

# Training & Employment

A FRENCH NEWSLETTER FROM CEREQ AND ITS ASSOCIATED CENTRES

## THE DEFINITION OF VOCATIONAL DIPLOMAS IN GERMANY AND FRANCE

*In both Germany and France, the government, employers' organisations and unions all participate in the definition of vocational diplomas. This process takes specific forms in each of the two countries, however. Thus, the nature of the diploma itself, the respective role of each partner, and the rhythm of the reforms are quite different on the two sides of the Rhine. The recognition of the diplomas, moreover, attests to the tensions within the two certification systems, both of which are confronted by growing economic and social instability.*

The definition of vocational diplomas in France and Germany is based on similar general principles that set them apart from the traditional Anglo-Saxon systems, notably the national framework for procedures of elaborating and standardising titles, beyond any local considerations.<sup>1</sup> However, the meaning of this procedure differs considerably according to the specific way that these principles are applied.

### FIELD AND PACE OF DIPLOMA REFORM

A first basic difference deals with what is to be defined. The terms used are quite revealing—in France, what is established is a "diploma" within a hierarchy of titles, going from the CAP (vocational aptitude certificate) to the BTS (higher technician certificate); in Germany, the issue is training within a given trade (*Ausbildungsberuf*, literally a "learned trade").

In France, the objective is first of all to define a grid for certification, whatever the form of preparation (school based, apprenticeship, or continuing training). "The issue is not defining a training programme but the competences to be verified in an exam," according to Benoît Bouyx of the French Ministry of Education's Division of High Schools and Middle Schools.<sup>2</sup> This certification does not correspond to a specific job but rather to a job level, characterised

as an "occupational target". The French vocational diploma has another, equally important objective, which is that of allowing the diploma-holder to continue his or her studies within a given stream.

On the other side of the Rhine, the issue is the development of training guidelines corresponding to a central structure for acquiring knowledge—the "dual system" that operates within the context of alternating training between company and public vocational school. It leads to a certificate whose title refers to a trade rather than a professional field. Thus, for example, the certificate of "industrial mechanic, production techniques option" in Germany corresponds to the French "vocational *baccalauréat* in industrial automation". The concept of a professional field also exists in the German dual system, however: it corresponds to the basic knowledge common to related specialisations that are acquired in the first year of training. The "learned trade," meanwhile, is defined as an indivisible, singular, structured ensemble of occupational competences. But the German title is not conceived as leading to the continuation of initial studies in a given vocational stream.

### THE ADAPTATION OF TRAINING TO NEW PRODUCTION REQUIREMENTS

In Germany, the scope of the reforms is relatively homogeneous. Except for a few cases of two-level accreditation (*Stufenausbildung*), a single title validates training in a given speciality. There is, however, a form of hierarchy among the "dual" certificates, and this obeys a logic that is more horizontal than vertical insofar as it is based on the trade studied. The diversity of the categories

1. For France, this includes all the diplomas for technical and vocational training, and for Germany, the certificates obtained following apprenticeship in the dual system. The term *diploma* is used for both countries, although it is not well suited to the reality of German certifications.

2. Participant in the joint LEST-Céreq seminar on "Negotiation and Constitution of Vocational Diplomas". (See Box page 3.)

of French diplomas (vocational aptitude and vocational studies certificates, vocational *baccalauréat*, technician's certificate, vocational certificate, technical *baccalauréat*, higher technician's certificate, etc.), and above all the various levels with which they are associated, make the definition of the field more complex. In this respect, the increase in the number of vocational diplomas offered in all the training specialities in France goes against the rationalisation carried out over the last thirty years in Germany, which has led to a reduction of one-third in the number of recognised certificates.

It is also symptomatic that the higher level of vocational training acquired in France has led to the creation of new diplomas, as typified by the vocational *baccalauréat*, while in Germany, the response to new "productive" demands has until now been integrated into the existing structure by a transformation of training guidelines. These mechanisms for transforming basic vocational training programmes, internally in the German case and externally in France, are accurate reflections of the dominant forms of adjustment in each country. Germany's "organic" adjustment makes it easier to preserve the coherence of the system and thus the quality of economic and social coordination. French-style structural adjustment clearly allows major transformations to be accomplished with great speed. But it runs an undeniable risk in terms of the effectiveness of the new orientations, given the functioning of the labour market and the organisational characteristics of the companies which change less quickly than the content of the guidelines might suggest.

### REVISING TRAINING CONTENT

The revision of training content seems to take place much more rapidly in France than in Germany. Each year, a hundred or so cases are examined within permanent bodies responsible for updating diplomas (the vocational advisory committees or CPC). In Germany, this task is delegated to ad hoc commissions whose creation depends on the social partners' prior agreement concerning the revision of training programmes. The amount of time required by this process—which is extremely long in certain cases (notably for training in metallurgy)—has led the federal authorities to recommend a limit of two years for a given diploma.

This relative slowness is due to the need for the parties involved to reach the consensus required in the elaboration of statutory training programmes. German-style consensus is hardly a given, but rather the result of a process involving very different social interests. The slowness of the German process is further increased by frequent reticence on the part of management representatives, for whom any reform necessarily signifies an additional investment in the creation of new training programmes that must be approved by the companies.

The pace of reforms, which is specific to each country, brings out a different set of priorities in the necessary tradeoff between two antagonistic goals—on the one hand, remedying the risk of obsolete training programmes and,

on the other, preserving sufficiently stable qualifications guidelines for the actors in the training-employment relationship. Also at stake are the two systems' relative abilities to confront an increasing economic instability that tends to reduce the value of institutional mechanisms, which are inevitably long term. From this point of view, the German system demonstrates less flexibility, notably for moving towards new tertiary jobs, as in the area of services to private individuals.

### ACTORS AND EXPERTS

In both countries, the development of vocational diplomas involves three major partners: government, employers' organisations and unions. What is formally a tripartite structure assumes a considerably different content, however, in function of the role that each of these categories of actors is led to play in the process of creating training guidelines.

#### Two Countries, Two Forms of Tripartite Organisation

The organisation of vocational training in Germany follows a "neocorporatist" kind of regulation based on the action of "private governments" formed by management, the unions, and the chambers of commerce, to whom the State delegates management of this public entity. Such delegation relies on a particular kind of "private" training supply, since producers and users are one and the same—the companies. This form of "neocorporatist" regulation constitutes an intermediate solution between management by the government and management by the market or, more precisely, it draws on both to create a subtle compromise. Thus, the partners in each branch develop a "common regulation" endeavouring to define within the same process both the content of in-company training and the kind of qualification produced, while acting within the context of federal legislation and market regulation of the supply of apprenticeship openings.

In France, processes of reform are more unilateral, proceeding from the initiative of either the State or powerful employers' federations. The role of the unions seems less visible. The State, which is omnipresent in both the conception of diplomas and the implementation of training programmes, also seeks to represent the demand of families in the reforms it undertakes. The expression of this social demand is more difficult to identify in the German process of defining certifications, where debate focuses more directly on economic issues—the relevance of the vocational qualifications conferred by the training in view of the organisation of work and the "demands" of competitiveness, or the determination of the wage relation (classification, careers, remuneration). Indeed, it is worth noting that, at the most crucial moments, the main government actor in Germany is the ministry of the economy, as was the case, for example, when the reforming of training programmes in the metallurgical industry was the subject of a direct conflict between the social partners.

#### A "Government" of Experts?

The role of experts, which is important in both countries, also takes rather different forms. In Germany, the expert is

the mediator and moderator of the process. Thus, the expertise of the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (BIBB), which is subordinated to discussions between social partners, may even be refused by the latter if its recommendations seem too far removed from the realities of training in the company. In France, expertise, which comes largely from within the government, assumes primary importance as a form of legitimation for choices made at two points during the process—the determination of the appropriateness of the reforms (by the secretariat of the CPCs) and the determination of guidelines (by the national inspectorate).

In Germany, discussion of the content of vocational training closely depends on the expression of social interests: the unions seek the broadest possible training in order to favour the apprentice's subsequent autonomy, while the employers advocate training that is directly operational and thus narrower. In France, the debates focus more directly on technical and pedagogical issues. However, the arguments put forth by the actors vary considerably according to the origin of the demand for the constitution of the diploma, such as an initiative of the educational system itself, a request from a powerful employers' federation, or competition and compromise between two groups of employers. In addition, French negotiation of diplomas has to integrate considerations of educational streams (with titles going from CAP to BTS for a given specialisation). This situation makes the institutional process that much more complicated since the demand for the creation of a new diploma equal to or above the *baccalauréat* may have more to do with affirming the identity of the occupation involved than with seeking competences at the designated level.

In addition, the model of the large "hi-tech enterprise" clearly has a more normative impact on the conception of vocational training in France than in Germany. Several reasons underly this difference, and notably the very idea of "guideline".

In France, this determines a professional and pedagogical optimum that tends to constitute a closed entity, while in Germany, training rules in the company set minimal norms that allow greater diversification in the implementation of training according to the circumstances of the company, small or large. The concept of optimum is more justified in the French case insofar as it determines the possibility of continued study for a diploma at a higher level. The significant difference in success rates for examinations (close to 20 % higher for young Germans) is not irrelevant to this feature.

Today, the configurations of both systems are becoming increasingly unstable, with a loss in the representativeness of the social partners and a tendency for young people to choose general studies rather than vocational training. In the German case, a sharp debate opposes supporters of the dual system, who bank on its ability to adapt, and its detractors, who insist on its increasing failure to meet the new requirements of the production system (transversal skills, development of abstract reasoning faculties). The erosion of the authority and legitimacy of the intermediate organisations may be observed, which tends to weaken "neocorporatist" regulation.

### Seminar on the Negotiation and Creation of Vocational Diplomas

The establishment of vocational training and its linkage with the labour market in France and Germany have already been the subject of many studies, but comparative analyses focusing on the creation of vocational diplomas and the actors involved remain rare. The observation of a clear proximity in the institutional contexts in which these diplomas are elaborated in the two countries thus gave rise to an effort to bring together German and French researchers in the context of a seminar entitled "Negotiation and Creation of Vocational Diplomas".

This article draws on papers and discussions from this seminar, which was held within the framework of the CNRS programme on "Education and Training in Europe". Organised in May 1996 by the Laboratoire d'économie et de sociologie du travail (LEST) in collaboration with Céreq, it benefitted from the financial support of the Ministry of Education's Division of High Schools and Middle Schools (DLC) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The proceedings of this seminar will be published shortly by L'Harmattan.

✓ **Organisers:**

Eric Verdier (LEST, Aix-en-Provence), Martine Möbus (Céreq)

✓ **Participants:**

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Ingrid Drexel (Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung, Munich)  
Bernard Fourcade (Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les ressources humaines et l'emploi, LIRHE, Toulouse)

Bob Hancké (Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin)

Josef Hilbert (Institut Arbeit und Technik, North Rhine-Westphalia)

Annette Jobert ("Travail et Mobilités" research unit, University of Paris X)

Edith Kirsch (Céreq)

Richard Koch (BIBB, Federal Institute for Vocational Training)

Eva Kuda (IG Metall)

Günther Kutscha (Gesamthochschule, Duisburg)

Olivier Liaroutzos (Céreq)

Christian Marquette (Céreq)

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David Soskice (Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung, Berlin)

Michèle Tallard (IRIS "Travail et Société" research unit, University of Paris IX)

Patrick Veneau (Céreq)

Hajo Weber (Kaiserslautern University)

## VOCATIONAL DIPLOMAS AND COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

In the branches studied, metallurgy and chemicals, and more broadly in the activities where classification grids have been set up in France, the mechanisms for recognising diplomas are fairly similar in Germany and France. In both cases, these are subordinated to the fact of holding a post that corresponds to the diploma, which can be replaced by work experience or associated with it. In this respect, collective agreements in both countries provide a frame of reference within which vocational training serves above all as a criteria for defining the qualifications required by the post.

France, unlike Germany, is characterised by a separation between the structures that create the diplomas and those that recognise them. As a result, French reforms in terms of certification do not necessarily give rise to changes in classifications, and considerable time can elapse between the

creation of a diploma and its recognition. In addition, the existence of several diplomas on different levels (from the CAP to the BTS) within the same sector contributes to the diversification of forms of recognition from one branch to another. The weight accorded to regulation procedures within the companies seems greater in France than in Germany, where the reference to the "trade" continues to dominate. Nevertheless, the equivalence between the certificate acquired in the dual system and the job that is obtained varies. Thus, certificates in craft occupations, which generally outnumber the needs for replacements in this field, often lead to a semi-skilled post in another activity sector. The formal basis for the recognition of diplomas in France remains the CAP or the BEP (and increasingly, the vocational *baccalauréat*). But the extent of youth unemployment, compounded by the arrival on the labour market of generations of young people with a higher diploma level, is increasing the risks of a drop in status and consequently in the value of these diplomas. The institutional links between diplomas and jobs seem even less clear with the emergence of new certifications such as the Vocational Qualification Certificates (*certificats de qualification professionnelle*, CQP), whose relationship to diplomas conferred by the national educational system remains uncertain. Other institutional instruments, such as the homologation of titles or accreditation of experience are open to French employers. This multiplication of options is probably the sign of a system suffering from a lack of overall coherence.

In the German case, the question is whether a regulated transition can continue, given the general problems of the job market and above all the growing trend for young people to continue their studies. This is reflected by growing numbers of young former apprentices facing a drop in status despite the fact that they are working in the sector corresponding to their apprenticeship speciality. Nonetheless, as Ingrid Drexel has suggested, the strength of "traditions" in relation to the development of certificates and statutory recognition "will (perhaps) allow the structuring, regulatory effects of the German-style vocational training system to be maintained for a time". In the future, continuing training may emerge as an increasingly indispensable complement to the dual certificate in order to obtain a real skilled worker's position. Ultimately, institutional regulation of the creation of vocational diplomas in each of the two countries must confront a specific form of questioning: in France, this bears more on the conception of the guidelines and, in Germany, on the forms of intervention by the different actors.

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# briefing

## ▼ Updates

### "Equality, Equity, Discrimination: Men and Women on the Labour Market"

A seminar on this theme took place last June under the auspices of the "Labour Market and Gender" research group. Anne-Marie Daune-Richard of the Laboratory for Labour Economics and Sociology (LEST-CNRS) opened the morning session on "Wages, Competences and Qualifications". In an attempt to pinpoint the social construction of wage inequalities between men and women, Christel Colin (INSEE) demonstrated the impact of occupational segregation on wage differentials. Marie-Thérèse Chicha (University of Montréal) presented the Canadian "Wage Equity Programme", which has no equivalent in Europe other than Switzerland. Catherine Omnès (University of Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines) brought out historical fluctuations in wage disparities by gender in the metallurgy sector from 1914 to 1936. Catherine Sofer (University of Orléans) then introduced the discussion by stressing the need to consider differences in remunerations rather than wages.

The afternoon session, organised by Rachel Silvera (University of Paris X) dealt with the theme of "Reduction, Diversification and Break-up of Working Time". Jennifer Bue (Ministry of Labour) and Dominique Rossi (National Conservatory of Arts and Engineering, Cnam) spoke on female night work, which lies at the heart of a contradiction between national and European law. Hartut Seifer (WSI-Düsseldorf) presented the experiment with the four-day work week carried

### Céreq's Associated Centre in La Réunion

The Centre for Economic and Social Research of the University of La Réunion (CERESUR), which was founded in 1988, has undertaken a critical reorganisation of its policy. Its research activities focus on three areas: economics and international finance; development and employment in the Indian Ocean area and the small island economies; and local development policies. The centre, which is closely involved with its institutional partners, is attempting to meet heavy local demand relating to the effectiveness of training in terms of labour-market entry (on an island with nearly 35 % unemployment).

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### Longitudinal Data in the Analysis of the Labour Market

Céreq and the Longitudinal Institute of the Laboratory for Secondary Analysis and Methods Applied to Sociology (LASMAS-IdI) held a joint seminar in Paris last spring on the theme of employment policies. Among the topics addressed were the need to introduce time in the analysis of labour-market entry and individual career paths; the difficulty for decision makers to make use of these scientific results; the longitudinal approach and the evaluation of employment policies; standard career paths as a tool for public policies; the contextualisation of longitudinal data; data collection and interpretation of results; and labour-market entry and access to jobs.

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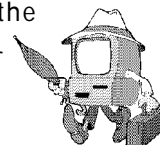
out at Volkswagen, which suggests that "expectations that a radical reduction in work time could break down gender-based models of the division of domestic labour were disappointed, for the traditional gender roles were largely reinforced". Concerning France, François Michon

(University of Paris I) expressed the need for detailing the profiles and personal situations of women working part-time.

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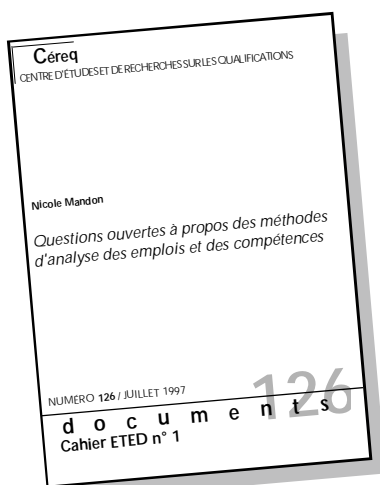
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▼ New Publications



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**Questions ouvertes à propos des méthodes d'analyse des emplois et des compétences**

[Open Questions on Methods for Analysing Jobs and Competences]

✍ Nicole Mandon

The "Standard Job Type Studied in its Dynamic" method (Emploi Type Etudié dans sa Dynamique, ETED) stems from targeted research based on careful attention to grassroots problems and a theoretical model that is regularly compared to concrete cases. This approach is being developed in particular through the ETED R&D network, which is composed of researchers, consultants, heads of training bodies and company managers who apply it in various areas of human resources management.

The objective of Céreq's Cahiers ETED series is to make available the key methodological issues as they have been elaborated in training courses and the network's work sessions. These are enhanced with theoretical references that have sometimes been lacking in earlier publications. Numerous commentaries as well as concrete cases also lend perspective to future research and future actions alike.

**Document** no. 126, Cahier ETED no. 1, Céreq, July 1997.

**Education et emploi dans les pays du Maghreb  
Ajustement structurel, secteur informel et croissance**

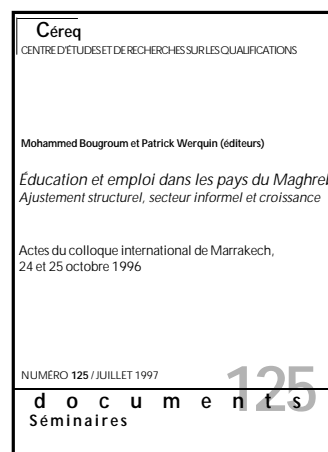
[Education and Employment in North Africa  
Structural Adjustment, Informal Sector and Growth]  
Papers of the International Symposium held in Marrakech,  
24-25 October 1996

✍ Edited by Mohammed Bougroum and Patrick Werquin

This work looks at the difficulties of youth transition in North Africa on the basis of studies conducted jointly by researchers in Marrakech and Marseilles. The collaboration focused on labour economics and the micro-econometrics of longitudinal data collected among young people still in the educational system or recent school-leavers. It was developed with the goal of collecting, processing and analysing data on the transition of recent graduates in Marrakech. Several surveys were thus conducted by the Faculty of Economic, Legal and Social Sciences of the Cadi Ayyad University, the Centre for Research in Quantitative Economics at the Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech (CREQ), the Research Group in Quantitative Economics in Aix-Marseilles (GREQAM) and Céreq. The questions raised were mainly oriented towards the relationship between education and employment in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The papers collected in this document were presented during an international conference held in Marrakech in October 1996. They review the experiences of the countries of Northwest Africa, mainly in terms of higher education and the role of education in improving occupational qualifications. They offer a somewhat mixed evaluation of the impact of adjustment policies on the educational system and the labour market.

Unemployment among recent graduates is a major problem in North Africa. This document brings out the existence of a considerable underground economy—which would absorb the least qualified young people—and the omnipresence of structural adjustment programmes which modify their recruitment conditions.

**Document** no. 125, Séminaires series, Céreq  
July 1997, 270 pp.



**"Formation, information et gestion des ressources humaines"**

[Training, Information and Human Resources Management]

✍ Jean-Jacques Paul, IREDU (Céreq's associated centre in Dijon)

In 1994, the European Centre for Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) initiated a research programme in the twelve countries of the European Union that was aimed at bringing out company policy with regard to the collection and processing of information on training and employment issues. This article, essentially based on the French case, begins by recalling the interest that recent economic approaches have shown in the question of information. It turns out, however, that this issue is not central to the preoccupations of human resources directors. This is due in large part to the economic situation prevailing at the time of the survey, which led companies to privilege management of their own resources within the framework of an internal labour market. For recruitment or continuing training policy, decisions are most often based on a closed information space. When faced with the need to draw on the outside world, the company turns to information networks.

*Les sciences de l'éducation* 29/4 (1996), pp. 61-88.

## VOCATIONAL DIPLOMA AND FORECASTING

To what extent can diploma guidelines anticipate technological and organisational changes and thus make the creation of diplomas a means of forecasting and promoting change? Two aspects of this question addressed during the LEST-Céreq seminar on "Negotiation and Creation of Vocational Diplomas" call into play the formalisation of the link between diploma and work on the one hand and the degree of transversality or specialisation of training courses on the other.

- In both countries, the diagnoses of the strong trends in the evolution of work that have influenced the conception of the new guidelines are fairly close—economic uncertainty and the variability of demand would channel production and organisation processes towards a decompartmentalisation of the different functions, an acceleration of the spread of "flexible" technologies and a computer tool with international standards which are increasingly crucial for work activities. Among certain actors in France, a strong "technico-economic determinism" undermines the legitimacy of a conception of vocational training based on the traditional model of "trades" in favour of a field of activity. In Germany, the new training regulations privilege functions rather than specific jobs.

On both sides of the Rhine, whatever the occupational field considered, the development of transferrable competences that are more oriented to problem solving and the ability to situate oneself in an increasingly complex organisational system are sought to respond to the demands of integrated tasks and/or "polyfunctional" work. However, these objectives are translated differently by the French and German guidelines. In France, the government's resolutely voluntarist action seeks to make training a lever of change for work and the organisation of work. This is quite different from the gradual, more procedural approach prevailing in Germany, where pragmatism is preferred over the upheavals of basic reforms.

- In both countries, vocational training is structured around a division into occupational branches, which provides a social space for discussion but also a site for the exercise of technical know-how and its capitalisation. Technico-organisational changes have, however, reactivated the debate over the degree of transversality of diplomas; in certain cases this has led to shaking up traditional divisions between occupational branches, which could lead to significant changes relative to present frameworks for the creation of diplomas.

In the French case, the shift towards transversal diplomas might seem easier. In the first place, it coincides with an old trend within the educational system's policy on diplomas that favours polyvalency and attributes greater value to technological knowledge than to occupational knowledge. On the other hand, the fact that the French school assumes responsibility for practically all training permits greater distance in relation to specific economic activities. This distance seems more difficult to achieve in Germany, not only because of the company's involvement in training but also because the principle of the "primacy of the trade" is still largely based on a good knowledge of the product and mastery of the know-how associated with its fabrication. If the relative importance of transversal knowledge and specialisation lies at the heart of debates among the German social partners, everyone agrees, that these two dimensions are indissociable in the creation of a full-fledged vocational qualification.

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Eric Verdier (LEST)

▼ **Formation Emploi**

*Recent articles in Céreq's quarterly journal, no. 59: July-September 1997*

**SPECIAL ISSUE:  
CENTRALISED DECISION MAKING**



**Le rôle des difficultés dans l'élaboration ou la reconversion de compétences : Le cas d'anciens ouvriers d'une filature**

[The Role of Difficulties in the Elaboration or Reconversion of Competences: The Case of Former Spinning-Mill Workers.]

✍ Yolande Benarrosh

Facing a different work reality can permit past experience or new competences to be brought into play. Once the specific conditions of this reconversion are met, meaningful training programmes can be formulated.

**Spécialité transversale : Une réponse opérationnelle au rapprochement formation-emploi ?**

[Transversal Specialities: A Functional Answer to the Training-Employment Relationship?]

✍ Françoise Dauty and Hugues Brunet

From the standpoint of labour-market entry, transversal diplomas are presented as a solution to the dilemma between immediate performance and capacity for mobility among young people. But the creation of these diplomas and the streams leading to them may give rise to conflicts that compromise their effectiveness.

**Evaluation de l'efficacité externe de la formation des agriculteurs**

[Evaluating the Outside Effectiveness of Training for Farmers]

✍ Alain Mingat and Nelly Stephan

The public powers encourage a higher level of training for farmers. However, agricultural training programmes, whether initial or continuing, seem to have little impact on farmers' economic effectiveness.

**Special Section : Centralised Decision Making**

▼ **L'offre de formation professionnelle initiale**

[Initial Vocational Training Supply]

✍ André Larceneux

The opening of sections depends on a complex decision-making mechanism involving numerous actors. The possibility of compromise, and thus the effectiveness of the system, used to be based on a shared civic conception of the educational system. The rise of preoccupations with social and economic integration could call this conception into question and thus undermine the coherence of the decision-making process.

**Diversité des enjeux et des pratiques. Les rapports entre académie et région**

[Diversity of Issues and Practices. Relations Between Educational Authority and Region]

✍ Antoine Richard

By law and in practice, the power of the regions in the area of technical and vocational instruction is growing, which has led to a diversification of regional policies. This situation raises the problem of the unity of the educational system and equality of access to training.

**La logique dominante des publics scolaires**

**Offre de formation et environnement local**

[The Dominant Logic of School Publics:

Training Supply and Local Context]

✍ Patrice Caro and Bernard Hillau

In spite of the centralised nature of the school system, there are large geographic disparities in training supplies relative to the sociodemographic context. The local relationship bears in fact on student publics and ultimately on the socio-occupational composition of the families in the area. The adjustment of vocational training to qualifications needs operates through a filtre of "social reproduction". A look at the decision-making mechanism and the local context.

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