Alternance training and employment policy should improve youth employment prospects in the European community in three ways. It should enhance young people's employability, improve youth's motivation and clarify vocational options, and better prepare youth to adapt to abrupt changes in job content. Because alternance training is concerned with young people's transition from school to work, the supply of alternance training places should be geared to the number of those leaving the school system. Guidance, acquisition of skills, and social integration are the three primary aims of alternance training. No single formula can be applied throughout the European community to determine who will need alternance training. Training needs must instead be determined on the basis of school experience, employment situation, socioeconomic attributes, and local labor market requirements. Alternance training schemes must combine in-school learning and in-plant experiences in a way that is more than a mere juxtaposition, but is rather mutually reinforcing. For this, the efforts of teachers and trainers must be coordinated and mutually reinforcing as well. (Appendixes to this report include the resolution of the Council of the European Communities on linked work and training for young persons and a list of organizations represented at the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training Board). (MN)
Alternance training for young people:

Guidelines for action

CEDEFOP
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Foreword

1.

The work of analysis and reflection presented here under the title 'Alternance training for young people: Guidelines for action' is an extension of the programme of the Commission of the European Communities. The first phase of this programme (1976—78) was marked by Community initiatives relating to 'young people and the transition from school to working life'. The object of the present phase is to encourage Member States to give concrete expression to the proposals in the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities of 18 December 1979 (see Annex I) on 'Linked Work and Training for Young Persons'.

The paper presented here is the outcome of the technical working sessions organized by Cedefop and has been drawn up by the Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation on the basis of the findings of a European Conference in June 1980 held under the joint auspices of Cedefop and the Commission, as well as on an analysis of the many new developments in Member States which reflect their concern to explore a variety of ways and means to enhance the effectiveness of training systems.

2.

The acute youth unemployment problem coupled with foreseeable long-term labour market trends calls for a radical reappraisal of vocational training systems as at present understood. At the same time, under the combined effects of the economic crisis, the redistribution of jobs across the globe and the speed of dissemination of new technologies, some jobs are disappearing, others are changing in content, and new ones are being created. It is being recognized more and more that young people coming on to the labour market must be equipped with the wherewithal to give them a degree of autonomy, freedom of choice, and the ability to act on their environment.

This explains current efforts to develop vocational training systems which strike a reasonable balance between basic training, know-how, and learning from experience, i.e. which impart a sufficiently flexible range of occupational skills.

The road ahead is a long one, for the present situation is far from encouraging. In the various countries of the Community, the proportion of young people entering the labour market with no occupational training ranges from 15 to more than 40%. In the framework of strategies to increase the ratio of trained to untrained young people, alternance training is likely to become one of the prime instruments. It represents a means of structuring training and fostering
positive motivation through an appropriate mix of theory and practice. The value of alternance training lies not so much in the help it may afford in remedying ills but rather in eliminating these at source.

3. This paper is intended as much for the policy-maker as for the practitioner engaged in the concrete realities of vocational training in the different EC countries. It has been designed as a contribution to decision-making. The underlying assumption is that alternance training is destined to develop beyond the experimental stage in those countries where it is as yet still in its infancy. With this in mind it was important to create awareness and offer matter for reflection. Some grey areas subsist on which more light must be thrown: How can we foster cooperation between vocational school teachers and company-based trainers? How can we design jobs for young people in which the phases are pedagogically coherent? How can funding be ensured?

Each of us can play a part in this endeavour in the knowledge that we can count on the help of others as they can count on us. Cedefop is conscious of its role in facilitating forms of concrete cooperation.

Roger Falst
Director of Cedefop
This short monograph is designed to provide organizations and individuals responsible for alternance training programmes with a set of guidelines for their planning and implementation. Alternance training is taken here as meaning: ‘the development of effective links between training and experience on the job..... These links should involve establishing coordinated programmes and structures making for cooperation between the various bodies responsible.’

The idea of combining training and practical work experience is not a new one and can be applied to all levels and types of training. It is not the intention here to provide a comprehensive overview of the various forms of alternance training to be found in the EC member countries. The aim is rather more modest: namely to investigate alternance training schemes for young people poised between school and working life. It might be tempting to define the categories of young people according to age group — say those between 16 and 20 — but this could result in the exclusion of a large number of young people who, though over 20, have similar training needs and personal characteristics. In defining young persons what counts is less their age than the difficulties they encounter in making the transition from school to working life and their consequent training needs.

There are many types of alternance training in the EC countries. The notion of alternance has been with us for a long time in the form of apprenticeship schemes where the aim is to produce skilled workers by combining work experience in the ‘real’, i.e. non-scholastic, world with general and vocational training. The British sandwich courses are based on similar principles. Training for the professions, such as medicine and engineering, associates work experience and ‘on the job’ training as a matter of course on the premise that experience in the working milieu is a precondition for the exercise of a profession inasmuch as many of its aspects cannot be taught in a lecture theatre. The recent development of lifelong learning has much in common with the notion of alternance, linking as it does vocational experience and training in a specialized institution.

These considerations do not, however, suffice to explain the renewed interest in alternance on the part of many European countries and international institutions. There are a number of reasons for this:

1 Resolution of the EC Council of Ministers of 18 December 1979, on linked work and training for young persons; see Annex I.
Firstly, there is the problem of youth employment. Whether this takes the form of widespread unemployment — often on a far greater scale than for the other social groups — or of 'fringe' employment of a temporary or occasional nature (odd jobs followed by periods of inactivity), the phenomenon is too prevalent to be treated lightly by the authorities. Since poorly or inadequately trained young people are precisely those who fare worst on the labour market, complementary training on the alternance principle can serve to enhance their employability and ease the transition between school and work.

The vocational underqualification of young people is matched by a disturbing lack of information on working life. This information gap is responsible for many false starts during the transition period and turns many young people away from the formal job market. Here again, alternance training emerges as the most appropriate instrument to help young people decide on a career.

There has been a noticeable waning in enthusiasm for raising the school leaving age, on the grounds that action along these lines only serves to defer the break between school and working life and tends to make young people feel that they are 'charity cases' — hardly the ideal approach to adulthood. Moreover, many young people are hostile to lengthy school-bound training. A dual system such as alternance can here play a useful role.

This monograph comprises seven chapters. Chapter 1 attempts to achieve a closer definition of alternance training, briefly recalling the aims of alternance and its links with education and employment policies. Chapter 2 identifies those groups and situations for which alternance training is particularly suited. The underlying pedagogical principles are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 deals with problems of organization and consultation among the various parties concerned. Alternance training necessarily involves the active participation of industry; the problems this raises are the subject of Chapter 5. The success or failure of any given type of training hinges on the quality of the instruction and alternance training is no exception to this rule; Chapter 6 focuses on this aspect. Finally Chapter 7 tackles the question of costs and the various ways in which alternance training may be financed.
Alternance training

What is alternance training?

Alternance training: For whom?

Alternance training and the company

Teachers and trainers
A pedagogy of alternance

Alternance training

and financing
What exactly is alternance training?
As has been said elsewhere, the concept of alternance has gained acceptance in most EC countries and is already being applied in a variety of ways. What is new, however, is the economic, social and cultural context in which it is currently developing. This chapter opens by describing this context and goes on to define the scope of alternance and what it is designed to achieve for young people in the light of the problems they are encountering in entering the working world.

1. The economic, social and cultural context of alternance training

In the range of measures to assist young people in the framework of employment and education policies and youth policy in general, the development of alternance training comes well to the fore.

A Alternance training and employment policy

Present thinking on alternance is necessarily coloured by the grim employment prospects of young people in the EC countries, reflected in high rates of unemployment or unsatisfactory work situations (temporary or unstable jobs, 'moonlighting') which may ultimately result in exclusion from the formal labour market. Alternance training should help to remedy this situation in three ways: it enhances young people's employability. Admittedly, few training programmes can in fact claim to present employers with a 'finished' product; companies are as a rule obliged to provide complementary training geared to their specific needs. But this further training — which frequently consists in an adaptation to the 'style' and 'spirit' of the company — is certainly acquired more rapidly when new recruits already have some work experience. This is borne out by the Swedish firm Ericsson which affirms that new entrants with a purely academic background need at least a year to become fully operational while those who have enjoyed some form of linked work and training acculturate much more rapidly. Alternance training, by improving motivation and clarifying vocational options, stems excessive mobility which is perceived by manpower experts as a significant factor in unemployment. Lastly, those who have benefited from alternance training are considered to adapt better to abrupt changes in job content than those who are either 100% college trained or who

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have learnt on the job. In the case of the former, curriculum and methods may become fossilized through lack of contact with the working world, while in that of the latter, there is a risk of over-specialization in a narrow range of skills which may swiftly become obsolete.

This said, it would be utopian to believe that the development of alternance training could in itself resolve the problem of youth unemployment; it could not, and should not, serve as an alibi for a laissez-faire employment policy.

One might go further and argue that alternance training will succeed only if there is a concurrent improvement in the employment situation, since the one is the outcome of the other. Nothing would be more prejudicial to the idea of alternance than to use the novelty of the concept to kindle hopes that the labour market is in no position to satisfy. In other words, development of alternance must go hand in hand with a dynamic youth employment policy.

In the absence of such a policy, alternance training can only maintain young people in the insecure jobs in which all too often they already find themselves. To prevent this perversion of the notion of alternance it is vital that the training leads to qualifications recognized by employers on the labour market both on recruitment and in the collective agreements determining the respective rights and duties of management and labour.

### B Alternance training and education policy

The development of alternance training for young people is an integral part of the general training effort of every society, an effort which is rooted on the one hand in the system of full-time education and on the other in the opportunities afforded for lifelong learning. It must hence be coordinated with both. In this respect it should be recalled that alternance is not designed to make good the failures or shortcomings of compulsory schooling which remains the prime source of acquiring basic knowledge and skills. Alternance is concerned with young people’s transition from school to work, which implies that the supply of places in alternance training be geared to the number of those leaving the school system on reaching school-leaving age. This is no doubt what underlies the Easter guarantee proposed under the British Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). Under the terms of this guarantee, all young jobless school-leavers in a given year will be found a place in the programme by Easter of the following year.

This major measure is aimed at making alternance training an alternative to unemployment for all school-leavers. Other countries have gone a step further, taking the view that, in the long term, alternance training could become a ‘normal’ or even obligatory transition stage between full-time schooling and full-
time employment. The idea of part-time obligatory training following on full-time compulsory schooling has already made some headway in the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands. Such arrangements may serve to extend alternance training to all young school-leavers, provided of course that the alternance principle is genuinely respected, i.e. that part-time training is combined with periods of work experience to attain a clearly defined pedagogical goal.

It is of course important that alternance training be clearly defined vis-à-vis full-time instruction in terms of equivalence of diplomas. As long as the scope of alternance training extends only to very limited groups of young people, the absence of clearly defined relationships between diplomas is of minor importance. But once the system assumes a certain scale there is a real risk that those graduating from alternance training will be at a disadvantage compared with those who have received full-time training. Alternance training may come to be seen as training on the cheap and the diplomas awarded could well be considered inferior to those of establishments providing full-time courses of similar quality. Lastly, a policy of diploma equivalence is needed to enable those on linked work and training schemes to return to full-time studies at a later date should they so wish. The opportunity to return to school is a popular option in the Federal Republic of Germany where young people who have completed an apprenticeship may pursue a two-year full-time training course in a Fachschule and become a technician. This possibility has certainly helped to give apprenticeship a better image in the eyes of the German public. The situation in Germany — the most satisfactory in Europe in this respect — is in marked contrast to that of France where to embark on an apprenticeship is tantamount to accepting that one has left school for good.

In many respects the growth of alternance training for young people prefigures that of recurrent education for adults. It constitutes, however, a response to very specific economic, educational and cultural imperatives as well as to pedagogical considerations bound up with the characteristics of its clientèle — young people with no knowledge of the realities of the working world. Many, moreover, are poorly motivated and experience difficulties in adapting to working life. All in all, alternance is to be viewed in the context of the transition from school to work. Alternance training must not be confused with lifelong education for adults, which has been discussed in general terms elsewhere.

This having been said, while the groups concerned differ both in regard to age and degree of vocational and social integration, it is none the less true that the pedagogical principles underlying alternance training and lifelong learning have much in common. And just as there is a need for a minimum of coordination between the development of full-time formal education and that of alternance training, so must there also be an effective articulation between the latter and opportunities for lifelong learning throughout working life.

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1 See: The development of permanent education in Europe, by Henri Janne and Bertrand Schwartz, Commission of the European Communities, Studies Collection, Education series No 3, Brussels 1978.
Some governments justify the development of alternance training not only as a means of tackling youth unemployment but also as an ingredient of overall youth policy. In the view of many observers, what may be called the 'malaise' of the younger generation is in part due to the excessive inflexibility and paternalism of the institutions catering for young people. Just as prolonging full-time education fails to meet the desire of many people to assume responsibilities and acquire financial autonomy, so exposure to the cold realities of the world of work equally fails to satisfy their justifiable need for critical reflection. Alternance training provides a better response to the aspirations of today's youth and as such could form part of an arsenal of measures designed to help young people make the transition to adulthood.

This point has been stressed by many writers on the subject who consider that alternance is a way of acting on young people's motivations and helping them assume their responsibilities. Alternance confronts them with a 'real-life' situation, allows them to 'perform actual tasks and make real objects', to 'take initiatives', activities which all serve to motivate those who are 'put off' by school-type learning. Apart from its capacity to motivate, alternance is often credited with stimulating a sense of responsibility, accelerating 'psychological maturation' and the 'transition to adulthood'; it is said to teach 'self-control' and 'autonomy', help adolescents 'develop personal projects' and learn to do without the overprotection and mollycoddling of school and university.¹

We have only to look at the planning criteria underlying the development of alternance to realize that cultural rather than economic considerations tend to be uppermost. Officials still talk of the economy's need for skilled manpower, but they now appear more concerned to 'do something' for the 20 or 40% of the age group that reaches the labour market with no other training than compulsory schooling. Often the argument is expressed both in terms of the demands of the economy and the needs of young people seen as a demographic group, i.e. in terms of the labour supply.

Since the present economic climate is reflected in virtually zero growth in demand for skilled manpower, it is more or less certain that arguments of the first type will give way to those of the second. This is indeed already the case with the expansion in apprenticeship schemes which tend to be justified more by the presence of a large body of unskilled young people than by any increase in actual needs for qualified personnel.

¹ Edmond Mouret, 'L'alternance: repères théoriques et champ d'application' dans Actualité de la Formation Permanente, No 42, INFFO Centre, September-October 1979. This article is reprinted in the special issue of Vocational Training, No 4/1980, on Linking Work and Training for young persons in the European Community, under the title 'A general survey of the theory and practice of alternating training in France'.

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C Alternance training and youth policy

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2. Definition and scope of alternance

The Communication of the Commission of the European Communities to the Council of Ministers defined alternance as 'the linking of practical training obtained by the exercise of vocational activity at the place of work with theoretical training obtained in a training service, organization or establishment'. This is a very loose definition which must be tightened up if it is to have any operational utility. In order to limit the field of application of alternance we propose to reserve this term for any work situation allowing the worker to devote at least 20% of his time to some form of training in a specialized establishment and, conversely, for any training programme in which at least 20% of the time is spent acquiring on-the-job experience. This is a quantitative criterion which is obviously arbitrary. It is, however, useful in that it excludes work-training schemes where one or other of the components is negligible as, for example, in the case of training courses offering a full school-year's instruction with a brief summer placement, or job contracts where only a fraction of the time is devoted to training.

This quantitative criterion has its uses in defining the scope of alternance but is not in itself sufficient, since alternance claims to give unique pedagogical results by combining periods of in-plant training with periods in vocational school. But it is not enough simply to juxtapose these two types of training, even though this can serve to develop awareness of the world of work. True alternance calls for systematic planning of work experience and in-school training in a way that is mutually reinforcing. Learning at work and learning in school should be combined in appropriate sequences to ensure interpenetration between the socio-professional and academic milieux. This point is taken up in Chapter 3 which discusses the pedagogy of alternance.

A system of linked work and training can cover a wide variety of forms of training, some of which already exist, while others remain to be devised. Similarly, the principle of alternance might conceivably be extended to certain types of full-time training. An alternance strategy thus calls for a three-pronged approach:

extending existing forms of alternance training such as apprenticeship schemes and setting up new ones;

extending the principle of alternance to existing general and vocational training schemes;

eschewing ‘false’ alternance schemes.

Apprenticeship is a type of alternance training which is firmly implanted in all the EC countries. During the boom years, apprenticeship schemes mushroomed to meet the burgeoning need for skilled manpower. As regards content, the object of apprenticeship is to equip young people with vocational skills which will enable them to perform a limited — and in some cases strictly delineated — range of tasks. Apprenticeship schemes tend, however, to be confined to the traditional trades and this often militates against the acquisition of new skills. The split between work experience and training is often weighted in favour of the former under the combined pressure of employers and of the short-term demand for skilled manpower. Many educationalists, especially in France, have spoken out against the over-narrow specialization of some schemes. In the United Kingdom, for instance, many apprentices do not benefit from in-school training, though this is clearly stipulated in the collective agreements.

The new economic climate prevailing since 1973 has been marked by sluggish growth, a radical restructuring of industry, considerable uncertainty as to the likely impact of technological innovation on employment, and, what is perhaps more serious, rising youth unemployment. A variety of measures have been taken or are under consideration with the aim of adapting apprenticeship schemes to these new circumstances reflecting the ever-increasing pace of change in job content and skills and the sharp rise in numbers of young job-seekers.

Firstly, it is essential that the number of apprentices continue to grow. Government assistance may well have to be stepped up since the natural reaction of employers to the current economic crisis is to cut back the number of places on offer. Secondly, new types of apprenticeship must be devised to prepare young people for the new jobs to be created in future growth sectors. Lastly, new forms of alternance training are being introduced in this area, with greater emphasis on off-the-job general instruction in an attempt to avoid premature specialization. The

most striking examples of this approach are to be found in Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany where all apprentices must undergo a full year’s technical instruction in a training establishment before embarking upon the traditional work/study sandwich in the second year. At the same time apprenticeship schemes are being streamlined to cover fewer but broader vocational categories (seven in Denmark and thirteen in the Federal Republic of Germany) into which the young people are slotted in their first year. It is only subsequently that the apprentices acquire more specific skills and decide on the trade they wish to pursue. This effort to overhaul the system points to the vitality of the alternance concept even in as traditional a training cycle as apprenticeship.

Alternance training would thus seem particularly appropriate for imparting the new skills demanded by the new computer technologies. While experience in handling the new machines can be acquired only on the job, the more ‘abstract’ subjects such as mathematics and the logical reasoning required for such technologies can only be gained in the classroom. Many educationalists are now coming round to the idea that the principle of alternance might be extended to some forms of full-time instruction following on compulsory education. The systematic introduction of in-plant training into the three-year courses provided by the French vocational training colleges (lycées d’enseignement professionnel) is a step in the right direction, although the current programme cannot yet be said to amount to real alternance training. While in some countries — Belgium, France and the Netherlands for instance — vocational training for technicians takes the form of full-time college instruction, in others — notably the Federal Republic of Germany and to a lesser extent Denmark and Luxembourg — it is increasingly being replaced by alternance training, i.e. apprenticeship, supplemented for the more gifted by two to three years’ college training. The occupation of technician, epitomizing the link between theory and practice, is precisely the type of activity for which alternance training is ideally suited.

Some educationalists, like Bertrand Schwartz in France, go further and would like to see alternance made compulsory for all at the end of their ten years’ basic schooling, i.e. during the second cycle of secondary education. As Bertrand Schwartz himself admits, this is not for today nor yet tomorrow; its justification is more cultural (de-cloistering secondary education, gearing education to current needs, fostering a sense of community) than economic (helping young people find employment) but the mere fact that the idea is being aired would tend to indicate that heightened interest in alternance is no passing fad.

On a more modest scale, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany have instituted part-time compulsory instruction — two days a week for 16-year olds and one day a
week for 16—18-year olds. This system which picks up where compulsory schooling leaves off, is designed to combine vocational training and work experience. Although the practical problems should not be underestimated — low motivation has been given as the main reason for the high level of absenteeism noted in the courses — the system points to the possibility of extending some form of linked work and training to a significant proportion of the age group in the countries concerned.

Lastly, several European countries have recently taken initiatives to alleviate the problem of unemployment, some of which are tantamount to alternance training. The French ‘emploi-formation’ (employment-training) contracts, the Irish Work Experience Programme, the Italian fixed-term training contracts, the Unified Vocational Programme and Youth Opportunities Programme in the United Kingdom are all attempts to combine in differing degrees work experience and further training in colleges or training centres.

The in-plant placements introduced in France on the other hand, cannot be considered alternance training in the true sense of the term, although 120 hours of training are provided in the course of the four months' practical work. A French Ministry of Labour survey has revealed that only one young person in three effectively receives some form of organized training; the remainder have to learn on the job if at all.¹

The aims of alternance training

The ultimate aim of alternance training for young people is to facilitate their transition from school to working life, by helping them find their bearings in a world with which they are largely unfamiliar, equipping them with marketable skills and steering them into full-time stable employment.

Guidance implies familiarizing young people with the working world and helping them discover their aptitudes and interests so that they can make an informed choice of vocation. The linked work and training formula lends itself admirably to this purpose: the opportunity for work experience during training avoids the pitfall of overhasty and uninformed decisions; furthermore, training can build on this work experience and therefore open up a wider range of options.

The acquisition of skills has always been the prime aim of traditional vocational training. Alternance training attempts to go a step further since it is aimed not only at facilitating the acquisition of knowledge but also at developing expertise and problem-solving ability in real life situations, implying a capacity for basic research, decision-making and working with others. It is clearly crucial that such training be recognized on the labour market in just the same way as traditional vocational training.

Alternance training can enhance the vocational integration of young people and help them progress in their quest for stable full-time employment as much as it provides a network of training programmes while at the same time stimulating their awareness of the realities and constraints of the labour market. Representing a shift away from the traditional and somewhat constricting dichotomy in which full-time training is succeeded by full-time employment, linked work and training schemes are better adapted to a process of integration characterized by a series of occasional or part-time jobs, periods out-of-work interspersed with employment and by wait-and-see work situations which do not overcommit the young person concerned.
These three objectives — guidance, acquisition of skills, and integration — are never fully separable and it would be unrealistic to have special training programmes catering for any one to the exclusion of the two others. It is none the less the case that some programmes — whether implicitly or explicitly — do tend to focus on one particular objective.

Such vocational training programmes as De Putgraaf in Heerlen (Netherlands) or Intaskill in Birmingham (United Kingdom) tend to give greater weight to the first in the form of youth guidance and vocational pre-training. In both cases the prime aim is to help young people define their work goals and give them the means to plan their careers. The periods of in-centre training are interspersed with in-plant placements designed to familiarize the trainees with different work situations. In this way the young people acquire a number of vocational skills even though they cannot aspire to the status of 'skilled worker' on completion of their training: the time allocated for this is too short — one year at most, and in practice often less.

Conversely, the prime aim of the French 'employment-training' contracts and of the British YOP programme is vocational integration, i.e. maintenance in the job on completion of training. This has virtually been achieved in France where, according to Ministry of Labour estimates, some 85% of the 200,000 young people in the scheme during the period 1977—81 remained with their employers. The degree of success of the British YOP programme can also be gauged from the placement rate of the young people involved, though this has admittedly fallen from 68% in 1978 to 55% in 1979.¹ In both cases, the young people acquired a complementary training, but this training — poorly monitored and closely geared to companies' specific needs — is clearly not the prime purpose of the scheme.

¹ Estimates based on a 'follow-up' study of the trainees by the Manpower Services Commission. The fact that the placement rate has fallen off does not reflect a deterioration in the quality of the programme, but rather the saturation of the labour market for young job-seekers. See Chapter 4, Section 3.
On the other hand, under the 'dual system' applying in the Federal Republic of Germany which 'alternates' vocational in-plant training and part-time vocational in-school instruction, first priority is given to the acquisition of skills. The practical and theoretical skills expected of the trainees in each trade are stipulated in detail and the content is regularly updated by the Federal Institute of Vocational Training, whose directives must be followed by the vocational schools and enterprises. Moreover, the length of the training, varying from two to three and a half years, demonstrates that the aim is something more than guidance or job integration.

Lastly, the importance attached to the acquisition of skills under linked work and training schemes is currently borne out by the incentives introduced in a number of countries to actively promote apprenticeship, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Whether these incentives take the form of direct grants to employers offering apprenticeship contracts as in Denmark, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, or relief from social security contributions as in France, the aim is identical: namely to foster the production of skills recognized on the labour market through alternance training.

Clearly, young people should be enabled to progress from one type of training to another. Correctly guided and motivated by appropriate pre-training, they will be better prepared to acquire real and recognized skills and to embark on their adult working life.
For whom
Alternance training: For whom?
Alternance training: For whom?
A substantial proportion of those who leave school when they are entitled to do so by law — some 35 to 55% of the age group according to country — effectively drop out of full-time education. Most of them have no real vocational skills and are likely to encounter serious problems when they come onto the labour market. In some countries — notably, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Federal Republic of Germany — some 50 to 80% enter apprenticeship. In others far fewer are catered for in this way. In France, for instance, only 40% of the age-group embark on apprenticeships; in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom the proportion falls to one in four while in Italy and Ireland it is no more than one in seven.

Apprenticeship schemes thus cannot meet all the training needs of the age-group. If it is accepted that all young people leaving the full-time compulsory school system have the right to training, whatever their position on the labour market, there is clearly scope for strengthening and, if necessary, overhauling the apprenticeship system as well as for promoting other forms of linked work and training. The aim should be to provide all young school leavers with some kind of alternance training, either by extending the principle of alternance to the more traditional forms of vocational training or by creating new alternance training structures.

The problem is as much qualitative as quantitative. Not only should the number of training places be increased, but the training programmes themselves must be geared to the needs of the group in question. Naturally these needs vary widely. Some young people may already have acquired a degree of work experience, while others have known nothing but unemployment. Some may have abandoned full-time schooling after failing their exams, while others may have had to leave to earn a living. Some may have a clear idea of what they want from life and are highly motivated, while others have become permanent drop-outs or even delinquents.

Recognition of the disparate nature of the target groups in regard to motivation, school performance, knowledge of working life and of the socio-economic environment, is central to any discussion of alternance training which must always respect the needs of the groups concerned. Inevitably the way in which alternance is applied will reflect this diversity. The idea of a single type of training to replace those already existing is clearly out of the question; the aim must rather be to initiate and foster an array of training mechanisms, geared to local conditions and based on the principle of linked work experience and school-based training. The first step in planning any alternance training programme is thus to gain thorough knowledge of the attributes of the target groups concerned.
There can be no universal formula for defining these groups and existing alternance training schemes all too often suffer from a lack of precision in identifying the groups at which they are aimed. In the present economic climate, it is imperative to focus on training job-seekers and young people who are vocationally ill-equipped. Yet the definitions are too woolly to be of any real value in planning training programmes. The following list, while not exhaustive, is an attempt to identify the key criteria for defining reasonably coherent groups of young people:
Much can be learnt in this respect from experience in Germany. Here, more than 1,400,000 young people are involved in vocational training which is on a far bigger scale than elsewhere; yet demand is still in excess of supply and there is hence keen competition among young people for the places on offer. This situation de facto favours successful school-leavers over those who leave school empty-handed — currently estimated at around 100,000 — and children of immigrant workers who number around 200,000. With a view to the special needs of the least favoured groups, a pilot project has been launched in Rüsselsheim (a centre of the automobile industry),\footnote{Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 February 1981.} stressing close coordination between the plants involved and calling on psychologists and career guidance specialists. The fact that the Federal Government is bearing more than half the costs of the operation points to the firm intention of the authorities to redress the balance in favour of the under-privileged groups.

Doubts have been expressed whether such a policy of positive discrimination can be pursued over the long term in view of the high costs entailed. There has even been some scepticism in regard to the principle of alternance training \textit{per se} on the grounds that it would always be considered in some way second class. The only way to obviate these discriminatory effects would be to extend the alternance principle to all training, including full-time post-school instruction. The all-or-nothing attitude which is prevalent in some circles, particularly among the unions, could conflict with the gradualist approach which aims at achieving a real improvement in integrating young people, particularly the most deprived, in the labour market. Even if the advocates of alternance may not share this view, it is essential that the fears underlying it be understood so as to ensure the integrity of the alternance concept. Some of the safeguards which might be envisaged are discussed in the following chapters.
A pedagogy of alternance
An approach to a pedagogy of alternance
It is now widely recognized that linked work and training facilitates the learning process and that young people tend to ‘learn better’ when their training follows this pattern. It should not, however, simply take the form of role-sharing between company and training establishment; rather it should serve as a vehicle for educational progress and enhance the effectiveness of the training. Much is expected of alternance. For some it fosters cross-fertilization between theory and practice; for others it serves to highlight the material aspects of the problems, offsetting the ‘bookish’ approach of in-school training; for yet others, it facilitates the learning process because it is more geared to the aspirations of the youth of today.

This said, it is easier to point to the benefits — whether real or perceived — of alternance training than to identify the underlying pedagogical principles. Despite the many experiments under way, there is no universal formula to ensure that the goals will be reached. The chapter starts out by briefly outlining a number of approaches to the content of linked work and training schemes and goes on to review the pedagogical principles on which they are based.

1. Content of alternance training

In the same way as any other system of vocational training, alternance training must strive to strike a balance between companies’ short-term requirements for specific skills and individuals’ long-term needs. The alternance between school or training centre and work should help to achieve this. Companies obviously tend to stress the acquisition of particular theoretical and practical skills which may even be company-specific and which can immediately be used on the job. The young people, for their part, are not thinking so much of a first job, but in terms of a career; they want to acquire knowledge and skills that will allow them to switch jobs within the company, move elsewhere and even change occupations. They perceive vocational training as a personal investment safeguarding them against the vagaries of the labour market.

In practice this conflict of aims is rarely so clear cut. In their desire to take any kind of employment, young people may frequently be eager to
acquire skills that fit them for the specific demands of their first job even if this may be acting counter to their long-term interests. Conversely, many companies, particularly the larger ones, are conscious of the dangers of overspecialization since it can impede redeployment within the company.

In the matter of content, it is customary to classify skills into three main groupings: basic skills, transferable skills (between sectors or occupational areas) and skills which might be dubbed company-specific.

The more the training is geared to skills specific to occupations or tasks to be performed in pre-determined conditions, the greater its short-term effectiveness and the less the trainee is equipped to cope with future technological change. Conversely, the greater the emphasis on basic training and transferable skills, the greater the degree of choice afforded to the individual in terms of jobs and ability to adapt to changes in his working life.

Today there is a definite will to develop alternance training as a means of countering over-narrow specialization and promoting labour mobility. In Denmark and Germany, for instance, occupations and vocational branches have been streamlined into seven and thirteen broad vocational groups. There is a one-year core course followed by specialist courses in the various options. A similar effort is being made in the engineering sector in the United Kingdom with a view to associating forms of training which have hitherto been distinct.

The only way of scientifically grouping over-specialized forms of training is to identify the transferable — or ‘generic’ — skills which lend themselves to a range of work situations. Many countries are currently engaged in job analysis. In France, the CEREQ is in the process of compiling a ‘Répertoire français des Emplois’ (French job directory), based on the ‘model job’ approach encompassing a whole range of actual job situations. This approach differs from such traditional concepts as:

- **trade (métier)**, which supposes a lasting link between the individual and a particular product or technique;

- **occupation (profession)**, which carries statutory and social implications.

It attempts to go beyond the notion of ‘job’, which tends to be defined in terms of tasks, and describes the relationship of the individual with the company in terms of ‘activities’ which escape the arbitrariness of task allocation within the firm. This work will radically transform the system of job classification to incorporate the impact of technological change, e.g. in such sectors as printing.

Once there is better knowledge of the principal activities constituting the **model jobs**, the latter must then be broken down in terms of the theoretical and practical skills to be fostered. A CEREQ study on jobs in data processing shows that when companies bring in computer techno-

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logy, there is an initial tendency to create new specialized courses; then, as computerization is introduced more widely, the trend shifts to generalization and "despecialization" of training, with data processing being incorporated into existing schemes.¹

This is a useful general approach in training policy but one that fails to pinpoint the theoretical and practical skills to be developed. There is no easy solution to this problem. Perhaps the most promising line of approach is that taken by the 'London into Work' programme sponsored by the United Kingdom Department of Education and Science and the Inner London Education Authority.² More than a thousand jobs for semi-skilled or unskilled young workers have been analysed on the basis of a grid of transferable skills to determine the extent and importance of the latter.³

Three criteria are used to decide whether a particular skill merits inclusion in a training programme: how often it occurs in a particular job, how often it is used on the job and the percentage of young people interviewed stating that this skill is needed for the job. The preliminary conclusions of the study which has not yet been completed indicate that the skills most frequently cited are reading, oral communication and problem-solving.

³ This grid takes the form of a very detailed questionnaire comprising some 300 indicators broken down into seven types of skills: basic calculations, measurement drawing, practical skills, listening and talking, reading and writing, planning, problem-solving. The survey is conducted by interview.
Firstly, the skills corresponding to a given job will vary according to work environment. In other words, a job may require totally different skills depending on its context (work organization within the company, industrial sector, outlets). The mass of special cases is hardly conducive to the identification of transferable skills.

Secondly, how the skills are applied will very much depend on the motivation and attitudes of the individuals concerned vis-à-vis their work. A young person who in theory is equipped for the job he occupies, may lack motivation and hence be deemed ‘inapt’ by his employer. Conversely, a highly motivated young worker may quickly acquire the skills he lacks. All too often job analysis is limited to the cognitive aspects and neglects the problem of motivation and attitudes.

Lastly, job content is likely to change radically under the combined impact of technological development and changes in work organization, and this will be reflected in the number and type of transferable skills needed. There is thus a necessity to keep training programmes — generally recognized as cumbersome — permanently under review and revise them as needed.

The problem of defining jobs in terms of aptitudes to be developed within the training system can be put in very much the same terms for both vocational training of the traditional type and alternance training. The interest of the latter, however, is that it does not artificially remove training from its context as does the former. It can also test individuals’ motivations in a real situation. Lastly, training can be brought more rapidly into line with current needs when both trainers and trainees are experiencing technological and organizational change within the company.
Pedagogical guidelines for alternance training

It is generally accepted that the value of alternance training is that it combines periods of in-school learning with in-plant experience. If this is to be more than a mere juxtaposition of training experiences and is to be mutually reinforcing, a certain number of conditions must be fulfilled.

A Relationship between trainers and trainees

A major difference between in-school and in-plant training is that, in the latter case, the trainees voluntarily accept a certain number of contractual obligations. Their relationship with their trainers is no longer based on the traditional pupil-master relationship. Work experience puts the young person on an equal footing with other adults and, in the best of cases, allows him to assume responsibilities within the group. A climate of mutual trust in working towards a common goal should thereby be generated. Every effort should be made to avoid recreating a classroom atmosphere which the young people feel they have grown out of and to adopt teaching methods which accord a large place to teamwork and group discussion. Trainees should be actively involved in the training process as a means of strengthening their often waivering motivation.

B Rehabilitation of in-plant training

True alternance implies giving full weight to the training value of work experience. This is not to belittle the benefits afforded by schools and training centres in the form of systematic instruction nor to assume that all work situations have training potential, but rather to restore the balance between in-school and on-the-job training. There are many educators who consider that a large number of skills can be acquired on the job given a certain flexibility in working conditions and the presence of industrial tutors in the workplace. A group of teachers, trainers and vocational counsellors in the United Kingdom, have drawn up a list of some fifty skills which could be learnt through on-the-job experience: these include punctuality, perseverance, observing safety precautions, ability to communicate, etc.¹ A study is cur-

¹ 'Learning at Work Study', Manpower Services Commission, Special Programmes Division (ronoed document).
Currently being made in the framework of the YOP programme to assess the training potential of the work experience so acquired, with particular reference to the factors favouring the acquisition of skills and the impediments to such acquisition.¹


C Pedagogical coordination between school and company

Many so-called alternance training schemes view in-plant training merely as a period during which the theoretical knowledge gained at school is put into practice; this is notably the case for the traditional end-of-studies placement. Though none would deny the worth of such placements in providing an insight into the world of work, their value in terms of training is limited inasmuch as they are deemed to come a very poor second to theoretical teaching in the acquisition of skills. A true pedagogy of alternance will strive to upgrade the image of on-the-job learning by using the work situations experienced by young people as a starting point for a critical assessment of experience acquired on the job. The object of the exercise — which can only be conducted in a training establishment away from the workplace — is to strengthen the young person’s grip on his environment and develop his capacity to transfer the skills so attained from one work situation to another. In other words, once the transferable skills referred to in the first part of this chapter have been assimilated, it should then be ensured that the young people are effectively capable of applying these skills in a variety of work situations.¹


The Maisons familiales rurales in France are a good example of this approach. Aimed at young countryfolk, alternance training is here based primarily on the ‘cahier d’exploitation familial’ (family smallholding record) which is used as a means of stimulating awareness of their milieu.
The principles underlying the Maisons familiales may be summed up as follows:

- start from the activities of the young person and his milieu;
- encourage him to observe, ask questions and learn to formulate them;
- respond to the needs expressed by providing him with the elements of an answer;
- help him resolve his present problems so as to better equip him for the future and assume the role of community leader.

Despite its interest, the Maisons familiales experiment underlines the difficulties inherent in coordinating at the teaching level in-school and in-plant training in a full-scale system of alternance training. In this respect the obstacles encountered by the dual training system in the Federal Republic of Germany give food for thought. This system which has been hailed abroad for its virtues, is criticized at home precisely because of its failure to achieve this coordination. It is not the principle of plurality of learning sites (vocational school, training centre and company) which is called into question; on the contrary, the respective contribution of each is analysed and assessed on its merits. The means of coordination are none the less real enough and are partly why a year of basic vocational training (Grundbildungsjahr) has been introduced, which is designed to ensure the system's cohesion and increase the vocational mobility of the young people who have completed the course.
Considerable flexibility is called for in regard to training goals because of the lack of homogeneity of the groups concerned. Ideally, the store of knowledge of each target group should be identified at the outset so as to gear the training goals to labour market requirements. These goals must be as specific as possible so that training routes can be mapped to take in the respective contributions of school and company. The goals, consisting in a number of skills which may be graduated by performance level, should then be translated into programmes subdivided into distinct and capitalizable units (credits), allowing two-way traffic between company and training establishment, and — more importantly — a continuous progression from one training stage to the next.

The French credit system which is currently being introduced in preparing adults for the ‘Certificat d’aptitude professionelle’ illustrates this effort at enriching teaching. Its main features are outlined below.²

¹ See Chapter 2.
It is goal-oriented
The programme is less concerned with getting the student to digest a given syllabus than training his capabilities. Vocational aptitudes are determined by a yardstick specific to each vocational area.

The training route is staked out by credits
By identifying performance levels, it is possible to define a series of graded credits for each type of skill (ranked in order of importance). Each credit is distinguished from the previous one not in terms of additional knowledge and know-how but of greater mastery and autonomy in the skills concerned. When an adult has attained a performance level corresponding to a unit so defined, he is awarded the appropriate certificate. This is valid for five years, after which time he is deemed to have lost some of the theoretical and practical skills so acquired. Within the five-year period, an adult, even if he has interrupted his training, is not required to give further evidence of his abilities at that particular attainment level in his branch.

Negotiated training goals
On entering training, an individual can gain some idea of what the programme is designed to achieve and how it matches up with his personal aspirations. If on testing it is found that in some fields the skills he already possesses qualify him for the final credit, he is awarded the latter.

Continuous assessment of training
As the student acquires skills in the different areas, this is recorded in his personal file with supporting evidence and he is awarded the corresponding credits. When the final credits have been gained, he is automatically entitled to the diploma.

In 1979 some 10 000 adults in France worked towards their CAP in this way. As yet there has been no evaluation of the system and so far it is not planned to extend it to alternance training for young people.
Alternance training
Organization of alternance training
Any comprehensive investigation of the organizational problems posed by alternance training must take a three-stage approach: the general institutional characteristics, organization — including evaluation and inspection, and lastly the status and protection of trainees.

1. General institutional characteristics

The institutional context of present efforts to promote alternance training may be epitomized in two key words: consultation and decentralization. The presence of both these factors is admittedly no guarantee of success, but if one or other is lacking or not accorded its proper weight, serious problems are almost certain to ensue.

A Consultation between the social partners

"...The development of systems of linked work and training is impossible without the will to maintain and expand cooperation among the social groups involved, as well as between these groups and the public authorities. This was one of the major conclusions to emerge from the seminar on alternance training for young people sponsored jointly by the Cedefop and the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs of the EC Commission in June 1980. It might be added that this cooperation, if it is to serve any useful purpose, must be concretized in a frame-agreement setting out the main lines for the development of linked work and training and the division of responsibility among the social partners.

This consultation and cooperation between employers, unions and government is needed at national, local and plant level. At the national level, it is the expression of a common political will which is a prerequisite for releasing the funds to develop alternance training and ensuring its compatibility both with the education system and the demands of the labour market. At the local level, consultation between the social partners is crucial since it is here, as we shall see, that the administrative responsi-
B Decentralization of Initiative and responsibility

Given the wide variety of local situations and the consequent diversity of alternance training programmes, it is important that administration of the training be decentralized to the greatest degree possible. While it is virtually impossible to determine in the abstract the 'ideal' decision-making level, it might be useful to specify some of its features.

Firstly, this local body should have some responsibility for information. As alternance training schemes gain ground, the demand for information on the part of companies, unions and individuals correspondingly increases and this demand must be met in order not to waste time and duplicate effort. Secondly, it should be endowed with the means to analyse the local labour market so as to keep the 'promoters' of training programmes abreast of developments. Thirdly, it should have powers of recognition and supervision. Lastly, it should serve to channel public funds to all the parties involved.

This decentralization of responsibility calls for appropriate information circuits between the decision-makers and those implementing training policy in the field. A free flow of information is vital to avoid the system being 'fragmented' into compartmentalized programmes. A good example of such decentralization is seen in the Netherlands. Here the municipalities have played a major role in planning occupational training programmes by setting up a Programmes Commission which consults all the interested parties and takes cognizance of the theoretical and practical skills demanded by each occupational branch. The Commission then makes recommendations to the Ministry which then gives its ruling. Similarly, the United Kingdom Manpower Services

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1 'La combinaison d'un emploi et d'une formation: le contrat d'apprentissage et le contrat emploi-formation', Raymonde Vatinet, in Droit Social No 6, June 1979.
Commission has set up area boards to promote and supervise training programmes at the local level. These boards on which sit representatives of unions, management, local training and employment authorities, as well as of voluntary organizations, play a major role in decision-making and the allocation of public funds.

2. Organization of alternance training schemes

The organization of linked work and training may take a variety of forms depending on local conditions. There are, however, a number of basic features which should underlie all such schemes:

A Unity of responsibility

is of particular importance in that two very different worlds — the company and school or training centre — are endeavouring to pool their resources in working towards a common training goal. All too often, for want of an authority capable of bringing these two worlds together, alternance schemes remain a mere juxtaposition of work experience and training in a specialized workplace. Responsibility should therefore devolve on a single individual to ensure that the various training stages are truly complementary. His title — ‘training director’, ‘leader’ or ‘programme coordinator’ — is of little importance. What is essential is that he be capable of instituting effective collaboration between the firm and the training establishment.¹

¹ See below Chapter 5, Section 2C.
B The duration and cycling of alternance

will be planned flexibly in the light of the capabilities and training needs of the particular target group. The duration of alternance training schemes has been found to vary from a few weeks to several years depending on what they are designed to achieve. In France, for example, there are two types of employment-training contracts, one for six months and aimed at the occupational integration of trainees, the other for at least one year and aimed at the acquisition of skills. In theory, the maximum duration of the training cycle under the British YOP programme is one year, but in practice training tends to be for six months. In the case of apprentices, the length of training is three years in the Federal Republic of Germany for most trades; in France it was cut from three to two years in 1971 but subsequently increased to three years for some thirty trades. In-plant placements whose main purpose is work-orientation, tend to be a great deal shorter.

The same variety is found in the cycling of alternance. Decisions must be reached on (i) the length of the sessions which may vary from a week to a year, (ii) their frequency (one week of in-plant training every two or three weeks, or one month per quarter), and (iii) the pattern and place of training; in the course of a 3-year period, for instance, some schemes repeat the same cycle of in-school and in-plant training each year while others vary the pattern; some schemes use the same companies throughout, while other prefer to change.¹

In France, apprentices spend three weeks in the company for every week in a training centre. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the building industry has adopted an alternance system varying from year to year, structured as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Year 1:</th>
<th>Year 2:</th>
<th>Year 3:</th>
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<tr>
<td>20 weeks in training centre</td>
<td>13 weeks in training centre</td>
<td>4 weeks in training centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 weeks in vocational school</td>
<td>39 weeks in a company and vocational school (including holidays)</td>
<td>32 weeks in a company and vocational school (including holidays)</td>
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<td>12 weeks in a company (including holidays)</td>
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¹ See ‘Organization of alternance’ by the ADEP In: Youth unemployment and alternance training in the EEC, conference report, Cedefop, Berlin 1981.
How training is tested depends on what teaching techniques are used. Four aspects are of particular importance:

First, the form of testing for alternance training, continuous assessment with periodic reports attesting to the successful completion of each training stage would appear more suitable than the traditional more formal examination; diplomas should be defined in terms of ‘capabilities’ or ‘skills’ to be attained in a particular vocational area;

The recognition of alternance training on the labour market is a controversy and part of a wider debate on training generally. On the one hand, those who feel that the quality of training is demonstrated by the personal and professional success of the recipients, i.e. its validity is borne out by contact with reality. Others, however, consider that training should be officially sanctioned in the form of a diploma which would allow the young person to claim his due and attest to the worth of the value of the training received. Management, needless to say, incline to the former view, while the unions and training officials tend to stress the value of a diploma. This, they believe, situates the degree of skill imparted by the training within the overall hierarchy of diplomas, especially those awarded for full-time studies. One can well appreciate the anxieties of management who fear that the award of diplomas might impede the flexibility of personnel management.

But there is no gainsaying that in a world where workers are hired on the strength of diplomas, to deny such recognition to alternance training is implicitly to depreciate it.

The problems posed by alternance diplomas and their ranking in the hierarchy of certification are strikingly illustrated by the apprenticeship reforms in France during the seventies. To stem the growing unpopularity of this type of training it was decided inter alia to accord it recognition by awarding the same diploma as that given for full-time training in the vocational training colleges (lycées d'enseignement professionnel). In other words the goal is the same, only the means for attaining it are different. Admittedly this measure cannot resolve the problem of recognition at the stroke of a pen. The high failure rate of apprentices in the CAP exams bears out that, in their present form, these exams still accord greater weight to the theoretical aspects of learning than to expertise acquired on
Although training examinations should be administered by joint boards, in which both training authorities and management are represented, were either party not to be involved, the aspect of the training might well be overlooked.

...should cover both the cognitive and non-cognitive aspects of training. While the former pose few problems, it is much more problematical to test non-cognitive skills, notably the capacity for critical analysis or the ability to transfer skills. Here we are forced to rely on the opinion of the training officer on each of his trainees.

The job, and much remains to be done if apprentices are to enjoy the same opportunities as their comrades in full-time technical training. Nevertheless, the reform is along the right lines inasmuch as linked work and training is now sanctioned by a diploma which has its place in the hierarchy of existing diplomas and whose worth is recognized on the labour market.2

While apprenticeship with its long tradition would seem to lend itself fairly readily to recognition by diploma, the same cannot be said for other and newer forms of alternance training whose impact is intended to be more area-specific. The problem is compounded by the fact that most of the programmes are too short to allow acquisition of high level skills. Since the prime object of the training is to help young people find their first jobs, it is in the interest of the main parties concerned — employers, training officers and worker representatives — to give in devising some kind of ‘training certificate’ detailing the knowledge and skills acquired during training. This certificate would help in deciding where the young people should be placed on the wage scale on entering employment and allow them to apply, should they so wish, for a more advanced course of training.

1. The CAP or Certificat d’Aptitude Professionnelle (certificate of vocational aptitude).
Inspection and supervision of alternance training schemes is crucial in ensuring minimum standards and observance of the contractual obligations incumbent on each party. In the vast majority of cases, in-company training is on-the-job and there is a temptation to limit it to merely familiarizing the trainee with a particular machine or production process. Similarly, in-school training could simply consist in repetitive courses ill-adapted to the individual’s training needs and having little relevance for his in-plant training. A sine qua non for progress in this area is the establishment of a qualified corps of inspectors who would supervise training conditions and ensure proper coordination between in-school and in-plant training. One of the corps’ tasks would be to see that due account is taken of the information gathered by the joint supervisory boards and by the authorities responsible for assessing the programmes.

Except in the case of apprenticeship, few linked work and training schemes are subject to any kind of real inspection. Inspection corps do exist in some countries but their responsibilities would seem to be confined to matters of finance. The number of inspectors is as a rule too small for them to fulfil their role of ‘quality control’. Some schemes are as yet in their infancy and still experiencing teething troubles. They are having to cope with a whole array of organizational problems and are hardly ideal candidates for inspection, especially since no guidelines yet exist in this area. In the longer term, the schemes acquire a firmer institutional basis and take on a more permanent character, such inspection will clearly be needed. Meanwhile, a minimum first step might be, for example, to systematically record and detail all the practical and educational experience of young people who have undergone such training. Though only a beginning, it is a key move in view of the wide variety of courses already existing or in the pipeline.

In a decentralized alternance training system aimed at meeting the needs of the young, assessment must become a pivotal function serving the interests of the system as a whole. It should be possible at any moment to state whether or not a given programme is likely to achieve its goals. Reasons for success or failure should be looked into and borne in mind when reformulating programmes or launching new ones.

Some separation of powers in this area is sound practice: the individuals managing or implementing programmes should not be responsible for their assessment. Given the importance of feedback in the system, the function of assessment should carry some authority so that it is taken seriously by all the parties concerned. The foregoing considerations would suggest that this task be entrusted to a specialized central government unit with powers to investigate individual training programmes. The work of these ‘external’ investigators would be greatly facilitated were there to be a self-assessment unit attached to the programme itself. Especially in regard to data gathering such units can be of invaluable service in formulating a diagnosis.
Several European countries have already undertaken major assessments of a number of alternance training schemes. The UVPP pilot scheme, for instance in the United Kingdom has been the subject of detailed evaluation by the National Foundation for Educational Research.¹ The French employment-training contracts have also been scrutinized in a recent Ministry of Labour study.²

The current discussions regarding the extension of the British YOP programme bear witness to the interest — and difficulty — of using assessment findings in formulating an alternance strategy. Faced with the programme's loss of credibility in view of the steadily declining placement rate on completion of training, the government is now forced to choose between closing it down or revising it radically. The decision by Parliament in November 1980 to double the size of the YOP programme³ was taken against a background of intense lobbying to improve its quality⁴ by increasing the length of training for all from six months to a year, by expanding the training component⁵ and above all by converting the programme into a permanent alternance training structure for all 16 to 18-year-olds wishing to benefit from it.

² 'Les pactes nationaux pour l'emploi des jeunes' by F. Pate, G. Bez, P. Koepp and M. Tardieu, in Travail et Emploi, No 8, October 1980.
³ The total number of entrants is due to rise from 216 000 in 1979/80 to 440 000 in 1981/82.
⁴ 'Quality or Collapse', Report of Youthaid, Review of the Youth Opportunities Programme.
⁵ At present, one trainee in three spends his entire time in the scheme in a company and receives no training whatsoever. Youthaid now proposes to limit experience to three months, the other nine being spent in training.
4. Status and protection of trainees

From the standpoint of the trainee, organization of alternance training presents three major problems, namely his legal status, remuneration, and job prospects on completion of training.

The legal status of young people in alternance training schemes varies widely in view of the diversity of their backgrounds and the courses that are offered. Some alternance training schemes — e.g. apprenticeship — often take on their trainees fresh from school, while other schemes are primarily intended for young workers who have never received an adequate vocational training. Clearly, the contractual obligations differ in the two cases. The status of the first group is similar to that of students — a high proportion of training time outside the workplace and low wages — while that of the second is more akin to that of a full-time worker, with slight differences in working hours and wages to compensate for time spent in off-plant training. Where alternance training is designed primarily to cater for the young jobless, work experience and off-the-job training can be combined with some flexibility, though it should be ensured that the remuneration of trainees be at least on a par with unemployment benefit.

Between the two extremes of full-time student and full-time worker, there are any number of possible combinations of work and training. Apprenticeship, in the countries where this system is practised, is a case in point. Depending on the rights and duties which it entails in regard to number of hours of work and training, social security, leave, wages etc. which vary

Variation in the rate of grants and aids in the EC (9)
The diagram indicates the highest and lowest level of assistance

Secondary-school pupils
Maximum grants and aids for pupils at upper secondary level and as a percentage of the average industrial wage in 1979/80

University students
Maximum grants and aids for students not living at home, as a percentage of the average industrial wage in 1979/80

Unemployed school-leavers
Promotion aids for 16 to 17-year-olds as a percentage of the average industrial wage 1979/80

Apprentices
Initial and final remunerations as a percentage of wage for an adult
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
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<td>38</td>
<td>55</td>
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*Source: Youth unemployment and vocational training. The material and social standing of young people during transition from school to work. Conference report. CEDEFOP 1981.*
from country to country and year to year, it may be situated anywhere in the spectrum between worker and student.

To clarify matters, a distinction should be drawn between alternance training schemes designed with vocational integration in mind and those aimed at the acquisition of qualifications. In the first case, a work contract taking into account the training aspect would suffice, while in the second, an ad hoc training contract would have to be worked out. The content of these contracts would have to be negotiated between the social partners and the result embodied in collective agreements.

The extent to which government is involved in these negotiations will depend on the traditions of the country concerned. In France, the government plays a very important role while in the Federal Republic of Germany, government participation is minimal. The diversity of work and training situations in which young people find themselves would seem to indicate that government intervention may be essential in imposing minimum conditions in respect to length of training and wages. This would, moreover, do much to upgrade the image of alternance training in the eyes of the general public and of young people in particular. By taking systematic measures to shield trainees from poor working conditions, control the quality of the training and ensure decent wages during training, governments could do much to attract the mass of unskilled young people into alternance training.

There would appear to be no general policy in regard to wages. In setting wage levels, criteria have been proposed based on how trainees’ time at work is allocated:

(a) time spent in productive labour;
(b) time spent in specific in-plant training;
(c) time spent in training related to the particular firm’s sector or branch;
(d) time spent in general education.

Wage levels can also be based on the value of the work done by the trainees, though this is hard to establish. In the Federal Republic of Germany, wages of apprentices are some 20—30% of those of a skilled worker in the first year, rising to 40—50% in the last year of training. There are wide variations in earnings, however, between the different occupational sectors. In France, young apprentices receive a wage amounting to 15% of the national minimum wage during their first six months of training, while young people on traineeships receive 25% of this minimum wage.

Clearly, a balance must be struck between what firms are prepared to pay and what is needed to encourage young people to embark on training. But given the employment problems they are facing, the free interplay of supply and demand is likely to operate to their disadvantage and result in abuses; hence the need for government intervention either in setting minimum wage levels or in subsidizing part of the cost of trainees’ wages.

2. See Chapter 7: ‘Costs and financing of alternance training’. 
Except in the case of schemes for young unskilled workers such as the British Unified Vocational Preparation Programme, trainees have no guarantee of employment on completion of their course. Admittedly, placement is the priority objective of many alternance training schemes, some of which virtually amount to a selection process in that they provide the company with an opportunity to get to know the trainees, find out their strong and weak points, and see how they face up to responsibility. In many instances trainees are hired as much on the strength of the mutual confidence built up during training as on their paper qualifications.

This said, it would be unwise to oblige firms to take on all the young people they have helped to train since this would provide them with a pretext to restrict the scope of training to those skills which are immediately useful to them and make them extremely reluctant to take part in alternance training programmes. But, were they to be allowed simply to ‘dump’ trainees on completion of their course, this would equally lead to abuses and spawn a mass of temporary underpaid jobs.

If it is impossible to guarantee jobs for all trainees, it has been suggested that priority be accorded to those who have successfully completed their training cycle. Trainees should also be offered an opportunity to return to full-time training. We need in a sense to ‘follow-up’ trainees and so help to improve their chances of integration into working life.
Alternance training and the company
Alternance training and the company
Experience of working in a company and its corollary, on-the-job training, constitute an essential ingredient of alternance training. Without the active participation of industry, the alternance principle is no more than a pious hope devoid of any real significance. It is thus imperative to convince companies of the need to participate in the training effort and to do so effectively.

1. Participation of companies in training

Without company participation, alternance training cannot exist. Once this principle is recognized, the difficulties posed in applying it must be squarely faced. Whatever their wishes in the matter, not all companies are in a position to participate appropriately. Many are too small or can only provide jobs which are too arduous or hazardous for young inexperienced adults. The pattern of work organization may also involve a high degree of specialization and may hence not lend itself to training.

The first step is thus to identify the companies and jobs which are suited to the training effort. The factors to be taken into consideration here include size of firm, type of product, production techniques and working conditions. In training young people for the craft trades, it is probably the small firm where the young person is apprenticed that can provide the best environment for the acquisition of the necessary skills. The same does not hold true for the industrial trades where generally only the medium and large companies can provide sufficiently varied work situations to give the young trainee broad experience of the conditions in which he will be applying the skills he is in the process of acquiring. The smaller firms have, however, the possibility of pooling their efforts and setting up inter-company training centres equipped with all the requisite facilities.

The next step is to encourage companies with the means to participate in the training effort to do so. Press, TV and radio campaigns to sensitize firms to the issue and encourage them to play their part in tackling youth unemployment have been successfully waged in a number of European countries, notably France. Experience has shown that the more campaigns are geared to local labour needs and to a specific geographic area, the greater the impact on employers. By and large, once companies have been made aware of the problem, they tend to give their wholehearted support to the training effort.

Many of the major companies have always taken their responsibilities seriously in the matter both in regard to their own workforce and to newcomers; they have no need to be prompted by information campaigns. This background of tradition has undoubtedly been a positive force for the dual training system in the Fed-
eral Republic of Germany. In France, however, the fact that almost two-thirds of trainees awarded employment-training contracts in the first quarter of 1979 went to firms employing less than 50 workers would seem to indicate a certain reticence on the part of larger firms vis-à-vis the scheme.

In trying to 'sell' alternance training to firms, two types of argument are habitually invoked. The first consists in stressing the social character of the effort demanded: youth unemployment is an acute problem which must be tackled on all fronts; firms have in a sense a moral obligation which they cannot sidestep. This argument is all the more likely to be heeded if the outlook for the firm is promising and it is keen to put over a good image to the public.

The second argument, which is essentially economic, consists in pointing out the potential benefits of alternance training for the employer: with training, the young people acquire motivation, identify more closely with the company's goals and are more ready to work as part of a team and accept orders; in the last analysis it is the company that stands to gain. As one director of a craft firm so aptly put it: 'It is at the end of the apprenticeship that we pick up the chips'. Though this argument can be most persuasive, experience has shown that it convinces only those who are already half won over, since employers seldom base their decision to participate in an alternance training programme on highly sophisticated cost/benefit analyses. It is more an act of faith, often strongly influenced by immediate socio-political considerations and traditional practice.

This latter argument is sometimes invoked to support the claim that alternance training is used by firms as a means of acquiring an underpaid workforce engaged in repetitive and unskilled tasks. Carried to extremes by some authors, it takes on Marxist connotations; in their view the social function of apprenticeship is to keep the bosses of small firms from going under by handing them a young and exploitable worker 'on a plate'. While recognizing that abuses do occur, B. Girod de l'Ain contests this view:

Should these arguments fail to prompt a sufficient number of companies to take part, the government could always have recourse to financial incentives to lessen the burden on employers. It is then the taxpayer who is forced to foot the bill. Without wishing to encroach on what is more properly dealt with in Chapter 7, we would merely point out here that, depending on the size of firms, government aid will have a very different impact. In the case of small companies

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1 See Table A.6., p. 51, in 'Les pactes nationaux pour l'emploi des jeunes' by F. Pate, G. Bez, P. Koepp and M. Tardieu, in Travail et Emploi, No 6, October 1980.
2 Unified Vocational Preparation, op. cit. pp. 48-70.
it may actually determine participation — though this is of course hard to prove. In the case of large ones, government grants — generally a fraction of labor costs — tend to be viewed merely as tokens of goodwill and seldom tip the odds for or against participation.

The form in which government money is made available is as important as the amount. The less the red tape, the more readily the aid will be accepted by the smaller firms which already feel that they are overburdened with paperwork. This accounts for the success of the measures under the French employment-training contract scheme giving small employers direct relief from social security contributions.

If companies cannot be persuaded to participate in the training effort, governments can always bring in legislation to force their hand. This is of course not the best way for governments to achieve their ends for what is asked of firms goes beyond simple financial participation. They are being asked to contribute in a complex educative process — a contribution that can take many forms as we shall see later — in collaboration with the education system. Applying pressure is not necessarily the best way of going about it and the private sector could always turn round and insist that the public sector show the way. Indeed, public enterprises, which are more sheltered from competition and budgetary constraints, often have vast training potential and should play an active role in alternance training.

In many alternance training programmes, companies are asked to
How can companies become places of training and instruction when their prime purpose is to produce goods and services? Here lies the crux of the problem. There are a variety of ways in which they can participate in the training effort and it is important that this variety be fostered as a way of encouraging participation:

Many major concerns in the public and private sectors have their own off-site training centres. These are generally used to train the manpower they need and alternance between work experience and in-centre training is common practice. It would be interesting to explore the possibility of using these facilities to extend alternance to general instruction for trainees who will not necessarily remain with the company on completion of their course.

cooperate by providing time off for educational activities which would otherwise be spent in production. This is particularly the case for the trainees, who must devote a part of their time to off-the-job training, their mentors, who must themselves be told what is expected of them, and the alternance training officers, especially when they are on the company payroll. A good deal of time is involved. Releasing a few individuals from their immediate duties poses fewer problems for the larger firms, where replacement is a relatively easy matter, than for the smaller ones.

If the principle of alternance is to gain wider acceptance, firms must be actively involved in the training programmes even at the planning stage. Their participation in the form of intellectual input is essential if trainees are to derive maximum benefit from their placement. After the many years when industry's training potential was largely disregarded, it would be a mistake to lean over too far in the other direction and assume that any in-plant training, however poorly prepared, is of value. There is a wide gulf here between expectation and reality. Urged to 'do something' for the young, governments could take the easy option and simply hand the whole matter over to industry without insisting on adequate preparation. Follow-
Other smaller companies which do not possess the means to act alone could, by pooling their resources, establish joint training centres headed by a qualified alternance training officer. Such centres, organized on a sectoral basis, could provide useful points of contact for educational authorities interested in developing alternance training.

Many companies have facilities which, with a few minor and relatively inexpensive changes in work-organization and staff policy, could be used equally well for the purposes of education as for production. Without unduly disrupting the production process, the training officer could involve the company in such tasks as advising on training courses, organizing job-shadowing, and recruiting and developing potential alternance students. Where he "manages" or participates with a strong training tradition, the presence of a high level training officer working with personnel management will facilitate the necessary changes.

Following the same line of thought, evaluation of alternance training implies that companies accept the idea of outside inspection and control.

There are thus many ways in which companies can participate in the alternance training effort, none of which are mutually exclusive. The form this participation may take and the quality of the contribution will depend on the company’s training practice and traditions. In the best of cases the company will have a solid record in this area; in others, it may be necessary to instil a new sense of purpose or even start from scratch, and this cannot be done overnight.
Teachers and trainers
Teachers and trainers
The key feature of alternance is, as we have seen, that it combines in-plant experience and in-school training in a mutually reinforcing manner. Plainly, instruction given in such disparate environments as companies and training establishments cannot be satisfactorily coordinated in the long term without close collaboration between those responsible on both sides. Some would even affirm that success or failure of alternance training hinges on the quality of the in-plant trainers and of the school teaching staff and on the willingness of all to work towards a common pedagogical goal.

Innovation, alas, remains sadly wanting. In most EEC countries, the vast majority of teachers and trainers live in two worlds whose customs and traditions are so far apart that communication, let alone cooperation, is well-nigh impossible. There are signs, however, that things are changing. One of the positive effects of the British Unified Vocational Preparation Programme has precisely been that it has promoted lasting cooperation between teachers and trainers and has helped to bring the two camps closer together in a common concern to further youth training. Alternance training demands such a ‘rapprochement’ but also serves to facilitate it; the possible confusion of ends and means is of little import, providing change is along the right lines.

1. Teachers and trainers: the situation today

No alternance training scheme can function without in-plant trainers on the one hand and conventional teachers on the other. Indeed, it is an imperative that these two corps which have traditionally been poles apart, work together in pursuit of a common goal. This is no mean task. The position in the Federal Republic of Germany where the dual system is far more developed than elsewhere in Europe may be used to illustrate some differences between teachers and company-based trainers in respect to numbers, functions, recruitment and pedagogical background.¹

In Germany, there are some 72,000 teachers employed in vocational establishments and around 500,000 company-based trainers for 1.4 million young people in training. The former are generally on the full-time payroll of the Länder, whereas the latter are employed by the individual companies (90% occupying other functions in addition to training). The total number of trainers is known only approximately and the number of hours spent on training is open to conjecture. It is hence impossible to gauge the total company training effort.

In contrast, teachers' functions are strictly determined. They must provide theoretical instruction of practical relevance for a particular occupation. This instruction takes the form of a certain number of hours of teaching in a range of subjects, the overall programme being established and supervised by the Ministry of Culture of each Land. The same situation does not apply for company trainers whose status and functions are not explicitly specified in the 1969 Act on vocational training. It is the companies themselves that decide which staff members will be given training responsibility and the latter then have a relatively free hand in organizing in-plant training.

Recruitment of vocational school teaching staff is determined by precise criteria relating to length of training, level of qualification and teaching ability. In the early sixties, responsibility for training these teachers was shifted to university-type establishments and this resulted in a lowering of minimum standards for practical skills. In-plant trainers tend to be recruited much more haphazardly, the only criterion being a 'minimum qualification threshold', i.e. that they themselves hold a vocational training diploma and have 'practical experience'. In-plant trainers tend thus to be a relatively mixed bunch and anyone can enter the ranks providing that he has a bent for it and has several years' experience in the company as a skilled worker.

Naturally, the larger the company and the longer its history of vocational training, the better in-company training will be organized; there will usually be a training officer, often a senior engineer or executive, and full-time trainers who coordinate and supervise on-the-job training. This type of structure, however, is rarely found outside firms employing a workforce of around 500 and over.

As regards teacher training, vocational school teachers today receive a thorough university grounding in the educational and social sciences, while their practical teaching skills are developed through periods of teaching practice of up to two years. In the case of in-plant trainers, the minimum training can be as little as 120 hours — though 200 hours are preferred — and content and methods are determined on the basis of guidelines set by the Federal Institute for Vocational Training. On completion of the training, candidates may sit an exam set by the chambers of commerce and industry though many trainees (some 40% according to the Institute) are deemed qualified on the strength of their training alone.

These differences between teachers and trainers are not peculiar to the Federal Republic of Germany. In the United Kingdom, the status, functions and qualifications of in-plant trainers, or 'tutors', differ markedly from those of the staff in colleges of further education who teach the theoretical
aspects of the training. In France, the Centres de Formation d'Apprentis (CFA — apprentice training centres) comprise both full-time teachers who are similarly qualified to those teaching in lycées d'enseignement professionnel (LEP — vocational lycées) and ‘formateurs d'apprentis’, who are skilled workers in their field and who are employed by companies or the chambers of commerce and industry. Examples are legion.

The dichotomy between teachers and trainers is generally accompanied by a distinction in social standing, with the teachers, whose status and functions are better defined and whose training is grounded in higher qualifications, at the top of the scale, and the trainers — particularly those on-the-job — on a lower rung. By and large, the system accords greater recognition to the teachers’ ‘theoretical’ skills than to the ‘practical’ skills of the trainers. The situation is likely to be exacerbated in the medium-term inasmuch as teacher training involves relatively long studies — i.e. at university level — and this can only serve to downgrade the trainers’ practical skills and could well in the long run lead to the disappearance of the practical side of training.

This analysis of the situation, though not new, nevertheless constitutes a formidable obstacle to the development of true alternance training. As A. Lipsmeier has rightly noted ‘the allocation of training tasks which necessarily accompanies this hierarchization.... could well destroy the unity of theory and practice’ which should characterize alternance training. Moreover, the subordination of practice to theory could impede cross-fertilization between school and company which alone can give full weight to the diversity of the real world while at the same time regarding it with a critical eye.

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If the principle of alternance is to be implemented, teachers and trainers must work together despite all that separates them. Three possible lines of approach could be taken.

A Producing the ideal 'teacher-cum-trainer'

This would imply educating individuals to be both teachers and practitioners with sufficient academic knowledge to teach the theoretical disciplines and enough practical knowhow to be good on-the-job trainers. The unity of the alternance training would be ensured by combining theory and practice in the person of one polyvalent teacher-cum trainer. Though tempting at first sight, this solution does not lend itself to universal application. Despite what has been said, the jobs of teacher and trainer involve such very different skills that it is unusual to find people capable of assuming both functions. To deny these differences could lead to situations where neither function is performed satisfactorily. It should also be remembered that one of the pedagogical features of alternance is that the young person is exposed to different ways of apprehending the world of work. Here the different approaches of the teacher and trainer can play a positive role and this is a form of diversity which should be fostered rather than discouraged.

B Developing a common language for teachers and trainers

In essence this means on the one hand that teachers must be sensitized to the practical realities of a particular occupation and on the other that in-plant trainers must be given adequate teacher training. Much work has been accomplished along these lines in all the EC countries and the effort is being pursued. Work experience — e.g. in the form of company placements — is beginning to be required of teachers, though it is dom of sufficient duration to provide more than a superficial insight. Requiring teachers to hold a vocational training diploma in addition to their general university training is another way of sensitizing them to the practical demands of a trade.

Conversely, teacher training for in-plant instructors is beginning to be introduced in the more advanced systems such as the dual system operating in the Federal Republic of Germany. This grounding, however, where it exists, tends to be somewhat
patchy. In France, for instance, train-
ers employed in firms or in apprentice training centres receive only a ske-
ifty introduction to pedagogical tech-
niques. None of the alternance train-
ing schemes launched in recent years such as the French employment-train-
ing contracts or the British Unified Vo-
cational Preparation Programme (UVPP) can claim teacher training for in-company trainers as one of their strong points, though the importance of their functions is stressed in the UVPP which specifies that:

Industrial tutors should be:

- a caring adult or in-company mentor;

- a primary link or “bridge” between on-and-off-the-job elements of UVP;

- a resource for advice and information, particularly with regard to in-firm project work;

- a person responsible for overseeing job or task rotation and job-training....; and

- someone on whom young people could model themselves as they learn to cope with responsibilities and relationships at work’.¹

¹ Unified Vocational Preparation, op. cit. p. 110

As regards the skills needed to make a good in-plant trainer, UVPP experi-
ence in the United Kingdom high-
lights the importance of personal motivation. Trainers should not only be experienced and have thorough

knowledge of their company, but should also be aware of the difficulties and learning needs of their char-
ges, as well as being capable of communica-
ing with them and instilling motivation. However valuable these skills are, they cannot replace proper teacher training nor can they suffice
to develop what is so sorely needed — a common language for teachers and trainers. The UVPP evaluators are the first to admit that there is little contact between the two camps: this is partly because of the hazy nature of the function of industrial tutor, whose importance is still not fully appreciated within the company hierarchy, particularly by those immediately senior to the trainee, and partly because of lack of time. This latter point should be stressed. Dialogue and cooperation are inherently time-consuming and trainers who must divide their working life between their normal duties and their training functions have precious little time to spare while employers are reluctant for them to spend yet more time away from their productive tasks. This, though, is a small price to pay if cooperation between trainers and teachers is to be more than a pious hope.

C Towards a tripartite responsibility for the training process

UVPP experience has shown that the difficulty of direct dialogue between teachers and trainers can in large measure be overcome by the presence of a third party — the training director or officer — to whom it in practice devolves to instigate and initiate this dialogue. This task is a logical corollary to his responsibilities in organizing the training programmes which were described in Chapter 4, Section 2.A.

What sort of person does this job demand? Experience would go to show that he could equally well have a teaching or industrial background depending on where the initiative for the programme lies. He could also
come from adult education, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, a local authority or a non-profit making organization. In the United Kingdom, for example, where there is a lively and well-organized tradition of voluntary service, the non-profit making organizations have played and continue to play a valuable role in implementing alternance training schemes, inasmuch as they provide an informal institutional framework for recruiting trainers and training officers. Thanks to their knowledge of local conditions, their contacts with youth and their operational flexibility, they have become valuable mediators in dealings with government bodies, in particular the Manpower Services Commission, and have made an important contribution to formulating a national alternance strategy.¹

As things stand, the fact that training officers come from such very different backgrounds is probably an advantage since it prevents alternance from becoming the apanage of industry or a prisoner of the school system. Vetting committees, on which all parties would be represented, could be set up to ensure the suitability of appointees. Once alternance training becomes more widespread, the functions of training officers will gain in clarity and it will then be time to lay down certain rules and standards in this area, though the merits of selection based on locally recognized worth must never be sacrificed to the dictates of a central authority.

Costs and financing
Costs and financing of alternance training
By and large, the economic situation in the EEC countries can hardly be said to be auspicious for the large-scale development of alternance training. Cutbacks in public expenditure and the need for firms to keep down costs in order to remain competitive do not incline to optimism. The development of alternance training is thus likely to be severely hampered by budgetary constraints affecting participation of both the public and private sectors. This is liable to weigh heavy in the decision-making process. Notwithstanding, the widely expressed political will to ‘do something’ for the young should not be underestimated and may be sufficiently strong to weather the prevailing conditions which are scarcely conducive to radical reforms.

1. Expenditure on alternance training: general trends

There has been no systematic collection of statistical data on alternance training expenditure in the EEC countries. Efforts in this area by the Edding Commission in the Federal Republic of Germany and more recently by the Secrétariat d’État à la Formation Professionnelle in France have been confined to determining total expenditure on vocational training and provide no indication of expenditure on alternance training as such. Of the alternance training programmes launched in the last three or four years, few have been able to furnish a detailed breakdown of the financial expenditure incurred.

The reasons for this state of affairs are well known. In the case of in-plant training, the trainees use facilities intended essentially for production and in practice it is difficult to distinguish between the two functions. Similarly, company staff entrusted with training tasks are primarily engaged in production and their training activities cannot be disassociated from their production function. In theory, the cost of training is equal to the output lost through the training, but in practice few firms bother to make this kind of calculation.

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1 In 1978, total expenditure on vocational training in France was 15.5 thousand million francs, of which 56% was borne by the private sector and 44% by the State. The corresponding figure for Germany was 40 thousand million French francs, of which 53% was borne by the Federal Government and the Länder, and the remainder by private industry.

2 The Federal Republic of Germany is an exception here since the bulk of vocational training is in fact alternance training; in this country 90% of young school-leavers with nine or ten years’ schooling embark on some form of vocational training.
Moreover, the cost of the lost output varies according to how the company's productive capacity is used. It is the greatest when capacity is fully utilized since in this case training effectively results in a loss in output; but the cost may be virtually zero where there is spare capacity in terms of both men and machines, since turning them over to training has no impact on output. From this angle, the present situation, which is characterized by under-utilization of installed capacity because of a slackening in demand, lends itself ideally to a greater effort by industry to train youngsters on the job.

A similar problem arises in assessing the cost of off-the-job training when the training is provided in a centre or institution primarily given over to other activities. This is frequently the case since alternance training programmes often draw on the equipment and staff of full-time training establishments. The British UVP programme is a case in point with off-the-job training provided in a very comprehensive network of technical colleges. In France, alternance training schemes make considerable use of the qualified staff and premises of full-time teaching establishments. Over 4,300 secondary schools and colleges are grouped into a network of 400 GRETAs (Groupes d'établissements pour la formation continue) with a view to pooling their resources for training. It is no easy matter to separate out the outlay incurred by alternance in the institutions' general budgets and how this is done is necessarily somewhat arbitrary.

For alternance as for conventional vocational training, the easiest item to identify is trainees' wages. In France, the United Kingdom and Germany, these represent 40—50% of total expenditure on vocational training. There is no reason to believe that these percentages are materially different for alternance training. Admittedly, to the extent that the latter primarily concerns young people, it could be argued that this is an item where radical cuts could be effected. If, on the other hand, the aim is to steer young people into alternance training, a good image must be put over to the public. Any drop in trainees' wage levels is liable to tarnish this image. Moreover, as earnings are generally tied to the minimum wage, they have to be adjusted for inflation or even increased in real terms if there is a policy of narrowing the wage gap. The proportion of training expenditure allocated to trainees' wages is thus unlikely to shrink in the years to come.

As regards expenditure on training and administrative staff, alternance training schemes are liable to cost more than conventional vocational training in view of the more complex institutional organization entailed. Some savings might perhaps be made inasmuch as the participation of the

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1. France: 40% in 1978, according to 'Les résultats de la participation des employeurs au financement de la formation professionnelle continue' in Actualités de la Formation Permanente, Centre INFFO No 42, September—October 1979.
2. United Kingdom: Trainees' wages represent at least 40% of total training expenditure according to M. Woodhall in 'Resources for Vocational Education and Training and Its Financing' SME/ET/78.15, OECD June 1978.

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industrial tutors and teachers in alternance training is not their prime activity and the corresponding cost can hence be borne by the company or training centre. On the other hand it will be necessary to recruit additional staff whose full-time presence is crucial in ensuring the programme's success and cohesion, namely alternance training organizers and directors, inspectors and regional coordinators.

These considerations underlie the arbitrary nature of much of the statistical data on alternance training expenditure. Apart from trainees' wages, which are easily identifiable, and the salaries of the full-time administrative staff, the other elements must ultimately depend on the accounting procedures adopted. While the visible costs of alternance training may on occasion seem low, this can in many cases be ascribed to the hidden contribution in the form of staff and equipment which does not appear on the books. Some experts have pointed out that the net costs of alternance training are considerably less than the gross costs, the difference being accounted for by the savings accruing to the authorities in the form of unemployment benefits and increased tax revenues. Calculations made in the United Kingdom have shown that the net cost of the YOP programme, once it has been expanded to 450 000 trainees in 1981—82, will be around two-thirds of its gross cost (UKL 315 million as against UKL 470 million).

1 In the British YOP programme the trainee/trainer ratio is 7:1.
2. Cost-sharing

The cost of alternance training is borne by governments, employers and trainees in varying proportions depending on a number of factors: type of training, target-group characteristics, economic climate etc. It is thus not possible to lay down rules applicable to all alternance training schemes. Some general guidelines can, however, be formulated:

- Off-the-job training in a basic training year, day or block release should be paid for out of taxation by public authorities.

- Trainer remuneration due to on-the-job training should be paid by the employer at no less than the minimum rate for the assignment. However, if a training public institution is to provide a training allowance to the client to cover travel and subsistence expenses.

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In the present economic context, there are likely to be a large number of exceptions to these guidelines and we shall be examining some of the main ones here. As regards the role of government in financing alternance training, governments will almost certainly be contributing on a greater scale than hitherto, and this for a number of reasons: Firstly, the adverse economic climate is causing companies to cut down on the training facilities they normally provide; government intervention is imperative if this trend is to be reversed. Secondly, and most important, EEC member governments, in developing alternance training, are pursuing social objectives which go far beyond meeting industry's need for skilled manpower — namely tackling unemployment generally and providing all young persons, particularly in the least-favoured groups, with an opportunity for training. Such considerations may be important to governments but are not necessarily of priority concern to industry. Governments must therefore encourage the latter to assume a greater share of the responsibility, e.g. by shouldering all or part of the training costs. This is clearly the aim of the incentives introduced in Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the form of social security exemptions or grants to encourage companies to take on young workers. But the success of alternance training ultimately depends on its public elements. Several ingredients go to make up this image: thorough and well-supervised in-company training, effective coordination with off-the-job training, teachers specially trained to instruct underprivileged adults, recognition of diplomas. All this costs money and should inspire governments to step up their contributions.

As regards industry's participation in the financing of alternance training, the scanty data available tend to show that companies are often prepared to be more generous than the law demands. In France, for instance, total expenditure on training by industry represented 1.33% of the total wage bill in 1978; it should be noted that this proportion is closely correlated with the size of companies and has moved steadily upwards. (It was only 1.35% in 1972.) Companies with a workforce of over 2000 devote nearly 3% of their wage bill to training. These percentages refer to all in-plant training and not to alternance training alone; they are none the less encouraging in that they reflect a growing awareness on the part of industry of its responsibilities in the matter. This should create a fertile terrain for the growth of alternance training.

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1 'Les résultats de la participation des employeurs au financement de la formation professionnelle continue' in Actualités de la formation permanente, Centre INFFO No 42, September—October 1979.
The financing system in the UK

Symbols
A = Government
B = Department of Education and Science
C = Department of Employment
D = Rates (local taxes)
E = Training Centres
F = Manpower Services Commission (MSC)
G = Industrial Training Boards (ITBs)
a = Grants
b = Levies
H = Employer
c = Fees
I = Local Education Authorities (LEAs)
J = Schools, further education, higher education and training.

A cost-sharing mechanism within the industrial sector is required to determine the allocation of training costs between those companies that provide training facilities and those that do not (though the latter may derive benefit by taking on workers trained elsewhere). This was one of the aims of the Industrial Training Boards set up in the United Kingdom in 1964. These boards receive financial contributions from companies and redistribute the funds to finance training activities. In the Federal Republic of Germany an act was passed instituting a system of selective taxation hitting companies that did not participate in the training effort; the measure was suspended, however, in view of the considerable effort by industry to increase the number of apprenticeships. The act has now been annulled by the Constitutional Council.\(^1\)

Trainees’ contribution to training costs is in principle a function of the differential between the wages they command on the labour market — often the minimum wage — and the allowance they receive during their period of linked work and training. This differential represents the sacrifice involved in participating in a training programme. In the present situation of mass youth unemployment, the contribution of the trainees can be gauged by the difference between the unemployment benefit they would otherwise be receiving and their wages during training. This may be positive or negative. In the former case, only the prospects held out by the training will lead the young people to participate, while in the latter case their contribution is nil. In deciding what trainees’ contribution should be and how it should be modulated in the light of socio-economic considerations, all three variables — minimum wage, unemployment benefit and training allowance — should be taken into account. Trainees’ decisions, it must be remembered, are coloured by their immediate interests. Alternance training will hold no attraction for young people if the wages offered are substantially below the unemployment benefit or minimum wage and likely to remain so.

No discussion of the financing of alternance training would be complete without reference to administrative responsibility which is discussed in Chapter 4. Here a decentralized decision-making system is called for endowed with powers to act in the light of local needs and able to mobilize the resources of the existing institutions.

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\(^1\) In both countries, the whole question of how vocational training is financed is currently being rethought.
Participation in training activities

This comparison shows the effect of the measures for promoting vocational training in the Member States of the European Communities. The training quota (the proportion of young people in training schemes) for 16-17-year-olds in all countries is clearly higher than that of the 17-18-year-olds. These figures for 1978 can be applied to the present day 18-19-year-olds, whereas the picture may now have improved for the 16-17-year-olds.

The main raison d'être of alternance training for young people is to ease the transition from school to work. We will not dwell here on the problems this presents which are compounded by the present economic situation. The important thing is that most European countries are endeavouring to resolve them by introducing an adaptation period of variable length between full-time schooling and full-time work, a period which is designed on the principle of alternance between school and work. In concluding this monograph, we should like to remind the reader of the main guidelines for action which stem from this central idea of providing optimum training situations for young people. This said, the idea of alternance — like all new ideas pertaining to social organization — may seem good in theory but has many drawbacks in practice and one must be fully aware of all the possible pitfalls. In other words, the concept, despite its merits, can be considerably distorted in practice if the necessary precautions are not taken. We should examine the various forms these distortions may take, though it should be emphasized that current experience incites to optimism rather than the reverse.

Alternance is first and foremost a pedagogical principle based on the mutually reinforcing roles of in-school and in-company training. Application of this principle demands specific training goals in terms of capabilities, skills and a new pedagogy giving proper weight to the value of work in terms of training and experience. True alternance training thus in many respects represents a major departure from traditional training. It should at all costs be avoided that it acquire a 'second-class' status and that the
term be applied indiscriminately to any training involving any kind of in-plant placement. The possibility of such distortions cannot be disregarded.

Alternance is also an institutional principle which, by its very existence, enables a variety of training forms, different both in level and length, to be organized into a coherent training system for all young school-leavers. The pitfall here is to wish to move too fast and expand the system too rapidly for evident political reasons, without paying due attention to the qualitative aspects. It is easy to understand that governments and local authorities, urged to do something to alleviate the problem of youth unemployment, want to push ahead with alternance training. But, as the foregoing pages have shown, true alternance must come to grips with a wide variety of pedagogical, institutional and organizational problems. The goal is ultimately to extend alternance training to all 16-20-year-old school-leavers, but the process through which this is achieved should be the subject of continuous assessments, whose findings should be reflected in the further development of the system.

Organization of alternance training depends on cooperation between the social groups involved and on decentralization of initiative. The first step is to negotiate an agreement in principle at central government level laying down the general lines of the system. Once this is done, decentralization is introduced in putting the system into practice. Alternance training schemes should be characterized by unity of responsibility, flexibility of internal organization and adaptation the needs of the target groups concerned. There is no point in trying to economize on the institutional organization and administration of alternance training schemes. The fact that the schemes are decentralized and involve such disparate institutions as schools and companies does not mean that they can do without directors and inspectors. On the contrary, these are even more essential.

Company participation in developing alternance training is primordial. Whatever form this contribution takes — premises, equipment, time away from their productive duties for industrial tutors and trainees, direct financing — it must be organized and integrated with the contribution of the training institutions. Here the pitfalls are to neglect to provide Industrial trainers and teachers with the appropriate training and to omit to monitor on-the-job training in the companies. These are the two weak points to emerge from an examination of most European experience in this area. The absence of a clear cut policy in regard to training personnel and companies' participation in training is liable to create a credibility gap between theory and practice.

The little information available on the costs of alternance training schemes would seem to indicate that these are no cheaper than conventional vocational training. In the present situation it could be tempting to do things on the cheap and alternance would then risk acquiring a second-class status in the eyes of the public. It is clearly essential that alternance training in no way serves to 'marginalize' young people already deprived on other fronts by steering them into insecure, poorly paid and relatively unskilled jobs. The training should be
given status by ensuring, (i) that it leads to diplomas recognized on the labour market, (ii) that it affords recipients the possibility of returning to full-time training, and (iii) that it facilitates access to stable employment in the same way as other types of training. Lastly, while initially alternance training schemes should focus on the least favoured groups, a policy of positive discrimination must subsequently be pursued to ensure that the young people concerned are not consigned to the fringes of the labour market.
COUNCIL RESOLUTION
of 18 December 1979
on linked work and training for young persons:

THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES,

Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community,

Having regard to the draft resolution submitted by the Commission,

Whereas in general the prospects of employment for young people in the Member States are poor; whereas, furthermore, a significant proportion of the total unemployed are young persons without adequate vocational training;

Whereas more flexible forms of transition from school to working life should be encouraged while at the same time the development of vocational training offering young persons better opportunities for access to the labour market should be promoted;

Whereas the linking of work and training is especially appropriate in three kinds of situation:

— young persons undergoing apprenticeships or post-educational training courses,
— young job-seekers eligible for special training measures to facilitate the integration of young people into the labour market,
— young workers without adequate vocational training;

Takes note of the communication from the Commission on linking work and training for young persons in the Community;

Considers that the linking of work and training should be developed, in a manner appropriate to the particular situation of each Member State and with Community support, in accordance with the following guidelines:

I. Guidelines for the Member States

1. Content and concept of linked work and training

Member States should encourage the development of effective links between training and experience on the job. These links should involve establishing coordinated programmes and structures making for cooperation between the various bodies responsible.

Such programmes should be established having regard to the need to offer a training base broad enough to meet the demands of technological
developments and of foreseeable changes in occupations.

They should be planned in relation to the particular characteristics of the categories of young persons aimed at.

A special effort should be made to broaden the range of occupations offering different forms of linked work and training, including apprenticeships.

A suitable minimum period should as a rule be given over to training off the job.

2. Supervision and recognition of training

If appropriate, training programmes offered should be approved and evaluated by the authorities responsible for vocational training. The levels of competence achieved or the content of the courses completed should facilitate access to further vocational or general training.

The authorities responsible should also endeavour to ensure that linked work and training is in line with full-time training, possibly by the same diplomas being awarded for both, in order to facilitate transfers between different branches of training.

3. Remuneration and financial support

The Member States consider that where remuneration or allowances are granted for the different forms of linked work and training, they should be established at appropriate levels, particularly in order to facilitate participation by young people therein.

4. Working conditions and social protection

Member States should ensure that persons participating in the different forms of linked work and training enjoy suitable social protection and protection as regards working conditions within the framework of existing legislation.

The Member States should consider whether training leave may constitute a useful means of encouraging in particular young workers without training to participate in linked work and training programmes.

II. Guidelines for the Community

In order to facilitate the implementation of this resolution the Council requests the Commission to:

- examine the conditions under which the European Social Fund might be associated with action by Member States by means of small-scale experimental projects within the spirit of Article 7 of Council Regulation (EEC) No 2396/71 of 8 November 1971 implementing the Council Decision of 1 February 1971 on the reform of the European Social Fund (1), as amended by Regulation (EEC) No 2893/77 (2), to develop linked work and training during the period of entry into working life,

- monitor the application of this resolution in the Member States with a view to promoting development which is harmonized as far as possible,

- afford Member States all possible technical support to this end,

- promote the exchange of experience gained in this field,

- report to the Council in 1982 on how far this resolution is being applied.

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(1) OJ No L 249, 10 11 1971 p 54
(2) OJ No L 337, 27 12 1977, p 1
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Jean-Pierre Jallade

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