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ABSTRACT

The 1968 Manpower Report of the President stressed the seriousness of youth unemployment in the United States, especially when compared with other countries. This paper surveys the transition of teenagers from school to work in countries economically and politically similar to the United States. Allowing for differences in certain significant variables between countries, the paper compares end results in terms of indicators such as employment and dropout rates, in order to determine what lessons can be learned from the experiences of different countries. (BH)

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TRAINING FROM SCHOOL TO WORK
IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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Preface

This report contains the results of research performed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics under contract for the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor. The research was completed in the spring of 1968. A paper containing the findings was presented at Princeton University in May 1968 before the Princeton Manpower Symposium sponsored jointly by the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the National Manpower Policy Task Force, and Princeton University. The paper was published in the report of the Symposium by Princeton University Press and is reprinted here with the permission of the publisher.

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August 1969

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TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

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INTRODUCTION

THE 1968 Manpower Report of the President to Congress stated "The problem of youth unemployment in this country takes on added dimension when contrasted with the situation in Europe—a contrast in many ways revealing, but also in many ways deceptive." (1, p. 117)* The Secretary of Labor has stated that the problem of transition from school to work "calls for examination from the bottom up—excusing no one and nothing—including examination of the basic institutional arrangements, public and private, that have developed over the years for moving youth into adulthood and into employment." (2, p. 6)

This paper surveys the transition from school to work in other countries, including the role of general education in preparation for work, vocational guidance and counseling, vocational education and training, and the young worker on the job threshold and on the job. Sources used include published works, United States Foreign Service reports, and interviews. The countries surveyed, including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, Canada, Israel, and Japan were selected on the basis of their comparability to the United States with regard to political and personal freedom, economy, institutions, and development availability of data.

When not stated specifically, conditions discussed refer to Western European countries during the period of economic boom

* Throughout this chapter, the numbers in parentheses refer to the extensive bibliography appended at the end of this chapter. When "The Secretary of Labor" is cited, the reference is to the then Secretary, Willard W. Wirtz.

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(mid-1950 to 1967). Generally, the length of schooling refers to the customary or compulsory 8 to 10 years for most students. The term "guidance" is used in this paper for both vocational guidance and counseling. Vocational education refers to public services, as private employment services have a minor role, if any, in the countries surveyed. As the problem of transition in the United States affects chiefly teenagers, the survey is limited in the main to exploring the conditions of teenagers in other countries.

Certain basic differences between the United States and other countries have a bearing on the relevance of the findings of this survey. While students in the United States completed secondary school at approximately age 18 before entering the labor force, most young persons in other countries leave school at age 14 to 16 after 8 to 10 years of education. Consequently, U.S. teenagers attain a higher educational level and have a lower labor force participation rate. Thus in 1960-61, of the youths 15 to 19 years old, 36 percent were in the labor force in the United States; the percentages for other countries ranged from 38 in Canada to 43 in France, and to 74 in the United Kingdom.

At the same time, pressures of the young on the labor market are stronger here than in most other industrialized countries because of the high percentage of young persons in the total population. Thus in 1964 the percentage of persons under 15 was considerably higher in the United States than in any other OECD country except Canada as shown: (3)

Canada	33.7
United States	31.0
Netherlands	28.5
Japan	26.5
France	25.7
Norway	25.0
Belgium	23.8
United Kingdom	23.1
Italy	22.8

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Switzerland	22.7
West Germany	22.2
Sweden	21.0

Some solutions suitable to problems abroad may not be adaptable to the United States because of different attitudes and social conditions. Thus low levels of expectation and aspiration, the acceptance of limited social and economic mobility, and the high prestige of apprenticeship training among large working class groups in Europe facilitate the entry of teenagers into working life.

European experts disagree on the value of European experience. Many reformers disapprove of practices in their country, but approve of those in other countries. In some ways European countries are moving toward the American pattern. Nevertheless, there are some desirable elements in European experience which can perhaps be adopted to American conditions.

GENERAL EDUCATION

"The United States keeps a larger proportion of its youth in school longer than does any other nation, supposedly to ensure their adequate preparation for lifetime activity. Yet the unemployment rate of its youth is far higher than other industrialized nations." (2, p. 5)

Recent economic and social developments in Western Europe have stimulated general interest in improved education and have resulted in legislation extending the number of years of compulsory schooling. Secondary education has also expanded significantly. In the past, most children were segregated into two groups after 4 to 5 years of elementary schooling. A small elite group attended classical secondary schools and was slated for university study, while the majority continued in elementary school to age 14 or 15 and then entered the labor force as apprentice; or unskilled workers. To some extent this condition still exists, but now there are avenues for the transition of able

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students upon completion of primary grades into secondary school for technical and professional education. Vocational education is acquiring a higher status generally. (4)

Policies and Administration

A general policy is emerging in the development and planning of education in OECD countries in response to a need for skilled workers in growing economies, to the economic objective of optimal development of human resources, and to the demand for broad participation in the higher levels of education by all segments of the population. Findings of a study group of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show three general issues related to equalizing social participation in education. (5, pp. 26-27)

Expansion of education opportunity.—In Europe and the United States educational expansion has not led automatically to equal participation as between the social strata. The demand of the upper strata for higher education has usually been fully met before further expansion produced a lessening of group differences.

The structure of school systems.—The shift from the dual system toward comprehensive secondary schools in Europe is expected to facilitate movement of students from one curriculum to another, to lessen the social selectivity of the curricula, and to increase the participation of students from manual-worker families in higher education.

Comprehensive schools cannot be assumed to have a socially representative student body. If attendance is near-universal and recruitment is based on locality, the school will reflect the social composition of the local areas it serves.

Social class subcultures and educability.—The nature of a modern industrial society requires that all children undergo an education that is essentially intellectual in content, in order that they may become responsible citizens. In some working group populations, children are reared in ways not conducive to the

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development of abilities, especially language skills, a prerequisite for academic success.

According to the OECD study, there is need for a further policy consequence: the replacement of the principle of equal standards of education by that of "compensatory" education provided to the less fortunate groups in the population. Such a policy demands massive aid to education devoted to those handicapped by a lack of cultural resources in the community.

Compulsory Schooling

Several international organizations, including the European Economic Community, the OECD, and the International Labor Organization (ILO), have advocated raising the school-leaving age, because the traditional systems of education often fail to teach young people the skills needed in a modern economy. Special inquiries have resulted in changes in legislation and in the structure and curricula of school systems. In some nations, including Austria, Denmark, and France, raising the school-leaving age has affected the size of the labor force. (6, p. 59)

FULL-TIME COMPULSORY EDUCATION
IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

	Number of years	Ages
Canada	9-10	6 to 15 or 16
France	8-10 ^a	6 to 16
Germany	8-9 ^b	6 to 15
Italy	8	6 to 14
Israel	9	5 to 14 ^c
Netherlands	8	7 to 15
Norway	7-9 ^d	
Japan	9	
Sweden	9	7 to 16
United Kingdom	10	5 to 15

^a 9 or 10 years, as facilities become available.

^b According to legislation by each Lander.

^c Completion of the eighth grade is also required, but not beyond age 18.

^d 7 years required by the National Government; 8 to 9 years by most local authorities.

Sources: (7, p. 29)

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The compulsory schooling of 8 to 10 years may include several years of secondary education which in some countries begins after only 4 years of grade school, or at age 10.

Compulsory education is free of charge. Denmark, France, West Germany (to age 18), and Sweden also provide free secondary education. Some countries supply textbooks and other material free of charge; Finland, among others, gives school children one free hot meal a day, as well as free medical and dental checkups. Sweden gives grants and scholarships to needy pupils; it also subsidizes (without a means test) those who live away from home because of a lack of schools. (8, p. 8) In the United Kingdom, no fees are charged in schools run by local authorities; secondary (grammar) schools charge fees, but a large proportion of schools have scholarships. In France school attendance is not well enforced, but is stimulated by allowances to families with children attending school.

Vocational Aspects

"By and large, young people [in the United States] leave school without having learned about the nature of the jobs which exist in a community, the different opportunities in different industries, what employers expect from employees, and the agencies which can give them help." (2, p. 9)

The extension of compulsory education is accompanied by a need to make the later years of schooling profitable to all, including the less academically inclined students. Longer general education, instead of separate vocational education or training, is designed to fill the real need for a broader educational base and, also, to overcome the low prestige attached to separate vocational education. Three effects of extended education on vocational preparation have been reported: (1) it can interest students who are not suited for advanced academic work, to keep them from getting bored and dropping out; (2) it increases the prestige and gives greater status to vocational training; and (3) it shortens the period needed to acquire a vocational specialization.

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tion, facilitating the transition into employment with only minor additional training. (7, p. 19)

According to an OECD report, "the contents and methods of vocational training are gradually being incorporated into general education." (7, pp. 27-31) West Germany plans to include a new subject of work instruction (*Arbeitslehre*) in the seventh to the ninth grade, which will provide occupational and industrial information, including industry visits. A tenth year is planned which would provide a basic occupational education and would permit a one-year reduction of the length of apprenticeships. Norway is planning a compulsory ninth year with a "theoretical" and a "practical" track, the latter preparatory to vocational training. (8, pp. 14-16)

Educational Reforms

"If the [United States] educational system is failing a significant portion of youth, those youths who do not go on to college, its failures must be openly recognized and fundamental changes must be made." (2, p. 7)

Reforms which have been instituted or planned in Europe include extending the years of compulsory schooling, rapid expansion of secondary schooling, easing of the transition from primary to secondary school, lengthening the period of common general education in secondary schools which would permit postponement of the choice among the more specialized programs of study, and efforts to raise the standards and social status of vocational and technical education. (4, pp. 64-68)

The West German Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DIHT) in its 1967 annual report defends the status quo of apprenticeship training in commerce and industry, and contends that more general schooling and more apprentice training in schools would: (1) reduce industry's ability to attract apprentices to less desirable occupations; (2) probably reduce the number of persons entering employment at age 15; (3) reduce industry's control over apprenticeship training; (4) reduce the

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length of apprenticeship training in many occupations; and (5) increase entrance rates. The Chamber's report also opposes the increasing number of gymnasium (traditional high school) students, the pressure for 10 compulsory school years, and reform of the school system in general.

One road of educational reform leads from separate school organizations with different social prestige and traditions toward comprehensive or multilateral secondary schools, in which students have a choice between prevocations, vocational and academic studies, or a combination of such studies. (4) In 1963 many countries, including France, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, were working towards, or had such schools. (8, pp. 150-151) Sweden is introducing the "comprehensive" school in its purest form—by requiring attendance of all children from 7 to 15 in the *Grundskolan*. (9, pp. 68-69) France has the same education for all to age 13, followed by several choices varying in kind and length. In the United Kingdom the Department of Science and Education has recommended large, undifferentiated schools. (10, p. 172)

The Netherlands has a vocationally oriented school system, but a large proportion of students enter the work force at age 15 or 16 with minimal technical training. (11, p. 79) School reform plans aim at postponing the age for the choice of a school track to increase occupational mobility of workers. Educational institutes for young people over compulsory school age prepare school leavers to become responsible citizens, teach social and cultural subjects, sports, and hobbies. (12, pp. 18-25)

Another road is the so-called *Zweite Bildungsweg* ("second way to education") in West Germany which provides opportunities for educational and occupational upgrading for apprentices who did not transfer to a secondary school at age 10 and started apprenticeship training at age 15. Of the apprentices with only primary schooling, 10 to 15 percent choose this opportunity to become technicians or draftsmen or to acquire other specialized skills.

Continuation school is one of the options possible for students who complete compulsory education. Sweden has planned a two-

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year voluntary school; examinations will not be required. The theoretical training to be provided will be less demanding than that given in the usual secondary schools. Such training will enable young persons having some work experience to continue their education. The continuation schools are expected to enroll about 20 percent of school leavers. In Norway, the eighth and ninth grades take the form of continuation school; only the eighth year may be made compulsory locally. (8, pp. 14-16)

The Dropout Problem

The dropout problem in the United States refers to the one-third of our young people who do not complete secondary education. In other advanced countries few students drop out below the legal school-leaving age, which is between ages 14 and 16, and there appears to be less of a stigma attached to persons dropping out of secondary education, because they have exceeded the schooling received by most young people. Those who leave school without achieving the goals of compulsory education generally find unskilled jobs or obtain training in the least desirable occupations.

Europe's dropout problems stem mainly from economic (the need to supplement family earnings), environmental (inability or lack of interest of parents to assist with homework or to provide a suitable place to study, and the inability to compete with more privileged children), and health conditions (improper nutrition). As European living standards become more equitable, some of the reasons for dropping out of school become less pronounced and even disappear; however, the "language barrier," i.e., the difference between the school and nonschool vocabulary, still plays an important part. (13, p. 10)

In Israel, dropouts must continue their education in evening classes of "Schools for Working Youth" until they reach the eighth grade level or age 18. (14, p. 18) Most of these are young immigrants who lack proper former schooling or have language problems. They are responsible for the high percentage of pupils above the normal age in their grade in school (20 percent for

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all grades and from 24 to 28 percent in the upper four compulsory grades). While 82 percent of Israeli elementary school graduates enter secondary schools of all types, by age 17 only 35 percent continue as full-time students. (14, p. 19)

Japan has no dropout problem because education is compulsory through the ninth grade (the end of junior high school), rather than until a student reaches a certain age, and because admission to high schools is not automatic, but depends upon a difficult entrance examination. Students who qualify for high school rarely drop out before graduating.

In Canada creation of "exit points" in high school prior to grade 12 has been recommended (in Ontario), to establish some differentiation between school leavers at different grade levels and to overcome the stigma of the term "high school dropout."

Recent West German press reports indicate that three out of five students who enter the nine-year gymnasium drop out before graduation. Only one-fourth of these drop out because of poor scholastic performance. Many leave after 8 years of study with an intermediate certificate, the *Einführige*, which enables them to enter training for the more desirable white-collar occupations.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

"The availability of occupational counseling for youth in school . . . is extremely slim indeed. During the school years, a student in the United States has very limited access—if any at all—to a person who knows what the employment world is all about. There is seldom any one to advise him about what kind of employment exists, what employment he might like to try, or how to go about getting that which does exist. The result is that young people are left to their own devices in the employment search." (2, p. 10)

Policies and Organization

Among the principles of vocational guidance and counseling accepted in Europe are freedom of vocational choice and voluntary vocational guidance. In some countries vocational guidance

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is considered an instrument in manpower or labor market policy.

The need for this service has been generally accepted, but its practice varies considerably between countries. West Germany, the United Kingdom, and the Nordic countries, especially Finland, furnish extensive guidance; France and Italy, particularly the latter, provide less guidance. In most countries, the public employment service is entirely or partly responsible for providing vocational guidance to young persons. While its function in the school emphasizes vocational orientation aspects, its work outside the school is concerned chiefly with individual guidance and counseling, which, in many countries, is combined with job placement of school leavers.

In Sweden and Canada, responsibility is divided between employment services and the school system. The Education Ministry in France operates guidance centers. Local education authorities provide the same service in the United Kingdom and Switzerland. The public employment service in Japan conducts guidance and provides information and material to the education authorities, which give preliminary vocational orientation in the schools.

Norway has had a coordination committee for vocational guidance, on which general and vocational schools, teachers' colleges, and public employment officials have been represented since 1956. The committee has proposed more extensive vocational guidance in schools, with a fixed number of hours allotted to theoretical and practical vocational guidance.

Scope of Vocational Guidance

The scope of guidance varies from country to country. Finland is reported to have the most highly developed system of vocational guidance in the Nordic countries, judged on the basis of the number of guidance officers, instructors, and psychological tests given. Most of its guidance is devoted to very young persons. In Germany, nearly all students receive comprehensive vocational orientation before graduation from the various types of schools. In 1966, 84 percent of the school leavers had individ-

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ual counseling at employment service offices; these offices filled 420,000 apprenticeships and placed 95,000 other school leavers in their first jobs.

In Great Britain, out of an estimated 760,000 school leavers, 85 percent received vocational guidance during the year ending September 30, 1965. In Sweden, approximately 109,000 pupils in the seventh and ninth grade received individual guidance in school in 1964-65, in addition to 38,000 in more advanced schools in the same year. Outside of school, local employment offices in Sweden provide guidance to persons of all ages (70,000 in 1966).

France has introduced a mandatory occupational guidance examination, but only 13 percent of its youth had received vocational counseling when last reported. A 1967 report by the OECD stressed the insufficiency of vocational guidance in most countries: "What has been done so far [in Europe generally] is interesting but still very recent and often too little."

Methods and Contents

Two main activities are generally involved in guidance and counseling in Europe as elsewhere—dissemination of occupational information and guidance of individuals. Methods used in the former include distribution of literature, use of films, the press, radio, and TV; group discussions and school lectures for parents and students; visits to industry; and traveling exhibits. Individual counseling includes personal interviews with the youth and his parents. Confidential reports by the schools assist guidance officers in Austria, Luxembourg, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In France, guidance procedure includes written group examinations in schools, completion of questionnaires by students and their parents, and, in connection with individual interviews, tests, medical examination, and inquiry into social circumstances. Psychological tests are used when necessary in Austria, Canada, Luxembourg, Western Germany, and Sweden. Medical evidence is used in Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Western Germany, Sweden, and to some extent (through school-leaving reports) in the United Kingdom.

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Vocational guidance has been described as the cornerstone of West Germany's active manpower policy. Comprehensive vocational orientation precedes individual counseling. (15, p. 28) Special provision is made for the physically, mentally, or socially handicapped. Both the vocational information provided through schools and the information media seek to draw attention to the value of individual counseling in assisting young people to a fuller understanding of their abilities and the requirements of various careers and occupations.

In Austria trade unions sponsor a vocational guidance institute, and employers sponsor vocational exhibits including vocational counseling. Recruiting by Swiss firms in the schools, coupled with vocational orientation, begins 8 months before the end of the compulsory schooling period. Swiss firms compete for apprentices in their early teens. In a special annual newspaper supplement, employers combine data concerning products and production processes with information about training opportunities and job benefits. (16)

In Swedish schools, vocational orientation begins in the sixth school year. During the eighth year all children have an opportunity to work at a job of their choice for 3 weeks. (17) This practical prevocational, unpaid orientation is divided into two periods to provide experience in different establishments. Japan supplies, under the Board of Education and local authorities, preliminary vocational counseling by specially trained teachers as part of the regular curriculum. (18, p. 29)

Attempts to link school to work are hampered by the fact that school teachers typically have little knowledge and experience of industry and commerce. (19, pp. 157-158) In the United Kingdom, an "Introduction to Industry" program takes secondary school teachers to local industrial firms for three-week periods where they work in production, preferably with young people, and spend some time in the personnel department.

Effectiveness

Few data are available on the effectiveness of vocational guid-

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ance and counseling except in countries where the service is combined with the placement of young people. Greater effectiveness has been obtained through the establishment of official bodies having industry and trade union representation. Such representation exists in bodies having chiefly advisory roles in France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Effectiveness of guidance is greatly enhanced if it is integrated with training and placement systems and with opportunities to create employment, as in Germany and Sweden. British experts believe in the effectiveness of its separate Youth Employment Service and its superiority over the local employment exchanges generally. On the other hand, Sweden has abolished separate youth facilities in favor of giving youths the same guidance and placement services as adults.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING (V.E.T.)

"Young people [in the United States] must compete for employment on the same terms and conditions as older more experienced persons. There are few special arrangements outside of formal apprenticeship systems for their training. In one nationwide study, youth were asked whether they had taken any training since they left school. Seven out of 10 high school graduates received no training after leaving school. The same was true for 9 out of 10 of the school drop-outs." (2, p. 13)

Policies and Administration

In European countries all elements of society look upon vocational counseling and training as a "public good" from which all members of society benefit. (5, p. 8) Since World War II, the introduction, improvement, and expansion of vocational training and retraining have played a major role in European efforts to curb and prevent unemployment or inability to meet the requirements of better-paying jobs. (20, p. 13-14)

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The period of training often is 3 years. While this length may not be necessary in terms of the theoretical and technical knowledge required for the skilled craft, it is widely held to be necessary to enable the adolescent to adapt himself to the life of the factory and to adjust to the physiological and emotional problems associated with this stage of life. (19, pp. 158-159)

France and the United Kingdom have fixed periods of training, but other European countries vary the period of training according to different levels of skill attached to different trades. In some cases the period may be as short as a year; in others, for example in Germany, a distinction is made between apprenticeship which takes 3 years and learnership which takes less time. Most countries have instituted a test of competence at the end of apprenticeship which is conducted by an independent authority and leads to a nationally recognized credential.

The recent tendency in Europe is for industrial training to be generalized beyond the confines of particular traditional skills so that the young worker is taught more than one trade. Many different trades now have a common basic training with specialization only toward the end of the apprenticeship period.

Governments play an active role in supporting training programs. Among incentives used in foreign countries to stimulate training in industry are exemptions of employers from provisions of the labor law which would make training more expensive and difficult. (21) Representation of business and organized labor on special advisory boards tends to lessen the chances of incompatibility between official labor standards and the various training programs. Vocational training has been made more attractive to employers by permitting them to pay less than the standard minimum wages to apprentices and other trainees through modifications of legal or collective bargaining provisions, or custom.

Vocational training in Italy is carried on primarily through the Ministry of Public Instruction or the Ministry of Labor. Training activity of the latter Ministry is generally short-term and purely vocational in character; it is designed to provide initial training for manual workers or offer unemployed workers a different

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trade. The Ministry of Labor assures placement of those who have satisfactorily completed training courses.

In West Germany, the government has long encouraged youth employment by advocating apprenticeship training in recognized skills or occupations. (20, p. 2) A basic premise of the West German employment authorities is that no form of training will equip the young worker for employment during his entire working life. Training programs must provide for an alternative allied occupation or for an entirely new occupation.

The absence of a youth unemployment problem in Japan is in general the result of that country's unique social and economic system rather than conscious government policy. The traditional policy of the government has been to protect minors entering the labor force from exploitation and from industrial hazards (protective legislation) and to assist private enterprise in providing the junior high school graduate with both the vocational skills required and the incentive (through various fringe benefits) to remain at his place of first employment, thereby "stabilizing" the labor force.

In Sweden, the National Labor Market Board attacked youth unemployment in 1967 by measures including (1) extension of vocational education, (2) extension of training for health services, and (3) construction of youth training and work camps in areas with housing shortages.

The Canadian government endeavors to keep youth out of the labor force as long as possible, and much legislation exists for the purpose of inducing youth to stay in school as long as possible. Industrial training programs have been established to prepare youth adequately for their entry into the labor force and to give them an opportunity to choose their occupation. For those seeking to improve their qualifications for employment, the government has financial aids.

Types of Vocational Preparation

The basic types of vocational preparation for nonprofessional occupations are vocational schooling and on-the-job training.

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While all forms of training are employed in the countries considered in this paper, one form usually predominates.

Training by employers predominates in Austria, Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The standard of training is not, however, left entirely to the discretion of the individual employer, particularly with regard to apprenticeship. The latter is governed by legislation or decree in Belgium, Canada, Ireland, Italy, Norway, and Switzerland, while in France the apprenticeship contract and social protection of apprentices are covered by the Labor Code, and training is shared almost equally between industry and government institutions.

Practical training of apprentices in the plant is usually supplemented by attendance at part-time school courses, generally organized by national or local governments. In Denmark, however, such courses are organized by employer federations with financial help from the government. A similar situation exists for some firms in Canada, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

In Germany, some 80 percent of those not continuing secondary education take vocational training or enter into apprenticeship. (22, p. 34) The full-time vocational school (*Berufsfachschule*) provides a course of practical and theoretical training in place of apprenticeship. The part-time vocational school (*Berufsschule*) is designed primarily to supplement the practical on-the-job training of an apprentice with theoretical instruction. A minimum of 8 hours a week of such classroom instruction is compulsory for every apprentice in the 14 to 18 year age range. Ordinary vocational schools, vocational high schools, and technical schools provide occupational training as well as theoretical instruction.

Vocational Schooling

Vocational schooling is the predominant form of vocational preparation in Belgium, France, Israel, and Sweden and has a significant role also in Canada and the United Kingdom.

In Belgium, vocational education is given to students in full-

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time technical and professional schools under the Ministry of National Education and Culture and in private schools; the latter enroll about one-third of the students. (23, p. 5)

In France, nearly three-fourths of the children receiving full-time vocational training in 1966 were in public technical schools, while approximately one-fourth attended private technical institutions. Training at state vocational schools is divided between theoretical instruction and practical training in a trade, physical education, and general education intended to provide semi-skilled and skilled workers with a broad educational background in order to facilitate their adaptability to technological changes. (10, p. 48)

In Israel, about twice as many young people prepare for their occupations in vocational technical and agricultural schools as through apprenticeship. (14, p. 22) Vocational courses for adolescents are attended by 16-year-olds who have finished primary school and have not succeeded in finding suitable permanent jobs or who are among the high school dropouts.

In Sweden, over 600 municipal vocational schools offer both practical and theoretical training of 3 years' duration, usually in cooperation with private firms; 2 years of training are given in the schools, and, in the third year, pupils go into industry for practical experience before qualifying for the adult rate of pay. (22, p. 35) Large-scale industry often provides its own three-year training, the first year of which is spent entirely in a separate transitional, or "vestibule," school.

In Canada, publicly operated schools provide vocational training at three different levels: in secondary schools which include vocational courses; in institutes of technology which provide technical education at the postsecondary school level; and in pre-employment trade and industrial courses for young people who have left the regular school system. (24, pp. 60-62)

In the United Kingdom, vocational courses in the general education establishments may be continued in the technical colleges (9, pp. 15-18) which provide full-time one-year courses including supplemental general education and introductory theo-

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retical instruction together with practical training. Some Government Training Centers, controlled by the Ministry of Labour, run 50-week courses for first-year apprentices. These apprentices are given "day release" to attend courses combining vocational and general education. Between 3,000 and 4,000 young people benefit by this program each year.

In countries where the vocational training of workers is provided mainly at school, a considerable "wastage," or dropout, occurs which cannot be explained by selection policies or other social pressures. In OECD countries three-fourths of those who begin vocational courses drop out. The majority drop out voluntarily for various reasons. In times of labor shortages and high wages, there is an incentive for students to withdraw from vocational training and enter the labor market early. One reason cited is that "a great many young trainees in the lower trade sections drop out because they cannot assimilate the theory part of the syllabus and feel no interest in it." An OECD report on accelerated vocational training highlights some of the problems and suggests solutions. (25, p. 111)

Part of the problem is the difference in the educability of children from working class families and from other groups. (25, p. 112) In vocational training, as in general education, methods are still used which favor those who are articulate and have learned to reason abstractly. Suggested solutions include the acceleration of vocational schooling to speed up the entry into industrial life, and the attendance of specialized courses when job experience has already been obtained. (25, pp. 113-114)

Apprenticeship

Apprenticeship, requiring at least 2 years of full-time, on-the-job training, is the dominant form of vocational preparation for school leavers in Austria, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.

Part-time school attendance of apprentices to study subjects related to the trade is usually required by statute, but not enforced everywhere. While in the past instruction was frequently

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given in night courses, the trend is now towards courses given a day a week or in blocks of time. In the Netherlands, the vocational schooling precedes the practical apprenticeship training. (9, p. 27)

Parental influence is strong in apprenticeship systems, because indenture agreements usually require three signatures: employer, apprentice, and apprentice's parents. (26, p. 4)

In the United Kingdom, which has a long tradition of apprenticeship, the total estimated number of apprentices of both sexes between 15 and 20 was about 920,000 in 1968. (9, p. 16) While in small establishments apprenticeship often takes the form of helping and observing a more experienced worker, larger firms have apprenticeship shops independent of the production departments and staffed by specialists. In some industries, moderate-sized firms have combined to establish a school for apprentices. Special forms of apprentice training have been developed for older persons. (10, p. 177) A combination of industrial training and college study exists for 16-year-olds, usually on a six-month rotating basis. Undergraduate apprentices spend a year in industry before beginning their full-time degree studies and return for a further year of training. Finally, graduate apprentices are those who enter industry for a two-year training course after leaving the university.

The apprenticeship system of West Germany resembles that of Great Britain. A major difference is the length of training—about 5 years in Great Britain and generally about 3 years in West Germany. In 1960, nearly 1,200,000 indentured apprentices were registered in West Germany. (9, p. 18) Another form of training differs from apprenticeship in that it requires a shorter training period (1-2 years). Most of these trainees (*Anlerner*) are required to attend a vocational school for related education. Apprentices are trained not only in the skilled industrial trades, but also in commerce and the services. (10, p. 117) By 1962, 72 percent of the apprentices were concentrated in 11 trades, out of a total of 483 occupations requiring formal training.

A form of apprenticeship training programmed in several

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stages was introduced in 1965. The first stage, lasting from 12 to 15 months, serves as a systematic introduction to the basic skills of related trades such as in metal working or machine operating. A second stage of 12 months, involving little supervision, covers several trades, and aims at the practical application of knowledge already acquired. At the completion of the second stage the apprentice is expected to have a sufficiently broad and solid training for a number of occupations and to be ready for a third stage of training which concentrates on highly skilled trades.

In Sweden, traditional apprenticeship is the common form of training in the crafts, but in industry only a small proportion of training is done by this method. (27, pp. 44 and 49) Apprenticeship is not regulated by law; it is governed largely by agreements between employers and trade unions in different branches of industry. (10a, p. 48) Under the "built-in" training system industrial work training takes place partly in an enterprise and partly in a municipal vocational school; trainees remain under the supervision of the school authorities, but are paid by their employers during periods of practical training.

Israel has two types of apprenticeship—regular and intensive. The former requires 3 years of on-the-job training with part-time related schooling. (14, pp. 28-29) The latter is intended for young persons who are brighter and more ambitious than the average, as well as those who are unable and/or "lazier than the average." About 10 percent of all registered apprentices shift to the advanced intensive group. The dropout rate from intensive apprenticeship is practically nil despite the high requirements, which include a final examination in technological subjects and natural sciences similar to that taken by graduates of the three-year vocational school. The less-gifted apprentices receive highly individualized training which is in some instances similar to private lessons.

The continuing success of apprenticeship in Europe is related to its adaptability to new technical requirements, the importance of the recognized status of the journeymen (which indicates both

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an educational and a vocational level of attainment), and finally to the general shortage of manpower (which has made employers willing to make considerable investments in the training of youth). (27, pp. 181-182) Because of the trend toward prolonged compulsory education and technological changes, some firms are experimenting with systems of training under which the duration and scope of continued training are determined for each apprentice after each year or term. "Some trades may be able to continue recruiting at the end of the compulsory school period. School dropouts and slow learners may be just what they need. But other trades will have to look for candidates among the young people who have gone on into the expanding secondary education streams." (27, p. 193)

Other Systems of Training

Training on the job, training centers, and other training systems have been developed in industrial countries because the traditional system of vocational preparation did not meet the needs of modern industry: apprenticeship training of 3 to 5 years is too long; vocational schooling often is too theoretical and not job-related; and unskilled school leavers are not ready to enter the production process.

On-the-job training.—In Austria, a large part of industry has adapted economical on-the-job training for developing skilled workers. The training ranges from familiarization courses for those without skills, and training for upgrading of skills, to re-training for employment on new machines or in new procedures, all usually within the employee's firm. Training on the job runs 6 months to a year, and often longer.

In Italy, large progressive firms have vocational training programs of relatively short duration with distinct and limited objectives.

In Japan, the average junior high school graduate, at age 15, enters an elaborate training program of a large firm designed to teach him a skill and establish loyalty to the company, or a government-subsidized program of a small or medium-sized en-

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terprise, or a general vocational training center of the Ministry of Labour, which aims at producing skilled workers.

In the Netherlands, of the 250,000 employees of the Philips Company at Eindhoven, 25 or 30 percent participate in company organized educational programs each year to fill "the gap between progress in education and the requirements of industry." According to the company, workers can be upgraded, through education in the plant, from very low levels and become capable of highly qualified tasks. The firm's center for educational research gives a feedback to training—from studies of training programs come new techniques and improved courses. (28, p. 46)

Training centers.—In France, where centers designed primarily for the training and retraining of adults have been established since 1945 throughout the country with government subsidies, less than one-third of the trainees have been over age 25. The centers are under the supervision of a national body composed of representatives of the Ministry of Labor, the trade unions, and the employers' associations. Some centers are run by industrial firms for their own employees, and others are operated for communities by local groups, such as trade unions and professional associations. About 20,000 workers were trained in 1967, but the government plans to expand the training facilities to accommodate 62,000 persons a year by 1970. Training is provided free of charge, and allowances are paid to workers during the full period of their training. Because of the low level of the allowances, most of the trainees have been young single men.

The West German Federal Institute of Labor Placement and Unemployment gives or finances refresher and retraining courses to make persons employable after a spell of unemployment. Most of the courses are held in special workshops which have modern machinery and equipment. The trainees' board, lodging, and transportation are paid by the Institute. The cost of running the courses may also be borne entirely by the Institute but cooperating organizations (trade unions, employers' organizations, and others) sometimes participate in the financing either on their

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own or from federal funds placed at their disposal. (10, p. 108)

In the United Kingdom, 38 Government Training Centers (GTC) were instructing 8,000 trainees in March 1967. (29, pp. 70-71)

The United Kingdom has been gradually establishing Industrial Training Boards under the Industrial Training Act of 1964, which provides funds for training by industry. By March 1967, there were 21 such boards. Eventually, boards are to be set up for all industries, to deal not only with apprenticeship but also with other forms of training for all ages and levels within each industry. They make recommendations to the Minister of Labour on the nature, content, and length of training for occupations and ensure that sufficient training is provided. The boards have the power to compel employers to make returns, prepare estimates of future manpower requirements, and formulate training plans.

Large firms in the United Kingdom have set up apprenticeship schools with special staffs, independent of production. In some industries, medium-sized firms have combined to set up a school. In recent years, some 100 technical colleges, sponsored by the Ministry of Education, have combined full-time courses covering supplemental general education and introductory theoretical instruction with practical training. (9, pp. 15-16)

Sweden has a nationwide flexible system of industrial training and retraining sponsored by the National Labor Market Board, which can be rapidly adapted to changing labor market requirements. Courses are planned jointly by the Board of Education, the Labor Market Board, and the employers' and workers' organizations. (27, pp. 50-53) Training varies from a few months to 2 years, depending on the skill level required in the occupations. Some of the courses are divided into progressive steps: in the metal trades, for instance, trainees may leave the course after 12, 24, 36, or 48 weeks of training, having acquired a specified skill at each step.

The West German trade unions operate more than 100 schools in larger cities, and some of them provide extension services in the smaller towns. For example, a special school for mechanical

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and electronic data processing offers full-time training for up to 6 months. Examinations are given in punchcard operations, tabulating, programming, and data processing for electronic computers. The same goal can be reached through a series of Saturday courses of 10 to 20 weeks' duration, in which the curriculum is divided into smaller units to prepare students for intermediate examinations. (10, pp. 118-119)

The West German Federal Ministry of Defense has developed a special program to encourage young men to enlist for 4, 8, or 12 years by offering them basic and supplementary vocational training during their military service and paying for additional training after discharge. The program of in-service training for soldiers in the technical branches of the armed forces usually concludes with a proficiency examination recognized by private industry. It is expected that, eventually, some 20,000 skilled workers, technicians, and engineers who received training in the armed services will return to civilian life every year.

Group training programs have been developed in European countries and Japan in which several enterprises associate to carry out certain joint training functions. In Japan a full-time instructor or training officer rotates among small firms to plan and organize training of apprentices. (27a, p. 5)

Effectiveness of Training Systems

A comparison of skilled workers' training in the metal trades in Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom shows that the supposed differences between the four countries are rarely differences of basic principles, but almost always variations relating to detail. In three of the countries, the vocational training systems are changing rapidly toward the organization and structure resembling the system already existing in the Netherlands. Three stages are crystallizing as distinct periods in the training process: (1) a period of orientation, trial, and training, lasting for about a year; (2) a period of formative training, mostly in production departments or in a school; (3) a

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period of specialization during which the trainees learn to perform production jobs according to adult worker standards.

Minimal differences apply also to the period of training. (27b, pp. 28-29) While on paper there are marked differences between the age at which skilled worker recognition is obtainable—age 18 in Belgium, 16-17 in the Netherlands, 17-19 in Germany, and 21 in the United Kingdom—in practice, these age levels are considerably modified. In Belgium, a period of supervised and specially organized adaptation and specialization raises the age of full qualification to 17 to 19 years. In the United Kingdom, apprentices are assigned after 2 or 3 years of training to "specialization," which is really production work, often in an adult worker's normal job.

Financing of Vocational Education and Training

The methods of financing apprenticeship systems and other forms of vocational training are important because (1) they determine, from a practical point of view, where the real initiative for training is expected to come from—public authority, private enterprise or organizations, or a combination of both; and (2) they tend to have an influence on the numbers trained, as well as on the quality of training. Costs of vocational schooling are usually shared between private and semi-public bodies and the local authorities. The state pays part of the employer's training costs in some countries. In Canada, the Provinces make grants-in-aid, 25 percent of which has been refunded by the Federal government since January 1, 1964. (9, pp. 123-125) In Norway and Sweden, grants calculated according to the number of apprentices are paid to master craftsmen and, in some cases, to firms with fewer than 20 employees. In the United Kingdom, the Industrial Training Act empowers the government to make grants or loans to the Industrial Training Boards based on agreements for each program. In France, the state has paid grants-in-aid to employers for conducting vocational courses; similar grants were made to Chambers of Trade to help them with their ap-

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prenticeship courses; in addition, a number of Ministries traditionally paid grants to improve the training of certain categories of apprentices.

Systems of financing apprenticeship and general vocational training programs among the countries studied can be classified in three general ways: (1) tax systems; (2) general systems of subsidy; and (3) other systems.

1. *Tax systems.*—In France, on-the-job training costs are met by (a) subsidies from the government, Department, or city; (b) contributions from the pertinent Chamber of Commerce or trade organization; and (c) tax offsets against the apprenticeship tax which is imposed on employers in industrial, craft, and commercial enterprises, and payable to the Treasury. Employers who conduct their own organized training may claim exemption from the tax for a large part of their training costs.

The Industrial Training Boards in the United Kingdom impose a levy on employers in their respective industries, and correspondingly pay out grants to employers who provide training of an approved standard. Each Board, subject to the Labour Minister's approval, determines its own rate of levy based on the payroll of individual firms. (29, p. 70)

2. *General systems of subsidy.*—The following countries rely principally on general subsidization of apprenticeship and other vocational training programs: Belgium, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. The subsidy is usually of two kinds: (a) an indirect subsidy, whereby an employer's trainees may receive theoretical instruction free of charge in public or private training facilities; and (b) a direct subsidy, whereby employers are reimbursed for certain operating expenses incurred in the conduct of their own training programs. (22, p. 41) A major share of the vocational and industrial training—provided by special training agencies and bodies throughout Italy, including firms—is financed in part by a transfer from the unemployment fund, to which employers contribute. Subsidies by the government of Japan are heavily weighted toward

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the administrative and construction costs of apprenticeship and other training. When employers wish to conduct joint training programs the Federal and Prefectural governments will pay up to one-half of the administrative costs. In the Netherlands, activities of the technical training foundations in the various industrial sectors are financed by government subsidies. In Sweden, state subsidies for apprenticeship in firms are based on the number of apprentices and to what extent practical training is integrated with theoretical training at a government-operated (municipal) school. (22, pp. 42-43)

3. *Other financing systems.*—Austria, Denmark, and the Federal Republic of Germany follow predominantly employer-financed systems of apprenticeship and general vocational training. Practical training in the firm is considered an ordinary operating expense of the employer, whereas the cost of theoretical training in public vocational schools is financed by state and/or local government funds. In Austria and West Germany, the various industry chambers bear the administrative and organizational costs of training from contributions of employers. In West Germany, for example, the Chambers of Industry and Commerce and the Artisan Chambers impose a levy on employers based on payroll. Membership in the Chambers is compulsory. (22, pp. 45-46)

Financing of Trainees

The cost of vocational education and training falls less and less upon those who receive it; apprenticeship laws almost everywhere oblige employers to pay wages or an allowance, and trade schools in all countries enroll students without charge. (9, pp. 123-125) In addition, subsistence grants are frequently paid to young people enrolled in educational establishments. However, fees are still charged in many countries for training in secretarial, bookkeeping, and related office jobs; private schools offering such instruction are run for profit, but many of them receive grants that help to keep fees low.

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Apprenticeship in Europe has often been called a source of cheap labor and exploitation of young persons. Recent studies indicate, however, that the margin of profit to employers from the use of apprentices in artisan trades has diminished, largely because wages and allowances for apprentices increased more rapidly than these of adult workers. In industry, the net cost of training an apprentice has been estimated at about \$300 a year in the metal trades in the United Kingdom, and nearly \$500 a year in a large electrical equipment firm in Germany in 1959. (27, pp. 173-174)

As wages or allowances given in lieu of wages to apprentices or other trainees are generally lower than the earnings of young workers not receiving training, various forms of aid are given. In Austria, Denmark, West Germany, and Switzerland, employers are obliged by law to continue paying the full wage or allowance to the trainees during periods of release for related instruction; this is accepted practice in France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. (27, p. 172)

In Austria, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, apprentices and other trainees who have to travel long distances or who live away from home in boarding houses may receive government subsidies to help them meet such expenses. In these countries subsidies by government or private foundations also assure the trainee a reasonable amount of pocket money after payment of necessary expenses. Grants are awarded on the basis of a means test in all countries except Denmark, which awards grants to all apprentices. (4, p. 171)

The level of wages or allowances for apprentices is generally set by wage awards and collective agreements. The level is usually not related to training costs. The wages of apprentices, like those of adult workers, are lowest in agriculture and in industries which have a large proportion of female workers, and highest in the building trades, machine manufacturing, other metal trades, and mining. The beginning wage rate may be as little as 10 percent of a journeyman's wage for a 15- to 16-year-old apprentice in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, or

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Switzerland. The rate increases in all countries with the age or years of service of an apprentice and reaches from 70 to 90 percent of an adult journeyman's wage in the last year or 6 months of indenture. (27, pp. 174-176)

Reform of Vocational Education and Training

Recent trends in vocational training observed in Europe include (1) a higher age level of young persons entering training, chiefly because of the higher school-leaving age; (2) contraction of the number of trades; (3) expansion of the content of training. Although much of Europe has traditionally used formal apprenticeship in training skilled workers, the recent trend is toward a broader general educational background and less specialized training to enable workers to adjust to the skills demanded of modern industry.

According to an intensive Canadian study of vocational education in a developed country, each child or young person must be educated to the highest standard from which he can benefit. No young person should leave school without having received a minimum vocational education. Children should be persuaded, through information and guidance, not to continue with general studies that are of no use to them. Vocational education would be organized by branches of activity, covering a wide range of trades (16 occupational groups in all), to achieve a versatile work force; specialization would be taught by firms to their workers. (9, pp. 88-89)

France has become somewhat disillusioned with the emphasis on vocational school training which has not adequately prepared young people for jobs in modern industry. The government has established new training centers which allow trainees to learn while they are employed.

In 1965, the West German government established a Council of Education, comprised of educators and representatives of industry, labor, and the churches, to make recommendations and propose reforms for the general school system and particularly for vocational training.

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In the United Kingdom, the long-established division between vocational training and education is coming to an end. It is recognized that "if workers are to be able to adapt themselves to rapid technological change, involving great occupational adjustment, they must be provided with the basic cultural foundations that will enable them to cope with this situation." (13, p. 206) Eventually, Boards are to be set up for all industries to deal not only with apprenticeship but also with other forms of training for all ages and levels within each industry.

THE JOB THRESHOLD

"... when a young person [in the United States] leaves school even what little personal concern there was largely vanishes. . . . The concern turns to what qualifications he has for jobs which already exist, not what kinds of job experiences should be structured to fit his needs. If he needs further training, it is up to him to secure that training. If he is younger than the age at which employers hire, it is necessary for him to 'wait on ice' until another birthday rolls around." (2, pp. 8-9)

Youth Employment Policy

In West European countries, most young people do not continue their compulsory schooling at age 14 to 16. Generally they enter the labor market as apprentices or trainees or enroll in a vocational school for a year or two. Thus at the age young Americans leave high school Europeans already have acquired employable skills. A study has shown that each country in Western Europe has a great consciousness of the need for all elements of society to work together to assist young people and make sure that by the time they reach 18 to 21 years of age they are trained and able to support themselves in employment. (30, p. 1276)

In Austria, Denmark, West Germany, and Switzerland, only a relatively small proportion of young school leavers go straight from school into employment without undergoing some form of

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recognized training. The proportion is less than 20 percent in Germany and Switzerland and about 30 percent in Austria. (27, p. 15) In Belgium, the government's principal concern with regard to young people is their rational integration into the labor market when they finish their studies. In order to assist and guide young workers, the National Office of Employment (ONEM) has established a service for Professional Protection of Youth (also called the "Office for Youth Employment").

Youth in the Labor Force

The entrance age of school leavers into their first employment is considerably lower in most countries than it is in the United States. As shown in Table 1, only 35.6 percent of 15- to 19-year-

TABLE 1
LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF YOUNG PERSONS,
AGES 15-19, IN SELECTED COUNTRIES

<i>Country</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Austria	1981	79.9	75.4	77.7
Belgium	1981	50.2	40.8	45.5
Canada	1981	41.4	34.2	37.9
Denmark	1980	74.9	68.7	70.9
Finland	1980	58.3	41.7	50.1
France	1982	49.1	35.7	42.5
West Germany	1981	81.5	78.8	80.1
Israel (14-17)	1981	35.9	26.0	31.2
Italy	1981	68.9	39.3	54.3
Japan	1965	38.7	37.5	38.1
Netherlands	1960	63.1	59.3	61.3
Norway	1960	53.7	42.5	48.2
Sweden	1980	52.8	46.8	49.8
Switzerland	1980	69.2	63.2	66.3
United Kingdom	1981	75.4	71.5	73.5
United States	1980	45.8	27.8	35.6

Source: *Year Book of Labor Statistics, 1987*, International Labour Office, Geneva.

old persons were in the labor force in this country in 1960; in other countries the percentage ranged from 38.1 for Japan to 80.1 for Germany in 1960-81. In Israel, this percentage was 31.2 for 14- to 17-year-olds. The rate for women in all countries re-

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ported was lower than that for men. In more advanced countries, few children under age 15 work, except to help their families. Countries with the highest youth labor force participation rates are those which use apprenticeship training most extensively.

The change in labor force participation of young persons since World War II in most countries has been considerable, but not in the same direction. West Germany had the greatest increase, followed by Italy and the Netherlands; Belgium, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Japan all had marked decreases. The decrease is related to the lengthening of both compulsory and voluntary years of schooling, and the increase to improved employment opportunities.

Youth Unemployment

“. . . the position of teenagers [in the United States] is deteriorating relative to the *national* unemployment experience . . .” (2, p. 4)

The major Western European countries and Japan have had lower rates of unemployment among teenagers (age 15 to 19) than the United States (age 16 to 19). As shown in Table 2, the rate in the United States was 12.9 (1967), compared with rates ranging from a low of 0.2 for West Germany (May 1965) and a high of 10.3 for Italy (1965). (International comparisons of teenage rates use the U.S. rate for 1967, because the U.S. overall unemployment rate for that year was closer to the overall rates of other countries than in earlier years.) In almost all the countries compared, unemployment among teenagers was higher than among other age groups.

In Great Britain, as in other countries, young school leavers generally can enter apprenticeships or other formal training programs without delay, while those seeking unskilled jobs or changing jobs voluntarily are likely to face unemployment. (31, pp. 149-150) While unemployment among teenagers in Western Europe increased during the recession of 1966-67, by the second

TABLE 2
COMPARATIVE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR YOUTHS AND ADULTS
IN MAJOR INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

Country	Source of data	Date	Unemployment rate			Ratio of youth rates to rate for 25 years and over	
			25 years and over	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	15 to 19 years	20 to 24 years
Japan ^a	Labor Force Survey	1965	0.7	1.5	1.0	2.14	1.43
Great Britain ^b	Ministry of Labour	January 1967	2.1	2.4	2.8	1.14	1.33
	Ministry of Labour	July 1968	1.11	1.1	1.0	1.00	.91
	Ministry of Labour	April 1, 1961	1.4	.9	1.4	.64	1.00
Italy ^{a c}	Census	April 1, 1961	1.6	2.3	2.3	1.44	1.44
	Labor Force Survey	1965	2.3	10.3	7.2	4.48	3.13
Sweden ^{a c}	Labor Force Survey	February 1964	1.5	3.9	1.9	2.60	1.27
West Germany ^a	Labor Force Survey	May 1965	.2	.2	.2	1.00	1.00
France ^{a c}	Labor Force Survey	October 1962	1.7	6.3	2.4	3.71	1.41
Netherlands	Labor Force Survey	October 1960	.8	1.4	1.1	1.75	1.38
Belgium	Labor Force Survey	October 1960	2.3	4.0	3.3	1.74	1.43
United States	Labor Force Survey	1967	2.6	12.9 ^d	5.7	5.00	2.19

^a Data include career military.

^b Unemployment figures exclude persons on temporary layoff and the labor force figures related to wage and salary workers only. The labor force figures used with the 1966 and 1967 data are mid-1965 estimates, and the labor force figures used with the Ministry of Labour 1961 data are mid-1961 estimates.

^c Data include 14-year-olds. They are included in the 15-to-19 and 15-to-24 age groupings.

^d Age 16 to 19.

Source: Statistical Office of the European Communities and various national publications.

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quarter of 1968 reports emphasized the shortage of applicants for apprenticeships and training places.

Youth unemployment in Western Europe appears to be due more to lack of qualifications than to lack of job openings or training opportunities. Many school leavers are handicapped by their economic and social environment or problems in their personal development. Such problems include distance of available jobs from place of residence and the attendant travel time and expense, which may be excessive; difference between language patterns used in the home environment and at place of employment; lack of social experience revealed by shyness or awkwardness; general immaturity; under-age educational deficiency; and lack of vocational information.

In Belgium, unemployment among workers under 20 years old more than doubled in 1967 and constituted 12.5 percent of the total in December, in part because young unmarried workers are laid off before older family men with job seniority. In France a persisting imbalance between the orientation and training of youths and the economy's needs is contributing to the increase in youth unemployment. A West German survey on unemployment by occupation and age group of mid-April 1967 showed that the recent wave of cyclical dismissals had affected mostly those youths who had a low level of education and had been working in unskilled jobs. Their pay during the boom period had been high in relation to the low "remuneration" apprentices received.

In Italy the rate of youth unemployment declined 30.2 percent during 1959-66. The easing of the tight labor market in the last year or so has not caused any change in the availability of jobs in Italy for school leavers. However, the number of people seeking their first job increased over the past few years (from 214,000 in 1962 to 327,000 in 1966). It is believed that the difficulties for young workers in finding their first jobs will increase during the next few years. In Sweden, in the fall of 1967, most of the young unemployed had left school under the old system of only 7 years'

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compulsory education and were, therefore, among the least qualified workers in the economy.

Role of Government Agencies

"If the employment service system [in the United States] is not reaching and serving all those youth who need its help the most, its shortcomings must be recognized and acted upon." (2, p. 7)

In most European countries, the public employment service was established primarily for dealing with unemployment rather than assisting employers to find workers. In West Germany, the freedom of job seekers and employers to use or not to use the service is stressed; in the United Kingdom, the emphasis is on the government doing a welfare-type service for the people; in France, government action is primarily directed at regulating the labor market; in the Netherlands, the service performs an economic function without welfare overtones; and in Sweden, the situation is mixed: the National Labor Market Board (NLMB)—a government agency representing many groups, including labor and management—is involved in economic policy and the supervision of local employment offices through country Labor Market Boards. (15, pp. 62-63)

Private employment agencies organized for profit operate extensively only in Great Britain. In countries where they do exist, the agencies operate under special licensing or on a temporary basis and perform highly specialized services for a selected clientele. Nowhere do they compete with the public employment service as they do in the United States.

The employment services of France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom reportedly are well informed about vacancies and available job seekers. They are quite active in remedying any imbalance in area labor markets by way of interarea clearance. (15, p. ii)

The following countries have a special section for the placement of young persons in their employment service: Belgium,

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Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The special youth employment (placement and vocational guidance) sections of Sweden were discontinued in 1960. Youth activities are now part of the regular system for adults. (15, p. 69)

The public employment services of West Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden place job seekers who cannot compete with others in the job market in special institutions such as sheltered workshops. In the Netherlands, the employment service conducts a program of public works that includes jobs for the "less well able" worker, e.g., the care of municipal gardens and canals; similar programs are used in Sweden and, to some extent, in West Germany. While such programs are not provided specifically for young people, they presumably benefit from them. (15, p. 14)

The special youth protection service within the National Employment Office of Belgium furnishes youth free career information and guidance and helps them select a suitable and stable job as far as possible in accordance with their aptitudes and wishes for a career. All persons under 21 seeking employment are registered with the service; workers between 21 and 25 also may request its assistance. The service also reviews the work contracts of the young persons it places to insure that the contract provisions are favorable to their learning an occupation, and that they specify the nature and conditions of work, courses to be taken, and pay scales.

Interarea placement is facilitated through the regular publication of job offers and lists of job seekers by the West German Federal Institute for Labor Placement and Unemployment Insurance (FILP). Job offers are also broadcast over the radio, and advertised in the newspapers and through the use of posters. Reasons for the success of West Germany's employment service have been stated as follows: monopoly on placements, better-than-average relations with employers because of the tripartite form of organization, and extensive vocational guidance. (15, p. 59)

In Sweden, the placement service of the public employment

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offices has a virtual monopoly; private agencies are controlled through a licensing system. (15, pp. 75-76) Worker and employer organizations not only accept the employment service but also regard it as indispensable. Labor is also recruited, however, through other channels. (15, p. 66)

The Youth Employment Service of the United Kingdom functions to provide vocational guidance for school leavers and other young people under age 21, to help them find suitable employment, and to keep in touch with them during the early years of their working life. The service places about 40 percent of the younger school leavers and about 30 percent of the older ones. (32, pp. 14-22) It processes both claims and benefits under the unemployment insurance system for young people. (33, pp. 2-3)

Youth Attitudes

"The contrast [in the United States] between the day before school leaving and the day after is nearly that of day and night. The attitudes and opportunities afforded the young person could not be more different.

"Yet, the youth didn't change that leave taking day. It was the institutions that pulled the switch on him." (2, p. 9)

The attitudes of young Europeans going from school to work are changing. Extended education and higher age levels tend to give most apprentices and trainees a more mature outlook and attitudes than they had even 10 to 15 years ago. (34, p. 79)

However, most Europeans are several years younger than Americans when they start training or begin a job, and are relatively immature and economically dependent. By and large, school leavers have positive attitudes toward vocational life, depending largely on degree of education and social origin.

A report made in Glasgow, on reasons for taking jobs, showed that half of the young people studied took a job because of their interest in particular work. Others gave such reasons as parents' wishes, promotion opportunities, and good wages. Half of these

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boys were apprentices, and most said they intended to remain in their chosen occupations. (34, p. 140)

In Switzerland, trades that appear glamorous to young people, e.g., travel agents, automobile mechanics, import-export merchants, and electronics technicians, fill training places easily, but about half of the apprenticeships for office workers in 1965 were unfilled.

In Austria, many young girls, especially in rural areas, seek apprenticeships or employment which they believe might benefit them in their intended role as housewives.

Many youths, especially those from families of low economic and social status, tend to have low levels of expectation. Such youths are likely to be satisfied with remaining on the level of their parents. They tend to take what employment comes their way, even if trained in a vocation. Many young persons work in a local industry where pay and prospects are poor because of their limited geographic horizon. In Marseilles, youth were found to be very reluctant to consider job vacancies outside of their home districts, because they were unfamiliar with the transportation system and not used to frequenting other districts where jobs were situated.

It has been suggested that the low unemployment rate for British youth may in part reflect some undesirable features; for example, the smooth transition from school to work may represent a narrow range of ambitions and aspirations and the willingness to take the same job that father had or any job that comes along. A large proportion of boys and girls underestimate their chances for a good job and set their sights lower than they need be. (31, pp. 141-142)

Hiring Policies and Practices

"If private industry and employers [in the United States] are establishing policies against the hiring of youth, a way must be found to change those policies." (2, p. 7)

Employers in Europe generally are more willing than their counterparts in the United States to employ young persons.

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School leavers aged 14 to 16 are welcomed into apprenticeships and other forms of training in crafts, industry, and commerce, especially in retail trade. Only since the onset of the recession in 1966 has there been some reluctance to hire very young school leavers.

Some industries prefer to hire school leavers at low wages and bear the cost of training them, while others prefer to hire experienced workers to paying costs of training and of exploratory turnover. (34, p. 79)

From the point of view of the employer, it is likely that the disadvantages of complying with statutory labor standards are far outweighed by the financial advantages of the low wages (so-called "youth wages"), which are a fraction of adult workers' pay. (35, p. 5)

The level of social security contributions by the employer may affect his hiring policy concerning young workers. In Italy, a law was passed in 1955 providing for reduced employer contributions for apprentices. Between 1958 and 1962 employment of apprentices rose from 556,000 to 810,000.

Sex, race, and marital status have little impact on the ability of young people to find jobs except where laws prescribe special benefits for a group. Thus, in Belgium, there is some reluctance to hire young married women because the employer must provide paid maternity leave of 14 weeks. As young men approach conscription age their employability is reduced.

French private employers consider that the heavy burden of social legislation protecting the employment of young workers is compensated by the low wage rates paid to youths under 18 years of age (20 percent differential) or, generally speaking, by the low rate of minimum wages paid to unskilled labor (42 cents an hour in Paris). In addition, young workers are normally assigned duties that most older workers would refuse.

Approximately 70 percent of junior high school graduates in Japan go on to senior high school. Most companies find it impossible to recruit the required number of apprentices at the junior high level to which the authorized training of the Ministry

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of Labor is geared; consequently, industry is recruiting more senior high graduates. (35, p. 17)

In the United Kingdom, employers are quite willing to recruit young people at statutory school-leaving age of 15 for jobs that are within their capacity, e.g., shop work, factory operatives. For jobs where ability to succeed in technical courses is essential, employers are increasingly demanding, as a minimum, the completion of a five-year secondary school course. There is some evidence that employers prefer to take on inexperienced school leavers rather than young persons who have had several jobs. Employers in the United Kingdom are prepared to accept the lower initial productivity of the unknown quantity rather than risk the possible disruptive influence of the job changer who has already proved less than satisfactory in other employment.

In Belgium, as in the United Kingdom, some industries, such as textiles, with declining relative earnings in postwar years have made up the loss of adult workers they could not retrain by hiring adolescents especially girls. (24, p. 78)

Employability of Young Persons

The minimum legal age for most types of paid employment of children is 12 in Japan, and from 14 to 16 in Western Europe and Canada. According to the ILO it was exceptional, by 1960, to find children under 15 years of age employed in Europe. However, it is estimated that in Italy, in 1967, 40 percent of all working minors were below the legal minimum working age of 15. (25, p. 16)

In France, the labor force adjustment for 17- to 21-year-olds is difficult. Many leave school at 16 with inadequate training and do not succeed in getting good jobs. The wave of young people reflecting the high birth rates of the immediate postwar period are among the 19- to 22-year-olds who are currently flooding the labor market in search of regular employment. (26, p. 105)

A high percentage of young unemployed persons in Sweden, in 1967, left school at 14 years of age. They constitute the least

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skilled and trained group in the labor force, and are among the first to suffer unemployment.

Except in areas of low employment in the United Kingdom, school leavers have little difficulty in getting employment. There are few problems of age, except perhaps where a boy has become too old to enter a desired apprenticeship. Reports from the United Kingdom do not agree as to whether young colored immigrants (who are gradually becoming a more substantial part of the young labor force) obtain employment commensurate with their abilities. Many young persons, realizing their deficiencies, seek and find employment before leaving school.

Special Youth Programs

All countries provide assistance to young persons who fail to make the transition from school to work. Many provide unemployment insurance as a substitute for the lack of earnings, particularly for those who cannot be placed in jobs or training. Canada, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom provide such protection to their young people by special arrangement. (35, pp. 78-80)

Austria sought to meet the problem of unemployed young persons through its youth employment law of 1953, which provided that employers had to hire one young person when employing five other persons, and one additional youth for each additional 15 employees. The definition of young person included those between ages 14 and 18 who had completed elementary school, and older persons who had attended either vocational school, high school, or university. Such older persons were to be employed as white-collar workers. Under the law, employers had to pay a monthly compensation to the public employment service for each young person they failed to employ as required by the law. By 1957, the employment situation had improved considerably, and the compulsory provisions of the law were eliminated.

In the 1950's, Austria established a "Youth at Work" program for young persons not yet mature enough for vocational school-

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ing, apprenticeship, or other work arrangements. To prepare these young persons for occupational life, one-year vocational training classes were set up by the public employment service and other agencies in cooperation with employers' and workers' organizations. Usually this training is provided in boarding schools. Through practical training in workshops and theoretical instruction in classes, the qualifications of the "participants are improved to an extent that subsequently they can more easily be integrated into the working process by the employment offices."

Employment insurance coverage may include special provisions as in Belgium, where young workers under 18 and unable to find employment qualify after completing vocational training of at least two years, either in state-supported schools or as apprentices, provided that not more than one year has elapsed between termination of training and request for unemployment benefits; they have registered as seeking employment and have not refused to accept appropriate employment; or they have worked in paid employment for at least 75 workdays before requesting unemployment benefits.

Following are approaches of several countries to employment problems of young persons through special programs. In Canada, the Province of Ontario has several Junior Forest Ranger Camps which employ boys aged 17 with a tenth grade education and supplement their work with forestry education. The boys are paid \$6 a day, and receive free room, board, and transportation. In 1966, there were 75 such camps with 1,800 boys. The Province also has special courses for unskilled military veterans to help them find employment. (36, pp. 138-140) In France, the Council of Ministers has decided to set up a National Office of Educational and Professional Orientation with responsibilities for the successful introduction into active life of university students.

(7)

In West Germany, between 1950 and 1955, the Federal government provided one-year, elementary, or pre-vocational training in special establishments (usually with housing) to as many as 33,500 school leavers and young refugees who could not be

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placed in other jobs. As economic conditions improved and the number of training offers exceeded available school leavers, the use of these facilities was changed to assist those school leavers, comprising an estimated 20 percent of the total, who were not able to begin any form of V.E.T. upon completion of the period of compulsory schooling. These include primarily persons who repeated a grade twice or more, and others who are backward, physically disabled, or mentally retarded but trainable. (37, p. 19, p. 37)

In 1966, following this preparation, many young people were placed, largely without difficulty, in appropriate training or work places in industry. (Many of the female participants in the basic domestic science courses planned to attend more advanced courses in home economics, nursing, or social work.) Thorough dissemination of information about the purpose and value of the career-preparatory measures contributed to the willingness of the parents of school leavers to let them participate in these courses.

Among West European countries, Italy has the most serious youth unemployment problem and reportedly the largest training program for youthful unemployed. The problem is particularly acute in the South where illiteracy is high and the technical school system less extensive than in other European countries. The Labor Ministry conducts two-year basic technical training courses for youth 14 to 18 years of age who are out of school and not employed. The Ministries of Labor and Defense operate programs for training and placement of soldiers released from the army. Soldiers who graduate from military vocational schools are in demand by industry. Military experience, including discipline and work experience, provides a desirable background in civilian work, at least during the first year of civilian industrial employment. (38, p. 102)

In the Netherlands, the Social Employment Scheme looks after socially maladjusted persons considered unplaceable. Its objectives are: provision of occupational security; development of self-confidence; discouragement of the reliance on social benefits; and encouragement of normal employment. The program is oper-

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ated by municipal authorities, often in cooperation with private organizations. The central government makes grants, paying some 70 to 79 percent of the wages of these workers, plus the cost of medical examinations, and a subsidy of 50 percent toward the cost of administration. (39, p. 205) The government was considering proposals in October 1967 to encourage migration of youth to areas where they would find employment and training. Proposed measures include provision of free weekly home visits for the young workers, and payment of board and lodging by the government up to 45 fl. (about \$11 U.S.) per week; also payment of 20-30 fl. (about \$5-7.50 U.S.) per week to employers who hire young building workers.

Amsterdam and Rotterdam failed in their efforts in December 1967 to attract unemployed youth from economically depressed regions through offers of attractive compensations. The Minister of Social Affairs has claimed that the young unemployed because of insufficient information are unaware of government measures taken on their behalf. The labor authorities are planning to provide better information on vocational training centers, youth migration regulations, and study subsidies. As many new plants have to be manned substantially by rural people, some companies have arranged formal recruitment and induction programs for them. Large firms, receiving young rural people as apprentices, are likely to arrange for their placement in foster homes selected by religious and other private organizations, and contacts are maintained with the family of the apprentice. This program is partially subsidized and supervised by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health. (39 and 11)

Sweden started vocational training courses for unemployed young persons 15- to 25-years-old during the 1958-59 recession. By October 1963, the proportion of trainees under 18 had fallen to 10 percent, and the National Labor Market Board limited attendance to backward young people for whom the resources of the regular vocational training system were considered inadequate. Basic grants of 50 SKr. (\$10 U.S.) a month are available to trainees under 18; maintenance grants are available for those

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who must live away from home to attend; and state scholarships as well as travel allowances are available on a means test for those who show aptitude for study. (38, pp. 103-104)

The Department of Education and Science of the United Kingdom in March 1967 asked the Trade Union Congress to support a community service program which envisages that young people might perform such tasks as home decorating for the old and handicapped without payment. The Trade Union Congress agreed, convinced that such work for people who could not afford to pay does not represent a threat to the livelihood of working people or diminish employment opportunities. (40, p. 238)

The Youth Employment Service (YES) makes special efforts to help young people who fail to settle into employment and drift from job to job, because this group, with their anti-adult attitude and anti-social behavior, "may constitute a greater problem than the more obviously (physically) disabled." YES officers seek to discover their capacities and work closely with other agencies (social workers, youth club leaders, probation officers) to help these young people, including delinquents, find jobs and solve their other problems. (32, pp. 29-31)

THE YOUNG WORKER ON THE JOB

Many adolescents look forward to their first job, expecting it to confer on them, automatically, something of the prestige of adults; but, in reality, the abrupt transition often constitutes a severe shock. As has been pointed out by the British Trades Union Congress, the school is run for the student, but the new young worker may be given scant consideration when friendly reception, good technical supervision, and wise counsel on work and human relations may count the most. (35, pp. 57-28)

Labor Standards

The nature and scope of protective standards for young workers in West European countries is illustrated by French legislation which prohibits or regulates the employment of young

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workers in any occupation or employment "hazardous or injurious to their life, health, welfare, or morals." Restricted for reasons of welfare or morals is employment in places where liquor is sold, certain places of entertainment, and certain publishing activities. Industries with special restrictions for safety or health reasons include building and public works, glass manufacturing, and occupations using poisonous dyes or gasses. Children under 17 years of age must show their prospective employer a certificate of vocational guidance that mentions any occupation which may be considered dangerous to the applicant's health.

The hours of work of young people under 18 years of age are limited to 8 a day and 40 a week. Overtime, up to a maximum of 45 hours, must be authorized by labor inspectors after medical examination. Uninterrupted work may not continue for more than 4½ hours. Night work is prohibited between 10:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., and night rest must be at least 12 consecutive hours.

While apprenticeship is intended to provide systematic training from the very beginning, there are frequent reports of abuses in the press, especially in trade union journals, indicating that the use of the apprentice as general handyman, messenger, house-boy, or even babysitter for the master's children is not entirely a thing of the past.

Children of compulsory school age generally require a special permit which enables them to perform light work in limited occupations after school hours.

Job Entrance Level

Only a small minority of school leavers in Europe enter employment which does not include any systematic training. Young workers hired for production work in industry undergo a period of on-the-job training of perhaps only a few months which prepares them for operating a machine. In Austria, the size of this group is estimated at about 5 percent of the boys and 15 percent of the girls (total 12 percent) leaving compulsory schooling.

The percentage distribution of labor force entrants in West Germany in 1967, by training or education, was as follows:

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- 54 percent apprentices
- 18 percent beginners with trade school education
- 10 percent unskilled workers
- 8 percent family helpers
- 5 percent with university education
- 3 percent engineers and technicians

Earnings of Young Workers

The beginning rate of pay for young workers who do not receive formal training is generally higher than that of apprentices and trainees, and prompts many school leavers to opt for the immediate advantage of the higher paid job. Among West European countries, minimum wage rates and earnings of youth vary by industry, geographic area, cost of living zone, age, or other circumstance; rates are set by collective agreements, or by decrees or awards of wages councils or industrial chambers. Much of the available information represents isolated examples of practices followed in specific industries or situations.

Most commonly in Western Europe, the worker's age or length of service is formally taken into account in setting wage scales. The paying of higher wages for the same work in older workers is considered to add a career element to the wage structure, particularly in the field of salaried employment. (35, p. 59)

The wage rate of young workers is generally well below the rate for unskilled adult earners in the same occupational group, and young workers frequently earn sub-minimum rates for comparable work until they are 18 or 20 years of age or even older. Among the reasons adduced most frequently are: the young worker's lack of previous training or practical experience, his limited efficiency, legal requirements restricting his general usefulness within an undertaking, and high occupational mobility. The fact that employers may gain an appreciable financial advantage by employing untrained juvenile labor at sub-minimum rates is indicated in some instances "by the large numbers of young persons employed in certain industries, and also by the

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practice in some undertakings of systematically dismissing young workers when they reach an age entitling them to adult rates of pay." An "interesting innovation in some collective agreements limits the payment of sub-minimum beginners' rates to a given number of days or weeks." (41, pp. 521-522)

Following is a resumé of the ranges of rates for young workers expressed as a percent of adult rates effective in seven countries in recent years, which should be regarded as indicative of the practices in the selected countries, but not as universally applicable in all cases: (42)

Country	<i>Rate of young workers as percent of adult rate</i>	<i>Types of rate</i>
Belgium	20 to 95	Collective contract minima
Canada	60 to 91	Statutory minima
France	10 to 90	Statutory and collective minima
Germany	61 to 80	Average wages
Netherlands	63 to 92	Collective agreement minima
Sweden	43 to 95	Collective agreement minima
United Kingdom	25 to 95	Collective agreement minima

No pattern is discernible in Western Europe in the rates of pay of unskilled young workers in the same industry. Thus, in West Germany, the rate for young construction workers of 80 percent of the adult rate is the highest reported; in the Netherlands, the young worker rate is 16 percent of the adult rate, or the lowest among the industries reported.

Wages of young workers are increased at regular intervals until they reach the adult rate. (42) To illustrate, the French legal minimum wage provides for reductions applicable to workers under 18 years of age, according to the following scale:

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Percent reductions from guaranteed minimum wage—1964</i>
14-15	50
15-16	40
16-17	30
17-18	20

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In many countries, it is possible to find young workers who, by the time they reach age 16 or 17, have already completed the training necessary for many industrial, commercial, or other jobs, and are doing the work and presumably receiving the pay of adults.

Although there has been a general leveling-out of wage differentials in many countries since World War II between high-paid and low-paid industries and occupations, men and women, skilled and unskilled workers, the narrowing of age differentials has not been as substantial. In the United Kingdom, average hourly earnings of boys under 21 years of age were 34.7 percent of those of men in 1947 and 44.1 percent in 1959. However, in the Netherlands, the gap between boys' and men's wages widened, and boys' earnings were 45.8 percent of men's in 1947 and 43.8 percent in 1957. (35, pp. 59-90)

In Canadian establishments under federal jurisdiction, wages are established for each type of employment and may not be less than the statutory minimum wage established for workers under 17 years of age—C.\$1. The minimum rate for workers over 17 is C.\$1.25.

Minimum wages in the provinces are set by wage or labor boards (not legislation); in seven of the provinces, their orders provide that inexperienced workers may be employed during a specified period at a rate below the regular minimum. (43, p. 29, and 63, p. 2)

In Israel, collective agreements in industry for some time provided for equal pay for equal work for adults and youth, especially in food and textiles, largely because adult workers wanted to eliminate competition for young workers for certain industries. In 1960, there was a special rate for unskilled youth: boys between 14 and 16 received 23 percent less than adults; for older boys the difference was smaller. (35, p. 61)

The earnings of apprentices, although still called allowances in some countries, are generally set by wage awards and collective agreements. The basic rate increases with the age or number of years served in apprenticeship. The starting rate for a 15-

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to 18-year-old apprentice may be as low as 10 percent of a journeyman's wage in Austria, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. In the last year or 6 months of apprenticeship, the rate generally reaches 70 to 90 percent of the journeyman's wage. Apprentices in agriculture and in industries which have a large proportion of female workers have the lowest rates of pay. The cost of training to the employer seems to have little bearing on the level of pay of apprentices. (27, pp. 175-176)

Relations with Employers

Some of the frustrations, dissatisfactions, or disappointments of young workers in West European countries are channeled institutionally through trade unions, works councils and, in Austria, Chambers of Labor. Demands of young workers sometimes include vague "gripes" but more often are serious proposals, such as one in Austria for the institution of obligatory attendance at vocational schools for all persons under 18 years of age, which would benefit chiefly the younger trainees.

In some countries, as in Israel, special rules of shorter hours for young workers seem to have created some difficulties for young people and their employers. Employment opportunities for the young are said to have fallen off somewhat as a consequence of employer reluctance to hire them, because of the inconvenience caused by administering the special provisions for youth and the technical difficulties of coordinating the shorter hours for youth with those of adults. At the same time, the experience of various enterprises has shown that these difficulties can be overcome with good will and greater flexibility in the distribution of working hours and in organization of work. Moreover, flexibility in national laws and regulations, as in the United Kingdom, helps to prevent special provisions for young workers from becoming an obstacle to the functioning of the enterprises in which they are employed. (35, p. 63)

Relations with Older Workers

The trade union organizations of West European countries

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provide outlets and channels for the energies, ideals, and aspirations of young workers, and are a major force in protecting the vocational interest of young workers and in their civic and cultural development. Observers of the European labor scene believe that the recreation, education, and training afforded young workers in trade union youth groups are a major factor in preventing the alienation and helping in the integration of young workers into the economic and social structure of their countries. (44)

In some countries—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and West Germany—young workers are organized in separate youth groups with a fairly large degree of autonomy on the principle that the interests of young workers (including apprentices and trainees), such as wages and working conditions, are best defended by themselves. In other countries, trade unions fear that special youth organizations could develop along undesirable lines. (45, p. 5)

In West Germany and Austria, the need for developing trade union attitudes among young workers has contributed to special organizations and services provided for young workers. This includes a youth department at national headquarters with substructures at regional and local levels. In West Germany, the well-staffed youth departments are greatly concerned with vocational education and training and the improvement of training supervision. Some unions, such as the independent *Deutsche Angestellten Gewerkschaft* for white-collar employees, conduct extensive vocational training courses. The on-the-job influence of older workers on the young is strong; assistance by older workers is considerable in Germany where codetermination, instituted by the law, has placed trade unionists into roles which are in the exclusive management domain in our country. In this setup, labor participates in the policy and implementation of training of young workers through works councils. In the coal and steel industries, codetermination provides for a Labor Director, who is one of three managers of an establishment; he is nominated by the trade unions and must have their support, and is subject to recall by the labor members on the firm's super-

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visory board (similar to the Board of Directors in a United States firm). This Labor Director is in charge of all labor matters; he must administer training, education, placement, promotion, and other matters affecting the welfare of young (as well as the other) workers to the satisfaction of the trade unions.

In Austria, the interest and activities of the Trade Union Federation, whose youth welfare department maintains youth and educational hostels and vocational training schools, are reinforced by the works councils established by law to represent and foster employees' social, economic, vocational, and cultural interests. This combination of labor organizations, with much overlapping of officials, obviously can be very effective in the interests of young workers, as demonstrated by the excellent training facilities for apprentices in the Austrian steel industry.

Job Turnover

Reports from European countries are not in agreement on the extent and the reasons for job changing by young workers, and there are few statistics on job turnover among young workers. According to the ILO, it is inevitable that employment of young workers should assume some of the characteristics of "casual labor." The employer is predisposed to consider young workers as temporary and as marginal labor, except in apprenticeship. (41, p. 523)

An analysis of job placements in 1965 by the Netherlands employment service showed that one-fourth of all placements were for one-day jobs, nearly one out of three for a week or less, and two out of three placements could be regarded as permanent (for more than a year). (19, p. 217)

The dropout rate in apprenticeship is so insignificant in Austria, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland that it is seldom reported. Denmark has reported failure of 15 to 20 percent of apprentices to complete their training, perhaps because failure to attend the prescribed courses of related instruction is grounds for automatic termination of the contract. (37, p. 38)

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Young workers in Western Europe have been reported as changing jobs for reasons including better pay (Austria); changing to a larger establishment or from a craft establishment to industry to enlarge occupational knowledge after completion of training (United Kingdom, West Germany); change of occupation after military service (United Kingdom, West Germany); and shopping around (United Kingdom). In the Netherlands, it has been reported that, among the young particularly, greater social mobility, higher education, new job attitudes lead to shunning of unskilled, heavy, and isolated jobs and changing from these to more desirable occupations. A Belgian employment official has reported that many young job changers take new jobs of the same type and calling for the same skills as those in jobs they left as unsatisfactory.

While most employees in Japan still continue with one employer until they retire, some young workers quit when they are dissatisfied, rather than seek legal remedies if statutory labor standards are not met.

Efforts to reduce turnover among young workers include careful placement, as in the Netherlands, by putting "the right man in the right place," to give the young an adequate start in working life and to prevent feelings of frustration or failure. (19, p. 73) Belgian employers try to keep good young workers by encouraging them to improve their skills through technical courses and by paying for such training. In the United Kingdom, the Youth Employment Service (YES) follows up the job progress of young people who were difficult to place, those who are physically or mentally handicapped, and those who are inclined to drift from job to job, or are in unsuitable or uncongenial work, and those who are working away from home. All young people are encouraged to consult the YES if they find themselves in any difficulty in their employment. (33, p. 4)

To assist in the adjustment to working life, some West European countries grant longer annual vacations to young workers (especially apprentices) than to adults. (35, p. 64)

An American report on youth employment in the United King-

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dom has suggested that low turnover of young workers may be related to a narrow range of ambitions and aspirations, and that young people set their sights lower than they need to do. (31, p. 145)

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