This document on vocational training in Belgium contains eight chapters, a list of abbreviations, and a nine-item list of main texts consulted. Chapter 1 describes Belgium and its inhabitants, including population, age structures, migration, the working population, public and private sectors, unemployment, and measures to combat unemployment. Chapter 2 describes the Belgian economy. The system of training in primary and secondary schools is described in Chapter 3 and includes descriptions of nursery school, primary school, secondary education, apprenticeship for young people aged 16-18, and apprenticeships in occupations pursued by salaried workers. Chapter 4 describes higher education and continuing training in Belgium, including social advancement courses, adult vocational training programs run by the National Employment Office, and continuing training organized by centers for the middle classes. The history and development of vocational training in Belgium is described in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 describes the funding of vocational training in Belgium, and Chapter 7 identifies the vocational training decision makers in Belgium. Chapter 8 identifies prospects and trends in vocational training in Belgium. (CML)
Vocational training in Belgium

The centre was established by Regulation (EEC) No 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities.
Dear Readers,

The best way of promoting cooperation among the Member States of the Community in the field of vocational training is by promoting understanding of the various training systems. CEDEFOP has deployed a large portion of its resources with a view to improving an exchange of such information, not only by publishing monographs such as this but also by organizing conferences and seminars, producing audiovisual material and publishing a series of studies and documentary dossiers.

This monograph is intended to serve as a frame of reference providing the reader with a maximum of information on many aspects of vocational training—the legislative framework, funding, historical development, etc. Our objective here is to present a "dynamic" description placing the questions encountered in the field of vocational training in their proper economic, social and cultural context within the Member State under review.

This monograph serves as a basic document for a wide range of activities at the Centre, for example the establishment of comparability between vocational qualifications or in-depth studies of certain important aspects in the development of initial and continuing vocational training.

The text of this description was prepared in consultation with the social partners, and we hope that we have thereby maintained a position of objectivity which respects the opinions expressed by all the parties involved, i.e. the representatives of the governments of the Member States and of the two sides of industry.

Our publications describing the vocational training systems in the various Member States are based on a single structure, an approach which facilitates the work of comparing and contrasting respective system elements wherever comparison is possible.

All the monographs are available in the original language and at least two other Community languages.

During the course of 1987 the Directorate of the Centre will develop proposals for a new version of the CEDEFOP Guide to take account of the fact, firstly, that training systems undergo a process of change and, secondly, that from 1 January 1986 the Community has two new Member States.

The Centre extends its thanks to the authors for their collaboration.

Ernst Piehl
(Director)

C. Politi
(Deputy Director)

Michael J. Adams
(Expert responsible for the project)

Georges Dupont
(Expert responsible for the project)
This diagram illustrates the various routes which may be followed through the educational system. The wide range of opportunities for vocational training are indicated, varying from the apprenticeship (top right) to the college. The ages at which various stages in the educational system are reached are given and also at what stages decisions must be made about further studies, and to what extent these decisions are binding. The diagram indicates the period of compulsory education, the period of training required for the final examinations and the age at which they are taken.

University
- Academic finals
  - e.g. Biochemist, Plant Engineer, Foodstuffs Engineer
- Traditional Vocational Secondary stage I, Trade finals of secondary I
  - e.g. Mechanic, Electrician, Semi-skilled Worker
  - Traditional Vocational school secondary, level II
  - Trade finals of the secondary level II
  - e.g. Cabinet Maker — Seamstress — Keyboard Operator (coding)
  - Apprenticeship (only for manual crafts)
  - Fully trained or Foreman
    - e.g. Baker, Auto-mechanic, Hairdresser

Reformed Secondary school
- Matriculation
  - University entrance
- Trade Training College
  - Academic finals
    - e.g. Biochemist, Plant Engineer, Foodstuffs Engineer
- Three Grade Technical Training
- Trade Finals, third grade
  - e.g. Journalist, Librarian, Graduate Computer Scientist

Reformed Secondary School (vocational)
- Trade Finals of the secondary level II
- e.g. Bank employee, MTA, Technician, Skilled Worker

Traditional Vocational Secondary stage I, Trade finals of secondary I
- e.g. Mechanic, Electrician, Semi-skilled Worker

- Traditional Vocational school secondary, level II
- Trade finals of the secondary level II
  - e.g. Cabinet Maker — Seamstress — Keyboard Operator (coding)
  - Apprenticeship (only for manual crafts)
  - Fully trained or Foreman
    - e.g. Baker, Auto-mechanic, Hairdresser

- Part-time education centres
- Industrial apprenticeship

Handicapped
- Level of training dependent on the degree of incapacity

* After reaching the age of 14.15 it is possible to acquire all qualifications through courses for social advancement.
Age structure

Age profile for the year 1975 and a projection for the year 2000
(Key: data in each age; 1:1, 1:75, 1:1, 2000)
(All over the age of 75 are combined into one group)

Educational paths

Traditional secondary school Type II
General education
Reformed school Type I
Apprenticeship Part-Time
Specialized reformed technical school
Reformed technical school
Short reformed vocational school
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D. Working population 7
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CHAPTER I - BELGIUM AND ITS INHABITANTS

A. Population

On 1 January 1983 the Kingdom of Belgium had 9,858,017 inhabitants living in 596 communes of which eight have a population exceeding 100,000.

It is divided into three regions: Flanders, Wallonia and the capital city, Brussels. Each of these is vested with rapidly developing political, economic and social powers (laws of 1980).

The Belgians belong to three linguistic communities: Dutch-speaking (Flanders and part of Brussels); French-speaking (Wallonia and part of Brussels); and German-speaking (the cantons in eastern Wallonia). The communities also bear responsibility for political, economic and social affairs which are, likewise, in a process of rapid development.

On the basis of the regions and communities, the Belgian population can be broken down as follows:
Total population = 9,858,017 inhabitants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Flem req Dutch com</th>
<th>Wall req French com</th>
<th>Wall req Germ com</th>
<th>Brussels region Dutch + French com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgiums</td>
<td>5,416,367</td>
<td>2,751,551</td>
<td>56,980</td>
<td>741,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>238,597</td>
<td>395,765</td>
<td>8,880</td>
<td>248,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5,654,964</td>
<td>3,147,316</td>
<td>65,860</td>
<td>985,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals %</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the absence of a linguistic survey, it is difficult to identify the inhabitants of Brussels (80% French-speaking and 20% Dutch-speaking?), the more so since a quarter of its inhabitants are foreigners.

Of the total populations, women account for 51%. In 1981 the compulsory school age groups (6 to 18 years) represented 19.07% of the overall population, i.e. some 1,878,000 young people.
In the four years between 1979 and 1983 the total population increased by 16,363. This slight rise was the result of two contrary movements: a drop in Wallonia (-3,155 inhabitants) and in Brussels (-25,833 inhabitants) and an increase in the Cantons in the east (+1,290) and particularly in Flanders (+44,061). These are minor fluctuations. Moreover, in 1984 the observed fall in the Brussels population seemed to slow down as a result of people returning to Brussels who worked there but had been living in the surrounding rural areas.
In years to come the age profiles given below will probably be influenced by a general population fall and a slight migratory movement.

B. Age Structures

1981 (x 100 000)

Belgium's population began to fall in 1983. Between now and the year 2000, the annual drop will vary between 1 and 1.5 per thousand. It will become increasingly marked and reach 4.5 per thousand by 2025. Flanders will lose 5%, Wallonia 15% and Brussels 28% of their inhabitants.

The foreign population will continue to rise less and less rapidly, level off and then begin to fall. In the year

1Statement by the Ministry for Economic Affairs on the occasion of the "Conference on Population Forecasts up to the year 2025", 1 April 1985 (printed in the newspaper "Le Soir").
2000 foreigners will probably account for 10% of the population (9% at present).

The rise in the average age of the population will be a further important factor. The number of people aged between 20 and 59 will fall from 53% in 1980 to 48% in 2025:

- young people
  from 28 to 24%
- old people
  from 19 to 28%.

Birthrate forecasts indicate that women (Belgians and foreigners taken together) will bear on average 1.9 children in 1985 and 2.1 children in 2025 (which perhaps explains the return to population growth expected at that time.

Consequently, Belgium's population will decrease by approximately one million in slightly less than 50 years and will probably never reach the ten million threshold.

C. Migration

Since 1978 Belgium has no longer been the haven it once was for workers and their families after the 1940-45 war. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be a move by people to return to their countries of origin or other populated areas, the departures seemingly the result of natural fluctuations.
In 1983 the situation remained more or less steady. The population of "foreigners" consisting for the most part of second or third generation migrants could be broken down as follows (891 244 foreigners, i.e. 9% of the total population):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationals of EC Member States</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>32% Italy (10% France)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European countries</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7% Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African countries</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12% Morocco (1% Zaire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American countries</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian countries</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7% Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stateless persons and others</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be seen that for several years there has been a movement towards naturalization (through marriage with Belgian citizens). The public authorities apparently encourage this in order to combat xenophobic tendencies unleashed by the economic crisis. Over the next few years it will be interesting to follow the progress of a current campaign to reduce clandestine immigration to a minimum, organized under the cover of reuniting families (in particular those from countries in north Africa). This campaign also seeks to encourage integration through the naturalization of foreigners who have been established both economically and socially for a long time.
D. **Working Population**

Table 1 Belgian working population as of 30 June 1983*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-professional categories</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Employment at home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Wage and salary earners</td>
<td>1,908,971</td>
<td>1,097,931</td>
<td>3,006,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Self-employed and</td>
<td>396,681</td>
<td>230,065</td>
<td>626,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assistants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cross-border employment</td>
<td>20,759</td>
<td>13,842</td>
<td>34,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed labour force</td>
<td>326,411</td>
<td>134,838</td>
<td>461,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) + (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>252,335</td>
<td>292,274</td>
<td>544,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total working population</td>
<td>2,579,246</td>
<td>1,634,112</td>
<td>4,213,358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimate of the Ministry of Labour and Employment

Since 1978 the Belgian working population has increased by 64,031. This figure is the result of various movements not only between men and women but also between the employed labour force and unemployed persons drawing benefit.
Comparison of working population between 1978 and 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage and salary earners (in Belgium)</td>
<td>- 135 096</td>
<td>+ 33 294</td>
<td>- 101 802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage and salary earners (abroad)</td>
<td>- 7 670</td>
<td>+ 1 057</td>
<td>- 6 613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed and assistants</td>
<td>+ 1 777</td>
<td>+ 4 147</td>
<td>+ 5 924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed working population</td>
<td>- 140 989</td>
<td>+ 38 498</td>
<td>- 102 491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed drawing benefit</td>
<td>+ 44 728</td>
<td>+ 121 794</td>
<td>+ 166 522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total working population</td>
<td>- 96 261</td>
<td>+ 160 292</td>
<td>+ 64 031</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proportion of women in the working population has increased steadily at all levels, particularly amongst those entitled to benefits. Thus, they compensate, especially in the non-productive sector, for the lower proportion of men. Over a period of five years the number of jobs fell by 00 000. It is interesting to note the increase in the numbers of self-employed, often formerly unemployed who have taken advantage of certain state schemes to set up their own businesses, often with their wives as assistants.
In contrast, the total working population has been influenced by the new important role of the public authorities. It is in this area and very often at tertiary level that new jobs for women have been created.

It has to be noted that industry lost almost 150 000 jobs in five years, mainly in the secondary sector, especially jobs held by men who were either poorly qualified or out of step with technological developments.

Unemployment trends and the effects of new schemes designed to integrate school leavers, albeit without real jobs, into the "working population" will be examined further on.
E. Public and Private Sectors

Table 2  Evolution of salaried employment between 1974 and 1983 (public and private sectors)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salaried employment in Belgium</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1983</th>
<th>Development 1978 and 1983 in absolute figures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>871 653</td>
<td>967 105</td>
<td>+ 95 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tertiary sector</td>
<td>858 186</td>
<td>953 919</td>
<td>(+ 95 733)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>2 237 051</td>
<td>2 039 797</td>
<td>- 197 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tertiary sector</td>
<td>1 015 186</td>
<td>1 038 621</td>
<td>(+ 28 435)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SALARIED EMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>3 108 704</td>
<td>3 006 902</td>
<td>- 101 802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Tertiary sector</td>
<td>1 873 372</td>
<td>1 592 540</td>
<td>(+ 119 268)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Estimate of the Ministry of Labour and Employment

Jobs for salary and wage earners have fallen steadily (some 50 000 over a period of five years). This is the situation in the private sector and in occupations in the secondary sector. Apart from a minor relapse, employment in the public sector has been on the increase as it now provides jobs for almost a million salaried employees (tertiary sector).
In the private sector (twice the size of the public) the "tertiary" share is on the increase. In 1983 it accounted for 51% of the whole of this sector. Two-thirds of wage and salary earners in the public and private sectors are involved in tertiary activities.

It seems difficult to stabilize this movement, on the one hand because of the important role played by public services (increase in their number following regionalization) and because of state schemes for workers with a special status who have participated in measures to combat unemployment, and on the other hand, by the "tertiarisation" of a certain number of occupations previously regarded as part of the secondary sector.

Table 3 Regional salaried employment as of 30 June 1983*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>workforce</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flanders</td>
<td>1 487 359</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>982 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallonia</td>
<td>777 985</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>492 954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels, capital city</td>
<td>549 796</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>330 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 816 140</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1 805 518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* National Social Security Office
Leaving aside figures which cannot be broken down regionally (foreigners), Flanders has provided an increasing number of jobs for wage and salary earners (51.5 % in 1977). Women, too, accounted for an increasing share, rising from 34 % in 1977 to 36 % in 1983.

F. Unemployment in Belgium

280 000 people were listed as drawing benefit in the breakdown of the working population for 1978. Table 1 gives a figure of more than 500 000 job seekers in 1983. Since then the level of unemployment in Belgium has levelled off thanks to certain measures to combat unemployment, the statistical effects of which are obvious.

Table 4 Numbers of unemployed persons drawing benefit as of January 1

![Graph showing unemployment from 1978 to 1985]
Persons who have paid national insurance contributions during prior periods of employment, or have successfully completed their education (this usually applies to the under 25s) are entitled to unemployment benefits. The duration of unemployment seems to be increasing and this, rather than the number of unemployed persons, seems to be indicative of the effects of the economic crisis on employment.
Table 5 Unemployed persons drawing benefit (31.1.1985)
The percentages are calculated on the basis of the figures for each region and for the country as a whole (ONEM monthly statistics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unemployed drawing benefit</th>
<th>Flemish region</th>
<th>Walloonian region</th>
<th>Brussels</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>128 117</td>
<td>88 666</td>
<td>30 324</td>
<td>247 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>162 865</td>
<td>93 876</td>
<td>26 196</td>
<td>282 937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>290 982</td>
<td>182 542</td>
<td>56 520</td>
<td>530 044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed under 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>26 %</td>
<td>27 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>33 %</td>
<td>23 %</td>
<td>32 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 %</td>
<td>30 %</td>
<td>20 %</td>
<td>29 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed eligible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because of social</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>security contributions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>91 %</td>
<td>91 %</td>
<td>96 %</td>
<td>92 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>89 %</td>
<td>85 %</td>
<td>94 %</td>
<td>88 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90 %</td>
<td>88 %</td>
<td>95 %</td>
<td>90 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leavers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>11 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed for two</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or more years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>44 %</td>
<td>43 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
<td>44 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>56 %</td>
<td>55 %</td>
<td>51 %</td>
<td>55 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51 %</td>
<td>49 %</td>
<td>51 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The levels\(^2\) of unemployment vary in the three regions and

\(^2\) Level = number of unemployed drawing full benefits as a % of the number of those insured against unemployment as of 31.1.1985 (Source - Institut National d'Assurance Maladie - Invalidité, INAMI)
are indicative of individual problems (stronger economic revival in Flanders, unemployment in the large group of foreigners in Brussels). By contrast, the specific problems of unemployment amongst women are encountered in each region:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flemish region</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallonian region</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels region</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The level of unemployment amongst the under 25s is similar in Flanders and Wallonia (30%) although women are more numerous in the latter.

- Unemployed young people who qualify for benefit on the strength of their school-leaving certificates account for more than 10% of total unemployment. In Wallonia, this figure is as high as 15% for women. In Brussels, these figures are lower and unemployment affects older workers with poorer qualifications.

- Long-term unemployment (two years or more) affects half of all job seekers. This level is higher in the case of women in all three regions.
Foreign workers account for 13% of unemployment in the whole country (5% in Flanders, 20% in Wallonia, 37% in Brussels). It is noticeable that with the exception of Brussels, these figures are lower than those recorded for the entire working population. The considerably higher figure for Brussels, where foreigners make up 25% of the population, results from the very poor qualifications of workers from certain countries (Morocco, Turkey) who are present in considerable numbers in some areas of the capital.

G. Unemployment Amongst the Under 25s

Mention has already been made of the fact that a certain number of job seekers are entitled to unemployment benefit although they have never worked in any capacity (salary or wage earner, self-employed, public employee). In fact, since 1968 the law on unemployment (article 124) has been extended to cover most school leavers having successfully completed the two final years of secondary education ("classes terminales") who register as job seekers with the National Employment Office as soon as they have completed their examinations. If, after a period of 150 working days, these young people have not found a job, they are eligible for unemployment benefits which vary according to their age and family circumstances. Thus, the young people who pass their examinations in June may draw unemployment benefit in January or February depending on the date they registered.

3 Office nationale de l'Emploi - ONEM

4 This period is reduced to 75 days in the case of job seekers under the age of 18. This will apply to fewer and fewer young people in the immediate future with the extension of compulsory education up to the age of 18.
This means the number of registrations and the actual increase in the numbers of those drawing benefits which results six months later do not tally, in particular as these young people figure in the statistics with their peers who qualify for benefits on the basis of social security contributions paid during previous employment. Some 10% of the unemployed do in fact qualify on the basis of their school-leaving certificates whereas 30% of job seekers are under 25.

Thus, it is difficult to calculate the exact number of dropouts, i.e. school leavers who enter directly the ranks of the unemployed without having had a first experience of normal, paid employment.

Such estimates are further complicated by the fact that the major increase every year in youth unemployment in January and February (in October for the under 18s) is the subject of controversy among "experts" more concerned with rehearsing arguments than finding solutions.

An attempt has been made, on the basis of two full sessions ('82-'83 and '83-'84), to assess the difference between the numbers of young people entering and leaving the ranks of the unemployed, taking into account rotations within these groups.
This study can draw only on the figures at the end of each month since statistics are published once a month only. However, this does permit a very accurate estimate of the differences between the numbers of those joining the unemployed (+) and those taking up employment (-):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>September '82 - March '83</th>
<th>+ 9 774</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April '83 - August '83</td>
<td>- 6 024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actual increase</td>
<td>+ 3 750 unemployed young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>September '83 - February '84</td>
<td>+ 8 020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March '84 - August '84</td>
<td>- 6 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actual increase</td>
<td>+ 1 725 unemployed young people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women calculated on the same basis:
in 1983 an increase of + 4 780 women
in 1984 an increase of + 5 530 women.

It will be interesting to continue this study because if these trends were to persist, they would indicate a steady and marked increase in the numbers of young school leavers amongst the long-term unemployed. This would apply particularly to women which would seem to invalidate the saying which has now become a slogan that education helps to bypass unemployment, and to challenge the quality of secondary education for all, which was made obligatory in '84-'85 up to the age of 18.
At the beginning of the school year '84-'85, 67% of male and 80% of female job seekers under the age of 25 in Belgium held at least the lower secondary school-leaving certificate.

The terms used in the following table are explained later in the description of the school-based training system.

Table 6  Breakdown of the unemployed under 25 according to level of schooling (October 1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Schooling</th>
<th>Men (57 450)</th>
<th>Women (85 106)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary level, completed or uncompleted</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower secondary level</td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>(33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- general</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- vocational</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- technical</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper secondary level</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>(35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- general</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- vocational</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- technical</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- apprenticeship</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher level</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 1st level</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- university</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures relate to persons holding a final certificate. In fact, at each level there is a considerable number of young people who, in addition to their certificates, have undergone one, two or even three years of training without subsequently finding a job. The incidence of the large numbers, of women in particular, in the first level of higher education is explained by the presence of numerous holders of teaching certificates, especially teachers qualified to teach in the lower secondary school level ("régents"), more than 6 000 women and 2 000 men.

H. Measures to Combat Unemployment

The now classic tendency of putting a check on youth unemployment by keeping young people in school or training institutions longer has been practised in Belgium for some years. The extension of existing programmes or the need to increase the number of courses or school years were often used as pretexts. In higher education this trend dates back further since efforts have been made here, in the absence of restricted university admissions, to limit the number of young people gaining access to certain university faculties (i.e. restrictions at least in the last two years of secondary education). Where previously two years sufficed to obtain a certificate, three or even four years became necessary. Where a degree could be obtained in four years, five or six became the rule.

With the upsurge in unemployment these steps became general policy and the extension of compulsory education to 18 is one aspect of it.
This step is of such importance that it will be examined in more detail in Chapter III.

The resulting delay in young people's entry into working life will certainly bear fruit in the immediate future but as for the long term ...?

Successive governments have striven by various means to increase employment and, in some cases, to force open the doors of firms and public authorities.

1. The earliest measure of this kind provides temporary jobs for the unemployed with public authorities or certain nonprofit organizations ("chomeurs mis au travail" - CMT). The participants are necessarily recruited from the ranks of the unemployed and they benefit from an increase in their unemployment payments. They are not bound by a contract of employment. In January 1985, 27,400 full-time and 1,000 part-time jobs had been provided under this scheme.

2. Set up in 1977 the "special temporary scheme" (Cadre spécial temporaire"- CST), places unemployed workers with public interest organizations and certain nonprofit bodies. Their salaries are paid by the Ministry of Employment and Labour (organized by the National Employment Office) during the first year, decreasing thereafter as the period of work is extended. Initially, this scheme gave advantage to job seekers under the age of 30. At present, they number some 14,000 although this figure was considerably higher in earlier years. These workers are
given a contract of employment but are still registered as seeking jobs with the National Employment Office.

3. A more recent creation (1982) is a programme to promote employment for people in local community activities in the non-productive sector ("Troisième Circuit de Travail" - TCT). These workers are taken on mainly by cultural or welfare nonprofit organizations and are bound by a contract for an unspecified period of time. They number some 23,000 and are (on average) older than those in the CST scheme.

4. Recently, the CTS scheme was extended to allow small and medium-sized enterprises to take on young workers (Royal Decree 123 of 1983). It is too early to assess the impact of this measure on employment. This applies equally to a plan to assist young job seekers in setting up their own businesses.

5. An earlier measure (dating from 1978, modifying that of 1976) obliges enterprises and public administrations to take on young unemployed persons (under 30) for at least six months. The number of recruits is fixed at 2% of the actual workforce (in 1983 this was increased to 3%, with 1% eventually on a part-time basis). This scheme enables young school leavers to tackle a real job for the first time. In October 1984 some 40,000 young people were employed as
trainees ("stagiaires") either full-time (75%) or part-time under this scheme in enterprises or public authorities.

6. In addition to these job creation programmes, mention should also be made of all the measures which have led to the premature vacating of more than 180,000 posts since 1976. Two factors were involved here: the trend towards lowering the retirement age (early retirement) and the obligation to replace these prematurely retired workers with young or not-quite-so young job seekers.

It is evident that it would be difficult to sum up the various results and, above all, to evaluate their relation to the volume of new employment. Some measures serve merely to postpone the problem (to retard or accelerate the opening up of a new post or the emergence of a job seeker). Others clearly promote the creation of a post, and others again pass on to the community as a whole responsibility for the worker placed in an insecure job.

The CMT, CST and TCT schemes, which are financed by the community, accounted for more than 66,000 people in January 1985.
CHAPTER II - ECONOMY

Components of the National Product

The gross national product amounted to 3 900 billion\(^5\) Belgian francs in 1982, of which nearly 10% were directly linked to education and training (without taking account of expenditure linked indirectly to training: books, journals, purchases by households).

In 1922 Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg entered into an economic union. The statistics on external trade take this fact into account. In 1982 the balance of trade showed a deficit of 260 billion BFR, with the figures for imports and exports standing at 2 653 and 2 393 billion BRF respectively (1 DM = 20 BFR).

Since 1976 the trade and investment figures in all three regions have been rising steadily as much in industrial as in commercial or service enterprises. These investments do not appear to be linked to the further development of existing or the creation of new businesses as the gross domestic product is falling.

The drop in productivity is particularly marked in Brussels. In 1984 the industrial production indices seemed to give rise to hopes of an upswing.

\(^5\)For the purposes of this report a billion = 1 000 000 000
Taking the country as a whole, there were 2,302 more enterprises than in 1977 (+1.7%) concentrated mainly in the Flemish region (+3,894). The figures for Wallonia are more or less constant whereas Brussels has suffered a steady loss since 1977 (-7.2%).

Based on the actual labour force, there has been a steady increase in the number of firms in the tertiary sector to the detriment of the primary and secondary sectors.
CHAPTER III - THE SYSTEM OF TRAINING IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Period of Compulsory Education

On 20 June 1983 a law common to all Belgians was passed extending the period of compulsory education up to the age of 16 (full-time) and then to the age of 18 (either full-time or part-time).

Up to that date compulsory education covered the ages 6 to 14. Nevertheless, one of the effects of the increase in the standard of living in the 1960s and the increased entry of young mothers onto the labour market was the general placement of children aged between four and five in nursery schools. A further effect was that between 55% and 60% of young people remained in school up to the age of 18, the age at which higher secondary education finishes.

In 1983 this situation was made compulsory since the first article of this law states:

"..The minor is subject to compulsory education during a period of 12 years beginning with the school year which commences in the year in which he attains his sixth birthday and finishes at the end of the school year in which he attains the age of 18."
Compulsory education is full-time up to the age of 15. It includes at most seven years of primary education and at least the first two years of full-time secondary education; under no circumstances does full-time compulsory education apply beyond the age of 16.

Full-time compulsory education is followed by a period of part-time compulsory education. The obligation to attend part-time schooling can be fulfilled either by attending full-time secondary education or by attending part-time courses or training recognized as meeting the requirements of compulsory education ...

Between the ages of 16 and 18 the pupil may attend part-time instruction in a school or recognized training organization.

In order to gain official recognition, the training must contain at least 360 teaching hours per year for sixteen year olds and 240 teaching hours for older participants. This part-time training may be attended by young people between the ages of 16 and 18 who, in addition:

. work in a firm or under a master craftsman with a normal part-time contract of employment;

. work full-time in a firm or under a master craftsman in an ONEM work experience scheme ("stage") (law of the 2 + 1 %);
... conclude, with a firm or craftsman, a contract of apprenticeship (cf. the special section on industrial apprenticeship and apprenticeship organized by the Institutes of the "Middle Classes"; 6;... are unemployed (with the same rights as unemployed persons under 18 drawing benefit).

The extension of the period of compulsory education affects young people who leave school at 14 for economic reasons - although this is less and less the case - or more frequently because of the incompatibility of the school atmosphere (methods, setting and organization, nature of teacher-pupil relations) with the longing of the young man or woman to leave behind an environment judged to be artificial in order to enter the real world - the adult world. If this step had been taken during a period of full employment, it would have considerably eased the entry of young people onto the labour market and improved the standard of in-school training through the increased and more widespread links between firms and schools.

In 1983-1984 potential employers were scarcely interested in young people, particularly in the least well qualified. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that one of the first consequences of prolonging compulsory education was the extension of full-time school-based training in technical, vocational and "classical" general subjects.

6In Belgium the term "Middle Classes" covers small businesses and traders.
This evidence is, however, premature because it is based on some limited empirical data only and it will need to be verified against a complete set of statistics (our most up-to-date statistics are based on the year '82-'83 before the first effects of the law were felt).

1. Nursery schools have been an integral part of the school system since the 1960s. Although there is no educational obligation to attend, it is reckoned that almost 90% of children under five register for one of the three "nursery" years.

A recent project which anticipated the introduction of compulsory education at the age of five has not been implemented although the 1983 law does allow children to attend primary school at that age (subject to the agreement of the head of the establishment and of the appropriate child welfare centre). This same law allows entry into primary school to be postponed for one year. In this case, the obligation to attend school can be fulfilled by attending nursery school (problem of certain mental or behavioural deficiencies or children whose mother tongue is neither French nor Dutch).

In 1982-83 some 390 000 children attended elementary schools (40% in French-speaking schools). Most children, from the age of three on, have an opportunity, in the villages (school bus) or in the towns, to attend a nursery school with the three levels leading on to primary school.
2. **Primary schools** usually last for six years (three levels: lower, middle, higher). A fourth stage (two years), which has now disappeared completely, enabled the principle of compulsory education to be applied in the framework of primary education up to the age of 14.

Irrespective of the child's performance, he cannot attend primary school for more than eight years. If a pupil has to repeat a year twice, he automatically passes the sixth year.

From the primary level on (sometimes at nursery level), there is a scheme of **special education** designed for children with physical, mental or behavioural handicaps. Attendance at these special courses or the organization of lessons at home satisfies the compulsory education requirement as long as these variants meet the provisions of the law.

All children have an opportunity to attend a primary school which corresponds to their parents' wishes. The school may be under the authority of the commune, state, province or a private body.

Since the general principle is that primary education is free and compulsory, any organizing body fulfilling the requirements of the law can become recognized by the state and be given aid to cover, in particular, the salaries of the primary school teachers serving in such schools.
In 1982-83 the primary schools accounted for 812 000 pupils (45 % French-speaking) distributed as follows among the organizing bodies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>State %</th>
<th>Province %</th>
<th>Communes %</th>
<th>Private %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nursery schools</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(389 792)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(812 092)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*private = mainly free Catholic

The state has only played a direct role at nursery and primary level since 1950 in the framework of the preparatory programmes for secondary education or the induction courses in training colleges for primary school teachers. Historically speaking, the main organizing bodies were in fact the communes and parishes (Catholic), the two often being intermixed. The regrouping of numerous communes into larger entities and the reduction in the number of parishes often produced a parallel regrouping of schools. The small village schools have disappeared and been replaced by school centres in which the Catholic church continues to play an important role.
3. Secondary education

Within the framework of compulsory schooling up to the age of 14, secondary education was reserved for the bourgeois classes and city dwellers until just after the 1914-1918 war. The middle school (three years' general training following on the primary school) prepared young people mainly for public service posts (level of clerk), or for supplementary training in colleges or public schools or in training colleges for primary school teachers. All this has since changed as secondary education, in its entirety, is now part of compulsory schooling. Since 1960 and the prevailing financial climate, a democratizing movement in secondary education has been under way of which the final act was to be, 20 years later, a complete reform of this kind of education.

In the French community 1982-83 was to mark the official transition from traditional education (or type II) to reformed education (type I). In practice, this transition is far from complete particularly in the Flemish community. This can be explained in particular by the brake applied by the Catholic schools, which are in a comfortable majority in Flanders but also, relatively speaking, the most numerous in Wallonia and in Brussels.

Traditional secondary education (type II) consists of:

- general education with classical subjects (Greek and Latin), modern subjects (mathematics, sciences) and economics. It is divided into two periods of three years (lower and upper secondary education).
The lower secondary level corresponds to the old middle school and upon successful completion a certificate is awarded. The upper secondary level offers little in the way of vocational certificates (except perhaps qualification up to the level of junior executive officer in public administrations) and prepares pupils mainly for higher education, in particular university.

- **Technical Education** also lasts six years (two three-year periods) and leads to vocational certificates in very varied fields such as mechanics, electrical engineering, construction, chemistry, and office administration. This technical stream also prepares pupils for higher education.

- **Vocational Education** does carry on from primary education but more often adopts a similar line to the first years of technical education. It stresses the learning of skills and enables the pupil to enter the labour market with some practical vocational experience. This stream consists of four, five or six years, the two final ones serving to improve practical skills.

These different streams should have enabled each pupil to make a choice according to both his tastes and interests and intellectual and manual skills. However, they have always reflected the social origins of the children. Just as it was considered the done thing to enter the classics in general education (first Greek-Latin) and, in the case of failure, to go for modern subjects, followed by
economics, technical and "even worse" vocational education were, for a long time, regarded as the streams where children from the bourgeois classes could make up lost ground.

Even if all secondary education was free, it was still true that the percentage of children from the working classes in general education was low.

The reform of education, although marked by the modernization of syllabi and methods, was also a process of democratization, the principle objective of which was to set up a system of social advancement and to open the door for children from the most disadvantaged social classes to higher education and university. This is reformed secondary education (type I).

This new system is radically different from its predecessor since in the long run it replaces it with one unique stream lasting six years (2 x 3) with very diversified programmes. These programmes enable each pupil to compile his own individual syllabus reflecting his ability, tastes and personal aptitudes. At the end of the six-year period it leads to an identical certificate and opens the door to higher education, including most universities.

Given the existence of pupils who leave primary school at the age of 13 irrespective of their level of success, a transitional year has been introduced between primary and secondary school. This is called the reception year ("année d'acceuil"). This year is
also open to children who are undecided, to children who are not yet mature enough or to children with certain handicaps. At the end of this year, the adolescent can enter the observation cycle in company with the other pupils who came directly from primary school, or he can move directly into the vocational stream.

- Most pupils, upon completion of primary education, enter the two-year observation cycle. It is characterized by a joint general programme and a special programme for training in general or technical subjects or in the arts. During these first two years all readjustments are possible without losing any time. Psychologists, doctors and social workers assist the child and his parents in their choice and in any adjustments to the syllabi.

- At the end of the observation cycle, the pupil selects a general syllabus either continuing along the lines of his first choice or with amendments. Thus, he begins the general, technical or arts orientation cycle (two years). This consists of a programme of general training and a special programme influenced partly by the main subjects chosen and partly by choices made in line with the pupil's individual wishes. The last year of the cycle, in particular, may be considered as a reorientation year to correct the initial choice (for example reorientation towards the technical stream). It may also lead to a year of further training, mark the end of school-based training or the beginning of an apprenticeship. In
this part of the training, provision had been made for a broader spectrum of activities (craftwork, sports, private lessons, etc.) and for remedial courses but current financial restrictions have put these into abeyance.

- Having completed the orientation cycle and, in some cases reorientation, the pupil begins the third cycle of determination (two years) which leads to the certificate of secondary education. In the technical and arts subjects, it is still possible to readjust initial choices or to supplement this with further training. Along with the general or special orientation programmes, larger schools offer some courses with more numerous options.

- The six-year "vocational" stream begins with the reception year but also takes in pupils from the general or technical streams at the end of the first, fourth or sixth years. It may also, in turn, enable some pupils to enter these streams by means of reorientation and further training opportunities.

The reformed system accordingly brings all pupils at the age of 18 to the threshold of higher education or entry into working life, this being particularly true of the technical, vocational and arts streams.

The pupils who, at the end of the 4th year or at the age of 16, do not wish to undergo two further years of full-time training, can alternatively attend part-time training consisting of 360 hours during the first year and 240
hours during the last year of compulsory education as is prescribed by the law which we cited at the beginning of this chapter.

Special secondary education for adolescents with physical, mental or behavioural handicaps draws in its organization on the reforms described above but may possess features specific to the groups who attend these schools (see diagram below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'82-'83 school session</th>
<th>Breakdown of pupils in the different options by linguistic community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years : 1 2 3 4 5 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French community:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type I :</td>
<td>116 800 118 446 51 658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II general :</td>
<td>6 679 19 660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II voc. techn. :</td>
<td>20 925 16 983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total :</td>
<td>351 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemish community:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type I :</td>
<td>85 772 69 999 39 427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II general :</td>
<td>64 367 60 059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II voc. techn. :</td>
<td>99 170 78 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total :</td>
<td>496 905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is highly unsatisfactory because it reveals the changes taking place, some establishments merging the two systems in order to enable pupils who began with type II
to finish with the same system, but starting new pupils on
the new scheme. In the same way, in type I, it would be
difficult to compare the relevant statistics on general,
technical or arts streams because changes in orientation
are possible every year. However, some assertions can be
made:

1. In secondary education 41% of the pupils are French-
speaking. Mention should be made of the fact that
these figures do not as yet reflect the effects of the
recent law extending compulsory education.

2. In the French community, the number of "reformed"
pupils is 82% whereas in the Flemish community this
figure is only 40%.

3. It is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate
between vocational training and general training.
Professor LEROY remarked on this fact in his report on
funding. This will be even more difficult in the
future because if the purely vocational streams which
in no way cater for future technicians are exempted,
it will be impossible, without a long term study which
monitored the pupil during his secondary education, to
estimate the costs involved in initial vocational
training.

Diagram 1 (page 40) covers all the opportunities open to
young people between the ages of 12 and 17/18. Diagram 2
(page 41) relates to special education (for the
handicapped). Diagrams 3 and 4 cover the structure of reformed and traditional secondary education (types 1 and II).
Diagram 2: Special Education System

- Pre-school
- Primary
- Secondary

Ages 2 2.5 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Compulsory education

Possibility of continuing in the desired level

F = form of education
3. ORGANISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SECONDAIRE (LOI DU 19 JUILLET 1971)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Common</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>A*</th>
<th>**</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Determination</th>
<th>Higher Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A* = Year A common to all forms of education
B* = Year B for pupils who need adapted education
** = Year common to general, technical and arts education
R = Reorientation year
PS = Year of further training and specialization
The technical streams have not been described in detail in view of the wide variety involved.

F = final certificate awarded
S = specialization
4. **Apprenticeship of young people aged 16-18, attending part-time education in centres for the "Middle Classes"**

The provisions of the law of 29 June 1983 on the extension of compulsory education have completely reshaped the field of activity of French-speaking and Dutch-speaking continuing training institutes for the "Middle Classes".

Whereas in the past an apprenticeship contract could be entered into from the age of 14 on, the new law requires all young people up to the age of 16 to attend full-time training in school. This eliminates "potential clients" for apprenticeship aged 15-16. However, the system has become more flexible because it is now possible for young people aged between 16 and 18 to fulfil the requirement of part-time compulsory education by concluding an apprenticeship contract with an employer (practical training) which is coupled with theoretical instruction in a training centre for the "Middle Classes".

This system of "alternance" training has long been a traditional part of the Belgian system of vocational training (1959). It is based in fact, as in most other European countries, on the principle of training "on-the-job" supervised by skilled workers who pass on to the apprentice their occupational know-how and "tricks of the trade". Employer-trainers were increasingly assisted in the training process by trainers from the specific trade who had to complete their practical training by giving
technical instruction (between 72 and 124 hours per year) and general instruction (between 72 and 132 hours per year).

Thus, this amounts to a form of initial vocational training which lasted a maximum of four years in the past, and three years now (taking into account the temporary provisions of the law on the extension of compulsory education). Beyond the age of 18, the apprentice can continue his initial training or take part in extended training. This will be examined in the following chapter on continuing training.

The annual reports for 1983 of the two continuing training institutes for the "Middle Classes" explain the major changes in apprenticeships made necessary by the new law. The statistics given in these reports are, however, still influenced to a great degree by the old provisions (contracts of 1, 2, 3, 4 years).

First, an evaluation is made of the number of young people who leave school at the end of compulsory education in order to begin an apprenticeship of between 1 and 4 years:
### Contracts concluded in 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contracts for</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flemish community</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>2 834</td>
<td>2 439</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>6 264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French community</td>
<td>1 605</td>
<td>2 594</td>
<td>2 058</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>6 712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German community</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>1 929</td>
<td>5 567</td>
<td>4 579</td>
<td>1 154</td>
<td>13 229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since September 1983 four-year contracts are no longer provided, which explains the fall in their number compared with three-year ones which have now become the norm.

Here, new contracts have been added to already existing ones concluded for more than one year in preceding years. In 1983 the total number of contracts for which these institutes were responsible (they will be described in greater detail in conjunction with continuing training) was 11 632 Dutch-speaking contracts, 10 624 French-speaking and 729 German-speaking, some 23 000 contracts for apprentices aged in more than 90% percent of cases between 15 and 18, i.e. in age groups covered by compulsory education under the new law.
This figure has been more or less constant for five years. This group is interesting because it used, well before the law envisaged it, a system of alternance training divided between the employer and the training centre.

A relevant statistic concerning the 6 646 contracts concluded in 1983 with French-speaking young people (of the total 6 712, 66 were unclear) throws light on the origins of these apprentices, and helps to identify the educational options they selected before deciding on apprenticeship.

Thus, these young people are aged between 15 and 18 and older, the majority are boys and their level of education is often low.

The following diagram illustrates the origins of these young apprentices. They have either completed primary education or left this level prematurely after repeating one or more years. They may come from lower secondary education which they finished at 15 after the 1st, 2nd or third year (here too with some repeats) or they have often left the higher secondary level prematurely although in some cases they have completed it.
1. In 28% of the cases, the apprenticeship is considered as a special training channel used by young people with a normal level of education (depending on age) who prefer this type of alternance training to school-based training.

2. In 42% of the cases, apprenticeship is used as a remedial channel by young people with major educational deficiencies who enter it upon completion of compulsory education (old system) without having obtained a vocational qualification.

3. In 30% of the cases apprenticeship is used as a reorientation channel by young people who had previously chosen the complete orientation (41%) or the incomplete orientation (59%) level of secondary education. Most of these young people have either begun or completed the second degree of technical or
vocational education (3/4 of this group) and will use their apprenticeships to supplement their education or as a form of further training. The contracts of these young people are for less than four years.

4 Few young people over the age of 18 go in for apprenticeship contracts of this kind. Most of them have completed more extensive education which entitles them to enter channels other than those set up by the institutes for the "Middle Classes".

The extension of the period of compulsory education has not only redefined the field of application of the apprenticeship contract. It has also obliged the organizers of these training centres for the "Middle Classes" to comply with regulations on the length of theoretical training (360 hours in the first year, 240 hours thereafter). Educational committees are involved in reshaping programmes and syllabi in order to meet the requirements of juries responsible for assessing the qualifications acquired by the apprentices (general and vocational education) at the end of each year. These juries are recognized by the Ministry of National Education which takes part in their deliberations.

This collaboration between national education and the "Middle Classes" ought to increase in the years to come. In fact, the existence of an alternance training system has now been officially recognized (part-time training) and is becoming a training branch in its own right.
This is confirmed by the extension of the apprenticeship system for craft trades in small or medium-sized firms to other trades in larger enterprises. The relevant legislation is the law on industrial apprenticeship of 19 July 1983.
5. **Apprenticeships in occupations pursued by salaried workers**

**Law of 19 August 1983**

Since 1983 enterprises employing more than 50 workers in occupations not covered by traditional apprenticeship may conclude limited apprenticeship contracts in which they undertake to give or to provide the contracting apprentices with training preparing them for their future occupation.

The apprentice must be at least 16 years old and must have completed full-time compulsory education. He must not be older than 18 (save in exceptional cases) nor may he have successfully completed a full cycle of training for the occupation in which he wishes to serve his apprenticeship.

A. The **apprenticeship contract**, in addition to the names of the contracting parties, specifies:

1. the sum to be paid to the apprentice (percentage of the normal salary paid to a worker of equal skills);
2. the obligations of the contracting parties;
3. the individual training programme drawn up by the employer.
This contract includes a clause on a trial period from one to three months. It is drawn up for a period fixed by a competent joint^7 apprenticeship committee (between six months and two years. This maximum may be exceeded). It is possible to enter into several successive contracts with different enterprises.

B. Obligations of the employer (trainer)

1. The employer, himself, undertakes the training personally or designates someone under his responsibility who will train the apprentice.

2. He draws up a training programme for each apprentice. This is detailed in a training record book and may be communicated to the joint apprenticeship committee.

3. He must allow the apprentice to attend the general and theoretical classes necessary to training (in a school or approved centre).

4. He pays the apprentice the allowance stipulated in the contract.

5. He gives the apprentice, at the end of training, a certificate testifying to the periods of training and contents of the programme.

^7In this report joint means equal representation of both sides of industry.
6. In cases of conflict, he applies the general rules on contracts of employment or, if the law envisages this, the special provisions regarding the trial period.

C. Role of the joint apprenticeship committee

1. In the enterprise, the management board ensures that the apprentice contracts are properly executed and training programmes carried out and that the legal provisions and regulations applicable to the apprentices are enforced.

2. In order to do so, they may appeal for the assistance of the president or secretary of the competent joint apprenticeship board.

3. These joint apprenticeship committees spring from the joint commissions and the National Labour Council (attached to the different sectors of industry).

4. These joint apprenticeship committees comprise, in addition to representatives of the employers, trade unions and the Ministry of Labour and Employment, two representatives from the Ministries of National Education.

5. These committees draw up, for each occupation, a training programme model and determine the length of training. They are responsible for organizing
the examinations at the end of the apprenticeship and the conditions for awarding the certificate confirming the professional capacity of the apprentice.

6. The committees evaluate the standard of the training given to the apprentice and can alter the fixed regulations (within the body of the law) and help the apprentice when he is in difficulty within the prescribed terms of his apprenticeship contract.

7. Each joint commission draws up an apprenticeship regulation for the enterprise which stipulates the conditions and forms of the apprenticeship:

- the most notable establishments for providing theoretical and general (economic and social) training) as advised by the Ministries of National Education;

- the maximum number of apprentices in a given enterprise;

- evaluation criteria in litigation cases.

8. Collective agreements concluded within the joint commissions may envisage that the financial costs of apprenticeship (other than the running costs of the joint committee which are assumed by the
state) are to be divided between the employers who may take on apprentices in accordance with the law.

The collection of such contributions and the administration of the employment fund may be entrusted by the joint commissions to already existing welfare funds.

D. The National Labour Council coordinates apprenticeship activities and studies the problems which it poses at national level. It informs the Ministry of Labour and Employment of all opinions and proposals regarding apprenticeship issues.

In its daily application, the law of July 1983 has not as yet had any effect. It is expected that the first new apprentices of this kind will probably only begin to use the industrial enterprise as a training ground in September 1985.

Up to now 17 joint committees have been set up of which ten (in March 1985) would have been able to begin work already if the Ministries of National Education had appointed their representatives which was not the case.

It is evident that in the school milieu a huge publicity campaign is under way to encourage young people to stay on full time at school rather than to choose this form of
industrial apprenticeship with its syllabus divided between a school (theoretical instruction) and a firm (practical experience).
A. Higher Education

At the age of 18, if a pupil has not repeated a year in primary and/or secondary education, he/she will leave upper secondary education with a certificate (save for a few exceptions) opening the door to higher education.

With the extension of compulsory education, this will apply to most young people.

At the moment, there is one way of entering working life after obtaining the kind of vocational qualification offered in school.

Several further training opportunities are open to the young people who choose this path within the framework of continuing training. This will be looked at later.

As for the other pupils who wish to be trained in a school environment, higher education offers a wide spectrum of training channels which in 2, 3, 4, 5, ... 7 years lead to vocational qualifications which open the door to the labour market.

It is not the aim of this monograph to describe higher education which is behind the times. Some ingenious changes have been made to try to bring higher education up to the standard of the small group of innovators who normally come from its ranks. There are several different kinds of higher education: short duration or long duration
higher education, university level education or university education itself. These differences do not bear any relation to the standard of the titles conferred but are rather linked to the endowments of the organizers, ... and to the salary scales of the teaching staff. Unemployment amongst higher education graduates first made its appearance in the "post '68" years. Even if this development has scarcely affected the statistics (3 % for young men under 25, 5 % in the case of young women), it does still reveal the increasingly obvious gap between the occupational profiles of the young higher education graduates and the models drawn up on the basis of the needs of enterprises. We should also be aware of the obvious camouflaging of the real figures by the organized use of certain doubtful job creation schemes in which the young people involved are drawn into a circle of under-qualification rather than face unemployment. Non-university higher education (with the systematic prolongation of training, three or four years on average) accounted in 1982-83 for 109,754 pupils (60 % Dutch-speaking).

University education (average length of studies five years, the maximum being seven in the case of medical doctors) accounted for 96,795 students (almost half of them French-speaking). It should be noted that this majority of Dutch-speakers is new and that, until quite recently, the universities mainly trained French-speakers. This development is in fact the result of the splitting of the free, Catholic universities in LEUVEN and LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE and of secular universities in Brussels. Regionalization did lead, 25 years ago, to an increase in
the number of state universities and university centres but in 1982 they only accounted for 29% of the student population. It should also be pointed out that more and more women are entering higher education (38%), particularly the social sciences. In non-university higher education, women are in a majority in "traditionally female" spheres (teaching, nursing) but it is no longer rare to find them in training schemes leading to "masculine" occupations (engineering, economics, and even military training). This non-university higher education seems, moreover, to be developing more rapidly than university education, perhaps because it is more directly linked with professional qualifications.

B. Continuing Training

Continuing training is in fact the main subject matter of this monograph. If one excludes the diplomas or, as is more often the case, the certificates awarded to young people upon completion of vocational education testifying to a specific occupational skill, then the final certificates of the reformed upper secondary level can be regarded as equivalent. If they are to rank alongside the other final qualifications, they will have to be supplemented by further theoretical and, in particular, practical training. There are many further training opportunities both for the young and not so young. For a long time now, secondary schools organized courses in the evenings and on Sundays (Saturday was a normal working day). These were called "second chance" schools.
Attendance at, and in particular successful completion of, evening classes (held between 6-7 p.m. and 9-10 p.m.) by adults who, very frequently, had worked in a firm, factory or office for a minimum of eight hours and perhaps had a long and tiring journey, was difficult and led to workers developing a growing dislike of this kind of training. The teaching methods, the means and the objectives were identical to those defined for day classes. Thus, these turned out to be remedial classes and not further training or, even less, continuing training.

1. These evening classes have become social advancement courses. They are arranged by the organizing bodies of the four education networks and subsidized by the Ministries of National Education under the conditions described later. Successful completion of evening classes before 1970 was proof of an ability to work but also of a desire to "succeed" both socially and professionally. During a period of three or four years it was required of these students that they give up the pleasures of family life and social life, very often when they were of an age when such pleasures are the most numerous.

The development of a situation in which firms were looking for skilled workers led employers' organizations to encourage workers to undergo further training, obtain qualifications and make use of the available training resources. Since 1960 different legislative measures (described later) have been introduced to this end.
The trade unions have participated in this movement by ensuring that the workers who attended, in particular, further training were given financial assistance by public authorities and by the firms who "profited" from the higher skill level of their workers. This assistance took the following forms:

- In 1963 a law extended admission to ONEM training centres to workers employed in firms. These centres had previously been open only to the unemployed.

- In 1969 the Ministry of National Education issued a circular allowing schools to organize short training programmes in social advancement separate from the traditional curricula but linked to them by a system of credit units ("unités capitalisables").

- Between 1973 and 1975, most importantly, regulations were drawn up which allowed workers attending courses or work experience schemes organized by the Ministry of National Education or other bodies approved by the Ministry of Labour and Employment) to absent themselves from their work, subject to certain limits, without suffering a loss of salary. The relevant legislation is the law on credited working hours ("loi des crédits d'heures").

This law was influenced to a considerable degree by the French legislation on continuing training of 1970 and 1971.
It recognizes the worker's "right to attend general and vocational training by absenting himself from work during a number of hours specified by the law without suffering a loss of remuneration". An upper age limit was at first set at 40 for those benefiting from this law. This was later raised to 42 and higher.

Other conditions had to be met before a worker could benefit from credited working hours:

- he must have a full-time job with one or more employers in the private sector;

- he must be attached to a firm through his employment or work contract;

- he must attend the course(s) regularly and sit the examinations. In the case of failure, he may repeat one year only.

- he must use the credited working hours to participate in courses, to prepare for examinations or to recuperate, in leave of absence from work, the time spent at evening classes.

The number of hours (credit) of absence from work guaranteed by law in the first year was equal to 25 % of the number of hours envisaged in the training programme and actually attended. This percentage was raised to 50 % in the second year and 100 % in the third year. These figures were based on traditional evening classes. They
were subsequently revised to enable adjustment to various extensions of the law covering shorter courses or programmes based on the modular principle (credit units).

During his absence from work the worker is paid a limited and indexed sum of his normal salary.

The system was funded as follows:

- one half by the state,
- the other half by the employers who were required to pay special contributions to the National Social Security Office.

The success of the law on credited working hours was not immediate and as time passed it became less and less apparent.

In 1973-74 of the 200,000 potential beneficiaries, a mere 12,300 workers exercised their rights to credited working hours.

In 1974-75 their number only rose by 17,800 and this increase was only the result of the law being extended to cover first-year trainees.

Consequently, the budgetary appropriations for the credited working hours fund led to the appearance of large sums left unspent which the state then used for other vocational training purposes.
In 1978 the special tax on the payroll of firms was not collected.

The reasons for this semi-failure have to be attributed as much to the beneficiaries as to the employers:

- the beneficiaries are, in fact, not only the students concerned but equally the organizers of the approved courses. Now, traditional evening classes responded less and less to the occupational requirements of firms and likewise to the basic motivations of workers. Furthermore, an obvious lack of coordination between the Ministry of Employment and the Ministry of National Education led to the somewhat precipitious introduction of the law without enough preliminary work to ensure its acceptance.

- the employers were confronted, to a certain extent, with a fait accompli: not only did they have to tolerate the absence of worker-students, they also had to finance a part of the operation.

In the meantime, the National Labour Council, which brings together all the interested parties, has reviewed a certain number of the provisions of the law and extended it to wider and, perhaps, more motivated groups of workers.

At the end of more than thirty meetings spread over a period of one-and-a-half years, the National Labour Council was able in 1979 to present unanimous advice to
the Ministry of Labour and Employment. This was to lead to the introduction of a bill modifying the law on "credited working hours" as follows:

1. the term "educational leave" to replace the term "credited working hours";

2. the laws of 1 July 1963 on social advancement and of 10 April 1973 to be combined. The benefits of these laws to be extended to all workers irrespective of their age;

3. the new law to cover all workers in private enterprises;

4. a joint commission for approving training programmes to enable the initiatives to be diversified;

5. the state to meet 100 % of funding in the case of general training and 50 % in the case of vocational training, the remaining 50 % to be met by the enterprises themselves;

6. training to last a maximum of 240 hours, a maximum 160 of which to be general training (possibly);

7. the ceiling on the gross salary payable to the beneficiary of educational leave to be increased from 28 000 BFR to 45 000 BFR per month.
This bill was to lead to the amending law of 22 January 1985, the provisions of which were very similar to the proposals made by the National Labour Council.

The field of application of the law covers courses organized by the Ministries of National Education or their associates:

- social advancement courses organized, subsidized and recognized by the state;
- part-time instruction in the plastic arts;
- long full-time university level courses held in the evening and at the week-end in higher education institutions;
- university courses in the evening or at the weekend in university or institutions with a similar status;
- training programmes envisaged by the regulations on continuing training for the "Middle Classes";
- training envisaged by the regulations on qualification schemes for agricultural workers;
- preparation and presentation of examinations before the state examining board;
- sectorial training programmes set up at the behest of the competent joint commission;
- vocational training in which the programme has been approved by the commission of approval;

- courses organized by employees' associations;

- courses organized by youth and adult organizations and by training centres for workers;

- general training in which the programme has been approved by the approval commission (60 hours minimum).

A joint steering committee is at present engaged in preparing the provisions for the implementation of the law.

Examination of the legal texts which define the right of workers to credited working hours and, by extension, to educational leave clearly reveals two things:

1. The public authorities recognise the status of the Ministries of National Education as trainers in the field of vocational training for workers. The other training bodies have to be approved.

2. Approval is granted by the Ministry of Labour and Employment who, in addition, manages the contributions paid by the enterprises towards the salaries of the participants.
The National Labour Council (equal representation: government, employers and trade unions) who drew up the legal provisions, still regards national bodies as being responsible for implementation whereas vocational training is now recognized as a matter for the three communities.

This ambiguity is just one of several which arose during the introduction of the regionalization measures which we have examined earlier.

Until this situation has been clarified, the proposed system of educational leave delegates the main responsibility for continuing training (particularly in the case of social advancement courses) to national bodies.

In 1983-84 the number of participants who registered for social advancement courses reached an impressive total of 211 991 (101 998 Dutch-speaking and 109 893 French-speaking). This "abnormal" difference on the French-speaking side can probably be explained by the increased number of short programmes of training. The available statistics are only of limited value.

Thus, of these figures 35 % French-speaking and 45 % Dutch-speaking participants at ended language courses of varying levels which are not strictly speaking vocational training (basic apprenticeship: 53 % French-speaking and 50 % Dutch-speaking). On the French-speaking side, these courses were mainly in English and Dutch (11 languages being taught). On the Dutch-speaking side these are first and foremost courses in French followed by English (14 languages being taught).
On the Dutch-speaking side where recent detailed statistics exist, few of the subjects provided in the traditional streams meet the needs of the labour market:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Cutting/sewing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lower tech. secondary level</td>
<td>4 501</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower voc. secondary level</td>
<td>32 570</td>
<td>20 376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher tech. secondary level</td>
<td>13 837</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher voc. secondary level</td>
<td>5 781</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same community, the detailed statistics covered four years and it is interesting to note the distribution of students over these four years (other than in languages):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>low. tech. sec. level</td>
<td>1 711</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low. voc. sec. level</td>
<td>17 716</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high. tech. sec. level</td>
<td>7 381</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high voc. sec. level</td>
<td>2 874</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29 682</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rapid fall in the number of students between the 1st and 2nd years can be explained partly by the short training programmes lasting less than one year. By contrast, the figures confirm that the four-year training programmes are very poorly attended and that the relative importance of the individual and, in particular, overall
figures has to be rectified as the same pupils are present each year in different levels or drop out before completing training.

These adjustments are not without their importance. This will become clearer when evaluation is made of the funding of social advancement courses enabling comparison with the costs of other systems of training. In this way quality criteria can be established.

In addition to social advancement courses at secondary level, other schemes must not be forgotten, the objectives of which are more precise but are situated at higher education level. As different administrative organizations in the two communities are responsible for social advancement courses, there are schools which organize higher training of university standard within this framework or within the traditional framework of "day" classes. Thus, there are also evening classes, staggered day classes, and evening classes with more flexible syllabi based on the principle of credited working hours or educational leave. These courses extend over 3, 4, 6 years and lead both to strictly vocational qualifications and to others similar to full-time programmes in higher education. These courses bring together some 12,000 Dutch-speaking students (technical further training, higher education economics courses, ancillary medical programmes, social programmes, arts, teaching programmes, engineering, technician training, etc.). They are just as important on the French-speaking side where it is more difficult to distinguish them from higher education. They have, nevertheless, been included here because they bring
together mainly adults "in employment" and because they enable this group to benefit from the advantages of educational leave.

2. **ONEM vocational training schemes for adults**

The "Office national de l'Emploi" - ONEM (National Employment Office) was set up in 1963. It was the successor to the "Office national de Placement et de Chômage" - ONPC (National Office for Placement and Unemployment), which, in turn, took over from some unemployment insurance funds at the end of the 1940-45 War.

The ONPC, itself, had already created vocational training centres to help the unemployed to learn a trade. These efforts were limited both in terms of quantity and quality (transition from unskilled state to a certain degree of "skill" mainly in trades in the building industry - shell construction or finishing). In 1960-63 these centres for the unemployed were opened up to workers in enterprises. The economy entered a period of boom and firms were short of skilled workers. The less skilled had to be pushed into training centres, which were not schools, where trainers in their own particular trades gave them a short introduction (accelerated training) to a skill which they would go on to develop "on-the-job" (this was during the period of full employment). Thus, these adult trainees had to be paid an hourly allowance sufficient to compensate for the loss of salary. The trainers in their own trades were instructed in "demonstration methods" in "a
special teaching centre (CNFEP). This centre adopted the methods used by teachers at AFPA (France) who were ahead in this field at that time.

The number of trades being taught increased. Between 1963 and 1968 ONEM centres catered for some 65% of workers and 35% of the unemployed, the latter being very poorly qualified.

Between 1968 and 1970 the number of unemployed young people increased despite the healthy economy and full employment. Initially, the unemployed comprised women, young people and school leavers. The "inability of school programmes to meet the occupational requirements of enterprises" was criticized.

ONEM set up training and orientation centres for young people and for women, and finally in 1970 multipurpose training centres for occupations in the tertiary sector. In these centres, in which the old ratio worker-unemployed person, was reversed, only a minority (30%) of the trainees were workers sent by their enterprises.

From year to year, abetted by the crisis, young people spent more and more time in school and took part in state schemes to combat unemployment. Thus, ONEM was forced to increase its activities which were not directed to the labour market but which prepared for it:

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8 Centre National de Formation et d'Etudes Pédagogiques National Centre for Training and Educational Studies

9 Association pour la Formation Professionnelle des Adultes National Association for Adult Vocational Training
centres, orientation and observation centres, pretraining centres, propaedeutic centres (initial training), remedial training centres, etc.

Parallel to this, but always within the initial perspective of a link with employment, initial training centres attracted a clientele of better educated young people (extension of compulsory schooling up to 18 years of age) who, in order to conform to occupational models formulated by the enterprises, needed to undergo more vigorous further training, including training in the new technologies.

This flexibility in adapting to contemporary vocational training needs is certainly the result of the management system of ONEM. It is administered by a management board which brings together representatives of employers, trade unions and competent bodies (up to 1980 this being the Ministry of Employment and Labour - since then it has been responsible for unemployment matters only). Within the framework of the laws on regionalization, ONEM has just divided itself between the different bodies as will be shown later.

For the moment it is enough to note that the delegation of responsibility for vocational training to the communities will oblige us from now on to distinguish between the training schemes and the orientations of the two communities.
Up to 1985 ONEM vocational training programmes for French-speaking and Dutch-speaking adults can be characterized as follows:

1. Adult vocational training activities are designed to cater for general or intermittent needs experienced at a given time on the labour market. The main objectives are short-, and medium-term (thus no lasting link with national education is possible).

2. The training programmes answer needs felt "on-the-job", by employers' organizations or by workers. These are short pragmatic programmes which are constantly changing.

3. The trainers are professionals with proven professional experience in the subject they teach. They have also undergone initial and continuing teacher training adapted to the needs of the trainees.

4. The relevance of the programmes and methods as well as the training results are subject to constant analysis.

We have given some consideration to these definitions and descriptions in order to make clear the special nature of ONEM adult vocational training programmes vis-à-vis the programmes of the larger "national education" bodies, the organizers of social advancement courses set out above.
In fact, in 1985 ONEM adult vocational training schemes employed some 1,200 trainers, spread over 60 training centres in which more than 50 "trades" are taught or in which several new qualifications can be acquired, the word "trade" often having lost its original meaning.

These trainers may work in organized teams, in centres, or collaborate with other trainers, in firms, in independent approved centres, in schools, universities, specialized centres, etc.

The training provided by ONEM may be organized in various ways, and run directly or jointly.

A. Centres run directly by ONEM

In 60 vocational training centres, around 1,200 specialized trainers, usually full-time, purvey their craft 40 hours a week throughout the year to some 7,500 trainees in the different trades of the secondary and tertiary sectors:

- initial training,

- part-time supplementary training,

- in sections reserved for young people (aged between 17-18 and 25 in the French community).
B) Centres set up in association with firms

The workers from the various enterprises which have a training agreement with ONEM attend courses either in the firm itself or in ONEM centres; thus the specific needs of the enterprise are met:

. in initial training,

. in further training.

C) Approved centres

Certain specialized centres or centres set up in the form of a nonprofit organization may, on their own initiative or at the behest of ONEM, take on a certain number of trainees for a specialized course of training.

D) Individual training programmes

Some trainees ("stagiaires"), especially those engaged in an unusual trade or one requiring a rare or expensive infrastructure, may be trained in an enterprise or a technical school. A special contract is drawn up for this purpose binding the trainee both to ONEM and to the training firm.
E) **Training in the National Centre for training and Educational Studies (CNFEP)**

This centre plays a triple role. First, it trains some 1,200 instructors from centres directly run by ONEM. It provides not only technical and teacher training but also retraining and preparation courses for examinations leading to promotion. Furthermore, the centre undertakes the pedagogical training of instructors from firms or of trainers from developing countries.

Lastly, the centre specializes in training supervisors in communication and human relations.

F) **Assistance in setting up, extending and converting enterprises**

This assistance from ONEM is mainly financial. The aim of the subsidy is to help the enterprise, during its development phase, to organize and carry out specific training activities. Responsibility for this budget has been devolved to the three regions.
Comparison of activities between 1978 and 1984 (the two communities)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1978 (F + D)</th>
<th>1984 French</th>
<th>1984 Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. ONEM centres:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- initial and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplementary:</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young people:</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Together with firms</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Approved centres</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Individual</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. CNFEP</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Aid to enterprises</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>25 725</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 500</strong></td>
<td><strong>23 444</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The German-speaking community has been included in the French-speaking community.

ONEM activities in the field of vocational training are continuing to expand in all areas. This applies to the traditional centres where, in keeping with the occupational needs of enterprises, individualized training programmes have been drawn up and provided for trainees of very different levels. This also applies to the further training courses for workers from enterprises or job seekers frequently with a high level of skills, including managerial ones. It is also true of the specialized centres for young people and job seekers with a low level
of qualification where on the French-speaking side, ONEM organizes specific observation and initial retraining courses. For two years now, these centres have been moving towards original programmes which are described further on.

The definition of adult vocational training of the National Employment Office (Royal Decree of 20 December 1963 supplemented by the Royal Decree of 7 December 1973) explains why there is such a multiplicity of different objectives leading to the one and the same policy to balance supply and demand on the labour market in order to assist either the workers employed in the enterprises or job seekers momentarily out of work.

At the same time, this definition covers initial training, training for the young and the not-so-young, further training in the firm or adult vocational training centre, and the observation and guidance of young people and workers who are obliged to undergo retraining. In other words, it is an extremely flexible system which, during periods of economic boom, mainly tries to meet the requirements of firms and workers who have to keep pace with technological realities and, in periods of recession, to bow to the law of large numbers in its long-term initial training programmes and specialized, recurrent further training courses.

For the moment it seems that various factors point to a redistribution of priorities among the multiple objectives of ONEM vocational training schemes for adults. Thus, improved collaboration between ONEM and the Ministries of
National Education, the institutes of the "Middle Classes", and enterprises, may be expected as a result of the activities of the subregional employment committees. In each sub-region they are responsible for researching vocational training requirements and for suggesting how to meet them. These committees consist of representatives of the social partners – i.e. employers and trades unions, and also of representatives of the various ministries involved in these matters. They are empowered to submit proposals on vocational training projects to ONEM's management board which itself is a joint body.

Perusal of the statistics presented earlier leads to certain considerations concerning the different community policies for vocational training:

1. The total number of programmes has increased clearly since 1978 (34,944 training programmes as compared with 25,725). This is mainly the work of the Flemish community which represents 2/3 of the training although it has done away with the centres for young people, the framework of which is now used for selecting trainees and testing the professional knowledge of job seekers.

2. The proportion of unemployed persons among the trainees varies greatly. In the centres directly run by ONEM 54% are unemployed on the Flemish side, 75% on the French-speaking side. The other trainees are workers from enterprises who come to the centres during their working hours or on Saturdays.
The percentage of the unemployed is high on the French-speaking side where all the activities of the "youth centres" are reserved for the unemployed.

3. This emphasis, on the Flemish side, on training aid for enterprises does not take the form so much of direct collaboration but of alternance training schemes such as "individual training programmes" which account for 15 % of the training provided in the community.

4. In fact, the recognized trend in the Flemish community towards linking training and placement activities (fusion of the community and the region) leads to priority being given to employment-linked schemes (assistance to firms, centres collaborating with enterprises, individual training programmes, etc.).

Altogether 57 % of the trainees on the Flemish side are unemployed whereas on the French-speaking side, this figure is 78 %.

5. The disappearance on the Flemish side of youth centres is accompanied, on the French-speaking side, by changes in the same centres which have become: reception centres, orientation and observation centres, or centres for socio-professional induction. Furthermore, these same centres have assumed responsibility for running the collective retraining cells and local employment initiatives (the latter as defined by the European Social Fund). These training
activities are linked directly with the creation of jobs for groups of the unemployed who undertake projects in the setting up of business.

The financial situation of unemployed trainees undergoing training in an ONEM centre is unusual because they have always been entitled not only to attend all courses gratis, including reimbursement of travel expenses, but also to financial remuneration taking the place of a salary.

In the French community, this allowance amounted, in April 1985, to 192.50 BFR for each training hour, which, in the case of full-time training, meant a gross remuneration of about 22,000 BFR each month. This figure may, however, vary depending on social factors and the job experience of the trainee. It is higher than unemployment benefit, and the difference helps to increase the motivation of job-seeking trainees.

So far as trainees from enterprises are concerned, their remuneration is one of the conditions of collaboration included in the agreement. Depending on the individual cases, ONEM may undertake to pay a part of the salary up to the maximum level indicated below, to pay some of this sum or not to pay anything at all, if the enterprise continues to pay the trainee his normal wage.

In the Flemish community, the remuneration system was altered in 1984. Trainees are paid an hourly allowance of 40 BFR. Their contract no longer has the status of a
contract of employment. If they are unemployed, they are still considered as such and retain their normal rights to unemployment benefit.

Recent changes in the regulations have led the French community to introduce a somewhat similar solution. The budgetary effects will probably be felt in 1986 and this will make the financial status of trainees in the two communities very similar.

3. Continuing training organized by centres for the "Middle Classes"

We have already mentioned apprenticeship within the framework of the extension of compulsory education and the opportunities given to young people between the ages of 16 and 18 to use this alternance training system to fulfil this obligation.

The French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Institutes of Continuing Training for the "Middle Classes", are "non-profit organizations". Their activities cover initial training, and continuing training for craftsmen and workers in small enterprises, including employers and managerial staff.

Set up in 1976 these institutes are governed by a **general assembly**, which in turn is directed by an **administrative board**. Here are brought together representatives of professional and inter-professional national federations and representatives of continuing training centres.
The administrators of the National Council of Coordination and Concertation, the only remaining national body, have emanated from the general assemblies of the French-speaking and Dutch-speaking institutes. This council also has various members who act as consultants, including delegates from national education and the competent ministries, who are members of the community executives.

As already indicated, the institutes are responsible for organizing the initial training side of apprenticeship in the communities. They are also responsible for courses open to students holding an apprenticeship certificate, equivalent diploma or certificate (of national education).

These further training courses last two or three years. They are also coupled with language courses. The business management programmes prepare trainees for managerial posts in firms (employers) and may be accompanied by study days, seminars, and various other courses which really can be termed further training. On the French-speaking side, the statistics indicate that an average of 2,242 people attend these business management courses. On the Dutch-speaking side, some 2,591 trainees passed the final business management examination (1983).

By contrast, extended training covering both business management and technology catered, in the same year, in all three communities for some 10,000 workers, employers, assistants, and employees in craft enterprises and small and medium-sized enterprises.
4. Other continuing training bodies

This was examined in great detail in the section on the Belgium school system. School education is organized for the most part by private bodies but even if freedom of education is in practice the constitutional right of each citizen, they are all eager to ask the state for the financial resources needed to run school activities.

It is this same right which, in the field of continuing training, has led to the proliferation of adult training bodies claiming close or not-so-close links with continuing vocational training.

On closer examination, these turn out to be initiatives of different ministries which organize and finance special programmes for their own employees or for other groups in their charge.

This is the case with the Ministry of Agriculture which, in collaboration with agricultural schools and specialized professional associations (Boerenbond - professional agricultural union) develops initial training and further training for farmers, their families, and agricultural workers.

This is also the case with the Ministry of Transport (railways, civil aviation, merchant navy, etc.) where highly specialized training and retraining centres help these groups to maintain their standards of "professionalism".
This is the case with the Ministry of National Defence (military school, instruction centres for the militia, police academy, etc.). Some ministries (for example the Ministry of Finance) organize regular retraining programmes for their staff and provide considerable financial backing for these training schemes. However, these training programmes are only directly part of vocational training if they cater for groups who, in one form or another, contribute to a common fund administered by joint bodies or by the state. This is the case with the social advancement courses, the centres for the "Middle Classes", ONEM centres, and courses organized by the Ministry of Agriculture. Other organizing bodies, for example professional or inter-professional organizations, are involved in the administration of vocational training activities in an unusual way. They pursue their own objectives, use completely private resources, and evaluate the results according to criteria linked to the characteristics of the organizers. Their independence is, however, limited by financial implications which oblige them to comply with the provisions of certain laws in order to benefit from an official budget.

This leads to instances of collaboration where the reasons for it are not always obvious. They are, however, necessary as responsibilities do indeed overlap.

Some forms of collaboration have been in existence for some time. We have remarked on the responsibilities of the Ministry of National Education with regard to the courses provided by the institutes for the "Middle Classes" or the responsibilities of the Ministry of
Agriculture with regard to examination boards. There are further examples like the social advancement courses organized by the Chambers of Commerce which participate in the hour banks\textsuperscript{10} administered by the Ministries of National Education.

Professional organizations (FABRIMETAL, the training fund for the construction industry, etc.) draw up agreements with schools, groups of schools, or the Ministry itself in order to carry out, jointly, vocational training activities for certain groups of workers. Since 1963 ONEM has collaborated with firms, professional groups, joint training funds and, for the past two years, with the Ministry of National Education, in order to set up training centres and pool resources from the various budgets.

Two new elements have been added to the old motivations which have led to an increase in training organizations.

1. The devolution of power to the communities and regions has led to the traditional channels (Ministries of National Education and Ministry of Labour and Employment) being replaced by multiple channels (ministries and state secretariats) which now manage the fragmented budgets to which each organizing body is attached.

\textsuperscript{10}Hour banks allocate hours of courses subsidized by the state according to criteria laid down and administered by recognized organizing bodies.
2. The European Social Fund (ESF) has added to the national resources already available, grants which are distributed according to criteria defined outside the national bodies or communities.

Since then, there has been an increase in the number of nonprofit organizations subsidized by the regions, communities, social partners, schools, universities, university centres, political parties, and the traditional training bodies themselves.

They number 5,000 in Belgium, the majority of which have included some aspect of vocational training in their activities. Job seekers are their favourite target group. However, of the 500,000 job seekers entitled to benefits, 30% are under the age of 25 and thus they constitute more than one target group.

It is very difficult to estimate the size of the budgets made available to them. These sometimes include subsidies recognized as such, but mainly the staff costs financed by the state within the framework of measures to combat unemployment (CST - TCT - CMT), the costs of premises and goods belonging to the community (communes, provinces, state) and also ESF aid.

We shall not attempt to elaborate on this statement. "Vocational training for adults" is part of the so-called cultural activities which the legislator has delegated to the communities. It is also one of the favourite causes which many "private" bodies would like to adopt to justify their existence.
CHAPTER V - THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN BELGIUM

As in all parts of Europe and in the industrialized countries of the time, the creation in the 19th century and at the turn of the 20th century, of factories and large production units which brought together workers and employees charged with increasingly complex tasks, posed for Belgium a century ago the problem of preparing workers for the practice of their occupations and trades. It would be irksome to describe the genesis and development of this movement in the trade guilds. The action they took and the repercussions proved very important in the large towns of Flanders, Wallonia and in Brussels.

This "on-the-job" training organized by master craftsmen and journeymen for the benefit of apprentices (the training of those who had no skills by those who had) was the starting point for the vocational training movement in Belgium since employers and technical executives in large firms were the first to feel the need to provide special training for young workers starting in a trade.

It would certainly be exaggerating to say that the movement proceeded with good will towards the workers. It affected only a minority of workers. It was confined, at the outset, to providing training for the most able, especially for those who, within the enterprise, were to be the hinge between the proprietor and his shareholders and the unskilled amorphous masses at the bottom of the ladder. Some in-firm "schools" still exist today. They have changed their image, modified their methods,
redefined their objectives but they still perpetuate the old idea of the benevolent employer, father of the workers, linked materially, if not philosophically, to their destiny.

The real vocational training movement was, however, essentially born of parallel or even simultaneous social action by militant socialists on the one hand and by Catholic reactionaries on the other, such as those symbolized by the encyclical letters "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno".

Therefore, it is no accident that in Belgium, technical and vocational education was first and, to a large extent still is, organized by the Catholic church and by regional, provincial and communal political forces. Here, militant socialists adapted the theory of the class struggle by giving workers better preparation for their trade, thus freeing them from the training organized by the employers which they classed as demeaning. This is certainly not the place to pass judgement on these actions, all the more so since, whatever their origin, they were to achieve considerable results.

The interest of the state in these activities can scarcely be measured against the significance of its own initiatives in the field of technical education because, whatever its political tendencies, each Ministry of Public Instruction (this was the name given to the Ministry of National Education at that time) pursued its own advantage and gave preference to the one or the other. Its interest did, however, focus mainly on general systems of secondary
and higher education and on the universities where the same duality appeared: free education versus state education.

This was a long drawn out engagement, the vicissitudes of which can explain some downfalls of governments and the various laws which were passed favouring the one or the other system of education. The dispute did not, however, prevent many contacts being established between the firms and technical schools. The former realized the importance of seeing their own professional needs reflected in the training courses and programmes, the latter finding it easier to place their students by given them the know-how and skills required for specific jobs. The practical result was that the factory and workshop representatives sat regularly on the examination boards and the efforts of the students were often crowned with the offer of employment in addition to the certificate or diploma. This encounter perhaps marked the beginning of the joint management of vocational training activities, particularly when these programmes were addressed more directly to workers from enterprises who wished to improve their skills, acquire a qualification and, often, obtain promotion within the firm. The evening classes were, in fact, similar to day classes and even if the teaching administration often confused B classes (evening) with A classes (day), industrialists never made this mistake. They always preferred the "evening class" graduate with his work experience to the young technician from day classes ignorant of the realities of working life. During this time political leaders from all sides met and consulted together. The 1940-45 war had drawn attention to certain
absurdities and the post-war years, in particular, had shown clearly how much the escalation in the defense of slogans combined with a series of ineffective budgets had led to mediocrity in educational establishments, ill equipped for technological progress.

In 1958 a school pact put an end to competition, if not to chauvinism. The state, as the provider of funds, became the accountant for all state or state-subsidized education. It appointed and paid the teaching staff or gave agreed grants towards salaries. It set up, constructed and maintained schools or met the costs of their upkeep, based on student numbers, within the framework of an overall agreement in which all the organizing bodies collaborated at last in a remarkably united programme of action under state control. From then on, the creation of schools and departments, and the recruitment of new teachers were all part of a plan which budgetary constraints kept to a minimum. This situation became particularly serious between 1960 and 1974. At that time enterprises were being modernized and occupations were changing, some disappearing altogether to be replaced by new ones. At the production, administration and industrial management levels, constant changes and continuing training were called for. At the same time, the increase in the standard of living and full employment contributed to the reform of general and vocational education described above.

In order to fill the many vacant positions, large numbers of often unskilled workers were brought in from neighbouring European countries, but also from North
Africa and Turkey. This influx could, however, only fill the gap in low-skill jobs, for example in the construction industry.

The various ministries concerned tried to correct the imbalance between supply and demand by amending the relevant legislation. In 1963, the Ministry of Labour and Employment opened the doors of its vocational training centres for adults (ONEM centres) which previously had been reserved for the unemployed, to workers in enterprises. In the five-year plan (1970-75) which envisaged some 30 000 places annually, 20 000 people were to be trained in or with the concurrence of firms. Some technical schools, particularly in free and provincial education, collaborated closely with large enterprises in order to meet their demands for skilled or specialized workers. This period also saw the creation, sometimes anarchic, of centres specializing in vocational training. Along with the official bodies which reviewed their structures in order to meet these new demands, these centres also tried to respond to the increased vocational training needs of enterprises. In 1974-75 the targets of the five-year plan were not achieved because Belgium was beginning to feel the impact of the economic crisis which still affects it and its neighbours. The number of vacancies continued to fall steadily before the eyes of a mass of job seekers in which the "under 25s" accounted for a larger proportion than they did in the working population.
In 1968 a revised law on unemployment granted out-of-work school leavers the right to draw unemployment benefit if they were still without work 75 days after registering (this was subsequently raised to 150). This was one consequence of the great fear which pervaded the revolutionary days of May. It led to the recognition of young people's right to unemployment before fulfilling their right to work.

Since then, from year to year, most young people, thanks to their being better informed, have registered with the National Employment Office as soon as their final examination was over and thus they have safeguarded their right to unemployment benefit.

At the same time, the period of prosperity had led to a voluntary prolongation of schooling which, limited officially to 14 years of age, kept young people in school up to the age of 16 and beyond.

The crisis intensified this trend because the lack of work forced young people and their parents to choose courses or apprenticeship rather than a period of unfruitful inactivity.

The level of school education and training rose steadily, particularly that of women. Against the background of the women's liberation movement, women wanted to participate in working life and take up employment. However, the traditional prejudices of workers and their employers with regard to the employment of women were still widespread. In training programmes, too, vocational objectives were
neglected in favour of measures directed towards the traditional role of women as mothers, spouses and housewives. This dual trend - on the one hand the desire of women to find work outside the home and on the other their lack of preparation for working life - produced an inevitable rise in the level of female unemployment which had nothing to do with economic influences: 6 % at the end of 1973, 14 % at the end of 1975, 19 % at the end of 1978 and 25 % at the end of 198411.

The measures taken since 1980 by the government to combat unemployment, in particular youth unemployment draw, for the most part, on the vocational training system. They are designed to act either as a brake on the entry of fresh school leavers onto the labour market (extension of the length of training, prolongation of compulsory schooling up to the age of 18) or to encourage the creation of jobs for young people in firms (ONEM trainees, trainees in small and medium-sized enterprises).

Paradoxically, the schools and continuing training bodies have remained on the fringe of these developments. On the one hand, there are increasing differences between the ways in which the communities responsible for training, perceive their role vis-à-vis the labour market. This will be discussed in the conclusion. On the other, the education system has developed strategies to recover the entire sphere of vocational training, either by prolonging

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11. The unemployment rate is the ratio between the number of job seekers and workers compulsorily insured with the National Social Security Office.
compulsory schooling or by taking advantage of the ambiguities and overlappings inherent in the, as yet, still national or already regionalized bodies.
CHAPTER VI - FUNDING OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN BELGIUM

A large section of this chapter has been inspired by a CEDEFOP document from a series on the funding systems of vocational training in the countries of the EEC\(^{12}\). This document reveals clearly the difficulty of evaluating the costs incurred in the organization of vocational training. This difficulty results firstly from the differences noted between the statistics given in the tables of the National Statistical Office\(^{13}\) and of the Statistical Office of the European Communities (SOEC, Luxembourg). The above-mentioned document examines this in considerable detail.

We have attempted, by contrast, to include expenditure by enterprises in the overall evaluation of vocational training outlay. We do, of course, realise that it is difficult to separate direct training costs from the "classic" investments of enterprises which are developing, undergoing conversion or simply carrying on as usual. We shall also include, although it will be a rougher estimate, the costs incurred by families who help one or more of their members to improve his/their professional situation. However, this can only be done by comparing these costs with other expenditure (running, fixed, cyclical costs).

\(^{12}\)Professor R. LEROY, The Funding of Vocational Training in Belgium, 1984, Louvain-la-Neuve, 55 p.

\(^{13}\)"Institut National de Statistique" - INS, Brussels
It has already been said that the funding of vocational training, as that of training and education in general, is assured by the state. The state is the main provider of funds at national level in the case of education and at the level of the three communities in the case of education schemes more oriented towards vocational training.

This means that the funds for the vocational training systems (or other kinds) are provided from the budgets of the ministries which bear varying degrees of responsibility in this area (see Chapter VII).

Earlier evaluations (1978 monograph) and more recent studies indicate that 25% of the Belgium population benefit, in one way or another, from a training budget covering their activities in school or outside school when the latter is supported in whole or in part by the state.

Professor LEROY gives the following figures for total expenditure on education:

Expenditure of central government : 249 billion BRF
" of provinces and communes : 19 billion BRF
" of private bodies : 26 billion BRF

This gives a total of 294 billion BFR (in 1980).

This may seem moderate or high when compared with the expenditure of other EC Member States. In fact, this total can only be evaluated in relation to the definition of vocational training and, above all, by taking into
account the scale of subsidized education. The former only records, in its accounts, some of the costs of teachers' retirement and survivor pensions and of the rents and depreciation of buildings, which are often either fictitious or bear no relation to realistic financial evaluations.

The volume of expenditure on vocational training (1980) seems relatively limited if we accept Professor LEROY's estimate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General education</th>
<th>194 billion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational training</td>
<td>11 billion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, this expenditure on vocational training mainly covers adult training (social advancement programmes of the Ministries of National Education, ONEM, "Middle Classes", etc.):

- 4 billion : social advancement (1.9 French community)
- 3.7 billion : ONEM
- 0.7 billion : "Middle Classes" and others
- 2.6 billion : "vocational" share of national education (as opposed to general)

Professor LEROY sums this up by saying "taking into account the final uncertain factor (evaluation of the costs of social advancement courses) ... we could arrive at a figure of some 10 billion for vocational training outside the school system. Social advancement courses organized by the Ministries of National Education would
account for a large share. The other half would be dominated by ONEM training schemes (37 %), followed by the "Middle Classes" (10 %), the others accounting for only a very modest share".

Against this background it does seem difficult to identify Belgium's position vis-à-vis the other Member States of the EEC. We will leave such an evaluation to other, better informed experts.

The following table is based on the figures for the year 1982-1983. It gives, according to the organizers and school systems (types I and II, type II general, type II technical and vocational) the percentages of pupils taken from a total figure of 847 934 people. These percentages are given for each category (here the gross totals are given).

This demonstrates sufficiently how difficult it is to distinguish between general training and vocational training in full-time secondary education which has been an integral part of "compulsory" education since 82-83.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I (reformed)</th>
<th>State %</th>
<th>Province %</th>
<th>Commune %</th>
<th>Free %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cycle I</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>202 572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle II</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>188 445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle III</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>91 085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is impossible to distinguish between general and vocational training in the total figures given here. Free education, which put a brake on this movement, is less represented in the second and third cycles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Commune</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(traditional)</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General (lower)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>71 046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General (higher)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>120 095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech./vocational (lower)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>79 719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech./vocational (higher)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>95 094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between "general" and "vocational" is now only possible in free education, the latter being more resistant to reform. In the education organized by public authorities (state and province in particular), traditional technical and vocational education has disappeared or is in the process of disappearing and any kind of distinction in budgets between vocational and general training has become impossible particularly as "...the share of state schools accounts for 20 % (24 % in 1982-1983) of pupils for 35 % of the funds whereas free education accounts for 57 % (61 % in 1982-1983) of the pupils in secondary schools."
In fact, based on 1982-83 (the study mentioned is based on 1980-81), the distribution of pupils, taking types I and II together, for the country as a whole is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types I and II</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Commune</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>847,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Dutch-speaking community, free education covers 70% of pupils as against 45-50% in the French-speaking community. This situation is scarcely one which permits the division of the 294 billion budget appropriations between general education and vocational training.

The situation is somewhat clearer in the case of **continuing vocational training** and apprenticeship. Professor LEROY's report presents these budgets as follows distinguishing between the respective amounts of expenditure:
Expenditure according to the SOEC questionnaire (1980) in millions of BFR

Institutions:

I National education: in school : 2.336
                outside school : 3.573
II ONEM : 3.735
III "Middle Classes" : 0.707
IV Agriculture : 0.228
V Ministry of Finance : 0.059
VI Public service : 0.094
VII Civil aviation school : 0.075
VIII Others : 0.073

Total 10.880

This statement of expenditure must be amended in a certain number of ways:

a) The expenditure on social advancement courses comprises essentially teachers' salaries and running costs. It does not take into account the costs of renting premises and teaching equipment (included in the accounts of full-time education) nor certain expenditure by families on school fees or contributions to organizational costs. Nor does it mention (but this is true of so many public or semi-public bodies) the costs of the staff provided by the Ministry of Labour and Employment (CST, ONEM trainees on reduced budget programmes, etc.).
b) At ONEM level recent special provisions reduce payments to trainees ("le transfert aux ménages") in the Dutch-speaking community (soon in the German-speaking one, too). This will be discussed in the chapter on "responsibilities" and in the conclusion.

c) No account has been taken in the expenditure on training organized by the "Middle Classes" of sums paid by employers to their apprentices. In recent dispositions, these amounts are defined more clearly and are even to be the subject of special provisions to be drawn up by joint committees.

d) The entry "others" is limited here to the traditional institutions. In 1984 ESF reimbursed Belgium to the extent of some 4 billion BFR. The Fund's regulations governing the approval of projects stipulate that the institutions, themselves, must finance at least 50% of the budget and this, therefore, implies that a total of eight billion BRF have been provided for funding these projects. They are promoted mainly by nonprofit organizations and very rarely by the institutions listed above.

In the case of traditional budgets, ESF reimburses less than 20%.

It is, therefore, feasible that, in addition to the duly recorded budgets, other budgets exist which are financed by ministries not directly involved in vocational training (Ministry of Employment in the
case of "CST" programmes). The level of their expenditure is probably at least as high as that recorded in the study presented above.

Returning to the LEROY report, it seems difficult to accept the hypotheses for the evaluation of expenditure per pupil if these correspond to the relation of the total budgets (calculated in the way described above) to the number of persons having undergone training.

It is still, however, interesting to compare the "individual" costs recorded in the same study.

- According to this report, one pupil in full-time secondary education costs between 117,000 and 153,000 BFR every year.

- In full-time higher education this figure amounts to between 131,000 and 172,000 per pupil per year.

- In social advancement schemes (we have seen how this has to be adjusted) the cost is six times lower (20,000 to 30,000 BFR).

- ONEM training schemes are relatively expensive since they are estimated to cost 152,000 BFR per trainee per year, although the subsidies for training allowances cut this figure by 50% to some 76,000 BFR. Recent corrections reduce this figure to 57,000 BFR (here we are dealing with constant francs).
The training provided by the institutes of the "Middle Classes" is less expensive with costs per trainee of 30 000 to 45 000 BFR. This does not, however, include the costs of practical training in an enterprise.

Other training schemes (agriculture, specialized professional schools, health sector, social sector) can scarcely be compared with the preceding ones as the number of people being trained is often small in comparison with the costs of major technical infrastructures often borne to a large extent by specialized professional organizations (civil aviation, navy, hospitals, certain universities, etc.).

We feel it is necessary to point out the danger of using the figures given above as the basis for comparing averages. Between 1970 and 1976 ONEM evaluated some unit costs (costs per trainee) in training programmes which led to "intermediate" qualifications but which necessitated access to "costly" material infrastructures, at more than 200 000 BFR. In other words, the simple division of the budget by the number of trainees leads to "simplistic" averages.

Professor LEROY's conclusions on some budgetary trends seem, by contrast, to be pertinent and of considerable interest. They are based on comparisons of numbers of trainees (even if the duration of training produced more reliable units), of expenditure in constant francs between 1970 and 1982 and on expenditure per trainee (bearing in mind the reservations made above).
We have included the three graphs which cover these data in their original form. It should be noted that since the publication of that report, the comparisons will no longer make any sense if they do not distinguish between the costs and programmes of the two linguistic communities.
Graph IV.1  Numbers of people in training

- 270
- 230
- 190
- 150
- 110
- 70

- 1970 72 74 76 78 80 82
- 250
- 200
- 150
- 100
- 50

- SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT
- APPRENTICES
- SCHOOLS
Graph IV.2  Expenditure in constant francs

1870  1974  1978  1982

100  120  150  170  200  220  250  300  320  350  370  400

ONEM
APRENTICES
SCHOOLS
Graph IV,3  Cost per person in training (in constant francs)
At the end of this chapter we would like to take up the main points in the conclusions of Professor LEROY:

a) First, the ambiguity of such studies which draw on unreliable statistics. This lack of foresight will no doubt lead increasingly in future to budgets having to be divided out amongst bodies which are not only more numerous but also further and further apart from each other.

b) The richness of the Belgian system of general and vocational training is marked not only in terms of the multiplicity of programmes but especially in terms of the shouldering of the responsibilities by mostly decentralized bodies.

Drastic budgetary cuts have forced the organizing bodies to compete with each other, not in terms of quality, but by offering overlapping programmes in order to obtain the available funds. Some instances of "collaboration" have no other objective than this and they lead to the disorderly fragmentation of budgets as indicated.

c) Vocational training, particularly programmes for adults, does not lend itself very well to forward planning. In future, some resources must be hived off to provide training in new technologies and methods leading to new qualifications. The appropriate financial resources must be used to establish a better balance between supply and demand.
A. Initial vocational training within the school system

In the aftermath of the 1940-45 war, education was the responsibility of a national, centralized Ministry of Public Instruction.

This was replaced in 1971 by two Ministries of National Education, one French-speaking and the other Dutch-speaking. They took over the responsibilities of their predecessor firstly on the basis of a mainly geographical division between Wallonia and Flanders, and secondly according to the linguistic affiliations of the organizing bodies in Brussels.

The decentralization which followed the laws on the devolution of powers to the regions and communities (1980) has had little effect, so far, on the relevant budgets. The national body is still the main authority despite the fact that Ministries responsible for education have been set up community level.

These ministries have been made responsible for some areas of education (arts, correspondence courses) or for certain administrative decisions (curricula, dates of public and other holidays), the budgetary impact of which is small or non existent. On the Dutch-speaking side, an agreement was reached between the political parties in 1985 thanks
to a merging of the regional and community executives. It envisages the transfer of powers from the Dutch-speaking Ministry of National Education to the Ministry which has been delegated responsibility for educational matters by the Flemisch community. Two factors made this possible in the northern part of the country as well: the considerable importance of Catholic education and the presence of political majorities in the bodies responsible for its organization.

On the French-speaking side no such agreement has as yet been possible, on the one hand because the merging of regional and community executives has not been achieved and, on the other, because Catholic education, although the larger, would no longer be assured of sufficient political support in the assemblies.

In Belgium, 1985 is a year of legislative elections, the outcome of which could be of great importance as regards the political composition of the regional and community executives and, by extension, in confirming the positions in the north and south of the country.

Such decisions would also influence considerably the redistribution of responsibilities because, as already mentioned earlier, the state is the main provider of funds for the four education networks (state, provinces, communes, free subsidized).

The system for the distribution, amongst the schools, of grants towards running costs which was outlined in 1958 in a school pact drawn up between the traditional political
parties, stipulated the criteria, primarily the number of pupils, which had to be met in order to obtain grants towards salaries and, by extension, towards the number of teaching posts.

Since then, efforts, despite some ups and downs, to prevent another school war between supporters of free education and state education have been successful.

A recent incident in which calculations of numbers of teachers on the basis of lessons given in each school was more favourable to free education as religious and character training instruction was included, demonstrated that this school war has gone underground but is still present in many minds and could resurface at the slightest pretext. This illustrates the fragility of this school pact, particularly in the French-speaking community.

B. Continuing training and apprenticeship

The laws devolving power to the regions and communities classed vocational training with the cultural activities placed under the responsibility of the three communities. Thus, they are responsible for this area and manage the special budgets provided for the funding of bodies specializing in vocational training (ONEM vocational training schemes for adults, training institutes for the "Middle Classes", training for farmers). This ambiguity still exists in the case of social advancement programmes, for which the main share of the budgets (management of hour banks) is under the responsibility of the two
Ministries of National Education, the remainder (i.e. correspondence/distance learning courses) being the responsibility of the communities.

Within the communities, responsibilities are divided between different ministries, and thus different administrations. The sole bodies competent in these matters are, in the case of projects, the assemblies and the community executives in which the political majorities may differ from those in the national bodies.

Although the communities are taking more and more initiatives in this direction, Belgium is still represented internationally in vocational training matters by the bodies which were formerly responsible, for instance the Ministry of Labour and Employment.

Thus, paradoxically, the resources provided under the relevant legislation which are closely linked to vocational training (credited working hours and educational leave, control of industrial apprenticeship) are still managed at this level. This distribution of responsibilities is one of the critical areas separating the powers of national government from those of the community executives. Some measures to combat unemployment (national-employment and labour), in particular youth unemployment (national-education national-employment and labour-budget) include extensions in the field of vocational training (communities and regions, too). In the absence of any coordinating body (ONEM remains, but for how long, the sole forum in which national, regional and community representatives can come
together), there is a danger that cases of conflicting responsibilities may increase to the detriment of the target groups: workers, job seekers and enterprises.

A diagram will, we hope, make this clearer. We have included the old decentralized structures (provinces and communes) which are always present at the level of the organizing powers. We did not include them in the text because this would only have served to confuse the issue.
Decentralization of bodies responsible for education and continuing training:

- Employment and Labour
- Unemployment
- Central Government Budget
- "Middle Classes" Agriculture
- State National Education
- Provinces
- Communes
- Private bodies
- French community
- Dutch community
- German community
- ONEM
- RVA
- French region
- Brussels region
- Dutch region

* Dutch-speaking equivalent of ONEM
1. **Central government** has complete authority over the different bodies at national level (budget, employment, national education, agriculture, "Middle Classes") and the traditional decentralized authorities (provinces, communes, private bodies) - **levels 1 and 2 of the diagram**. It illustrates the allocations to levels 3 and 4, the regions and the communities.

2. ONEM (level 5) is part of the traditional organization chart. The different sub-regional employment services, both French-speaking and Dutch-speaking, are responsible to the ONEM management board (the only one in existence in June 1985) under the aegis of the community executives (level 3) for vocational training matters, and the regional executives (level 4) for employment and certain training matters (financial assistance for enterprises undergoing conversion).

3. The **social advancement courses** (level 2) are administered by the Ministries of National Education and organized by the different bodies at level 2, but also to a minor degree by the community executives (level 3).

   The training institutes of the "Middle Classes" are administered by the communities (3). On the basis of a working arrangement, the Ministries of National Education (2) recognize their right to confirm the results of apprenticeships.
4. The rigidity of educational and training systems for young people aged between six and 18 is surprising considering the many diverse continuing training agencies and the resources involved.

The extension of compulsory education has reinforced this even further by including 14 to 18 year olds in a full-time system and by developing persuasive or simply administrative means to keep young 16 to 18 year olds in the same system.

Education (creation or suppression of classes, innovatory programmes, access to subsidies towards salaries, recognition of collaboration, etc.) is organized within a static, bureaucratic framework.

The tied part of the educational budget amounting to some 200 billion is so large that it leaves little room for investment and innovations.

On the other side (with a budget almost 20 times smaller), alongside the common vocational training programmes provided by traditional bodies, there is a whole series of small or not-quite-so small bodies which under cover of aid to enterprises, firms, the unemployed, young people in the school system, or of all kinds of further training, benefit in an uncontrolled or, at least, disparate manner from state, community or regional budgets.
These are included in each level of the diagram, not forgetting the oldest: state, provinces, communes, private bodies. Reference has been made to them in the chapter on funding.

We have again drawn attention to this fact in order to explain a highly complicated diagram. If these obscure bodies were to figure in their own right, they would render understanding of the diagram impossible.
CHAPTER VIII - PROSPECTS AND TRENDS

In 1978 in the monograph on the Belgium system of vocational training, I formulated a development diagram based mainly on the system of joint management of the most representative training bodies, and on the extension of this system to the sub-regions created by decentralization. The subregional employment committees were created at this level and they, too, are based on equal representation. One of their tasks is to identify local needs and to submit proposals to the community bodies on ways of tackling them. Among other things, I would welcome increased collaboration amongst the many training bodies, in particular, between schools and adult vocational training bodies.

What is the situation in 1985 and what trends can be identified?

We are going through a year of legislative elections (December 1985) which will produce not only a national government but also community and regional executives built on political majorities, the colours of which are unknown, but which will probably differ in the north and south of the country.

In one way or another, there is a trend in both areas towards devolving responsibility for education systems to the communities. This is already happening among vocational training bodies; and it is to be expected that all training and education systems will soon be placed under one sole authority, Flemish in the North and
French-speaking in the south, Brussels remaining a difficult feature in this community because of the overlapping of regional and community powers.

It is not difficult to imagine the problems which will be caused by the confrontation between two so different groups. National education, fortified with a budget of 300 billion employing thousands of teachers, mostly members of highly political trade unions, with representatives in national and regional bodies, will try - these tendencies are already perceptible - to swallow up vocational training bodies, of which the budgets account for only 2% of the latter and whose staff consist of a few scattered groups.

1. The movement is particularly obvious in the French community. The Minister responsible for education in this community set up, in 1984, a national council of trainers. The four education networks alone occupy 17 seats on this council as against four by the other training bodies.

The same division is present in the socio-educational councils set up at sub-regional level as a parallel to the subregional employment committees (these committees are only being created slowly).

Although only advisory bodies, the composition of the council and committees illustrates their desire to gain control of all the resources made available to people for their education and training: from the age of five in nursery schools up to the age of
retirement. The first signs of this trend became manifest with the fall in population and the drop in the number of pupils, classes and, thus, of teachers. This could be regarded simply as a trade union movement to defend teachers' jobs. However, if we bear in mind that, despite the economic crisis and population trends, their numbers are increasing steadily, then we cannot but see this as a phenomenon whereby the public service is taking over the educational function.

At the same time this is linked to the restrictions imposed on community budgets; the funds for training bodies have been blocked. Since 1980 (Professor LEROY's report) the budget, in constant francs, for ONEM vocational training programmes for adults has fallen by 25%. This decrease is even more striking when we examine the details of these budgets. Since 1983, some funds disbursed to cover the needs of training directly linked to employment have been used by ONEM to develop socio-professional activities with a very weak link with employment or where the "vocational training for adults" aspect has lost its traditional importance. If the job seekers affected by these new activities (collective retraining cells - local employment initiatives) are still few in number, the relevant budgets are, by contrast, increasing steadily.

In a stagnant budget, this increase can only be achieved if coupled with the discouragement of other activities in the normal ONEM centres.
The creation of a "French-speaking Office of Employment and Vocational Training" following the schism in ONEM, will perhaps help, in the years to come, to clarify reciprocal objectives and to redefine the respective roles of vocational training for adults and national education.

The third area, apprenticeship, lies logically between these two, involved on the one hand in part-time education and on the other in alternance training, answering the needs of enterprises.

2. In the Flemish community (merging of community and region) the situation seems to be clearer and more stable. The Ministries of National Education, the Ministry of the "Middle Classes" and the National Employment Office seem, at least at the outset, to be sharing responsibility for the vocational training of young people and adults in a more traditional way than is envisaged in the political agreement between the different parties, on the devolving of responsibility for education to the communities.

In the great burst of enthusiasm for progress sparked off by the "Flanders Technology" movement (a trade fair but also a state of mind), Flemish trainers have given priority to training programmes which help enterprises and their employees, and give access to new qualifications. At least this is what is being declared by training officers, politicians, public servants, educationalists, and trainers. This is also
confirmed by the provision of funds for schools and training centres, often with the cooperation of the enterprises.

In a recent interview, a journalist on French-speaking television compared the comments of the Assistant Director General of RVA\textsuperscript{14} (the Dutch-speaking equivalent of ONEM) with the comments of the representative of the Minister President of the executive of the French-speaking community.

Despite the excesses of the television presentation which overplayed the differences between the opposing sides, there could clearly be seen the emergence of two different vocational training policies: the Flemish representative stressed the importance of balancing supply and demand and defining objectives according to the requirements of occupations in the future, while the other, the French-speaking representative, without denying the importance of these aspects, preferred to concentrate on social activities, "last chance" training.

Only time will tell whether this difference will be reflected in the paths chosen and in the budgets beyond the claims which have been made at present.

\textsuperscript{14}Rijksdienst voor arbeidsvoorziening
List of abbreviations

CMT  Chômeur mis au travail
      Temporary employment of unemployed workers

CNFEP  Centre National de Formation et d'Etudes Pédagogiques
       National Centre for Training and Educational Studies

CST  Cadre spécial temporaire
      Special temporary scheme

ESF  European Social Fund

INAMI  Institut National d'Assurance Maladie - Invalidité
       National Institute for Insurance against Sickness and Invalidity

ONEM  Office nationale de l'Emploi
       National Employment Office

RVA  Rijksdienst voor arbeidsvoorziening
      Dutch-speaking equivalent of ONEM

TCT  Troisième circuit de travail
      Promotion of employment in local community activities
List of main texts consulted


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   a) 15.08.80 : Law of 08.08.80 on institutional reforms (special law on the powers of the communities and regions)
   b) 02.12.80 : Royal Degree of 30.10.80 on the regulations concerning the functioning of the French Community
   c) 06.07.83 : Law of 29 June 1983 concerning compulsory education
   d) 31.08.83 : Law of 19 July 1983 on apprenticeship in occupations pursued by wage and salary earners

3. Ministry of Employment and Labour
   a) Amending law of 22.01.1985 containing the social provisions - Chapter IV - Section 6. Granting of paid educational leave within the framework of continuing training for workers
   b) idem - introductory report of the Ministry of Employment and Labour commissioned by the Chamber of Representatives
   c) Internal account by the service responsible for credited working hours in the Ministry of Employment and Labour: "state of the question".
d) G. VAN DEN HENDE: Paid educational leave, unpublished text - summary of the law of 23.03.85

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