

Training & Employment

CAREER GUIDANCE FOR JOB-SEEKERS IN EUROPE

The various services provided in the framework of adult career guidance have been evolving during the last few years as the result of European employment policies. Despite the quantitative and qualitative differences in the information, advice and accompaniment provided by guidance services, they are always intended to actively mobilise individuals and thus to promote their transition to work. Job-seekers are the main population targeted. Although these resources can sometimes be consulted by the general public, it has become compulsory for job-seekers to undergo guidance.

Ideas about adult career guidance and how it should be practised began to change in Europe in the early 90s, following the example set by the UK in the early 80s. The emergence of policies promoting the development of these services and their inclusion on the European political agenda can be linked up with the following two trends:

- The active policies adopted in line with European employment strategies for dealing with the unemployed and people not in activity, which include offering incitements to take jobs and making social security coverage conditional on these people's occupational integration or re-integration;
- and the promotion of lifelong learning, which has led to career guidance becoming a crucial link between vocational training systems and labour markets.

International organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank and of course the European Commission have shown increasing interest in adult vocational guidance during the last decade, as reflected in the large number of reports produced on this subject.

In view of the increasingly flexible employment supply and the fact that considerable stress is being placed these days on the concept of activity, both people in employment and those looking for jobs are constantly being incited to become "active subjects". The active process of occupational mobility means that they must adapt to the latest approaches to employment and manage the transition from unemployment to work - or between different jobs when the risk of exposure to unemployment makes it necessary to take preventive job-seeking steps - as well as mobilising services which go under various names, such as enrolment, information, counselling, mentoring and guidance. These services have therefore acquired greater importance, and they have evolved in order to meet the demands of active individuals. They are also attracting greater attention these days because by providing information about the labour market, which is their main function, they contribute to its fluidity by facilitating transition processes.

Career guidance: a wide range of services mainly designed for the benefit of job-seekers

The term "career guidance" is used by international instances to cover a wide range of different services. The many acceptations of this term include all the "schemes, services and mediation processes intended to favour the employability and the mobility of job-seekers and to facilitate labour market transition processes". If we look at what guidance involves in five European Union member countries, namely France, Germany, Slovenia, Spain and the United Kingdom (see the inset on page 3), it can be seen that it covers a wide range of services, which differ both quantitatively and qualitatively from one country to another: these include vocational profiling, which consists in diagnosing the employability or the level of autonomy of individuals before referring them to other instances, such as those to which the work is outsourced in the framework of social schemes, and running psychometric tests prior to providing individually tailored support in keeping with national social and employment policies. Services of this kind, which are being carried out by a wide range of operators, can be consulted by job-seekers as well as by employees wanting to make a change of job.

However, the main users of career guidance services are obviously the unemployed because they constitute the main population targeted by public policies in all the member countries of the European Union, where unemployment is still a major political issue.

Profiling tests generally serve to distinguish between groups of three kinds in terms of people's risk of exposure to long-term unemployment. The first group consists of individuals thought to be capable of managing their own job-hunting efforts, who only need to be provided with objective information about the state of the labour market. The members of the second group are job-seekers who are classified as being employable under specific

conditions and need advice. The third group consists of individuals who are thought to be not easily employable and require to be assisted more strongly and for longer periods. The results of this initial assessment therefore make it possible to determine what kind of guidance is required, and how much is required.

The fact that the users of career guidance are mostly job seekers naturally affects the structure of the services provided. There have also been effects on the traditional pattern of unemployment benefits, since in addition to being the main targets of vocational guidance, job-seekers are obliged to undergo guidance and are liable to be penalized if they refuse.

■ Career guidance for job-seekers provided by public mediating structures on European labour markets

	Structures	Beneficiaries	Main services	Outsourced services
Germany	Bundesagentur für Arbeit , the local offices of the Federal employment agency	Those in short-term unemployment (coded SGBIII*) Employees risking redundancy	Profiling, information, advice, mentoring, integration, contracts "Placement in employment"	<i>Between 2002 and 2005, employment policy was completely reformed and systems of protection were changed, along with the mediating structures on the labour market and vocational guidance services. These reforms were too recent to be able to give a stable picture of the outsourced services.</i>
	Arbeitsgemeinschaften , town councils and local employment offices working together	Those in long-term unemployment and in principle, employees with low wages (coded SGBII*)	Profiling, information, advice, mentoring and integration contracts	
	Kundenzentren , "customer centres", or drop-in centres	Job-seekers thought to be autonomous	Vocational guidance by telephone and via Internet and interviews	
Spain	Local Employment Agencies depending on regional employment departments (Servei d'ocupació de Catalunya and Servicio regional de empleo in Madrid, for example)	Job-seekers	The initial administrative interview, information	Vocational guidance services are entirely outsourced.
France	Local ANPE offices	Job-seekers	Profiling, drawing up career projects, mentoring	75% of the services provided to job-seekers in the framework of their career projects are outsourced.
The United Kingdom	Jobcenter plus , the local Employment Agencies	All persons receiving benefits Persons receiving a <i>jobseekers allowance</i>	<i>Work focused</i> interviews Job-seeking assistance	Outsourced local pilot programmes assisting target publics with their job-hunting.
		Persons unemployed for more than 18 months, who come under the <i>New deal</i> **	Reinforced assistance, Help with job-hunting for a period of 16 weeks	
Slovenia	Local and regional offices of the Zavod republike Slovenije za zaposlovanje , the national employment Department	Job-seekers	Profiling, "individual employment plans", information, advice and vocational guidance	Few of these services are outsourced.
	Center za informiranje in poklicno svetovanj , local information and vocational guidance offices	All publics	Information, advice and career guidance	

* Sozialgesetzbuch II and Sozialgesetzbuch III, Books II and III of the German Social Code. ** A program obliging young job-seekers and those in long-term unemployment to take part in vocational training actions or to take jobs in the commercial or non-commercial sectors, in close collaboration with the Department for employment.

N.B: in Germany and France, there exist some specific public mediating structures which have not been included in this table: these are intended for job-seekers under the age of 25.

Source: *Adult Guidance Systems in five European Countries: A Comparative Analysis*, C. Frade, I. Darmon and I. Alvarez, the Leonardo programme's "Guidance in Europe project", March 2006, published by Céreq, 2006.

Mediating public structures play a leading role on the labour market

Adult career guidance mobilises various providers which differ considerably in status and size, depending on the national and local setting, and this diversity reflects that of the corresponding guidance supply. However, public mediating structures on the labour market, such as the local branches of the French employment agency (ANPE), contribute decisively to the system all over the country, since they are usually responsible for making the initial diagnosis and assessing the competences of job-seekers, the main users of adult career guidance. This diagnosis determines what the most suitable response to each individual situation will be.

The public mediating structures on the labour market are sometimes also the main providers of guidance to the unemployed. This is the case in Slovenia, for example (see the table on the opposite page). In other countries, these structures tend simply to play the role of prescribers, while other private or public operators provide the actual services. In Spain, for example, local employment offices outsource all guidance work, mainly to social partners and town councils. In France, the local branches of the ANPE outsource roughly three quarters of these services, mainly to operators in the private, for-profit and associative sectors.

Apart from the public mediating structures on the labour market, there exist two other kinds of guidance service providers. "Generalists" provide many services, ranging from internet information to personal appointments, drop-in counselling, psychometric tests and individual assistance. Generalists cater mainly for adults with low qualification levels, including both job-seekers and employees. In the UK and Slovenia, the guidance services provided by generalists are regularly financed by public funds. The guidance activities of other more highly "specialised" providers focus on a narrower range of services with an added value due to the fact that closer links are set up in this case between the beneficiaries and the advisers. The customers targeted by specialists' interventions, which are financed in the framework of action programmes and specific contracts such as those promoting competence assessments in France, can be either job-seekers or employees.

Career guidance as a means of activating the unemployed

Career guidance is not just a tool or a resource for the jobless. It is also a constraint, as it is part of an activatory strategy whereby people who have lost their jobs by no fault of their own receive

A comparative study on adult career guidance in Europe

Céreq is carrying out a comparative study on adult career guidance in five European countries: France, Germany, Slovenia, Spain and the United Kingdom. This project, which has been called *Comparative and evaluative analysis of guidance and counselling services for out of work individuals and workers at risk in five European countries*, has been funded in the framework of the Léonardo da Vinci programme. The members of the research group responsible for this study are from Céreq, the ICAS Institute in Barcelona, the University of Stirling, the Darmstadt *Fachhochschule* and the University of Ljubljana. The aim is to analyse and compare adult career guidance services, defined as "mediating actions designed to improve the employability and the mobility of unemployed workers, as well as to improve the organization of transitions between various situations on the labour market".

This project, which was launched in 2004, consists of three phases. The first phase, which has been completed, was based on 84 interviews with heads of institutions responsible for career guidance policy and representatives of the organizations providing these services. It gave a comparative overall picture of adult vocational systems in the various countries. Some of the results obtained in this initial phase are presented in this edition of the *Newsletter*. They provided the basis for defining the problems to be addressed and analysing the institutional and political aspects of career guidance. The aim of the second phase in the project, which will shortly be completed, was to qualitatively assess the processes at work in the production of guidance services by investigating the various structures providing services of this kind to people undergoing transitions of the following three main kinds: from unemployment to employment, from one job to another, and from employment to unemployment. The last phase, which is due to be completed by the end of 2007, involves a survey on a sample of guidance providers, which should make it possible to draw up a complete typology of adult career guidance services.

unemployment benefits only on condition they use the services designed to promote job-hunting and occupational reintegration. This activatory strategy has resulted from European employment policies defining the political framework and inciting member states to raise their employment rates. Apart from the UK, where these measures were enforced some time ago (in 1986 in the case of people in long-term unemployment and in 1998 for all job-seekers and some other groups receiving social benefits), the other European countries have been speeding up the application of these activatory measures. Career guidance, which is central to the latest schemes providing job-seekers with individual attention and supervision, works on the following two lines: defining "suitable employment" and introducing the contractual concept of "social protection in exchange for compliance".

In many of the European Union member countries, legal or conventional definitions have been drawn up of the "suitable employment" job-seekers are obliged to accept, depending on their qualifications and experience, and sometimes on their place of residence and how long they have been unemployed (except in Spain), otherwise their unemployment allowances are liable to be suspended, reduced or completely stopped. In the UK, job-seekers are even obliged to agree to taking any position proposed after a certain period of time has elapsed: this period is proportional to that during which an unemployment allowance has been received, i.e., from one to thirteen weeks. The guidance services with which the unemployed are provided focus strongly on this

The project entitled "*Comparative and evaluative analysis of guidance and counselling services for out of work individuals and workers at risk in five European countries*" can be consulted on the following website: www.fh-darmstadt.de/guidance-in-europe.

This site also gives access to the report entitled "*Adult Guidance Systems in Five European Countries: a Comparative Analysis*" which was drawn up at the end of the first phase of this project.

idea of putting people into acceptable jobs, which may not correspond to their aspirations. Career guidance therefore at least consists of giving people advice and providing them with job-hunting methods as well as teaching them to adopt a more realistic picture of the labour market and possibly to lower their sights. Settings where guidance is outsourced are those where the behavioural aspects are the most strongly targeted, since one of the main goals adopted in this case is to incite people who have been made redundant to forget about their real occupations, their working conditions and the wages they expect to earn.

The increasingly contractual situation of those in unemployment has therefore strengthened activatory strategies by imposing mutual obligations on job-seekers and the mediating public structures on the labour market and by defining penalties for non compliance. The individual employment plan ("*zaposlitveni nacrt*") set up in Slovenia provides a good example of this process of contractualisation. The job-seeking efforts made by unemployed persons and the schemes in which they have participated must be listed in their individual plan, and they must also specify what kind of work they would like to find. The "suitable employment" for that person is also defined. In practice, this document, which was originally designed to serve as a basis for occupational reintegration and vocational guidance procedures, is actually being used as a bureaucratic tool for monitoring and supervision purposes.

There are actually two ways of looking at career guidance these days. First it is a right to which job-seekers are entitled, which takes their aspirations, competences and needs into account; and it confers on the mediating public structures on the labour market the duty to dispense information and advice and to provide the methods and tools required by those looking for work. As the result of the activatory strategies deployed, however, it also constitutes an obligation for job-seekers: the allowances bestowed entitle public authorities to monitor, supervise and assess these people's efforts to find jobs, in terms of the results obtained and the speed with which they return to the world of work. The newly introduced principle of reciprocity giving the obligations of both parties a more contractual form and the strict penalties for non-compliance have set up a new relationship between the vocational advisers employed by public mediating structures and job-seekers, where the mutual interests at stake are clearly understood on both sides: the former must make acceptable proposals, and the latter must accept the proposals received.

Career guidance: insurance or assistance?

During the last thirty years, large-scale unemployment has resulted in a paradoxical situation where economic dynamism, which requires increasingly flexible markets and production systems, is set against social cohesion, which requires that individuals should be given basic social security coverage. "Workfare" states looking for means of reconciling flexibility and security have increased the role of individuals by giving them greater responsibility, while at the same time suggesting that labour market relationships should be viewed as dynamic processes where the accent is on occupational mobility and the safety of transitional states rather than stable employment.

Among the public interventions liable to resolve the contradictory claims of economic dynamism and social cohesion, career guidance is expected to make a particularly crucial contribution to the management of individuals' risk of exposure to exclusion from the labour market. This contribution is developing on two different lines, one of which is preventive and the other curative. The first approach consists in urging responsible individuals to predict their own risk of exposure to unemployment and to manage their own labour market transitions. It is worth noting, incidentally, that because of the activatory trends currently shown by employment policies all over Europe, the services provided by the various public mediating structures on the labour market are becoming increasingly diversified in order to cater for the various transitional situations arising as well as for people who already have jobs. However, public efforts to make occupational trajectories "safer" mainly come under the second heading, where the approach adopted is a curative one. The stress here is on the public authorities' duty to assist individuals thought to be exposed to the risk of long-term unemployment and exclusion from the labour market. The "workfare" provided in this case now depends on the following condition being satisfied by the unemployed members of the population: they must make a behavioural change and take active steps to return to work.

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Further reading

- "*Orientation professionnelle et politique publique : comment combler l'écart*" (Career guidance and public policy: how to reduce the gap), OECD, 2004.
- "*Politiques d'orientation dans la société de la connaissance. Tendances, défis et réponses en Europe*", (Career guidance policy in the knowledge society. Trends, challenges and responses in Europe), R.G. Sultana, in the "Cedefop Panorama" series, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004.
- "*Politique de l'emploi et recours à des opérateurs externes*" (Employment policy and the use of outsourcing), a report by D. Balmay, Commissariat général du Plan, La Documentation française, February 2004.
- "*Retour au travail ! Le workfare comme instrument de réforme*" (Back to work! Workfare as a tool for reform), S. Cattacin, M. Gianni, M. Mänz and V. Tattini, in the "Res Socialis" series, Éditions universitaires Fribourg, Switzerland, 2003.

ISSN - 1156 2366

Céreq

Direction de la publication : Michel Quéré. Rédacteur en chef : Jean-Louis Kirsch. Traduction et adaptation : Jessica Blanc. Pao : Dominique Bally. Reproduction of (part or all of) the material published in this issue is authorised on condition the source is explicitly mentioned. Dépôt légal 1^{er} trimestre 2007.

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Briefing

Updates

EurOccupations: towards a European inventory of occupations

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To achieve a really European labour market, individuals and firms will need keys to how the various national labour markets function. Among these keys, information about occupations and the training they require seems to be a basic necessity. In the framework of the sixth Research and Development Programme of the European Community defined by the European Commission's General Directorate for Research, eight partners from various countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom) are to draw up the first European dictionary of occupations. This three-year project, which has been called EurOccupations, was launched in May 2006. It will mobilise 10 European universities and research institutes specialised in the analysis of work and comparative socio-economic research.

In the first stage, each of the partners will extract 1 500 to 2 000 occupations from national nomenclatures and their own statistical resources with a view to finding correspondences with the equivalent entries in the other countries. 150 occupations will then be described in detail and checked by experts in the following 8 main sectors of activity:

- healthcare and social work;
- education, vocational training and research;
- industry and mining;
- crafts and commerce, building, agriculture, fisheries and related activities;
- services;
- transport, communications and travel;
- the professions;
- administration and office work.

These job descriptions will include information about the basic tasks and competences involved, the requirements at recruitment and the qualification levels required. They will be based on a review of the bibliographical and statistical data available. After this preparatory phase, there will be a validation phase for which previously selected, individually contacted experts will be responsible. At least ten experts per sector will check, complete and update the material submitted.

These experts, who will be selected on the basis of their knowledge of specific occupations and sectors, will include professionals in activity, social partners, educationalists and research workers, as well as persons who are reputed for their expertise in specific fields. A questionnaire will be used to assess what they think about the content of one or several occupational entries relating to their field of competence in their own country. This procedure will be completed if necessary by a final meeting. Experts can also be consulted by the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, which is the project coordinator, to settle any questions arising when the results are compared between the various countries.

In line with the other partners in the EurOccupations project, Céreq will be responsible for coordinating operations at the national level before participating in the international comparisons and finalising and publishing the results obtained. The final occupation descriptions will be available online for research workers and professionals to consult, and a table will show the similarities and differences between these occupations in the 8 European countries involved.

✓ For further information, please contact Sylvie-Anne Mériot (Céreq), phone: 04 91 13 28 28 e-mail: meriot@cereq.fr

✓ The project and international network website: www.eurooccupations.org

✓ The papers presented at this meeting can be consulted on the following website: www.cereq.fr/tiy2006.

The 14th meeting of the **Transition in Youth network** which took place in Marseille in September 2006 was organized by Céreq and its associated centre in Caen (Centre Maurice Halbwachs). This meeting was attended by 50 research workers from 13 European countries as well as from Japan, Australia and Brazil. The main theme addressed was the professionalisation of education. The two guest speakers, Paul Ryan from King's College in London and Claude Sauvageot, who is in charge of European and international relations at the French Ministry of Education, suggested some new paths of research on the role of young people in tomorrow's society.

Updates

New Publications

INTERNET "Net.Doc"

Les métiers du tourisme. Approche nationale

[Occupations in tourism. A French national survey]

> Christophe Guitton, guitton@cereq.fr, Nathalie Aguetant, aguettant@cereq.fr, Chantal Labryère, labryere@cereq.fr, Samira Mahlaoui, mahlaoui@cereq.fr

Net.doc no. 23, July 2006

This paper gives the results of a survey conducted in 2005 by Céreq at the request of the French Ministry for Tourism and the French Ministry of Education. It consists of three parts:

- It is proposed first to define the whole range of activities involved in the tourist trade and the occupations corresponding to this sector and to draw up a quantitative overall picture of employment in tourism;
- the second part deals with the training supply and the qualifications available in the field of tourism;
- and the third part focuses on the feelings of various occupational branches on the subject of occupations in tourism.

Les métier du tourisme. Approche régionale

[Occupations in tourism. A regional approach]

> Stéphane Mitchum, stephane.mitchum@univ-montp3.fr, Gérard Podevin, gerard.podevin@univ-rennes1.fr, Jacques Trautmann, Marie-Claude Rebeuh, Myriam Niss

Net.doc no. 24, July 2006

This paper deals with the regional aspects of the study conducted by Céreq at the request of the French Ministry for Tourism and the French Ministry of Education. The authors draw a picture of tourism in three regions, namely Alsace, Brittany and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and identify the corresponding strategic options available in terms of vocational training. The three monographs presented take stock of employment, vocational training and the roles of the regional players. The results obtained show that although these regions differ considerably in terms of both their past history of tourism and the present-day potential, they are all faced with the same challenges, i.e., with the need to improve, diversify and co-ordinate tourist services and extend the competences of workers in the field, which should not be reduced to merely providing hospitality.

> These publications are available on the Céreq website : www.cereq.fr/net.htm





Le développement des compétences dans le travail temporaire en France. Approches et dispositif.

[The development of competences in temporary work in France. Approaches and legal dispositions]

> Martine Möbus

NEF no. 23, September 2006

In 2004, temporary jobs accounted for 3.2% of all jobs in terms of equivalent full time employment in France. In comparison with the whole active population, interims were much younger, were more frequently males and were relatively less well qualified.

The legal vocational training dispositions continue to apply in the interim sector. Some special tools have been developed for adapting the general dispositions to the specificities of interim work, including vocational training mission contracts, rules applicable to continuing training at customer firms, and branch-specific integration contracts. Companies' contribution to vocational training has been set at 2% of their wage bill, and half of this sum should be spent on interim workers. However, interim workers' mean rate of access to continuing vocational training was only 25% in 2002, which is 10 per cent less than that of all employees combined in the commercial sector.

The new forms of recognition of informally acquired skills such as the validation of acquired experience (VAE) scheme are particularly relevant to temporary work, as they fit in well with the kinds of activity and the diversity of the skills involved and the adaptability acquired by making frequent changes of activity. The results of the first experiments carried out in this framework have been encouraging.

✓ For further information, please contact Martine Möbus (Céreq), phone: 04 91 13 28 45, e-mail: mobus@cereq.fr

■ This publication is available at the Céreq bookstore or by mail order to Marie-Christine Antonucci, Céreq, 10, place de la Joliette, BP 21321, 13567 Marseille cedex 2. Tel. 33 (0)4 91 13 28 89 Fax 33 (0)4 91 13 28 80. E-mail: antonucci@cereq.fr. Orders must be accompanied by payment (please include 4 € for postage and handling).

Formation Emploi

no. 96 (October-December 2006)

Le travail face à la restructuration productive : le cas d'un centre d'appels

[The productive restructuring of work: the case of a call centre]

> José Calderon

Call centres reflect a whole series of trends which are currently affecting working spheres as a whole: it is not only the time spent at work and the gestures involved which are being reassessed and rationalised. Management is placing increasing importance on employees' subjective approach to their work, i.e., on the values they associate with work and their reasons for working, and how they put these values into practice. Workers are therefore expected to make the best possible use of their time and their competences to further company goals. In addition to the fact that managers are focusing on their employees' subjective lives, another issue has come to the fore, namely the subjective use of the time spent at work. To investigate these two developments, the results of a field survey carried out at a call centre were analysed.

De la reconnaissance d'une qualification professionnelle : les intervenants éducatifs en centres éducatifs renforcés

[Recognition of a vocational specialisation: educators working at centres for juvenile offenders]

> Capucine Bigote

Juvenile offenders in France are often committed to reinforced educational establishments run by social networks catering for special educational needs. Some of the specificities of these centres (the fast rates of student turnover, the working conditions, the close proximity with the pupils) tend to discourage even educators with specialised diplomas from applying for jobs at these establishments. The employers are therefore obliged to engage unqualified people who are highly motivated, and although they have very real competences, these are not recognised in the form of qualifications. This paper deals with the issues involved in having the professional qualifications of these unqualified employees recognised.

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Des aides-éducateurs « sans qualités » : cas limites ou révélateurs ?

[Educational assistants “without qualities”: extreme or instructive cases?]

> Gérard Boudesseul

How does it happen that simple organisational contingencies and everyday workplace relationships can trigger processes which run counter to the goals everybody was aiming at? In other words, how does the approach adopted by a whole institution sometimes threaten the success of occupational integration schemes although these schemes subscribe to the system, since they promote the acquisition of competences? The difficulty the French educational system has had in organising a transition to work pathway for educational assistants illustrates how problems tend to arise whenever it is proposed to compare the efficiency of publicly assisted employment policies with that of other employment policies. The case histories of twelve educational assistants show how a work environment which seems *a priori* to provide favorable conditions for having new competences recognised has ended up by producing a new category of employees “without qualities”, who are often young women in fact. Under these conditions, the very concept of transition to work is brought into question.

Les doctorants en sciences expérimentales : futurs collègues ou jeunes collègues ?

[Doctoral students in the experimental sciences: new colleagues or future colleagues?]

> Séverine Louvel

Postgraduate students who are paid a salary while preparing their doctoral theses have the dual status of students and workers. This study on the case of doctoral students in chemistry and biology shows how difficult it is for these students to have their occupational status recognised at the laboratories where they carry out their activities. The author analyses the contribution of vocational training and work at three levels in the development of these students’ socioprofessional status: their activities, their workplace relationships, and their participation in the collective activities of the laboratory. At the last two levels, the findings show that doctoral students’ status tends to be that of “future colleagues” (students who will subsequently join research circles) rather than that of “young colleagues” (fully fledged members of the occupational group). This study was based on an ethnographic survey conducted at two laboratories.

Les jeunes jugent le travail : paroles de jeunes diplômés du baccalauréat professionnel

[Young people’s attitudes to work: the impressions of young vocational baccalauréat holders]

> Sophie Devineau

Eighteen months after obtaining a vocational baccalauréat, 902 young people newly launched on the labour market expressed their opinions about their vocational training. Contrary to the commonly held idea that young people are reluctant to work, their statements show that their attitudes to work were not at all negative *a priori*, and even that it was because they believed in the vocational training they had acquired that they felt at ease in their occupational walks of life. Given the uncertainty of the current context, the idea that work is a highly valued asset was reflected in all their statements. Although a positive attitude to work is instilled in these youths at school, it does not withstand the test of labour market reality when jobs are in short supply. Vocational baccalauréats may be successful from the educational point of view, but they do not always make transition to work any easier, which shows that educational innovations can have their limitations.

Qu’est-ce qu’un « bon apprenti » du supérieur ?

[What is a “good apprentice” in higher educational spheres?]

> Benjamin Dubrion

The author of this paper examines whether qualitative assessments of the work carried out at firms by apprentices are influenced by the assessment tools used. For this purpose, he analyses the work assessment tools adopted for use on higher educational apprenticeship training schemes. Three categories of “good apprentice” at higher educational level emerge from this analysis: the efficient apprentice, the self-sufficient apprentice and the technically accomplished apprentice. From the theoretical point of view, this study challenges those approaches which take individual competences to be a natural asset rather than a social construct. From a more practical point of view, it suggests that work assessment tools should actually be regarded as modes of regulating apprenticeship training courses.



■ This issue may be ordered from La Documentation française.

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