in the category of or bordering on mental impairment. However, despite the persistent belief of many practitioners, these tests are clearly not independent of culture. Unschooled adults having learned to read and write in literacy classes but essentially remaining on the margins of written culture do not have the same experience of processing information as those who have gone through mainstream schooling and do not fare much better than the illiterate in the WAIS test. In fact, only 12% of this group shows an average level of intelligence and 44% apparently border on impairment or are even mentally impaired! Moreover, no difference in performance was observed between illiterates and late literates, all clearly below the norm in another general intelligence test, the Raven matrices, although it is regarded as particularly adequate for the evaluation of those with a low level of culture (cf. also Cary, 1988). It is not our intention to pick holes in this type of test, the utilisation of which has at times led to abuse, culminating in particular in the US legislation on immigration restrictions of 1924 (cf. e.g. Gould 1983). As far as the unschooled persons we examined are concerned, it is sufficient to note that their level of adaptability in different life areas, including occupational life, plus the fact that some of them succeeded in learning to read and write in unfavourable socio-economic circumstances, contradicts a diagnostic interpretation of these “levels of intelligence”. A detailed analysis of their responses in fact demonstrates, particularly among the illiterate, a lack of familiarity with the test situation (e.g. with the time-limit set to complete the tasks) and a lack



of flexibility in adopting new strategies in cases of failure, and, in both groups, difficulties of **intentional visual analysis and analogical reasoning** (Kolinsky, in print).

The difficulties of unschooled persons illustrate the importance of school-based learning for the development of the capacity of intentional analysis which must be distinguished from the capacity of automatic and unconscious perceptive analysis, mentioned above. For example, unschooled adults have difficulty in finding parts within a figure, even when not subject to time-limits (Kolinsky, Morais, Content & Cary, 1987) and have major difficulty in paying selective attention to stimulus components by filtering irrelevant information, e.g. selection according to colour when shapes vary at right angles (Kolinsky, 1988).

In view of the resulting lack of experience, learning the written code at adult age generally means that no sensitive development of information processing strategies takes place. The learning process is nevertheless accompanied by substantial achievements over and above the ability to read and write: late literates, for example, are superior to illiterates in discriminating mirror images (Kolinsky, 1988). The direction of objects probably only becomes relevant for one's discrimination when one begins to pay attention to them following literacy training. In fact knowledge of the alphabet demands attention to the subtle differences between letters (e.g. b versus d), generally irrelevant in other walks of daily life.

Another major difference between the abilities of literates and illiterates or, to be more precise, between those who have learnt the alphabet and those who have not (since literates who have not learnt the alphabet can also be found in non-alphabetic writing systems), is the fact that only literates can explicitly describe the word as a sequence of abstract elementary units known as **phonemes**. In fact we have demonstrated that illiterate Portuguese adults were incapable of intentionally conducting simple operations involving the addition or suppression of phonemes in short verbal expressions, whereas their late literate compatriots had no major difficulty in doing so (Morais,

Cary, Alegria & Bertelson, 1979; Morais, Bertelson, Cary & Alegria, 1986). The interest of this "**phonemic awareness**" and the related ability of analysis is not purely academic. In fact, learning to read in the alphabetic system crucially depends on the acquisition of a **phonological decoding** procedure based on explicit knowledge of the **correspondences between graphemes and phonemes**. Successful acquisition of knowledge of these correspondences requires, for its part, the emergence of phonemic awareness. Numerous experiments have thus had a very positive effect on the ability to recognise written words from the combined training of knowledge of correspondences and intentional operations on the basis of phonemes (a review of the literature can be found in Morais, 1994).

### **Relations between the learning of the spoken and the written language**

Unlike the learning of the spoken language, the learning of the written language, or more precisely the ability to read and write, is possible at any age. To understand this difference, one must take account of the fact that the spoken language is part of our biological baggage and that, in contrast, the written language is a cultural product, even if it draws on the abilities of the spoken language. It should be recalled that the spoken language, in forms very close to our propositional language, has existed for at least thirty thousand years, whereas the written language only emerged three or four thousand years ago. With the exception of certain pathologies, including extreme forms of autism, all children growing up in an environment of speech, including most mentally deficient, acquire the spoken language. In contrast to this irresistible force of the spoken language, how many lively and intelligent children have major difficulty in learning to read and write, despite the efforts of their parents, teachers and re-educators?!

The difficulties of learning the written language must be seen in relation with the **characteristics of the writing system**. Our writing system, based on the **alphabet**, represents the structure of the spo-

*"The difficulties of unschooled persons illustrate the importance of school-based learning for the development of the capacity of intentional analysis (...)"*



***“Unlike the learning of the spoken language, the learning of the written language, or more precisely the ability to read and write, is possible at any age. “***

ken language at the level of phonemes, the underlying, abstract elements of the spoken chain. By pronouncing, e.g., not the name, but **the sound** of the letter “b”, we are not pronouncing the phoneme /b/, but a syllable [bə] which in terms of phonological description includes not only this phoneme but also a vocalic sound. In other words, by pronouncing the “b”, we are automatically and unconsciously integrating the necessary articulatory gestures to pronounce the consonant /b/ and the vowel /ə/. We do not need to consciously refer to phonemes to speak and understand speech. In contrast, to learn to read and write within an alphabetic system, we must, as already indicated, be conscious of the fact that the letters correspond to the abstract elements of the spoken chain. This realisation may be a difficult process in view of the coarticulation of the phonemes.

The **quality of phonological representations** developed and structured in the learning of speech is therefore a prerequisite for the learning of alphabetical representations. This is why the congenitally deaf, unable to develop and structure phonological representations like hearing people, have considerable difficulty in learning to read and write: many remain basically illiterate and very few achieve high standards of literacy. In contrast, since the congenitally blind can draw on the experience of speech and thus develop and structure phonological representations, they can learn to read (and write) by means of a tactile system representing the letters of the alphabet (Braille), reaching standards of ability which are only lower than those of sighted persons in terms of speed since the information intake is slower from touch than from vision (for a comparative examination of the recognition of words in the different sensory modalities, cf. Kolinsky, Morais & Segui, 1991, and de Gelder & Morais, 1995).

### **Learning the written language at the age of an adult**

As indicated above, there is no critical period for the acquisition of the written code. However the question is whether

childhood is not a more sensitive period to learn to read and write and whether this process is not more difficult for adults. Data are lacking in this field and empirical verification of this question is difficult since today's pre-literate children live in a very different literate and cultural environment from that of the illiterate or late literate adults we have been able to examine.

We have nevertheless observed that illiterate adults are no less capable of positively reacting to training in intentional phonemic analysis than pre-literate children (Content, Kolinsky, Morais & Bertelson, 1986, Morais, Content, Bertelson, Cary & Kolinsky, 1988). Moreover, there are people who learn to read and write as adults who go on to make intensive use of this ability within the context of a demanding cognitive activity, making it impossible to distinguish them from those having successfully completed higher education following normal schooling during childhood. For example, the first author of this article once met a Portuguese gentleman who as a political militant under the Salazar regime had learnt to read and write in prison and went on to become a newspaper editor and, more generally, a cultivated person.

However, these cases are infrequent when one considers the overall population of late readers, very few of whom can find a cognitively stimulating and highly motivating environment. It must therefore be recognised that, in the forms it generally tends to take, literacy training at the age of an adult is limited in scope. As indicated in the previous section, late literates differ from illiterates in terms of phonemic awareness, i.e. an ability closely related to - in fact virtually a component of - learning to read. On average, they nevertheless remain very similar to the illiterate and very different to schooled literates in terms of a whole series of other abilities involved in spoken communication: word recognition strategies, knowledge of syntax, verbal memory, etc. In other words, the procedures acquired during the process of literacy training do not automatically influence other linguistic functions. The average or typical late literate is not comparable at cognitive and linguistic level to a beneficiary of normal schooling.



## The constraints of normal cognitive ageing on learning

The objective of lifelong learning must accommodate the constraints of ageing on cognitive abilities. It is therefore essential to know exactly how these cognitive capacities "age".

Over the last twenty years, cognitive psychology has made spectacular progress in knowledge of normal cognitive ageing (cf. Birren & Schaie, 1990; Craik & Salthouse, 1992; and Van der Linden & Hupet, 1994). In general, the overall conclusions emerging from this work are relatively optimistic. In the case of those whose occupation demands a considerable degree of information-processing on a daily basis, cognitive functions may remain effective up to a relatively advanced age. For example, a study by Shimamura, Berry, Mangels, Rusting & Jurica (1995) on memory and other cognitive abilities in teaching staff at the University of Berkeley, divided into three age-groups, ranging from 30 - 44 for the youngest and 60 - 71 for the oldest, demonstrated that although reaction time increases and the immediate memory or one-to-one associations between items diminishes with age, other mnemonic performances closer to the real cognitive function remain stable. This holds true e.g. for the ability to avoid proactive interference (i.e. provoked by previous items) and memory of narrative or scientific texts.

These results are illustrative of a theory substantiated by numerous other studies (in particular on bridge and chess players - cf. Charness, 1981 - and typists - cf. Salthouse, 1984), i.e. that normal cognitive ageing is not a **homogeneous process** affecting the different cognitive abilities in the same way. For example, it appears that it is easier for the elderly to increase their knowledge, including mental lexical knowledge, than to learn complex operational sequences - involved e.g. in interactive video games - for which a decline is observed from the 30s onwards (Rabbitt, Banerji & Szemanski, 1989).

Moreover, the study of cognitive performances at various ages cannot be restricted to a comparison of group averages. In fact,

the **internal variability** of groups **increases** with age so that in general a certain number of older persons show the same performance as the highest performance among younger persons (cf. e.g. Wilson & Milan, 1995, who studied the ability to form equivalence classes on the basis of relations of transitivity and symmetry). In popular opinion - and even traditional scientific opinion - normal cognitive ageing is often perceived as a process of continued decline, along the lines of physical ageing. However, it appears today that a more appropriate image of the cognitive function is that of a long plateau, followed by a final fall as death approaches. Such "**rectangular trajectories**" have been obtained in individual longitudinal studies. However, given that most studies present the average performance of the sample and the point of fall varies from individual to individual, the curve obtained as a function of age suggests a continuous decline; the rectangular trend would appear if performance could be estimated not in relation to chronological age from birth, but to age as from death (Rabbitt, 1994).

Recognition of the high degree of variability among elder workers and the fact that many persons in their sixties are as highly performing as younger adults have led to the differentiation between **chronological and functional age** which contributed to the abolition of compulsory retirement at 65 in the USA in 1994. Moreover, it would appear that in samples of various origins, **level of schooling** makes a considerable contribution to the cognitive differences observed as a function of age (Powell, 1994). However, the observation of a fall in cognitive performance can only be interpreted as being linked to age if this variable is not confused with level of schooling.

The fact that chronological ageing is accompanied by irreversible degenerative changes in the central nervous system should therefore not make us pessimistic about the likelihood of successful cognitive ageing. i.e. with no decline in performance. The most important period of **neural loss** in life corresponds to the period of the fastest learning, i.e. the first two years of life. **Connectivity between the neurons**, rather than their number,

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***“Recognition of the high degree of variability among elder workers and the fact that many persons in their sixties are as highly performing as younger adults (...) contributed to the abolition of compulsory retirement at 65 in the USA in 1994”***

***(...) the level of schooling makes a considerable contribution to the cognitive differences observed as a function of age (...) “***

***“ (...) literacy training (of the illiterate) should be accompanied by learning strategies of attention, organisation and recovery of information in the memory, as well as strategies of reasoning and planning.”***

is critical for the cognitive function and the possibility of interneuronal connectivity is maintained throughout the course of life. An upgrade of the databases and an improvement of the processing algorithms are therefore possible at any time. It is clearly not a question of denying the reality of cognitive ageing, even among persons remaining in intense intellectual activity. But since experience is positively correlated to age, in many fields of the cognitive function the deceleration of information processing and the decline in working memory may be **compensated by a greater efficiency of organisational and information recovery strategies** and by a **deepening of knowledge** which can check deterioration of performance up to a relatively advanced age.

However one must distinguish between **two types of connectivity**. The first type is dependent on biological predispositions which for a limited and so-called sensitive period permit the development of perceptive and spoken language mechanisms. The second corresponds to the acquisition of knowledge by means of a deliberate learning process. It is interesting to note that although the former abilities are not, or barely, affected by the ageing process, in contrast, many of the abilities of the latter type are. In other words, it seems that **“modular” systems** - i.e. those involving the interventions of specific, compulsory, automatic and rapid processing which cannot be influenced by general knowledge, strategies or the conscience - are less affected by ageing than those systems let us call them **“central systems”** - which generate conscious, controlled and intentional mental activity. The price to be paid for the fixity of the modular systems is the fact that it is impossible to satisfactorily reacquire these systems in the case of cerebral lesion. On the other hand, the compensation for the non-fixity of the central systems is that they can be maintained by exercise of the cognitive function and new learning processes. Adults cannot learn to speak a new language as well as their mother tongue but they can still learn a more articulated and persuasive form of diction, even at an advanced age.

## **The principles of a life-long learning policy**

Let us firstly return to the situation of the illiterate. Making these people literate is undoubtedly an important objective of society. However, literacy training is a mere palliative which is less than adequate to compensate for their lack of normal schooling. The slight impact of merely learning the written code on other linguistic and cognitive abilities suggests that literacy training (of the illiterate) should be accompanied by learning strategies of attention, organisation and recovery of information in the memory, as well as strategies of reasoning and planning. So the term “late literacy training” should be replaced by an expression such as **late and supplementary schooling**, taking care to define programmes which take account of cognitive abilities and the experience of the unschooled adult.

In more general terms, the distinction between the conditions of acquisition of modular and central systems may contribute to the establishment of a learning policy which is as effective as possible.

It therefore seems clear that certain learning processes, e.g. Learning a second language, should commence at a very early age, from infant school, continuing more intensively at primary school. Foreign language teaching methods should take account of the greater ability of a child than an adolescent or an adult to learn by exposure; these methods should also take account of the similarities and differences between the phonological characteristics of the mother tongue and the foreign language and draw on sensitization to the phonological properties of the latter.

Later learning processes which may be lifelong processes should essentially involve the acquisition of knowledge at a high level and learning programmes should include the sensitization or even training of older people in terms of information organisation and recovery strategies. Work carried out in the field of cognitive psychology and psycholinguistics on, among other subjects, the sentiment of knowledge, the realization of information-processing procedures, the effects of



external memory aids and different types of mnemonic methods and the utilisation of strategies of text analysis based on abstract principles in relation with experience of themes and situations have contributed some interesting findings which should inspire the elaboration of these learning programmes. The development of central knowledge and infor-

mation processing systems (e.g. extracting underlying ideas from a set of texts; encoding and recovering the most relevant information with a specific objective) can be expected to offer benefits for the better exploitation of people's metacognitive, i.e. autoreflective abilities. It would appear that these abilities can be sustained throughout life.

***“Later learning processes which may be lifelong processes should essentially involve the acquisition of knowledge at a high level and learning programmes should include the sensitization or even training of older people in terms of information organisation and recovery strategies. “***

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# Learning as a lifelong process? Psychological and pedagogical comments on the 'learning society'

## **The underlying dilemma of supranational training programmes**

One of the central theses of this article is that moves to introduce new ideas, such as those found in the White Paper and the European Year of Lifelong Learning, ignore an underlying dilemma facing programmatic work at the supranational level. The problem lies not so much in the mental and political core of the argument as the psychological and educational infrastructure in which it is set. Campaigns which seek to capture Europe's civil awareness with the idea of a "learning society" are, by both their origin and their nature, calls by administrative elites, and take their lead from the perfectly reasonable right of the EU executive "to exercise directly implementing powers", which was reiterated at Maastricht. Given the sensitivity of the subsidiarity question in the EU, drafts of this kind merely provide an outline of the need for Community action, including the ostensibly universal issues to which this need refers. However, the addressee of such catalogues for the future and the agent ultimately responsible for their implementation is not the planning proficiency of education policymakers, but ultimately of the European citizen. In actual fact, however, talk of a learning society in which access to knowledge and its personal use (White Paper 1995, pp. 5 ff.) number among the prime concerns, undermines the communicative purpose of interesting human beings in learning as a rewarding form of existence. As an abstract member of a learning society, the learner is mainly of interest insofar as he serves as a category aiding sociological comprehension. As illustrated by the artificially coined "learn-

**Supranational education programmes often fail to address human beings as the target of such catalogues for the future. But the concept of "lifelong learning" depends first and foremost on the conditions and possibilities for its acceptance by the subjects. The article therefore seeks to shed light on the implications and pedagogical consequences of moves towards a "learning society" from the microperspective. The development of an "expansive learning" (Holzkamp) ability plays a focal role in this context. The assertive interpretation of learning lends major biographical importance to the way the subjects handle knowledge and deal with uncertainty. In developing a lifelong learning programme, strategies will be required to avert the exclusion of a growing number of people. It is the task of all educational establishments and learning contexts to close this humanization gap.**

Sometimes terms are coined faster than they are understood and blueprints circulated before a demand arises. Moves to introduce such conceptional currencies into the European education and training arena are additionally hampered by their very limited semantic convertibility. Standardizing language to make it universally understandable may be useful on a diplomatic level in helping to forge an international consensus, but it is hardly conducive to lending it substance. In my estimation, it is a still greater problem that abstract messages of this ilk do not pose any personal challenges and, as soon as they start to become common parlance, become tangibly less concrete for the sake of comparability.

Is "lifelong learning" an educational "currency" which fits the above description? Suspicions that this may indeed be the case would seem to be allayed by the considerable efforts undertaken since the FAURE REPORT *Learning to Be* (1972) to keep "lifelong learning" in a state of latent readiness by concretizing it with various qualifiers and alternative organizational models (éducation permanente, recurrent education). On the other hand, these suspicions are fuelled by the conspicuously lengthy gestation period which the educational policy visions of UNESCO, the COUNCIL OF EUROPE and the OECD are taking to acquire tangible shape. Is this because their underlying concepts lack substance, or is it simply that the time is not yet ripe for such visions? Or can the European Commission White Paper TEACHING AND LEARNING. TOWARDS THE LEARNING SOCIETY (1995) bridge the strategic implementation gap left by the reform offensives of the seventies?



ing organization”, now a somewhat hackneyed phrase, the trend to personify social structures as learning subjects may be irresistible from a journalistic viewpoint and may lay claim to modernity, at least for an interim period. In terms of substance, however, it misses the point, because it ignores or fails to address the subjects of a concept of learning which has a regulatory impact on entire biographies. Learning with an educational intent and for a whole lifetime is an act by which the subject shapes the world around him, and this can neither be prescribed nor delegated to the social demanders and benefactors. It is particularly important to bear this in mind where we are concerned with the normality of learning in the course of life and not with a readiness to educate oneself as a passing urge or an imposed expectation, but as a habitus and a personal opportunity (Meier and Rabe-Kleberg 1993).

It is not, however, the purpose of the White Paper to map the itinerary for a “learning society” either in detail or in binding fashion. Its recommendations rather seek “to pave the way for a broader debate in the years ahead” (European Commission 1995, p. 53). Against this background, it is pointless to criticize the authors for conceptional ambitions they do not pursue. But since the White Paper also stands for a now established tradition of bringing human beings closer to a learning mode of life, it would seem helpful to reconstruct the macroperspective in which the ideas of a learning society and lifelong learning are repeatedly placed (Cropley 1986), but in the microperspective. In other words, we need to ask how the abstract learning imperative of the European economic and social area committed to the development of its human resources may be perceived subjectively and adopted as a personally significant task in life. I shall proceed to look at this issue from the viewpoint of the subject, taking up the theoretical position expounded by Holzkamp (1995).

## Learning in the microperspective

The mark of this approach is a departure from an understanding of learning as an organized reaction to the expectations of

an environment which makes demands (Holzkamp 1995, pp. 12 ff).

This learning model is typically implemented in the form of institutional instruction, while an approach which centres on the learning subject looks towards “expansive” learning and the opportunity it provides to shape the world around one. The human becomes a “centre of intentionality”, who takes the initiative in making use of the broader opportunities to dispose of his life and improve its quality. Seen from this angle, learning is an assertive action, one which seeks to change the environment and conditions of life. The psychology of motivation assumes that an acceptance of the learning idea in an assertive sense implies making the “inner link between a willingness to learn, an extension of the possibilities to shape one’s own life and achieve an improved quality of life” something which can be experienced directly and anticipated (ibid. p. 190).

One of the features of an expansive view of learning is that it assigns responsibility for the registration of learning needs to the subject. This explains the focal importance of an ability to register experiences when it comes to recognizing a learning issue. In the ideal case, and in contrast to defensive learning acts which seek to avert disadvantages, shortcomings in the subject’s capacities for action (knowledge, attitudes, skills) are seen as a failure thus far to fully exploit the opportunities the subject has to shape his own life. It is not hard to understand in this connection that not “every teaching requirement set by an outside agency (...) must necessarily be accepted as a learning issue” (ibid, p. 212). But it is also clear that an approach to learning which centres on the learning subjects, their activity and self-organization calls for a cognitive and emotional disposition which, given all manner of individual and social constraints on human development, must first be “learned”, i.e. built up or, as in the case of the long-term unemployed, regained (Wacker 1981).

## The subjective dimension of lifelong learning

Basically, a subject-oriented interpretation or translation of the “lifelong learning”

***“Campaigns which seek to capture Europe’s civil awareness with the idea of a ‘learning society’ are, by both their origin and their nature, calls by administrative elites, and take their lead the perfectly reasonable right of the EU executive ‘to exercise directly implementing powers’, which was reiterated at Maastricht.”***

***“Learning with an educational intent and for a whole lifetime is an act by which the subject shapes the world around him, and this can neither be prescribed nor delegated to the social demanders and benefactors of ‘upgrading training’.”***



***“Basically, a subject-oriented interpretation or translation of the ‘lifelong learning’ formulation only makes sense where a close biographical connection is recognized to exist between a continually evolving existence and the techniques which may be acquired to negotiate the challenges raised thereby(...).”***

***“The huge growth in the stock of knowledge resulting from research and communication makes it increasingly difficult to achieve a consensus about the selection, weighting and didactic organization of knowledge which has a relevance to life.”***

formulation only makes sense where a close biographical connection is recognized to exist between a continually evolving existence and the techniques which may be acquired to negotiate the challenges raised thereby (Oerter 1987). If we are to develop personal approaches which permit life to be negotiated successfully throughout its course, learning must become a “characteristic, personal, unique and self-controlled activity” (Wedemayer 1989, p. 183). From this angle, learning is bound up with life’s projects and experiences, the responsibilities and crises which accompany human existence. The lifelong aspect thus accords more closely with the psychological *nature* of biographically significant learning than does a conceptual model focusing exclusively on the lifespan (Lengrand 1986)

Emphasizing the subjective dimension of lifelong learning is certainly not tantamount to a one-sided internalization of the individual’s relationship with the world around him. Were this the case, the practical benefits of learning would be reduced to support for private, socially detached forms of existence, which are diametrically opposed to the assumptions and motives behind assertive learning which allows the subjects to take action with regard to the world around them. With regard to this way of dealing with the world, one of the central assumptions of an assertive learning theory is that human beings are not simply “faced” with the reality of their lives. They “fashion” it by actively confronting the world around them, using certain learning patterns, and they assimilate it through experiences. As regards the practices of human existence, the intervening nature of learning actions accords with this view. The world cannot only be understood, but also changed. And it is this potential for change which provides the foundation for the learning subjects’ confidence in their ability to improve their situation, recognize links and develop new interests and abilities.

Conventional wisdom has it that the world and the individual encounter each other in the medium of knowledge. It is not by chance that the White Paper is so insistent in its calls for the efficiency and social qualities of a society to be judged by

its degree of openness to new knowledge and the general accessibility of such knowledge. If we take the “learning society” literally, it is one in which knowledge is (mainly) of a scientific and technical nature. Individuals’ chances in life are a function of their operative and thematic “openness” to the materials they require to understand the world and the implementation of this understanding.

## **Pedagogical implications of a “learning society”**

A society which declares knowledge to be central to its definition encounters a number of problems from the pedagogical viewpoint:

- The huge growth in the body of knowledge resulting from research and communication makes it increasingly difficult to achieve a consensus about the selection, weighting and didactic organization of knowledge which has a relevance to life.
- Since the concept of a modern age committed to the tradition of enlightenment has come under attack (Uhle 1993), it is particularly difficult to sustain the idea of knowledge as virtually the naturally ordained medium of cognizance and education.
- The competition between various approaches to, and manifestations of knowledge is nowhere fiercer than in a “learning society”. The task of coping with plurality and a diversity of perspectives, with contrary views and opposing values is a greater challenge to a modern concept of education than, for instance, the accommodation of the purely quantitative concomitants of the growth of an information society.
- If we accept Mitscherlich’s (1963, p. 31) view that a “dynamic definition” makes education a “coordinated search effort” which must not be permitted to become dogmatic certainty, pedagogical responsibility demands that school-based learning in particular should incorporate “doses of uncertainty” with both the peculiarities and the opportunities this implies.



□ Those who speak of a “learning society” leave themselves open to the reproach of ignoring the totality of human life references and forms of expression, the integral human disposition to act and learn, and putting an exclusively “cerebral” ideal of competence and education in its place.

□ Access to knowledge resources and their personal use is not an asset which is freely available and equally well developed in all social milieus. In order to broaden their competence or open up new scope for development, human beings need to build on existing experience which often cannot be acquired in retrospect. To this extent, stratification patterns in a learning society actually display parallels with the estates of feudal times. The White Paper refers to a rift between those who know and those who do not know (European Commission, 1995).

What conclusions can be drawn from the social and pedagogical implications of a “learning society” which I have cited here by way of example for the subjective design of a lifelong learning programme? Only a few aspects can be addressed within the scope of the present article. For a more detailed discussion see Künzel and Böse (1995).

## Conclusions for a lifelong learning programme

1. **Time sequence.** Lifelong learning is concerned with human development in its entirety and, from the viewpoint of an individual’s learning career, may be characterized by the equal status of school and out-of-school educational experiences. The biographical significance of learning contexts depends on the degree to which they permit expansive learning and extend the scope for personal action (Holzkamp 1995, p. 492).

2. **Spatial integration.** Lifelong learning is present in all domains, roles and loci in which the subject can process and shape reality through actions. Given that we are concerned with individuals and their specific identities, the division of work and leisure, public and private spheres into separate learning arenas does

not hold water. Human beings piece together various facets of life according to their interests and their existential designs. Separating vocational and general education is at odds with the nature of expansive learning, since the latter addresses life in its entirety. The same goes for isolating specific learning spheres from the rest of life.

3. **School as the pursuit of life.** John Dewey (1993, p. 408) provided the classic description of how school serves life back in 1915: The purpose is not to make the school an adjunct of commerce and trade, but to use the factors of industry to make the school more active, richer in immediate meaning, and to bring it into close connection with life outside school.

4. **Knowledge as a resource.** Human beings use expansive learning to shape “their” world, having access to knowledge of extremely homogeneous origin, type and validity. Learning in the “lifelong” mode presupposes the skilful handling of knowledge resources which are becoming increasingly accessible with the perfection of information technology networks. But this skilfulness must not be reduced to its operative dimension, since it ultimately signifies an all-round command of knowledge and also the diverse manifestations of uncertainty. The infrastructure of unlimited access to information is not in itself a resource system, which would be conducive to lifelong learning mainly because of its technical potentials. As part of a range of individual learning opportunities and enabling factors, it must be integrated and processed selectively through the controlling function of individual reason.

5. **Accreditation of personal knowledge.**

Assertive but subjectively controlled access to the knowledge and learning potentials of our multicultural scientific civilization does much to increase the variety of an individual’s contacts with the world and “existential techniques”. It also broadens the stock of human experience deserving accreditation and the means of development. Lifelong learning calls for our imagination and tolerance, so that we may appreciate personal forms of knowledge as a document of successful living and are sufficiently far-sighted to place

*“In order to broaden their competence or open up new scope for development, human beings need to build on existing experience which often cannot be acquired in retrospect.”*

*“The purpose is not to make the school an adjunct of commerce and trade, but to use the factors of industry to make the school more active, richer in immediate meaning, and to bring it into close connection with life outside school.”*



***“The idea of using a broad range of learning possibilities for the purpose of humanizing our life conflicts with the practice of depriving a growing number of people of these possibilities through an increasingly stringent social distribution mechanism.”***

them on a par with formal learning products.

#### **6. Exclusion as a humanization gap.**

The idea of using a broad range of learning possibilities for the purpose of humanizing our life conflicts with the practice of depriving a growing number of people of these possibilities through an increasingly stringent social distribution mechanism. The euphemistic messages implied in the proclamation of a “learning society” cannot change this fact. The general efforts to promote lifelong learning and growing acceptance of continuing training as the norm will inevitably be viewed with scepticism and even outright rejection by those who find themselves excluded from “added-value” educational programmes by long-term unemployment and other forms of marginalization. The term “educational barrier” is an unfortunate choice for such potential benefactors of lifelong learning outside the production process. It conceals individual disappointment, self-dissociation and rejection of education (Axmacher 1990), which is what the social and political tolerance of educational inequality often engender.

In a recently completed study (Künzel and Böse 1995) the present author proposed “motivation strategies for lifelong learning”. A campaign to promote continuing training is one of these strategies. In considering continuing training as an object

for such a campaign, we must bear in mind the intention and intensity of the expectations society places in participation in continuing training and also look at the social forms of hindrance and discouragement which are apparently tolerated in respect of groups who are either non-existent for the continuing training market or have been excluded from it. How these factors encouraging or hindering participation in education may be represented subjectively and what opportunities they leave for access to a form of learning which lacks the backing of a social lobby and cultural policy interests - this is the real concern of efforts to promote continuing training. Such a strategy can only make sense if it supports the explorative and biographical projects which human beings consider, placing their confidence in the opportunities offered by education, even when access is made difficult or the prospects for putting the education to good use are misrepresented (Künzel and Böse, 1995, pp. 6 f).

However, gearing motivation strategies to adults and to continuing training is in itself a restriction of the biographical concept of lifelong learning, one which has been explicitly rejected in this article. To make possible expansive learning for an entire lifetime - this is the mandate of all educational establishments and learning contexts which are committed to the humanization of modern existence. And not only in Europe.

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# Training while in employment of unskilled and semi-skilled workers: The "Training drive '95" launched by the Ford factory in Cologne

## Industrial change and the prevalent situation in the Ford factory in Cologne

At the present moment "Ford-Werke AG" and its sub-contractors are going through an adaptation process which - against the background of the discussions on the industrial competitiveness of Germany, lean production, etc. - is leading to an optimization of production processes and an adaptation of organizational structures. The current downward trends in the German economy also accentuate the need for adaptation facing the Ford factory and its sub-contractors.

Ford took the first steps to tackle this process of adaptation by planning new products, modified manufacturing systems and additional manufacturing processes. The next essential step was to induce the workers in the production units to participate actively in this process of change. This led to the necessity of setting up a comprehensive continuing training programme covering its own workers and the workers of interested sub-contracting firms with the aim of creating a future-oriented system for the training and qualification of these workers.

Qualification requirements involve all levels of the company. It is not only the managerial staff and skilled workers who need constant training, it is the quality and readiness to accept innovation of

workers at the lower levels of the enterprise which will have a decisive impact on the success of structural adaptation measures. In this context, semi-skilled and unskilled workers - neglected up to now - play a crucial role as a resource for training and qualification. Their upgrading training not only benefits the company, but also offers the workers protection against the threatening loss of their jobs and a distinct improvement of their chances on the labour market.

This goal can, however, only be achieved if provision is made for a fundamental training which goes beyond the mere transmission of upgrading know-how (e.g. adapting to new technical systems). A mutual agreement was reached between the company management, the central works council and the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia to offer training while in employment to this group of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. On the basis of surveys in the factories and assessment of needs, a completely new training scheme was developed in Cologne for technical workers (duration: one year) and parts fitters (duration: two years).

In order to facilitate training while in employment, new contents and organizational concepts were sought within the framework of "Training drive '95" which would facilitate workplace-proximate continuing training with the use of innovative teaching and learning methods. This concept of workplace-proximate continu-



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**The "Training drive '95" launched by Ford-Werke is a new path which enables unskilled and semi-skilled workers to acquire, a posteriori, a vocational qualification. The combination of course instruction, learning at the workplace and self-learning phases creates a new form of training provision which can serve as a model for other companies too. In particular the use of interactive learning programmes introduces a new quality to flexible learning which can also be offered to other workers in the form of self-learning centres. The overall concept is backed by scientific analysis and is also made available to small and medium-sized enterprises.**



***“The special feature of this training model is that Ford is not trying to find an isolated solution for its own staff but is aiming at a broad-based training drive in collaboration with its sub-contractors.”***

ing training attaches great importance to experience from science and practice on the use and design of multimedia teaching and information systems and on forms of self-learning and communication and behaviour training to enhance social skills. Close cooperation with vocational training experts outside the group of in-house specialists will ensure the targeted application of the latest research findings and experience from practice. In addition to this, the experience gained in Ford can be extended to other firms and sectors and can thus help to create secure and competitive jobs in future.

The special feature of this training model is that Ford is not trying to find an isolated solution for its own staff but is aiming at a broad-based training drive in collaboration with its sub-contractors. An attempt to influence sub-contractors through costs and prices would fall short of the mark. The only effective forward-looking solution is a strengthening of the sub-contracting industry through timely adaptation to structural changes in industrial production. As many of the sub-contracting firms cannot afford to introduce this adaptation process and the reskilling of their workers on their own, emphasis is laid on joint responses to the structural crisis. Ford has realized that collaboration with the sub-contractors will, ultimately, safeguard North Rhine-Westphalia as a location of competitive industrial production and thus also as a car manufacturing location for Ford-Werke AG. Instead of short-term decisions and a heedless destruction of jobs in the sub-contracting industry, the aim is to amalgamate the potential in a joint effort. This form of cooperation could light the way for other sectors and act as a model beyond the boundaries of the region.

***“Training drive ‘95’ is characterized by the fact that, in addition to the reinforcement of the technical competence of the individual worker, aspects relating to social and action-oriented competence (...) are incorporated in the individual continuing training schemes.”***

### **The importance of producing qualified workers for the workplace of the future**

Given the more stringent demands in production, workers and employees now need new skills and know-how. This means that, in addition to the new structure of initial vocational training (at first for metalworking and electrical occupations and later for office occupations), in-

company continuing training also gains more weight. Up to the 1970s its rating in the enterprises was rather low. In-company continuing training owes its growing importance to two trends:

□ Technical innovations are seen as the factors triggering the growing need for continuing training, whereby continuing training is understood as skill training for adaptation to technical change. Continuing training is thus viewed in terms of its contribution to corporate profitability and competitiveness.

□ The introduction of new technologies entails radical changes in work organization and job content which in turn leads to changes in skill requirements and skill levels. Firstly, key skills/transversal skills/non-technical skills become more essential, secondly, it is anticipated that highly fragmented work processes will increasingly be replaced by an integral completion of tasks.

These, undoubtedly, very generalized views were replaced in the following years by more differentiated assessments which took deskilling and reskilling processes into account and also showed signs of a polarization of skills depending on previous education and work area. In addition to this, there was an intensive discussion on the initiation of continuing training measures in the interest of the workers as this envisaged more self-fulfilment and more co-determination and participation in the establishment of working conditions.

“Training drive ‘95” is characterized by the fact that, in addition to the reinforcement of the technical competence of the individual worker, aspects relating to social and action-oriented competence - which is steadily gaining significance - are incorporated in the individual continuing training schemes. In future workers should - above and beyond the technical requirements - be in a position to:

- understand complex linkages and interactions and think in terms of systems,
- filter the essential data from a wealth of information,
- present complex situations in a simplified and understandable manner,



- work in a team and apply their knowledge and skills effectively in new problem situations,
- act on their own instead of waiting to receive instructions.

## The application of modern training techniques in the "Training drive '95"

Upskilling to become a technical worker or a parts fitter is part of a series of training measures which, under the heading "Training drive '95", set up an innovative model of workplace-proximate continuing training. Training is no longer the privilege of skilled workers alone, but is concentrated on the upgrading of educationally under-privileged workers in a system which permits an upward progression.

In the existing education and training system the target group of unskilled and non-skilled workers receives little attention as an "educational reserve". Inter-company continuing training provision contains very few courses for the vocational upgrading of unskilled and under-qualified workers which would give them long-term job security. The lack of training provision or the provision of unsuitable courses is compounded by the fact that industrial activities are strongly influenced by swift technological change. Rapidly changing production processes and new technologies have a tremendous impact on workers' skill requirements. The target group of unskilled and non-skilled workers is predestined for continuing training as a means of getting prepared for these changes.

In addition to the relevance of continuing training for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, it is the use of new concepts in workplace-proximate continuing training which determines the success of upgrading strategies. Self-learning centres, multimedia learning and information systems, communication and behaviour training to increase social skills are therefore a vital part of the concept of this training model.

A modular structure makes it possible to cover the most diverse target groups and to differentiate the participants according

to their level of qualification. This module concept takes account of the highly different formal qualifications and learning experience of the adult workers and makes it possible for them to acquire qualification certificates while in employment. For adults as a general target group, this model is an attractive alternative to existing forms of formal training and fulfils the function of an educational link for the educationally-underprivileged. Workers who have failed in the conventional system of education and training, who have insufficient training and are hesitant to join inter-company continuing training courses, get the opportunity through this model of entering lifelong learning, securing their jobs and coping with the higher demands of new technologies - with the aim of ensuring long-term employment.

## The target groups for continuing training measures: technical workers and parts fitters

At present Ford-Werke AG has about 23,000 workers in its production plants in North Rhine-Westphalia, of whom some 7,800 have no skilled worker training in a metalworking or electrical occupation.

A training programme of this dimension can only be successful if individual training contents closely match the needs of the respective target groups. To this end, workers with comparative levels of training are defined as one target group. The present training programme makes a distinction between six such target groups:

### "Non-skilled workers"

- unskilled operators/production workers
- trained operators

### "Skilled workers"

- parts fitters/technical worker occupations
- qualified skilled workers (metalworking/electrical)
- team heads/line heads

### "Lowest management level"

- foremen/supervisors

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***"A modular structure makes it possible to cover the most diverse target groups and to differentiate the participants according to their level of qualification."***



***“Self-learning centres stimulate willingness to acquire training by reducing inhibitions (...), they make it possible for the learner to determine his own pace of learning and are available at all times.”***

***“The combination of image and sound in multimedia systems enhances absorption and retention capacity and offers the person unaccustomed to learning in a communication and information society the very medium which is so familiar to him - the screen.”***

It is planned to build up the entire training programme in a modular structure which is based on progressive steps and, depending on the training measure, concludes with a Ford certificate or a skilled workers certificate issued by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. There is close coordination with the Cologne Chamber of Commerce and Industry for the planned upskilling to technical worker. This structured approach makes it easier to match the individual training units with the respective target group and also enables the participant to progressively discover his own inclination for continuing training.

The training measures are conceived in such a way that they are built up on the experience of the individual target groups and not only implicitly reflect their current work situations but take them as the object of learning. This means that counselling of the participants becomes a vital factor. This counselling should show the participant how the training path can be customized for his requirements, what occupational perspectives it opens, and it should act as a stimulus to tackle topics and contents which were unfamiliar up to then. A competent advisor with sound knowledge of work structures can, through counselling, reduce fears and problems arising from the personal educational biography and from former negative experience of the participant.

However, this training model does not have the aim of improving isolated skills but of enhancing a broad-based personal competence. This overall competence unites social, process-oriented and functional sub-competences. The transmission of key skills, of general and vocational knowledge, and the guarantee that skills will be transferred to job situations through a workplace-proximate and workplace-oriented training together with subject-specific and cross-subject training measures, supplemented by the accompanying support of educational advisors or coordinators in the self-learning centres, opens a broad range of possibilities for the reactivation of German and foreign workers.

This training strategy developed by Ford-Werke AG therefore responds to the core question in education policy of the quali-

fication of under-privileged workers who run a great risk of becoming jobless and who are virtually impossible to place once they have lost their jobs.

## **Learning organization and the use of interactive learning systems**

The concept of training while in employment places high demands on the participants, company managers and project managers. An important role is played here by workplace-proximate training in self-learning centres with multimedia learning and information systems. Self-learning centres stimulate willingness to acquire training by reducing inhibitions (a lesson which is not understood can be repeated), they make it possible for the learner to determine his own pace of learning and are available at all times. The timing of continuing training can thus be adapted to the individual absorption capacity of the learner. The combination of image and sound in multimedia systems enhances absorption and retention capacity and offers the person unaccustomed to learning in a communication and information society the very medium which is so familiar to him - the screen.

Undeniably, the learning techniques applied and their integration in new learning systems play a decisive role in the development of new learning technologies. They possess the technical pre-requisites required to achieve the interactivity inherent in a new generation of media.

It is estimated that in the coming years the largest area of application for multimedia systems will be the field of education and training (23% of the total market of \$ 3.06 billion forecast for Europe in 1996). The new possibilities of integrating different media in an end system will help to make more effective use of the innovative potential of interactive learning systems:

- presentation of learning contents,
- structure of interaction between the user and the learning programme,
- motivation of the learner,
- design of the learning process,
- updating of training contents.



Graphic user interfaces and operating system enhancements (Apple Macintosh, Microsoft-Windows and others) will offer the systems developer and the user a broad range of technical features (menus, windows, zoom function, multitasking, etc.) which will enable a more efficient transmission of learning contents. With the aid of old and new programming tools (author languages, author systems and others) "multimedia learning worlds" can be created. The management of information will no longer be rigidly linear but will, in line with the processing patterns of the human brain, be associative management. This hypertext concept and the use of multimedia system environments leads to state-of-the-art learning programmes - the hypermedia programmes.

In general, the following types of learning programmes are available:

### 1. Practice and drill

Existing knowledge is exercised and consolidated, mostly with the following pattern: pose a question, look up response, give an answer, pose a question, etc.

### 2. Tutorial programmes

The aim here is the transmission of new knowledge. The structure is mostly linear with a pre-determined path to be followed: presentation of the new contents (examples, illustrations, demonstrations, etc.), targeted questions, collection of answers and analysis, feedback, presentation of further new contents, etc.

### 3. Intelligent tutorial programmes

The aim of this method is to imitate the essential behavioural patterns of a teacher. It is adapted to learner reactions and can present the subject in different ways and at rising levels of complexity.

### 4. Simulation programmes

Here complex processes are simulated and the learner can influence the variables.

### 5. Micro worlds

This system offers operational alternatives which lead to an active construction of knowledge.

### 6. Hypermedia databases

With navigational aids it is possible to retrieve information and aids from a multimedia collection of data.

Seven self-learning centres have been set up in the Ford factory as part of the "Training drive '95". In less than 10 minutes every worker can get to his learning place. In addition to an extensive programme library, there is also an advisor who can help him if he has any difficulties. These full-time advisors also give some personal instruction and advise the persons in charge of the factory workers in questions relating to training. As they are mostly foremen (Meister) who come from the production units, they have solid knowledge of the local situation.

The self-learning centres use the standard learning programmes available on the market. The technical accuracy and teaching capacity of the programmes are verified. Thus, a part of the learning objectives in the upgrading training for technical worker or parts fitter can be taught in the learning centres. Another important function of these centres is the opportunity to exercise and repeat individual subjects.

As learning programmes are not available for many subjects, they are taught in two other learning venues, either through personal instruction in the training workshop or at the workplace, whereby the time spent in learning is remunerated.

## "Training drive '95" as an innovation project: initial experience

The "Training drive '95" of the Ford-Werke AG is a significant innovation both for the company and for in-company continuing training and has the following features:

- Further training in self-learning centres.
- Target group: unskilled and semi-skilled workers.
- Initial vocational training of adults in different learning venues.

The establishment of the self-learning centres and their technical equipment require a great deal of staff resources. Financial support from the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia for the establishment of



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***“A special problem is the care and guidance of the participants. For many of them the last learning experience lies far back in time and often has negative associations.”***

self-learning centres and self-learning places is a great help, particularly for small and medium-sized enterprises.

One advantage of this method which should not be under-estimated is that the interactive media in the centres or learning places make it possible for workers to learn unobserved by others and this anonymity gives them the assurance that their educational deficits are not openly visible.

The aim of the self-learning centres is to enable workers to:

- acquire new skills adapted to their needs,
- train themselves further in a setting which is flexible in terms of time, space and contents,
- select their learning objectives and determine their pace of learning and the length of learning themselves (without a teacher and without a pre-determined course sequence),
- shorten some learning steps and intensify others through repetition,
- work with different media (text book, video, audio, PC and videodisc),
- enjoy this process of acquiring new knowledge.

The first experience gained with the ongoing groups made it clear that the introduction of a new training concept calls for a sizable amount of administrative effort. Not only must the workers be motivated and informed, but the persons in charge of them in the factory also play an important role. The individual schemes have to be introduced with numerous talks and a considerable amount of publicity. The thinning of staff in production together with strong fluctuations in demand make it very difficult for the works management to select staff for continuing training measures.

A special problem is the care and guidance of the participants. For many of them the last learning experience lies far back in time and often has negative associations. Joint weekend seminars and talks

as part of project support for the scheme have proved to be a useful means of giving the groups social stability.

On the other side, the teachers and instructors are confronted with target groups who have to be taught the traditional subject matter, but who have already been working for many years in the enterprise. The first few months of the scheme showed that there was a need to train the trainers.

## **Summary and future prospects**

With this training drive, presented above, Ford-Werke AG is embarking on new paths to find means of coping with structural change in industrial production and safeguarding North Rhine-Westphalia as a competitive industrial location. Instead of unilaterally passing on the pressure of rising costs to the sub-contractors of the automobile industry - often at the risk of forcing them out of business - a model has been developed in collaboration with the sub-contracting industry which aims at adaptation to changes in the market such as emphasis on service, flexibility, innovation potential and a changed attitude to quality and costs. New technologies and modern manufacturing and production methods call for new forms of corporate and work organization.

In all the different scenarios - creation of elite groups, optimal general education, differentiated upskilling, upgrading of work in general - companies need broad-based competences which go beyond the existing approaches of quality circles, team work and cooperative management, to satisfy the growing need for better qualification through workplace-proximate continuing training.

These conditions offer constructive possibilities of integrating interactive media. Empirical studies have clearly shown that, in comparison to other training methods, they have a number of advantages when applied in practice. They also offer a profound human dimension: autonomous learning with interactive learning systems is - from the angle of the company - only successful if the learner is in a position



to handle them competently and independently.

The use of interactive multimedia does not imply technical determinism. They offer tools and learning modules which can be incorporated in the work process in very different ways. This of course also means that they can have a considerable impact on the traditional Taylorist conceptions of work. Thus, it is quite conceivable that they can be put to effective use in work processes which make a distinction between planning and implementation or between quantitative and qualitative activities.

Initial experience has, however, shown that all potential participants cannot be trained while in employment. Therefore, as a supplement to the existing concept,

it is planned to establish full-time training courses for parts fitters in cooperation with an external educational establishment.

It is also planned to extend this scheme beyond Cologne (Wülfrath, Düren, Saarlouis). Persons who complete the technical worker course will be offered shortened parts fitter courses so that particularly good workers have the opportunity of acquiring the skilled worker certificate. It is planned to link this training drive with other advanced education courses (technicians, foremen, etc.) and new projects (study course for foremen at the Higher Technical College in Cologne) so that it develops into a comprehensive educational route in Ford which makes the concept of lifelong learning a part of the corporate structure.

***“Autonomous learning with interactive learning systems is - from the angle of the company - only successful if the learner is in a position to handle them competently and independently.”***

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# The “Equal Opportunities Programme” of the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) in Ireland\*

## ESB and its background

ESB is a state owned company which generates and supplies electricity in Ireland. It employs 9,322 regular staff and 537 temporary staff. Seventeen percent of the staff are women and 1% are engaged in non-traditional areas of work such as engineering, technology and craft categories.

## What are the main elements in this approach?

The Electricity Supply Board is pursuing a structured programme for the creation of equal opportunities for women at the workplace and in the work hierarchy (Positive Action Programme). The comprehensive goals extend beyond further training and education per se and include:

- changing conventional attitudes towards female employees;
- improving the qualification of female employees to promote their career within the company by having a comprehensive education support policy.
- increasing the proportion of female employees on the various hierarchy levels by setting targets.
- combating sexual harassment by training and the appointment of confidential counsellors who will advise and support the victim.
- adapting working conditions (or making them more flexible) in order to cater to the specific needs of women (maternity leave, career “outtimes”, job-sharing); underlining the economic advantages of equal opportunities for women.
- equality training in recruitment and selection.
- programme to mainstream Equal Opportunities and the training of equality links people who will promote the programme at local level.

**Many people - including some of those in the trade unions - often have the impression that further training and education is a “cure-all” that ensures modernisation of companies whilst also expanding the freedom and options of the employees. The risk in this approach is that difficulties encountered in the process of modernisation are attributed to the individual failure of employees. From the point of view of the trade unions, therefore, it is important to develop a more comprehensive concept of modernisation in which further training and education is linked to other elements. The Irish example shows the use of this type of strategy in the endeavour to promote equal opportunities for women at the workplace. In this strategy, further training and education is only one element in a more comprehensive process of change of intra-company structures towards equal opportunities. The example clearly shows that changes in the occupational situation of the individual cannot be achieved through efforts in the field of further training alone. The Irish model combines further training and education measures with the implementation of national legislation on equality at the workplace. The example also shows that it is necessary to create new organisational structures in order to implement the strategy of equality and monitor its effects.**

In 1994 it had an annual turnover of BP 976 million.

It also has over one hundred retail outlets throughout the country. Its subsidiary ESB International provides consultancy services in engineering utility consultancy and information technology services. To date it has worked in 55 countries abroad.

\* The following description goes back to the FORCE project “Continuous Vocational Training in Europe - Documentation on the Social Dialogue” (Nr.: 94-23-POL-0014-00), conducted by the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung. The authors thank Eckehart Ehrenberg who prepared the case description.



Various *training and education measures* are organised to achieve these goals.

A specific code of practice on sexual harassment was drawn up and issued to all staff. Confidential counsellors were trained by an expert from the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre and their role and accessibility circulated to all staff. A booklet and guidelines for dealing with cases was provided for all managers and supervisors. A seminar on the topic of "sexual harassment" is held for groups of a maximum of 25 male and female employees. Alongside detailed information on the change in company policy and explanation and definition of the term "sexual harassment", the course also tells employees what actions to take in the event of sexual harassment.

A course entitled "*men and women working together*" with up to 14 participants lasts two days and looks at the company policy of the ESB with regard to questions of equality, problems associated with men and women working together, and the different criteria used for men and women at the workplace. An attempt is made to influence traditional attitudes in the direction of greater equality for women. This strategy is promoted using interactive methods: teamwork, self-reflection, exercises and discussion.

The *training programme "Career development for women"* is made up of an initial two-day programme and a third course day three months later for up to 16 female participants. The learning objectives are:

- identification and development of the participants' own abilities and career interests in order to allow optimum assessment of career potential at the ESB;
- determination of training measures required to achieve the career goal;
- development of personal plans of action;
- the use of personal effectiveness techniques.

The two-day course block was initially geared towards identifying attitudes, motivations and personal characteristics and extends to the practice of goal-oriented action: identification of goals, analysis of chances and barriers, compilation of a plan of action, and the use of com-

munication techniques to achieve the stated goals.

The training programme "*Personal effectiveness for women*" has the same duration and composition. The learning objectives are to provide support for the individual in setting her own objectives, to acquire key interpersonal techniques, and to identify, develop and utilise effective work techniques. The first day of the course focuses on the training of self-confidence and effective communication techniques, whilst the second day is devoted to stress management and confidence in dealings with others.

### **What problems does this approach address?**

The approach is a reaction to the limitations of conventional technical further training and education and is geared towards improving the career prospects of female employees as well as fully utilising the potential of female employees within the company. What is apparent is that it is often more difficult for women to gain access to technical further training and education, and that higher qualifications often do little to improve the position of female employees within the company.

On the other hand, this approach also outlines the options which arise when further training and education is extended to include contents other than the conventional technical elements and is integrated in a programme of action geared towards promoting the interests of women. The latter aspect is one of the central objectives of the trade unions. It also requires the creation of new organisational structures to accompany implementation and to serve as a monitoring function for realisation. For the extension of further training and education options alone is not sufficient to achieve an improvement in the occupational position of women. The Irish example therefore also describes the limitations of further training and education as an isolated measure.

The most common jobs at the ESB are skilled technical jobs. As structural criteria and social prejudice dictate that most of these jobs (and in particular the jobs of electrical fitters and engineers) are re-

***"The Electricity Supply Board is pursuing a structured programme for the creation of equal opportunities for women at the workplace and in the work hierarchy" which is organized and implemented in cooperation with the trade unions.***

***"The most common jobs at the ESB are skilled technical jobs. (...) Most of these jobs, and in particular the jobs of electrical fitters and engineers, are reserved for the men (...)"***



***“Social value judgements and male-dominated selection procedures meant that, with the exception of the secretarial sector, women were severely ‘under-represented’, particularly at the higher hierarchy levels.”***

***“It is interesting to note that the trade unions consider the private sector to be more active than the public sector in its anti-discrimination efforts.”***

served for the men, ESB is heavily male-dominated. In Ireland - as in other countries - these jobs are seen as being traditionally “non-female”. It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that out of the total staffing in ESB only 17% are women.

Social value judgements and male-dominated selection procedures meant that, with the exception of the secretarial sector, women were severely “under-represented”, particularly at the higher hierarchy levels.

### **How was this approach developed?**

The starting point for the “equal opportunity” activities of the ESB was neither trade union initiative nor management concept but two laws dating back to the seventies, which the government wanted to promote following many years of inadequate implementation in the public and semi-public sector. These laws were

- the Anti-Discrimination Pay Act of 1974 and
- the Employment Equality Act of 1977.

These laws apply exclusively to women and are mainly of a protective character; in other words, they do not require active measures on the part of the companies, but they do indicate the direction in which activities should be pointed. (The two laws are currently being revised with the aim of including further disadvantaged groups). It is interesting to note that the trade unions consider the private sector to be more active than the public sector in its anti-discrimination efforts.

In 1988, the ESB drew up an “Equality policy and a practical equality guideline”, in which the following is stated:

“The ESB is committed to the principle of equal opportunities in its personnel policy. The company will ensure that no applicant is disadvantaged on account of his or her sex or marital status. Individuals will be selected, promoted and treated on the basis of their ability and merits as well as in line with the requirements of the job. They will all be given the opportunity to prove their capabilities and to progress within the organisation.”

In order to promote implementation of this guideline, a special Equality Review Group was formed after about two years and was given the job of studying “the reality of equal opportunities for women in the ESB and compiling a report with recommendations”. The 25 recommendations from this group led to the creation of the Equality Council in 1991 chaired by external specialists. This central body made way for the Joint Equality Council (JEC) (made up of management and trade unions) after a further two years. During the process of decentralisation of the company organisation (division of the ESB into five decentral company units and one central unit), the central Joint Equality Council will be reviewed and changes made to accommodate the new company structure.

Much importance is attached to ensuring that the policy of equality is taken seriously by all those involved, including (in particular) top management. For this reason, the Equality Council organised a special equality seminar for top management in 1992 which was opened by the relevant government minister. Moreover, external experts are involved in drawing up management briefing documents on equality which are distributed to 450 managers at the ESB.

### **Who is involved?**

A total of eight trade unions are represented among the workforce of the ESB, and they form the “ESB Group of Unions”. Four of these unions are craft unions for skilled employees. The group of unions nominates representatives to the Joint Equality Council.

Four unions, including the Services Industrial Professional Technical Union (SIPTU) now have the majority on the nine-member JEC together with the chairperson, who is an independent person and someone who was mutually agreed by both management and unions. At present this person happens to be the Equality and Education Officer with the ICTU (Irish Congress of Trade Unions).

The JEC meets around once a month and its work is effective (according to both the employers and the employees). It acts



in an advisory and consultative manner to both management and the Group of Unions. Its main duties are:

- ❑ to observe the progress of equality measures in the company. This “observation function” is based on the 1990 equality report with its 25 recommendations as well as on a recently submitted report on “social relations” within the company;
- ❑ Examining issues associated with equality on its own initiatives;
- ❑ helping to change the attitudes of employees and to create a new company culture which promotes equality.

The ESB Group of Unions has an office at the ESB, via which equality-related complaints can be introduced for discussion at the regular negotiations between trade unions and the company management. The four trade unions not represented on the JEC also use the facilities of this office.

## What resources and instruments are available?

Alongside the training programmes outlined above, a wide range of additional instruments were created to implement the overall equality programme, such as:

Position of Equal Opportunities Manager created at Senior Management level;

- ❑ a special Equal Opportunities Office set up reporting directly to the personnel director
- ❑ a computer-supported information system for questions of equality (Personal Management Information System - PMIS);
- ❑ a support and counselling group against sexual harassment;
- ❑ local Equality link people;
- ❑ a Joint Equality Council made up of representatives of management and trade unions;

- ❑ a special logo for the uniform image of the programme which graphically links

the corporate identity of the ESB with its equality endeavours;

- ❑ an intra-company Equality Week with a wide range of activities and examples from the overall programme.

The Equal Opportunities Office is directly answerable to the head of personnel and was made up of three full-time employees: the Equal Opportunities Manager and two administrative employees. With the programme to mainstream Equality the number is now at two including the manager.

In the past, out of the total budget of the Equal Opportunities Department, around 48% went towards funding training measures. All courses and seminars were paid for by the Equal Opportunities Office; some of these courses occasionally take place outside regular working hours. These include the relatively expensive programme “Men and women working together”, which is held at weekends in a hotel to create a more productive atmosphere.

The courses “Career development for women” and “Personal effectiveness for women” are also held at the company’s own training centre in Dublin. The ESB has contracted external counsellors and trainers to hold these two courses as well as the “Men and women working together” seminar. The seminar on sexual harassment is delivered by the staff of the Equal Opportunities Office.

As a result of the planned division of the ESB into different Business Units, the focus for the Equal Opportunities Office will be on policy and strategy and the operational work will be decentralised to the Business Units.

Alongside the special equality measures funded by the ESB, the trade unions also organise independent programmes for their female members nationwide from their own funds.

## What is the current assessment of the approach?

Since 1991, a total of 932 women have taken part in the Career Development



***“(...) the majority of all female employees of the ESB have taken part in the programme, also including those female employees who have only elementary jobs (...).”***

***“(...) a clear increase in the number of female employees in all categories with the exception of office employees, a group in which female employees are traditionally dominant anyway.”***

***“(...) there are complaints that it is extremely difficult to integrate the lower and middle management echelons in equality-oriented activities.”***

***“The impact on technical employment is difficult to measure at this stage.”***

Programme, whilst over 800 women have attended the Personal Effectiveness courses. This means that the majority of all female employees of the ESB have taken part in the programme, also including those female employees who have only elementary jobs (e.g. canteen personnel).

Surveys have shown that the participants rate the courses very highly. The responses show that the female employees particularly appreciated the efforts to promote their self-confidence and determination. These are skills which are not linked to any specific requirements of the workplace or the company but which are transferable in the widest sense.

It was also seen as a positive factor that the courses are conducted by external trainers, as this allowed employees to be more frank and open. The two course types have now been completed.

The assessment of “Men and women working together” seminars was not as positive. During this type of seminar, all the old prejudices, rivalries and other tension and conflict from the workplace come to the surface, and the appropriate selection of female and male participants was therefore decisive for the success of the seminar.

With regard to the overall success of the equal opportunities programme, it is interesting to note how the percentage of female employees in the various white-collar categories at the ESB has changed since 1991:

	<b>April 1991</b>	<b>March 1996</b>	<b>Change</b>
Top management	2	11	450 %
Middle management	27	59	119 %
Lower management	154	232	51 %
Office employees	1087	795	- 27 %
All other female staff	337	654	94 %

The figures show a clear increase in the number of female employees in all categories with the exception of office employees, a group in which female employees are traditionally dominant anyway. The changes are without doubt due to the training programmes and the changed attitudes in the personnel management department. Nevertheless, there are complaints that it is extremely difficult to integrate the lower and middle management echelons in equality-oriented activities.

During this period of time there was no formal change in career development policy or recruitment practices. However the level of recruitment was at a minimum and the overall staffing situation decreased by 9%. The ratio of women to men remained constant at 17% throughout these years.

The aim of these training programmes was primarily designed to build the confidence of the women in the company and secondly to address attitudes. The impact on technical employment is difficult to measure at this stage.

### **What is the status of this approach within the context of trade union further training and education policy?**

The ESB programme is an isolated example in a single (albeit big) company. The trade unions support the ESB programme and are involved in its implementation. Nevertheless, there are still many communication deficits. One example is that the management and/or the EOD in the company are not fully informed about trade union activities in the area of equality.

Moreover, there are still some points of conflict within the area of equality. This applies in particular to the problem of equal wages; indeed, legal proceedings against the ESB are currently in progress on one or two such cases.

As mentioned above, the trade unions also organise their own training programmes for their members to support the creation



of equal opportunities - an issue they strongly support. However, the interest of individual trade unions in the issue of equality and the scope of their activities depends largely on the strength of female membership in the union in question. The willingness to support equality is particularly small in the technical and craft sectors, and there is much need for development here. There are also conflicts of interest when one party attempts to gain greater benefits for female employees within the context of a preset wage increase framework, as any such increase is necessarily at the expense of the male employees.

### **What stimuli does the approach provide for a transfer of experience to other countries?**

Examples of "good practice" often are assumed to provide stimuli for actors in other countries. But there remains the problems of transfer of experiences from one country to others: the cases are based

on the specific framework of institutional, legal, political and cultural conditions.

Although the equality-oriented activities of the Irish Electricity Supply Board have their roots in corresponding Irish legislation, these activities are, in the final analysis, not bound by any special legal preconditions. There are similar laws in some of the other EU member states. Last not least, the European "Directive on the realisation of equal opportunities for men and women with regard to access to employment, vocational training and promotion as well as with regard to working conditions" (No. 76/207 of 9/2/1976) has been in existence since 1976.

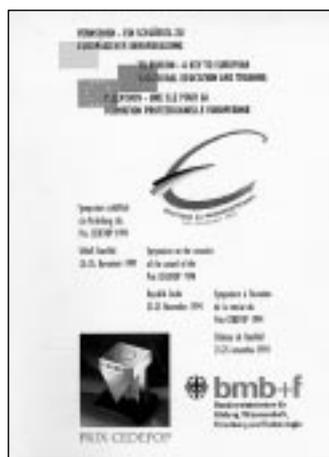
The equal opportunities programme of the ESB, which is organised and implemented in cooperation with the trade unions and which can boast provable success, is therefore an initiative of which many aspects appear suitable for transfer of experience to other countries. But as transfer is a social process, communication between the actors of the case ("sender") and those who are interested to implement some central aspects into their context ("receivers") is necessary.

This section has been prepared by  
**Martina**

**Ní Cheallaigh,**

and the Documentation Service with the help of members of the national documentation network (cf. last page)

This section lists the most important and recent publications on developments in training and qualifications at an international and European level. Giving preference to comparative works, it also lists national studies carried out as part of international and European programmes, analyses of the impact of Community action on the Member States and national studies seen from an external perspective. The Section, "From the Member States", lists a selection of important national publications.



## Europe international

### Information material, studies and comparative research

#### Continuum entre l'enseignement obligatoire, la formation initiale et continue, l'éducation des adultes en France

Lietard B., Perker H.

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)

Thessaloniki, CEDEFOP, 1995, 29 pages  
FR

CEDEFOP, P.O. Box 27, (Finikas),  
GR-55102 Thessaloniki

During 1994 CEDEFOP commissioned reports from 12 countries of the European Economic Area, describing measures to improve the coherence between compulsory education, initial and continuing training and adult education. This report contains the results of the study carried out on the situation in France. It concentrates on the policy and institutional initiatives in place to enable such a continuum, the development of a system of accreditation of prior learning and of new forms of training, and the policy in enterprises.

#### Teachers and trainers in vocational training, volume 2: Italy, Ireland and Portugal

Ambrosio, T.; Byrne, N.M.T.; Oliveira, T.; et al.

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP)

Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 139 p.

ISBN 92-827-5642-4  
EN

The objective of this series is to describe and, insofar as possible, to compare the current situation of trainers' professional development, both their initial and continuing training. It treats trainers and teachers who are involved in initial vocational training. This work is of interest to trainers and vocational teachers because the information provided is designed to promote their mobility both within the European Union and within each country. Training institu-

tions and bodies will find it useful in identifying potential partners for research and development projects. Those responsible at a political level for this area will find a systematic presentation of information on the training personnel involved in initial training in other countries. The information is presented within the context of the training system in each country, its different branches and options.

#### Assessing and Certifying Occupational Skills and Competences in Vocational Education and Training

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Paris, OECD, 1996, 220 p.

ISBN 92-64-14690-3  
EN, FR

Because of the expanding numbers of enrolments in vocational and technical training, its growing cost and the trend toward decentralisation, the issues of skill assessment and certification are becoming crucial. Approaches taken to them will have to respond to changing skill requirements, diverse expectations of young people, and the growth of adult training. Whether acquired in schools or in the work environment, skills and qualifications must be visible and portable in national and international labour markets.

#### Fernsehen - ein Schlüssel zu europäischer Berufsbildung/Television - a key to European vocational education and training/Télévision - une clé pour la formation professionnelle européenne

Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft, Forschung und Technologie (BMB+F)

Bonn, BMB+F, 1995, 82 p.

available in DE only

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wirtschaft, Heinemannstraße 2,  
D-53175 Bonn

In conjunction with the award of the PRIX CEDEFOP 1994, the German Federal Ministry for Education, Science, Research and



Technology organised a symposium which examined the use of television in education and training. Among the themes discussed were: cooperation at conceptual and programming level between television providers; television as a medium to create transparency in education; cooperation between training and labour authorities and television providers to promote job information and mobility.

**The European dimension in vocational training: experiences and tasks of vocational training policy in the member states of the European Union**

Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB)  
Bielefeld, Bertelsmann Verlag,  
1995, 224 p.  
ISBN 3-7639-0690-8 (en)  
DE, EN

This is the report of a congress of the same name which took place in Hanover, 27-28 September 1994, during the German EU Presidency. The congress covered three main areas of discussion: form and substance of transnational cooperation projects in initial and continuing vocational training; findings and results obtained from transnational pilot projects in the field of European education cooperation and national reform initiatives to introduce innovative approaches and a European dimension into vocational training; present and future role of employers in initial and continuing training. Many case studies and practical examples were reported on and some conclusions were drawn on what the tasks of education and training policy in the member states now are.

**Skill needs analysis - the way forward, Reports from the 1995 Cumberland Lodge conference**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Brussels, DG XXII, 1996, 61 p.  
EN

*European Commission, DG XXII,  
200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels*

Since 1990 Cumberland Lodge has been a place to discuss skill related issues on a European level. The 1995 conference presented studies on costs and benefits, including a major one based on a sample of case studies from enterprises, and an in-

novative example on quantifying the costs and benefits of a training action in and for an enterprise. Methodologies pointing to some basic rules when setting up skills needs analysis and ideas on how to measure skills shortages, and examples of transnational networking and exchange were also discussed.

**Technology policy and regional demand for skills, synthesis report (Austria, Greece, Ireland, Italy)**

Blumberger, W.; Nemeth, D.;  
Papatheodossiou, Th.  
Institute of Technological Education (ITE)  
Athens, 1995, 112 p.  
ISBN 960-7097-41-6  
EN

Complementary to the study carried out by the European Commission on the "Impact of Information Technologies on Future Employment in the European Community", 1991, this study concentrates on the need to develop human resources at regional level. The project looks at people with secondary level education and vocational training in four countries, Austria, Greece, Ireland and Italy. It focuses on SMEs because of their very important and difficult situation, with respect to modernization and competitiveness.

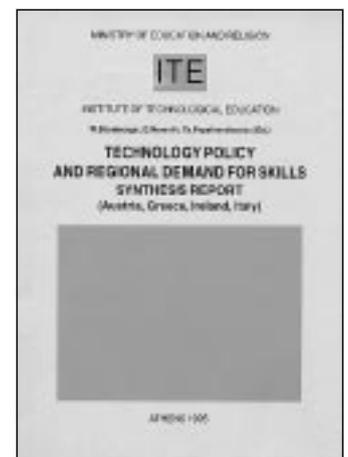
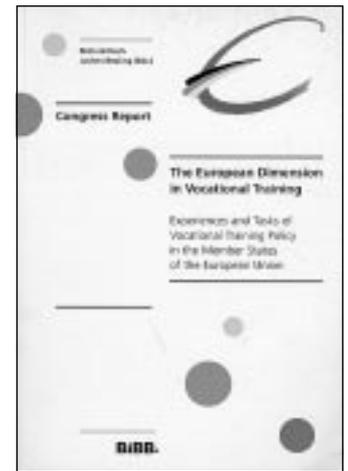
**La formation dans les pays de l'Union européenne**

Centre INFFO  
Paris, Centre INFFO, 1996, 64 pages  
FR  
*Centre INFFO, tour Europe,  
F-92049 Paris la Defense cedex*

This document has been prepared for French readers and presents a series of short summaries on initial and ongoing vocational training in the Member States of the European Union, excluding France. Useful addresses and bibliographic details round off the information.

**Theories et pratiques de l'orientation en Europe, quelques aperçus**

Guichard J., Hayrynen Y.P., Kidd J., et al.  
Institut National d'Etude du Travail et d'Orientation (INETOP)  
in: *L'orientation scolaire et professionnelle*,  
no. 24, 1995, Paris, p. 3-67





ISSN 0249-6739  
FR

At the 3rd European Congress of Psychology, held in July 1993 in Tampere, Finland, a symposium was organized on the theories and practices of guidance in Europe. This special issue presents the papers delivered at this seminar. They include: The concept of self: a personal possession, a norm or a legitimate entity? Is vocational guidance an applied science? The role of theory in vocational guidance in Great Britain. Changes in the expression of projects and dreams for the future: a comparison between two groups in Finland in 1977 and 1989. What conceptual framework can be applied to guidance on the threshold of the 21st century?

**Le politiche dell'Unione Europea per lo sviluppo delle risorse umane**

Pitoni I.

in: Osservatore Isfol, 3-4, 1995, Rome, pages 97-104

ISSN 0391-3775

IT

*Istituto per lo sviluppo della formazione professionale dei lavoratori,  
Via G.B. Morgagni 33, I-00161 Roma*

This is a short summary of recent developments in European Union policies for the renewal of educational and training systems in the Member States. After having listed the Articles of the Treaty of Maastricht regarding education and training policies, the author emphasizes recent operational instruments reflecting human resources development policies in the various programmes and activities. In the Italian context, he then stresses the need to set in motion a decision-making process to improve the development of the non-material capital represented by each individual (and his/her social integration) in a coherent manner and following the lines of Community policies.

**Who's who in European education: a directory of organisations active in the area of the European dimension in schools and colleges**

Alkmaar, Europees Platform voor het Nederlands Onderwijs, 1995, 128 pages

ISBN 90-74220-06-1

EN

A directory of the organizations involved in the European dimension of teaching.

**Ausbildungsziel: Berufliche Mobilität. Binationale Ausbildungsprojekte des Instituts der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln**

Lenske W.

Cologne, Deutscher Instituts Verlag, 1995, 67 pages

(Papers on social and education policy, no. 205)

ISBN 3-602-24956-5

DE

Since 1988, the Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne has been operating bi-national training projects for young people of foreign origin living in the Federal Republic. The first project of this type was set up for young Greeks; it was followed by programmes for young Spaniards (1991), Italians and Turks (1993), and in 1994 by a German-Portuguese training programme. This paper is a report on the basic premises, aims, planning and implementation of these training programmes, based on the example of the project for Greek youths. The presentation is supplemented by reports on all the bi-national vocational training projects run in the ten different locations in Germany and involving a variety of institutions, organizations and persons both in Germany and in the participating countries.

**Tandem training - the Volkswagen-Skoda approach to know-how transfer**

Gutmann, B.;

in: Journal of European Industrial Training, Vol. 19 (4), 1995, Bradford, p. 21-24

ISSN 0309-0590

EN

Details the transfer of German expertise and Western know-how into the Czech car manufacturer after the 1991 joint venture between Skoda and Volkswagen. Analyses the role of the manager who acts as a coach to the local manager, indicating that such tandem management arrangements are normal for approximately three years. Considers the importance of transferring practical skills and knowledge through partnership teams and identifies many of the common mistakes when operating in tandem which, apart from the obvious issues of



language, includes inadequate personal, professional and intercultural preparation, conflicting roles and the "Mr Omniscient" expert. Provides an eight step model for achieving integration and, in this case, a joint learning process.

**New ventures in entrepreneurship in an Eastern European context: a training and development plan for managers in state owned firms**

Nelson, E.G.; Taylor, J.

in: *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 19(9), 1995, Bradford, p. 12-22

ISSN 0309-0590

EN

Examines the "know how" project designed to transfer knowledge from the West which had been gained when non-core activities had been transferred from large state firms into newly privatised smaller companies. The article describes the training programmes which were run for senior managers in Romania. These were established to help them to identify the activities which could be transferred and then to train them in the skills required to establish and run such ventures.

**Issues in adult education, Eurodelphi 95, Future goals and policies of adult education in Europe**

Leirman W., Feinstein O.

Universite catholique de Louvain (UCL)

Faculte ouverte pour enseignants, educateurs et formateurs d'adultes (FOPA)

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KUL)

Louvain-La-Neuve, UCL-FOPA, 1995, Vol. VI (11/12), 296 pages

EN, FR

*FOPA - UCL, place Cardinal Mercier, 10, B-1348 Louvain-La-Neuve*

This research report features the results of Eurodelphi, a transnational research project devoted to formulating future goals and policies for adult education and lifelong learning in Europe. An international and inter-university research effort, Eurodelphi marks an important stage in European adult education and should be considered within the context of 2 major events: the European Year on Adult Education and Lifelong Learning (1995-1996) and UNESCO's World Conference on Adult Education (1997). The report contains a

description of the project, the planning and organization, an overview of the results, a summary and a reflection on the eventual implications.

**Manpower problems in the nursing, midwifery profession in the EC, Country reports - volume 1 & 2, Comparative report**

Versiek K., Bouten R., Pacolet J.

Hoger Instituut vor de Arbeid (HIVA) - Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KUL)

Hospital Committee of the European Community; European Commission et al.

Leuven, HIVA, 1995, various pagination

ISBN 90-5550-080-1

The authors of this research report have attempted to uncover the causes and investigate possible remedies for the shortage of nurses and midwives in the various employment markets of the European Union. This European document has four parts: 1) national reports - volume 1 (in English), 2) national reports - volume 2 (in English), 3) comparative country report (in English), 4) summary and conclusions with regard to suggested future policy (in Dutch).

**Beschäftigungspolitik in kleinen, offenen Volkswirtschaften der EU**

Marterbauer M.

in: *WIFO-Monatsberichte*, no. 1, 1996,

Vienna, pages 61-68

ISSN 0029-9898

DE

Currently rather poor economic prospects do not raise hopes of any reduction in unemployment figures in the near future. This represents a challenge for economic policy on a European level. But small national economies also have a certain degree of leeway for action in this respect. Denmark has introduced a number of reforms in its labour market policies, for instance a waiting-time model. Dutch policy encourages part-time work. Sweden spends considerable sums on an active labour market policy.

**International Yearbook of Adult Education**

Knoll J.H.

Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, Bohlau Verlag,



23rd edition, 1995, 316 pages  
ISSN 0071-9818  
DE, EN

This 23rd edition of the International Yearbook of Adult Education is a compendium of various contributions on selected issues of lifelong learning; the editors apply the term "adult education" to both the target group and the range of topics making up the content. This edition comprises 11 contributions on topics focused on architecture and adult education presented on the basis of examples from Germany, Denmark, the USA, Canada and Israel. Selected aspects of adult education are covered in six papers in the "miscellaneous" section: communal cinema, the College of Design in Ulm, and Jewish life in Berlin are three of the topics, along with three papers on issues of ongoing vocational training, the international aspects of adult education, and a report on the ISREA conference in Wroclaw/Poland. The papers in the "country" section deal with concrete aspects of further education in North Ireland, Sweden, Latvia and Malta. A reprint of the "Schwerin Declaration of the German Association of Volkshochschulen" on the future role of further education and a large number of reviews round off the contents of the book.

### **Youth integration in the labour market**

Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE)  
Brussels, UNICE, 1996, 152 pages  
DE, EN, ES, FR  
*Unice, Rue Joseph II 40, BTE 4,  
B-1040 Brussels*

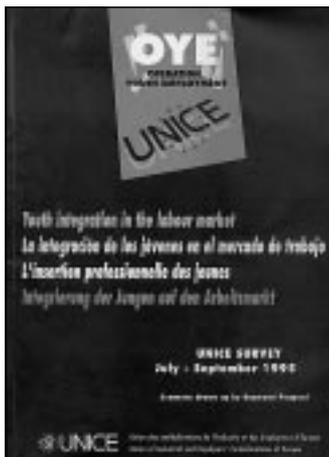
This document summarizes the results of a meeting which took place in the 15 countries of the European Union with the aim of gathering examples of initiatives of enterprises and employers' federations contributing to the vocational integration of young people. The study covers the following points: 1) the situation of youth employment, presenting the development of youth unemployment in the last few years in relation to unemployment in the active population; 2) vocational training and vocational integration systems, emphasizing the importance of quality of initial training and the need for permanent

qualification to facilitate adaptation to the necessities of the employment market; 3) examples of practices of pupils in enterprises and professional organizations acting via participation in national operations, the qualitative contribution to the efficacy of teaching systems or of particular initiatives in connection with a profession, an enterprise, or local problems; 4) suggestions from the national federations with regard to the role of the social partners in training and vocational integration and on economic and legislative measures which would facilitate employment and integration; 5) the positions of the "Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe" (UNICE) on the basis of comments on the following documents: "White Paper on growth, competitiveness and employment" - 3 August 1994, "Green Book on European social policy" - 30 March 1994 and the "White Paper on European social policy" - 3 November 1994.

### **De positie van de leraar en zijn opleiding in de Europese lidstaten**

Stevens V., Van Heule Kl  
Co-operative project of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Open University with the University of Gent, the Catholic University of Leuven, the University of Amsterdam and the Department of Education in the Flemish Community  
Leuven, Apeldoorn: Garant, 1995, 71 pages  
ISBN 90-5350-354-3  
NL

This volume covers the situation of the teachers in the European Union from two points of view. It begins with an overview of the social visions regarding the position of teachers. This is followed by an outline of the consequences of these tendencies on teacher training in the Member States of the EU. The social position of today's teachers, in the opinion of the investigators, scores low on an economic and social level, as well as on the level of the possibilities of participation in macro- and middle-management. Finally, summaries of the teacher training systems are given for each country. These summaries include the admission stipulations required in each country in order to begin teacher training and the location of the institutions where the training takes place.





### **De arbeidsmarktperspectieven van technische opleidingen**

Groot W, Mekkelholt E.

The Hague, OSA, 1995, 145 pages

(Foundation for the Organization of Strategic Employment Market Studies [OSA])

NL

OSA, Van Stolkweg 14,

NL-2585 JR The Hague

The investigation covered by this report seeks to explain the reasons for the choice of a technical rather than a non-technical type of training. The investigation consists of two parts: a comparison of the financial and economic advantages of technical training in the Netherlands with those in Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and the motives stated by young people themselves for their choice of technical rather than another type of training.

### **Productivity, education and training. An international perspective**

Prais, S. J.

National Institute of Economic and Social Research (NIESR)

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, 138 p.

(National Institute of Economic and Social Research Occasional Paper XLV111)

ISBN 0-5215-5667-8

EN

This report considers the changes in policies of education and training, comparing the progress of Britain with similar countries. The first part sets out the research framework and the comparison of vocational qualifications and arrangements for training in Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Japan. The second part looks at the link between productivity, training and the role of education whilst the last section looks at practical resolutions in the British context.

### **L'Europe et la lutte contre l'exclusion (I). Emergence de nouvelles formes d'insertion**

Palicot M.-C., Thibout L.

Paris: Racine editions, la Documentation française, 1995, 156 pages

ISBN 2-8410-8007-2

FR

### **L'Europe et la lutte contre l'exclusion (II). L'implication du premier réseau public français de formation continue**

Thibout L.

Paris: Racine editions, la Documentation française, 1995, 160 pages

ISBN 2-8410-8009-9

FR

On the basis of concrete experiences, the first volume stresses a number of transnational practices worthy of developing when dealing with target groups of people in difficulty. Fifteen or so projects have been classified in three categories: activities leading to better employability; the creation of jobs or enterprises within development schemes based on economic activity; development interventions based on a particular area and taking into account overall social and economic issues. Several issues have been examined within this framework: What are the specific details of attempts at integration via the economy? What are the effects of the "European lever" in support for instruments such as "chantiers-ecoles", creation of activities, solidarity savings networks?

The French network of ongoing training, established over the last twenty years and more by the Ministry of Education, started fifteen projects in collaboration with partners from other Member States of the European Union within the scope of the HORIZON programme. The second volume reports on these diverse interventions among groups experiencing great problems in the area of social and vocational integration. It presents the practices which have been developed and sketches a diagnosis of these early experiences.

## **European Union: policies, programmes, participants**

### **Green Paper on innovation**

European Commission

in: Bulletin of the European Union, Supplement 5/95, Luxembourg, 102 p.

ISBN 92-827-6084-7 (en)

DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, FI, GR, IT, NL, PT, SV

Innovation in Europe is highly diversified. It is rooted in industrial sectors and





regions. Countries, regions, industries and enterprises look for their own solutions. There is a need to take a more consistent approach. The purpose of this Green Paper is to stimulate a wide-ranging debate on this theme among the various actors in private and public organisations in the regions and the Member States. Initial and continuing training feature among the thirteen targeted fields of activity. It proposes setting up a European mode of accreditation for technical and occupational competencies; the creation of alternating higher education courses aimed at the promotion of innovation; and the development of a European observatory of innovative practices in vocational training.

*Note: This document was drawn up on the basis of COM(95) 685 final.*

### **Youth policies in the European Union: Structures and training**

European Commission  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 137 pages  
(Studies no. 7)  
ISBN 92-827-0113-1 (en)  
DA, DE, EN, ES, FR, IT, NL, PT

The publication of this report on youth policies implemented within the European Union gives an overview of the work done until now while stressing the importance placed by the Commission on the development of this type of policy. Today, more than ever, youth must be considered as a totally separate social category needing specific policies with an overall function of education on citizenship. This, a first reference document on this topic, goes totally along these lines. While confirming the diversity of structures in the Member States, a diversity which is even greater when approached from a local or regional level, this document also stresses the similarities and shows the conditions which promote the development of co-operation on a European level.

### **Educational software and multimedia: intermediate report**

European Commission, Task Force Educational Software and Multimedia  
Brussels, European Commission, 1996, 30 p.  
EN, FR

*European Commission, Task Force Educational Software and Multimedia,  
rue de la Loi 200, B-1049 Brussels*

The Task Force was set up in March 1995 to present a survey of the current situation as regards educational multimedia and to propose a draft action plan to the European Commission. This document (of 21.1.96) based on interviews and consultations with users and producers presents its interim findings. Its final conclusions are expected in the first quarter of 1996. The interim report offers an analysis of the educational multimedia situation in the various contexts in which it is used, in the home, at school and university, and in business, and outlines the action plan designed to encourage the educational multimedia boom in Europe. Accessible on the World Wide Web, together with other recent information relating to the Task Force, at the address: <http://www.echo.lu>.

### **Teaching and learning: toward the knowledge-based society, White Paper on education and training**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 63 p.  
(Documents COM, n° (95)590 final)  
ISBN 92-77-97160-6 (en)  
ISSN 0254-1475 (en)  
DA, DE, EL, EN, ES, FI, FR, IT, NL, PT, SV

Part one looks at three factors which are responsible for societal upheaval: the impact of the information society, of internationalisation and of scientific and technological knowledge. To cope with these challenges it proposes the broadening of the knowledge base of our society and developing everyone's employability and capacity for economic life. Part two focuses on the main European lines of action for 1996 towards building a learning society. It advocates improving the ways in which skills are acquired, assessed and certified, including extension of the European system of credit transfers to vocational training; bringing schools and business closer together, particularly through involving industry in European apprenticeship/trainee schemes; combatting social exclusion through second chance schools and European voluntary service; proficiency in three Community





languages; and investment in human capital and training.

### **The European Observatory for SMEs, Comments by the Commission on the Third Annual Report [1995]**

Commission of the European Communities  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1995, 55 p.

(Documents COM, n° (95) 526 final)

ISBN 92-77-95408-6 (en)

ISSN 0254-1475 (en)

DA, DE, EL, EN, ES, FI, FR, IT, NL, PT, SV

This document contains much analysis relevant to the Commission's future activities in this field and evaluates the position of the SME at the time of completion of the Internal Market. This will bring many changes both in the administrative as well as in the technological field. As it stands, the report does confirm that, in spite of some size-related handicaps and unfavourable macroeconomic trends, SMEs clearly are to be considered as one of the main single sources of employment growth potential in the nineties. This communication includes an executive summary of the third annual report.

### **Development of vocational training systems**

European Commission - DG XXII

Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 29 p.

ISBN 92-827-4931-2

EN

Within the framework of the Eurotecnet Programme, the European Commission sought to identify vocational training innovations and policies which were being developed in order to meet the challenge of current social and economic change and industrial restructuring. It asked each country to identify an issue of strategic and critical importance in the vocational training system which would benefit from a focused examination and debate at national and European level. A series of conferences was launched in the Member States, 1992-93, on these themes which enabled links between similar aspects of the vocational training systems to be identified. This document provides a synthesis.

### **Human resource development and training strategies: the experience and results of the EUROTECNET programme: four priority fields of focus**

European Commission - DG XXII

Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 62 p.

ISBN 92-827-4851-0

EN

In its latter stages, the EUROTECNET programme concentrated on continuing vocational training. It refocused on four priority fields of innovative activity for which the results are summarised here. They were: innovative training needs analysis with a special focus on core competencies, transfer of innovative methodologies for the planning and management of training in the framework of human resources development, training providers as innovative service centres for enterprises, and innovative pedagogical methodologies and approaches.

### **Measures for unemployed young people in the European Union**

Asmussen, J.; Molli, I.; Puxi, M.

European Parliament.

Luxembourg, European Parliament, 1995, 52 p.

(Social Affairs Series, n° E-3a)

EN

*European Parliament,*

*DG for Research, Division for Social*

*Affairs, Employment, the Environment,*

*Public Health and Consumer Protection,*

*L-2929 Luxembourg*

This working paper summarizes the final report on employment and training measures for unemployed young people in the EU Member States commissioned by the Parliament's Directorate-General for Research from ISG Sozialforschung und Gesellschaftspolitik GmbH, Cologne (full report only available in German). It consists of a brief description of the findings as well as synoptic tables on the following aspects in the Member States: the quantitative relevance of youth unemployment; vocational training systems; passive and active labour market policies for young people; and past and current EU programmes for the vocational training and integration of young people.





### **EUROTECNET compendium of innovation**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 443 p.  
ISBN 92-827-4899-5  
EN

The EUROTECNET programme was set up to promote innovation in the fields of basic and continuing vocational training with a view to taking account of the current and future technological changes and their impact on employment, work, and necessary qualifications and skills. The network of projects was the heart of the programme. The projects could be innovative by their specific nature, by the methodology used, by the technology used, or by the product developed. This compendium provides a description of their main features, their objectives and motivation behind them, their impact, their innovative aspects, and ways in which the results could be transferred and exploited in other contexts.

### **Key/Core Competencies: synthesis of related work undertaken within the EUROTECNET Programme [1990-1994]**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Luxembourg, Office for official publications of the EC, 1995, 89 p.  
ISBN 92-827-4074-9 (en)  
EN, FR

The document is an attempt to assemble in synthetic form the main work achieved by the Eurotecnet Programme on this subject. Four types of core competencies are identified, technical, methodological, social and behaviouristic, all of which are interdependent. The first three chapters outline the context in which the concept of key/core competencies was developed, how they can be described and implemented, and the training implications resulting from technological change and new forms of work organisation. It goes on to describe some of the practical work and projects undertaken by Eurotecnet on key/core competencies and looks at approaches in different European countries. The broad outline for future developments is outlined and some recommendations for the transition to the Leonardo Da Vinci programme are presented.

### **Tempus - Scheme for cooperation and mobility in higher education between Central/Eastern Europe and the European Community. VADEMECUM Academic year 1996/97**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Brussels, DG XXII, 1995, various pagination  
DE, EN, FR  
*European Training Foundation,  
Villa Gualino,  
Viale Settimio Severo 65,  
I-10133 Torino*

This Tempus [Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies] vademecum is intended for those wishing to make application for support for activities commencing on or after 31 January 1996. It contains details of eligible participants, activities and costs for the programme's three strands:- joint European projects; mobility grants for staff and students; and financial assistance for complementary activities such as surveys, studies, exchanges. The relevant application forms are included in annex. The vademecum is updated for each academic year.

### **Continuous vocational training in Europe**

Heidemann W.  
Hans-Böckler-Stiftung  
Berlin, Edition Sigma, 1996, 226 pages  
ISBN 3-89404-412-8  
DE, EN, FR

As part of the FORCE programme, the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung has studied and described social dialogue on continuous vocational training. This report presents the results of social dialogue and of collective wage agreements with regard to continuous vocational training. The report is aimed primarily at trade union experts in charge of continuous vocational training and negotiations in this regard at European, national and sectoral levels. It contains: a summary of the general studies on continuous vocational training realized within the FORCE programme; examples of activities in the practice of social dialogue in the various countries; a report on the situation of continuous vocational training and social dialogue in the 12 original Member States; files with basic information on continuous vocational training and social dialogue in the three





new Member States, and a glossary listing key words.

### **The automobile service and occupation in Europe**

Rainer, F.; Spoettl, G.  
Bremen, Donat Verlag, 1996, 87 p.  
ISBN 3-931 737-00-4 (de)  
DE, EN, FR

The European Automobile Conference 1994 was hosted by the Luxembourg Ministry of Education and Training and the Chambre de Métiers, within the framework of the EU FORCE programme. This report of the conference is divided into four parts which reflect the main themes debated. They are: qualification for quality service and competition; high tech cars and skilled workers; trainers in the servicing and repair sector; and continuing training - does it contribute to quality work and competitiveness?

### **Formations européennes, multimedia**

Ministry of Culture  
Paris, Ministry of Culture and French Affairs, 1995  
FR  
*Ministère de la Culture et de la francophonie, 101, rue de Valois, F-75042 Paris cedex 01*

A directory produced on the basis of a survey within the scope of the MEDIA European programme. It covers multimedia training possibilities in the countries of the European Union, in Norway and in Hungary.

### **The quest for quality: towards joint European quality norms**

Bartholomeus Y., Brongers E., Kristensen S.  
Leeuwarden, LDC, 1995, 128 pages  
ISBN 90-73-754-66-6  
EN

This volume presents the papers that were given at an experts' meeting on quality in apprenticeship supervision in Europe. It was published on behalf of the PETRA project of the European Commission.

### **Les programmes de l'Union Européenne: formation-emploi**

Paris, Association nationale pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes (AFPA), 1995, 233 p.  
(Les Cahiers du Praticien, n° 12)  
ISBN 2-907213-63-6.  
ISSN 1264-2770  
FR

This issue is a guide to all EU programmes related to the areas of training and employment. Following an introduction to the various types of programmes on offer, it describes them in groups under the following chapter headings: Structural Fund objectives, Community initiatives and pilot projects under the Structural Fund, intercommunity action programmes, and cooperation or co-development programmes with non-member countries. It explains the objectives, management and eligibility, etc. for each programme and gives the contact addresses in France and at the European Commission in Brussels.

### **La valeur ajoutée des partenariats transnationaux dans EUROFORM, première analyse transnationale**

EUROFORM national co-ordinators and support structures  
Paris, Racine, 9502, 114 pages  
FR  
*Racine, 18, rue Friant, F-75015 Paris*

This document is a report on the first stage of a project carried out by the national support structures of the EUROFORM Community initiative, with the aim of stressing the transnational dimension of the projects and, to this effect, to create an approach common to all the countries involved. It presents a summary of the joint evaluation of twelve projects as well as proposals for the second stage of evaluation. An appendix lists the transnational projects which were evaluated, the analytical matrix used, and a new questionnaire improved by the results of the evaluation experience.





**Learning through experience. A report on the transnational visits of participants on the extra mural diploma in adult vocational guidance, theory and practice**

Training and Employment Authority (FAS)  
Dublin, FAS, 1995, 63 p.

EN

*FAS-Training and Employment Authority,  
27-33 Upper Baggot Street,  
IRL-Dublin 4*

This report details an innovative form of training, under the HORIZON programme, to develop the career guidance skills of practitioners working with the long-term unemployed. The programme was developed by the Centre for Adult and Community Education of Maynooth College, in association with FAS-Training and Employment Authority. Participants were drawn from FAS staff, Partnership Companies and community groups. The main elements of the programme were (1) a training programme in guidance and counselling (2) exchange visits to European partners, The Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Denmark (3) seminars on key topics relating to guidance indicators.

**Le lingue moderne nella formazione professionale. Ricerca Isfol per il piano nazionale per le lingue straniere**

Gilli D. (ed.), Acconcia A., Colella M.R.  
Istituto per lo sviluppo della formazione professionale dei lavoratori (ISFOL)  
Milan, Angeli, 1995, 143 pages, bibl.  
(Isfol strumenti e ricerche, 59)

IT

*Franco Angeli, Viale Monza 106,  
I-20127 Milano*

This project was carried out in Italy by ISFOL (Institute for the Development of Workers' Vocational Training) as a background study for the project to implement a national plan for foreign languages as proposed by the national agencies for the "Lingua" Community project. In particular, the analysis dealt with the teaching of foreign languages in the vocational training system as well as in in-company training, private training, and in terms of teaching Italian to foreigners. Organizations and individuals representing all involved parties were interviewed. The analysis also emphasized the expected linguistic needs in the world of employment and vocational training.



## From the Member States

### **DK** Evaluering af voksen-uddannelsespuljen, erfaringer og perspektiver

Aarkrog, V.; Ramsøe, A.; Storgaard, A.; et al.

Copenhagen, Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen (AMS), Undervisningsministeriet, 1995, 48 p.

ISBN 87-7703-129-6

DA

AMS, Blegdamsvej 56,

DK-2100 Copenhagen OE

In 1993 an extra 200 mio DKR (ca. 27.4 mio ECU) were invested in adult education with the specific purpose of creating courses which integrated vocational and general subjects; these courses were targeting those with a short education, and they should be established by crossing institutional boundaries, thereby stimulating cross sectoral cooperation. In this evaluation report the results and the experience gained through 123 implemented courses are presented with a special focus on the pedagogical perspectives to be drawn based on this experience.

### **10-punkts plan om tilbagevendende uddannelse**

Undervisningsministeriet. Erhvervsskoleafdelingen

Copenhagen, Undervisningsministeriets forlag, 1995, 24 p.

ISBN 87-603-0661-0

DA

Lifelong learning and coherence between working life and continuing education is a priority area in Denmark. In this publication the Minister of Education launches a 10-point plan for the development of adult education in the country. More than 1000 institutions offering adult education will in the coming years be involved in implementing the action plan.

### **D** Weiterbildungsqualität. Konzepte, Instrumente, Kriterien

Von Bardleben R., Gnahn D., Krekel F.M., et al.

Federal Institute for Vocational Training

(BIBB)

Bielefeld, Bertelsmann Verlag, 1995, 288 pages

(Berichte zur beruflichen Bildung, no. 188)

ISBN 3-7639-0692-4

DE

To the extent that more and more people are being confronted with the requirement of lifelong learning, the issue of the quality of ongoing training and of the courses offered has been taking on more and more significance. Indeed, this question seems to have become the "hot topic" of the 1990s in this field (Wolfgang Siebert 1995). This issue of quality applies particularly clearly to the area of vocational training, as a result of the very size and variety of this field and of the growing financial volume - currently more than 80 billion DM (approx. 40 billion ECU) annually - it involves, which also gives the issue of quality an economic aspect. This collection of articles will shed light on the theoretical and practical problems of quality in vocational ongoing training and give potential participants and enterprises instruments to assess under qualitative aspects the great variety of ongoing training courses offered.

### **Werbung für Weiterbildung. Motivationsstrategien für lebenslanges Lernen**

Kunzel K., Bose G.

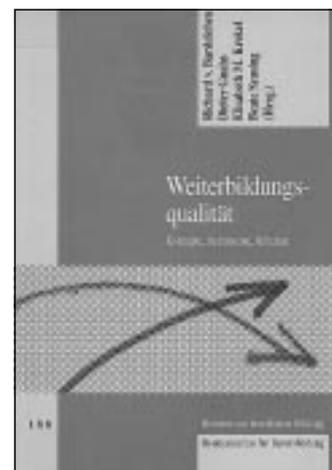
Neuwied, Kriftel, Berlin, Luchterhand Verlag, 1995, 324 pages

(Grundlagen der Weiterbildung)

ISBN 3-472-01675-2

DE

This publication examines a complex of issues which until now had been one of the rather neglected topics of academic literature in Germany. Advertising for ongoing training as the topic of pedagogical activity was the subject of a seminar on motivation of and participation in ongoing training. The results of this seminar have been revised to make up the material for this publication. The authors assume that willingness to lifelong learning must be aroused and encouraged, and that





this requires the use of suitable forms of advertising, which must now be assessed in terms of their efficacy. The report, which includes numerous tables and illustrations, attempts to create a link between pedagogical knowledge and knowledge regarding effects of advertising. Particular emphasis is placed on target groups such as senior citizens, the unemployed and women with families.

### **European management education in the Federal Republic of Germany**

Gehmlich, V.

in: Journal of European Business Education, 5(1), 1995, Chalfont St. Giles, p. 22-31

ISSN 0968-0543

EN

Looks at the structure of management education in the Federal Republic of Germany including university based and company based management training.

### **F Formation, passeport à renouveler**

Several authors

Project no. 244, winter 1995-1996, Paris, 96 pages

ISSN 0033-0884

FR

A popular metaphor is training as a passport to employment. But under what conditions is it a factor for human, social and economic betterment for most people? This is the central issue of this article. Covering all the major aspects of education - school, vocational training, ongoing training - this publication sheds light on the problems and dilemmas of this system. It criticizes a number of illusions - such as the dream of a perfect match between training offered and available employment. It stresses a few positive reasons for our society to renew its passport.

### **La formation professionnelle des jeunes, le principe d'alternance**

Grefte X., Cresson E.

Paris, Economica, 1995, 240 pages

ISBN 2-7178-2790-0

FR

Training young people is one of the essential objectives of modern societies and

of the public policies these societies develop. In order for this training to effectively become a stepping stone towards economic development and social integration, it must involve two partners working together: school and the workplace. This alternance principle has several dimensions: pedagogical, geographic, social, financial, etc. Four chapters deal with the following topics: alternance as a stepping stone towards competence; the sites of alternance training; the implementation of alternance training schemes; alternance, an agenda for France.

### **IRL Older workers in Ireland**

O'Donoghue, D.

Dublin, 1996, 98 p.

EN

*Planning and Research, FAS-Training and Employment Authority, 27-33 Upper Baggot Street, IRL-Dublin 4*

This thesis examines national and international policy and research material concerning older workers. It discusses the changing labour market/employment context faced by older workers and focusses on issues of training practice - relating to the nature of training provided/available to older workers - in an organisational context. The study reviews the pedagogical and learning approaches that are most applicable for older workers, at an individual training level. The author concludes that older workers do suffer disadvantages and discrimination in terms of their access to formal education and training opportunities, both in state and company provision. A number of recommendations for securing the employment status and improving training for older workers by the state, social partners and companies is made.

### **NL Handboek Buitenlandse stages MDGO-vz**

Centrum Innovatie Beroepsopleiding Bedrijfsleven (CIBB)

The Hague, CIBB, 1995, loose-leaf publication

DE, EN, NL

*CIBB, Pettelaarpark 1,*

*Postbus 1585,*

*NL-5200 BO The Hague*



A range of instruments for practical vocational training developed by teachers and placement co-ordinators from ten different MDGO-vz training facilities. This instrument must put schools in a position to organize, supervise and assess a vocational placement abroad for their apprentices.

### **Changing pathways and participation in vocational and technical education and training in the Netherlands**

de Bruijn E.

Amsterdam, SCO-Kohnstamm Institute for Educational Research, 1995, 162 pages  
ISBN 90-6813-443-4

EN

This investigation, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), was carried out as a result of the developments in Dutch vocational and technical education between 1975 and 1992. It emphasizes the participation and the school pathways of apprentices in intermediate vocational training and in apprenticeships. Described briefly, it first analyzes the preliminary stages ("ibo" - lower vocational training) and then the later stages ("hbo" - higher vocational training).

### **Die Bedeutung der Sozialpartnerschaft in der Berufsbildungspolitik: Fallbeispiel Österreich.**

KulturKontakt-BMUKA

Institute for Comparative Education Research

Vienna, Institute for Comparative Education Research, 1996, 32 p.

DE/EN (bilingual version)

*Institute for Comparative Education Research,*

*Porzellangasse 2/2/41,*  
*A-1090 Vienna*

These studies were prepared for the international symposium "Education Policy and Social Partnership: the Example of Vocational training", Vienna, 29-31 Jan 1996, for which proceedings are in preparation. Their object was to present the function of the economic and social partners in the various regulative areas and at the various regulative levels of training,

as laid out by statutory regulation. Special attention is given to initial and further training (and especially apprenticeship in the case of Austria). Reference to the role of economic and social partners in the system of further vocational and technical education, particularly in the post-secondary sector is included. A similar report exists on Hungary.

### **Erwachsenenbildung / Weiterbildung in Österreich - ein Überblick**

Kailer N.

Vienna, Industriellenvereinigung,  
1995, 23 pages

DE

*Industriellenvereinigung,*  
*Abt. Bildungs- und Gesellschaftspolitik,*  
*Schwarzenbergerplatz 4,*  
*A-1030 Vienna*

This report was written for a conference of the Federation of Austrian Industrialists (Industriellenvereinigung) and deals with vocational training and continuing education in Austria. Its aim is to give a short review of all available information in connection with participants, costs, financial aspects, competences and crucial points of the courses. All the statistics used, the handbooks and research reports often show different points which should be analyzed carefully.

### **Learning for life - lifelong learning**

Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs

Vienna, Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs, 1996, 60 pages

DE, EN

*Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Angelegenheiten,*

*z.H. Herrn Dr. W. Lentsch,*

*Stubenring 1,*

*A-1011 Vienna*

This brochure contains a condensed description of the system of further vocational training in Austria and offers an overview of the providers and courses, the participants in and the financing of further training and education in this country, as well as a comparison to the rest of Europe. Its aim is to give information on, and impulses to lifelong learning.





## **PT** O desenvolvimento do ensino superior em Portugal, situacao e problemas de acesso

Cruz M., Cruzeiro M.

Ministry of Education, Department of Programmes and Financial Management (DEPGEF)

Lisbon, DEPGEF, 1995, 246 pages

ISBN 972-614-281-4

PT

This publication examines information regarding the evolution of the system of access to higher education, more particularly the study of supply and demand with regard to higher education, the options offered at this level of teaching and the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political characterization of students. In order to fulfil these aims, the project presented here gave a questionnaire to a sample group of 3,000 students in higher education. Whereas the statistics were intended to provide an idea of the morphology and evolution of higher education, the investigation essentially attempts to characterize the student population in Portuguese higher education.

## **S** Kvalificerad yrkesutbildning m.m.

Ministry of Education & Science

Stockholm, Fritzes, 1996, 29 p.

(Government bill 1995/96:145)

SV

*Ministry of Education and Science, Drottninggatan 16, S-10333 Stockholm*

Government bill 1995/96:145 proposes that a pilot scheme with a new vocational education and training at post-secondary level be initiated in the autumn of 1996. The new education and training leading to a qualification is intended to contribute to supplying the need for a qualified labour force for the modern production of goods and services. Information technology, more knowledge intensive production and "flatter" work organization result in demands for higher competences in which vocational education and training at upper secondary level often used to be deficient. A qualified vocational education and training should combine in-depth theoretical competences, a practical approach and an effective workplace in the integration. It will therefore take the form of learning in a workplace envi-

ronment for about a third of the training period. The training is directed towards young people who have finished their upper secondary education as well as those already at work who need to update their competences.

## **En strategi för kunskapslyft och livslångt lärande**

Ministry of Education and Science

The Commission for the Promotion of Adult Education and Training

Stockholm, Ministry of Education and Science, 1996, 113 p.

(Statens offentliga utredningar 1996:27)

ISBN 91-38-20188-7

SV

A parliamentary commission investigating the promotion of adult education and training is of the opinion that the following points should be given greater consideration: a) formulation of more inclusive objectives than previously regarding education for adults, b) widening of citizens rights to adult education and c) reinforcement of the necessary infrastructure for the education of adults. The committee wants an overall strategy for further education and lifelong learning. The aim of the strategy is for Sweden to develop into a competence intensive society where each and everyone has a real possibility to take part in the development of knowledge. The strategy rests on three pillars: education of young people; increase of competences among the adult population; lifelong learning.

## **UK** Lifetime learning: a consultation document

Department for Education and Employment

Sheffield, Department for Education and Employment, 1995, 61 p.

EN

*Department for Education and Employment,*

*Room N907,*

*Moorfoot,*

*Sheffield, S1 4PQ*

Sets out how the UK government, employers, providers of education and training and individuals are responding to the challenge of lifetime learning; a wide range of issues for consultation are raised.



**Continuing Professional Education of Highly Qualified Personnel**

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)  
Paris, OECD, 1995, 102 pages  
ISBN 92-64-14477-3  
EN, FR

**Evaluating and Reforming Education Systems**

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)  
Paris, OECD, 1996, 86 pages  
ISBN 92-64-14779-9  
EN, FR

**Survey. Cooperation in education and training between the European Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. Section I: Cooperation with the European Union. Section II: Bilateral cooperation**

European Commission - DG XXII

Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1995, 140 pages  
ISBN 92-826-9380-5  
DE, EN, FR

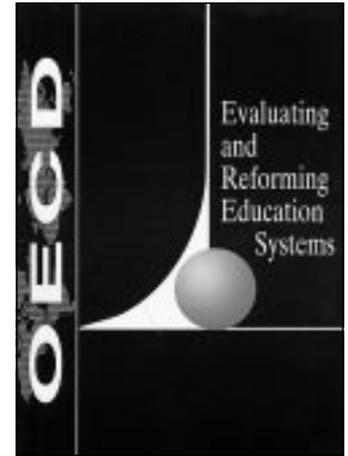
**Berufsbildungsbericht 1995**

Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs (BMWA)  
Vienna, BMWA, 1995, 98 pages  
*BMWA,  
Stubenring 1,  
A-1011 Vienna*

**The European Dimension of Education/Die europäische Dimension des Bildungswesens**

German Institute for International Education Research (GIIER)  
Frankfurt-on-Main, GIIER, planned publication May 1996  
*Dr. Heinz Bartel,  
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Schloss-Strasse 55,  
D-60486 Frankfurt/M.*

Received by the editorial office





# Community programme of study visits for vocational training specialists

The Community Study Visits' Programme was established in 1985 following a Council Resolution (13 July 1983), and the Commission of the European Communities has entrusted CEDEFOP with the management of the Programme. Since the Council Decision of 6 December 1994, establishing the LEONARDO da Vinci Programme, the Study Visits' Programme is included in its strand III.

CEDEFOP acts in cooperation with a network of *National Liaison Officers* (NLOs). The NLOs are officials, formally nominated by the government authorities; their task is, in an autonomous manner, to implement the guidelines and organizational procedures which have been fixed in agreement with CEDEFOP. The NLOs are in charge of distributing information on the Programme within their own national contexts. They liaise with the various parties involved in the realization of the Programme: social partners, enterprises, public authorities, vocational training organizations, research institutes, other Community programmes, etc. The NLOs are also in charge of the annual registration procedures and of the selection of the candidates who will participate in the Programme.

## Programme objectives

The Programme's aim is to activate information flows in the area of vocational training among specialists from the Member States of the Community or from other countries associated to the programme.

## Programme users

The programme is addressed primarily to vocational training specialists (public national or regional decision-makers, social partners at national and Community level and managers and planners of vocational training policies and programmes). It tends to favour persons who are in a position to spread the information received during the visit and to influence political decisions.

Some visits are tailored to special groups of users.

## The visits

The visits last three or five working days and always have a specified topic. Groups of up to 12 persons are formed.

Visits are carried out according to a model which alternates information and reflection sessions and sessions of contact with the various parties involved in vocational training: enterprises, schools, documentation centres, research project coordinators, trainers, pupils, social partners, guidance officers, etc.

## Financial aspects

CEDEFOP provides grants to contribute to participants' travel and accommodation expenses.



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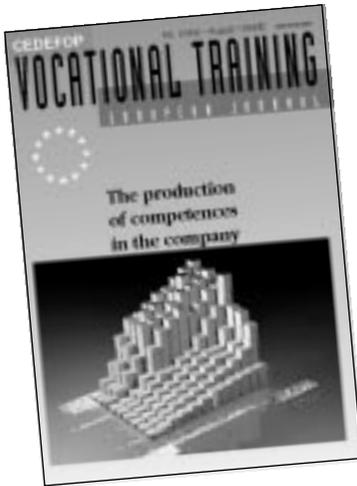
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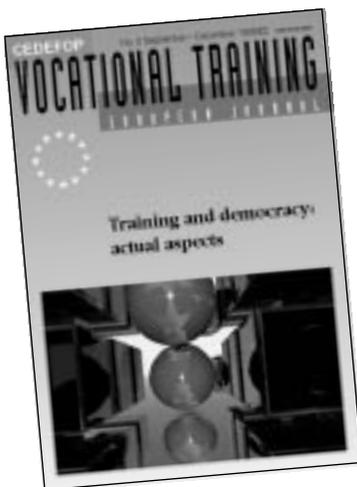
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