# Training & Employment

A FRENCH NEWSLETTER FROM CEREQ AND ITS ASSOCIATED CENTRES

### TRAINING AND SKILLS IN VERY SMALL ENTERPRISES

Omnipresent in employment flows, the "Very Small Enterprises" (VSE) have particular contributions to make to the development and accumulation of skills as well as mobility within the production system. Their training efforts remain little known because these rarely assume the "classic" forms of recourse to the continuing training market. Recent legislation requiring them to participate in the funding of training has not really changed the essential role of on-the-job training.

In France, a VSE is defined as a legally independent company with less than ten salaried employees. The diversity of situations makes any attempt at overall analysis difficult, however. How can a single description cover independent tradespersons who have set up a company in their own name or in the form of limited-responsibility companies (SARL), businesses depending on large groups, subcontractors and franchises, as well as various professionals? The task is all more problematic because the VSEs just as often reflect sheer resourcefulness in face of unemployment and lack of job security as timeless traditions that are more or less successful in their resistance, notably within the trades, or innovative strategies in tune with ongoing changes in the production system.

# A Dynamic Source of Salaried Employment

The VSEs as a whole represent over two million companies, or more than 92 percent of French businesses. Their contribution in the area of employment is significant. In 1995, they accounted for nearly 26 percent of total salaried employment, compared with 11 percent for the large companies. The phenomenon is even clearer over time: between 1985 and 1995, the number of salaried employees in the VSEs rose 21 percent, while the increase was only 9 percent in the small and medium-sized enterprises (10 to 499 employees), and the large companies showed a decline of 23 percent over the same period.

Table 1. Growth and Structure of Businesses and Salaried Employment by Company Size (1985-1995)

Company Size (no. salaried employees)	Number of Businesses		Salaried Jobs		Rate of Increase 1995/85	
	1995	Structure	1995	Structure	Bus.	Employ.
1-9	1,197,826	83.6	3,568,386	26.0	+ 23.9	+ 21.0
10-49	192,903	13.5	3,975,669	28.9	+ 15.9	+ 14.3
50-499	39,419	2.8	4,696,344	34.2	+ 10.9	+ 8.8
500 and over	1,480	0.1	1,505,710	10.9	- 16.9	- 23.1
Total	1,431,628	100	13,746,109	100	+ 22.3	+ 8.2

Source: UNEDIC

There are many reasons to explain the dynamism of the VSEs. The most obvious is the growth of services: 79 percent of the VSEs are concentrated in tertiary activities that are often labour intensive. By contrast, only 11 percent are found in building and 10 percent in manufacturing. The large enterprises, meanwhile, are mainly concentrated in manufacturing (50 %), somewhat less in services (45 %) and very little in building (5 %). The VSEs thus predominate in the sectors where economies of scale do not play an essential role and/or where there is little capital intensiveness.

### Frequent Recourse to the Labour Market

According to a survey conducted by the Dares, in 1995, the small and very small enterprises recruited more young beginners than the medium and large enterprises together

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(384,063 and 313,540, respectively). Relative to the total number of young people exiting initial training between 1993 and 1995, the VSE welcomed a larger proportion of young beginners (32 %) than companies with more than 500 employees (22 %).

But at the same time that the VSEs create a large number of jobs, they also lose a large number. Table 2 demonstrates their role in employment flows: 40 percent of those employed by a VSE in May 1988 changed companies over the next five years, as compared with only 16 percent of those working in a large company. For the 25-39 age bracket, the proportion of VSEs rises to 49 percent.

Table 2. Percentage of Individuals Changing Companies between May 1988 and May 1993 by Status and Age, as well as Company Size

STATUS	25-39 years	40-49 years	50-64 years	Total
Self-employed	29	14	10	16
Home help	31	16	24	23
Employees of the State	12	7	6	9
Employees of local administration	22	9	5	13
Employees of State- owned company	15	4	3	9
Employees of private companies (size in May 1988) • size unknown • 1-9 employees • 10-49 employees • 50-499 employees • 500 + employees	57 49 42 39 29	35 32 27 23 8	26 20 17 14 4	45 40 33 29 16
TOTAL	37	18	13	25

Source: National Economic Statistics Institute (INSEE), Training and Vocational Qualification Survey (FQP), 1993.

This phenomenon is not new. Céreq's career path survey carried out in 1984 among 200,000 young people exiting CAP and BEP training programmes (see Box) five years earlier attests to this fact (Bruand, 1991): even at that time, Level V young people who had left CAP and BEP programmes in 1979 more often found their first job in a very small or small enterprise (28 and 14 % of the cases, respectively) than in a large enterprise (14 %).<sup>2</sup> It also indicated that many young people voluntarily left their first company when it was small (26 % of the cases for the VSEs and 22 % for companies with 10 to 49 employees, compared with only 10 % for the large companies). And the rate of stability in the first job was only 17 percent for the VSEs, compared with 47 percent for the large companies.

The VSEs may thus be characterised by lively movements in the creation, transformation and disappearance of jobs. Another phenomenon that must be emphasised is the extent of turnover, which seems to be tied to the VSEs' intensive use of public employment schemes and notably apprenticeship (Fourcade and Ourtau 1992).

# Apprenticeship as a Means of Recruitment

According to the Dares, large businesses prefer aid measures for part-time work and alternating training, while small units are more receptive to the lower social security contributions associated with apprenticeship contracts and hiring the long-term unemployed. Thus, the VSEs represent only 22 percent of all the companies using adaptation contracts and 43 percent for skilling contracts (contrats de qualification, CQ). On the other hand, they are the main companies using apprenticeship contracts (73 % in 1994 and 72 % in 1996), largely ahead of the small enterprises (17 % for companies with 10 to 49 employees in 1994) and even more so for companies with over 50 employees (representing only 11 % of all companies using these contracts).

Among the VSEs, it is the craft enterprises that take on the most apprentices--about one-half each year--even if the number has decreased by more than half since the early 1970s and today totals about 150,000. Conversely, these craft enterprises account for only 18 percent of the skilling contracts and 10 percent of the adaptation contracts. Building, repairs, transport, other services and food alone constitute more than 90 percent of the apprenticeship contracts within the trades. In absolute terms, the food sector takes on the most apprentices--about 20 for the 100 companies registered in the Trade Index in 1996, compared with 9 for automobile repair, transportation and other services and 10 for building.

These craft enterprises are responsible for the greatest number of Level V and IV diplomas obtained through apprenticeship. Levels III and II, meanwhile, are five times less represented in the trade sector than in the economy as a whole.

In sum, apprenticeship contracts and, to a lesser extent, contracts for alternating training seem to play a decisive role in the hiring of young employees in the very small enterprises. They contribute above all to facilitating the initial entry--that of the new VSEs into the economic fabric, and that of low-skilled young people into the labour market. For these young people, such schemes offer an opportunity for their first professional qualification, and it is not difficult to imagine that training in the VSEs has a particular function and meaning.

### A First Opportunity for Applying Skills

The young people who enter small and large businesses are not the same. While the baccalauréat (Level IV) seems to be a 'bottom line' for the largest enterprises, it constitutes a 'ceiling' for the smallest ones. Out of the 100 young people who chose to join VSEs in 1995, 42 had Levels V

- Level V = first level of vocational training, leading to a vocational aptitude certificate (CAP) or a vocational studies certificate (BEP)
- Level IV = baccalauréat level, including the vocational baccalauréat
- Level III = 2 years of higher vocational studies leading to a university diploma of technology (DUT) or a higher technician certificate (BTS)
- Levels II and I = any higher general and vocational education



<sup>1.</sup> Figures established by the Direction de l'Animation de la Recherche Scientifique (Department for Scientific Research, Dares) of the Ministry of Employment and Solidarity.

<sup>2.</sup> The absence of current data does not allow us to confirm or invalidate this trend quantitatively. However, the interviews we have conducted with different company heads in the course of our fieldwork suggest that this is still the case.

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qualifications, and 28 had higher education levels (III, II and I). On the other hand, slightly more than half of those who opted for companies with more than 500 employees had higher education levels (III, II and I), and 22 percent had levels V. Traditionally, the VSEs thus constitute a privileged zone of entry into working life for young people with low qualification levels.

### VSEs and Training: An Inadequate Legal Framework

With the promulgation of Law 91-1405 of 31 December 1991, legislators extended to the VSEs the requirement in effect since 1971 that any company with at least 10 salaried employees should allocate a minimum percentage of its wage bill to continuing training, although this percentage was now fixed at 0.15 percent. The 1991 law is particularly representative of the way continuing vocational training is viewed in France--strongly tied to the 'model' of the large enterprise, it is not considered 'real' training unless it takes place outside the usual work station and without significant participation in the company's production activity. As such, it does not reflect either the particular features of the VSE or the extreme diversity that dominates this mass of micro-companies.

It thus comes as no surprise that in 1995, three years after the law went into effect, the vocational training survey carried out by the Dares among businesses with less than ten salaried employees indicated that the demand for continuing training in the VSEs generally remained slight. Indeed, the rate of financial participation was 0.03 percent, compared with an average of 3.5 percent in the large companies. In addition, only 10 percent of the salaried employees in the VSEs benefitted from training activities, as opposed to nearly 32 percent in the large businesses (Table 3).

Table 3. Indicators of Continuing Vocational Training by Company Size

	Rate of trainees	Training expend./ salaried employee	Training expend./ course	No. training hrs./salaried employee	Av. length of training courses
Companies with 1-9 salaried employees	10.5%	443 F	4,227 F	6 hrs.	61 hrs.
Individual companies with 0-9 salaried employees	9.8%	619 F	6,293 F	8 hrs.	82 hrs.
Total companies contributing at 0.15%	10.2%	517 F	5,067 F	7 hrs.	69 hrs.
Total companies contributing at 1.5%	32.1%	3,491 F	10,862 F	15 hrs.	48 hrs.

The difference in cost between companies by size (+ 10 or - 10 salaried employees) is partly explained by the fact that a considerable share of the VSEs' expenditures are assumed by the OPCAs, joint branch bodies responsible for collecting and regulating funds for training. Source: Dares, December 1995.

This observation must be qualified, however. Our surveys show that continuing training patterns change according to the type of VSE involved--individual, franchiser or part of a group. Indeed, the fact of belonging to a network of franchisers or being affiliated to a large group leads to adopting a training dynamic which is most often

externalised. Thus, franchised businesses initiate twice as many continuing training activities (20 % vs. 10 %) as independent ones. Conversely, individual VSEs conduct more on-the-job training. In proportion to their wage bill, their training expenditures are lower than those of the franchised VSEs (0.33 vs. 0.57 %). The case of the hotel trade is quite revealing in this respect, as are those of building and public works.

### What Continuing Training for the VSEs?

With regard to 'formalised' vocational training--and all our informants agree on this point--the kinds most often requested by the VSEs tend to be sporadic skilling actions in the areas of sales, specific techniques of production or provision of services, specific sectoral training programmes, computers and office technology, maintenance/after-sales service and quality norms. The VSEs' first priority in training is the acquisition and upgrading of technical skills. The case of computers and office technology, the training area of predilection, is exemplary in this respect and reflects the search for continuous adaptation to new technology.

If we consider the same situation from the standpoint of the training supply, it becomes clear that training providers and related bodies have offered a certain number of responses, at least partially, to the VSEs' training needs, notably by permitting a very clear identification of specific moments and publics, which facilitates training investment in these companies. Among the moments, we may cite that of the company's transmission from one generation to another, and especially its computerisation, which often reveals larger problems of management. As for the publics involved, young people and especially non-remunerated spouses help to structure the training supply. Indeed, there is no lack of programmes for the training of such family members, whether these are short (sales or merchandising) or long (management certificate), degree-oriented or not, or presented in the form of university-level continuing training (Bentabet et al., 1997).

# Company Heads' Distrust of Continuing Training

For company heads, the knowledge and know-how of family members are often the main if not the only means of training and as such always the first to be solicited. Indeed, most VSE heads have an inherently complex relationship to continuing training, and it is all the more ambivalent insofar as it sometimes recalls the painful experience of their own initial training, often marked by failure, rejection or interruptions, all of which have left their traces.

In addition, the company heads themselves exemplify a success which, almost without exception, has had little to do with laborious academic learning. Extremely concerned about their autonomy, they have acquired and developed their business without the help of the institutions they associate with the 'academic model'. As a result, when it comes to improving skills, they prefer to draw on informal networks and inter-personal relations

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because "the company head seeks . . . advice through dialogue. . . . " (Bentabet and Trouvé, 1996).

Underlying the manager's rejection of training is above all the rejection of a form of learning proper to the school, which does not correspond to the ways knowledge is transmitted in the VSEs. Training also represents the risk of introducing heterogeneous practices into the company, where diversity is all the more threatening because of the small size of the team. It also reinforces the fear that the employees may break down the family-like relationship (characterised as 'quasi-paternalistic') or the direct interpersonal relationship (a 'quasi-fusion') between company head and employees. The idea that paying for an employee's training amounts to giving him or her a 'ticket to leave' comes up in many interviews with varied sectors.

### On-the-Job Training, Self-Training and Collective Learning

In spite of the 1991 law, on-the-job training, self-training and collective learning remain the main ways for most wageearners to acquire new skills or maintain qualification. The company heads, meanwhile, seem to attach little importance to diplomas owing to the absence of the kinds of occupations to which precise job or training offers might correspond. In addition, because of the simplicity of the procedures in such companies, employees primarily need training specifically adapted to the equipment used (notably at the time of purchase). Ultimately, such training takes place only with the help of the employer or through the intermediary of the most experienced employee, whose opinion is respected by the employer. It is mainly accomplished through the 'trickledown effect', through a process of acquisition-transmission involving a company (or family) member and informal training practices. Such training practices are usually invoked on two occasions: for new recruits, who are thus introduced to company culture through an adaptation-socialisation type of training clearly referring to behavioural and moral values, and for employees already in place, through a process of trial-and-error or by repetition.

The VSEs thus play an active role in the building of skills within the production system. Nonetheless, they still suffer from a certain number of structural limitations. On the one hand, they lag behind in training, research and development and, more broadly, non-material investments. On the other, in spite of the different public schemes for employment, they still hire few of the most highly trained young people. There are multiple reasons for this. Our research indicates that the VSEs suffer from a legislative, fiscal and financial environment that was initially

### Methodological Approach

The study entitled "Gestion des hommes et formations dans les Très Petites Entreprises (T.P.E.)" [Personnel Management and Training in the Very Small Enterprises (VSE)] was initiated by Céreq (E. Bentabet) with the participation of the associated centres in Aix-en-Provence (A. Lamanthe), Clermont-Ferrand (P. Trouvé), Montpellier (S. Michun) and Nantes (A.-C. Dubernet) during a first phase.

The objective of this research was to study how the new obligations stemming from the law of 31 December 1991 (see In Focus) affect ongoing training practices in the VSEs. Training in all its forms (continuing or alternating, on the job or off the job, etc.) is treated as one element of production amongst others. Interviews were conducted with eighty VSEs and professional bodies (8 authorised training fund collection agencies [OPCAs] and several training centres) spread over eight activity sectors; these interviews followed a thematic grid addressing hiring, forms of personnel management, training and relations with employers' organisations.

set up for the large enterprise. Thus, it might even be argued that the rigidities imputed to the VSEs in terms of training and the development of skills should rather be sought within the model that they are supposed to adopt.

Elyes Bentabet, Stéphane Michun, Philippe Trouvé

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# briefing

### ▼ Updates

# Hugues Bertrand Appointed Director of Céreq

Hugues Bertrand, professor of economics at the University of Paris-VII, has been named Céreq's new director. A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole nationale de la statistique et de l'administration économique, he joined the economic forecasting department of the National Statistics Institute (INSEE) in 1968. After completing a doctorate in economics in 1974, he became a member of the forecasting department at the Finance Ministry of subsequently served as head of the economic sector of the CFDT labour union. He began his academic career as professor of economics at the University of Lille (1985-1989) and then taught at the University of Paris 8 (1989-1993) before coming to the University of Paris 7. He has done a great deal of in-company research on human resources management, work analysis, arrangement of working time and job mobility and has carried out studies on employment systems in the French and European contexts.

His recent publications include:

- Les cellules de reclassement : à quoi servent-elles ? [Reclassification Units: What Are They For?]
- Anne Lise Aucouturier, Hugues Bertrand and Nathalie Vermel. Paris: La Documentation française, 1995.
- Les enjeux de l'Europe sociale. [The Stakes of a European Social Programme.] Pierre Héritier, Dominique Taddei, Jacques Ion, Hugues Bertrand and Anne-Marie Grozelier. Paris: La Découverte-Cahiers libres, 1991.
- La gestion des ressources humaines dans les banques européennes : stratégies? [Human Resources Management in the European Banks: Strategies?] Denise Annandale Massa and Hugues Bertrand. Paris: Economica, 1990.

### **Seminars**

### Age, Career Path and Development of Skills

At a seminar on "Age, Work Pattern and the Development of Skills: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches" organised in Paris last May by the Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'âge et les populations (CREAPT) in collaboration with the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), researcher Laurence Coutrot (CNRS-Céreq) presented a paper on "Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches to Career Paths".

Following a semantic analysis of the terms used to designate the evolution of working life (insertion, transition, parcours, trajectoire, carrière), she addressed the central issue of whether it is possible to predict the future of young people from the past experience of their elders. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative empirical studies of career paths, she suggested the kinds of linkages possible between the two approaches.

### Qualifications and Vocational Training

A seminar organised by the Spanish Ministry of Labour in conjunction with its reform of the vocational training system was held in Santander, Spain, last April. Spain has been involved in a process of reforming its vocational training system and its certification systems since the early 1990s. At present, three sub-systems co-exist, each with its own certification mechanisms: school-based training (formación reglada), training for job-seekers, both young people and adults (formación laboral) and continuing training for salaried employees (formación continua empleados-FORCEM). A second national programme of vocational training was instituted in March 1998 with two main objectives: establishing a single national system of vocational qualifications and creating a research body to inform the various players on the training-employment relationship.

Four European institutions already active in this area were invited to participate in the seminar: Céreq, BIBB (Germany), ISFOL (Italy) and IEFP (Portugal). The representatives of these bodies were asked very concrete questions about the certification systems in place, the way these have been set up and the procedures implemented (or to be implemented) to facilitate cross-overs between possible sub-systems. The resulting dialogue generated an extremely interesting description of the forms and conditions of trade-offs between national and regional players in four different European countries.



### New Publications

### Analyse des emplois et des compétences : la mobilisation des acteurs dans l'approche ETED

[Analysis of jobs and skills: The Mobilisation of Players in the ETED Approach]

Nicole Mandon (Céreq)

The ETED method (Emploi-Type Etudié dans sa Dynamique, standard job studied in its dynamic) results from completed research that is based on careful attention to problems in the field and a theoretical investment regularly confronted with concrete cases. It advances in particular in the context of the ETED research and development network, which is composed of professionals employing this method in the course of their usual work activity—researchers, consultants, heads of training organisations or companies in different areas of human resources management. Given the inescapable need for a better knowledge of jobs, employment trends and skills in order to undertake diverse operations, the results are used in many fields of activity in conjunction with the guidelines already established for them.

Céreq's "Cahier ETED" series is intended to make key methodological studies available by adapting the presentations given during the network's training cycles and work sessions. They have been supplemented with theoretical references that were sometimes lacking in the initial publications. Numerous commentaries, as well as concrete case studies, also offer critical distance both for studies to be undertaken and for actions to be carried out. This second volume of the series ends with an analysis of the very principle of methodology.

**Document** no. 135, "Cahier ETED" series, Céreq, May 1998, 101 pp., 100 F.

### L'insertion des diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur

[Labour-Market Entry of Higher Education Graduates]

Jean-Claude Sigot and Jean-Frédéric Vergnies

The number of French higher education graduates has been rising continuously since 1990, as has the length of their studies. In spite of the

context, however, the decline in the labourmarket entry of higher education graduates seems to have halted. But, as a study carried out by Céreq in 1997 amongst 1994 higher education graduates shows, this improved situation does not benefit everyone.

This document presents detailed results of the study and information on the constitution of the sample group queried. It also includes an assessment of the impact of the interrogation method used on the values of certain transition indicators. It is the sequel to a survey of the same kind carried out with 1992 graduates in 1994.

**Document** no. 137, "Observatoire" series, Céreq, October 1998, 120 pp., 120 F.



# "Début de carrière des jeune femmes cadres : l'effet du logis ?"

[Young Women Managers at the Beginning of Their Careers: The 'Homing Effect?']

Young men and women exiting the training system at the highest levels (at least four years of study after the baccalauréat) encounter similar conditions of entry into working life. But eight years after the school-to-work transition, the comparison of their respective situations is perplexing, to say the least. Quite often, the birth of a child upsets existing equilibria. In the wake of this "happy" event, the men, almost without exception, adopt a behaviour singularly based on major investment in their careers. By contrast, the women adopt two profiles in relation to employment: some seek to reduce their working time or orient themselves towards professions or sectors (teaching, for example) that allow them more organisational latitude; others remain determined to advance their careers, with considerable time devoted to work, but at the price of a solid family life. While the women who opted for a more moderate professional investment express what this has cost them in career terms, those who have chosen great involvement in the job indicate what they lose on the family level. Today, the women with the most diplomas experience great tension between the spectacular advances in the academic and professional worlds and the inescapable inertias in the personal domain.

In Diplômées, journal of the French Association of Women University Graduates (AFFDU) no. 183 (December 1997), 75 pp., 40 F.

These documents are available at the Céreq bookstore in Marseille or by mail order from: M-Ch. Antonucci, Céreq, 10, place de la Joliette, BP 176, 13474 Marseille cedex 2. Tel. (33 4) 91 13 28 89, fax (33 4) 91 13 28 80. E-mail: antonucci@cereq.fr

### In Focus

# The Limits of the December 1991 Law on Continuing Training in Very Small Enterprises

Law 91-1405 of 31 December 1991 stipulates that as of 1 January 1992, companies with fewer than ten salaried employees (including those with no salaried workers at all), as well as the self-employed, professionals and other members of non-salaried occupations, must participate in the development of continuing training. Every employer is required to contribute to such training, with two groups of exceptions: the State, local communities and their administrative bodies in the public sector, and those employing household workers, mother's helpers and caretakers and other residential-building workers in the private sector.

The companies concerned thus pay a minimum of 0.15 percent of their annual wage bill, while the self-employed, professionals and other non-salaried workers contribute at a rate of 0.15 percent of the annual social security ceiling. Certain economic sectors may, however, establish a rate of financial participation above the legal minimum through collective agreements. The contributions of the craft sectors, meanwhile, are regulated by earlier legislation on the training of tradespersons (Law 82-1091 of 23 December 1982).

This legislation is intended to provide incentives rather than blanket prescriptions. In practice, however, it gives rise to a normative representation of continuing training in the companies. This representation is conveyed to company heads, not through the terms of the law itself but through its direct financial consequences, notably the required "contribution" or eligibility conditions for training projects. If small employers make little use of continuing training as it is defined by the law, the explanation lies in the fact that the law imposes practices that are too remote from their regular modes of operation. In particular, the externalisation requirement, which implies, on the one hand, a specific time for training and, on the other, standardised learning methods, raises the question of the adaptability of official legislation to concrete practices.

In order for such a process to take place, it probably would have been necessary to integrate the financial contribution into practices that are meaningful to the VSEs. The relation to training as implied by the 1991 law is in fact more normative than participatory, and we are faced with an undeniable gap between the rigidity of the eligibility conditions as they are defined by the texts and the great liberty with which the branch organisations, through the authorised joint collection bodies (OPCAs), centralise decisions about the actions to be undertaken. Rather than fostering relations between individuals in the workplace, continuing training thus tends to become a lesson in compliance with the rules of the game.

Elyes Bentabet

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### Recent articles in Céreq's quarterly journal, no. 63: July-September 1998

# SPECIAL SECTION: TRAINING AND THE COMPANY



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### Devenir formateur d'adultes Des itinéraires pluriels, des logiques sociales spécifiques

[Who Trains Adults?

Multiple Itineraries, Specific Social Logics]

Claude-Alain Cardon

Where do further education trainers come from? In this study, the author shows us that their itineraries are hardly an accident. While they come from various social categories, the positions they occupy today are the fruit of conscious socio-occupational shifts.

### Special Section: Training and the Company

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# La certification d'entreprise : héritage desuet ou nouvelle règle de gestion de la main-d'oeuvre ? L'exemple d'un groupe chimique

[Is Company Certification an Outmoded Inheritance or a New Rule of Workforce Management? Insights from the Case of a Chemicals Group]

### Muriel Périsse

The diploma increasingly serves as a passport for employment. But company certification is spreading as a means of handling job mobility for the least qualified employees. This double development in the companies is the subject of an investigation within a large chemicals group.

# La formation professionnelle continue : de l'accumulation de compétences à la validation de la performance

[Continuing Vocational Training: From Accumulation of Skills to Accreditation of Performance]

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The 1971 law on continuing vocational training is almost thirty years old. The context has changed, and the training also. After a long period when it was used to improve individual skills, training has become a reward for the employees considered to be the most outstanding, and as a result, training now goes to the haves rather than the have-nots.

### L'ingénierie de formation entre traditionalisme et modernisme. Les nouvelles formes de formation continue vues par les dirigeants de PME-PMI

[Training Design Between Tradition and Modernity.

SME-SMI Management Looks at the New Forms of Continuing Training]

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What training methods are SME heads looking for? A vast survey carried out in the Tarn department of southwest France reveals a myriad of representations whose modernity depends on the profile of those who express them.

# Projet industriel et organisation qualifiante : tensions, compromis et apprentissage des acteurs

[Industrial Project and Skilling Organisation: Tensions, Compromise and Player Learning]

### Damien Brochier

A group anticipates setting up a new industrial production unit. The project is supposedly innovative in both human and social terms. But the multitude of company players does not attach the same meaning to 'social', and the absence of a steering body places the ambitious project in danger.

