

Training & Employment

FIGHTING ILLITERACY

A pilot study in the world of work

People must master reading, writing and arithmetic (the three "Rs", as they are known) before they can join the working world and make careers for themselves. Although the main players at firms are perfectly aware of this need, very few attempts have been made so far to give people an opportunity of re-learning these basic skills, probably because of the many problems involved. How can one ensure that trainees will emerge unscathed from what is liable to be a highly destabilising experience, where their very identity is put to the question? What can be done so that their fears and their feelings of guilt and shame are overcome by their desire to learn? The results of a pilot study carried out on these lines have made it possible to shed useful light on these questions from the point of view of both the firms and the people involved, since they show that these efforts will not be made in vain.

For a long time, the battle against illiteracy was mainly fought by charity associations and militant groups, usually in a social and cultural framework. Since the late 80s, however, due to changing labour market conditions and the increasing need for employees to be able to at least read, write and count, this has become an economic issue at firms. Cases of illiteracy are generally identified at recruitment, competence assessments and in situations involving a change of job. Illiteracy often means that an employee will be unable to carry out the new job to which he has been assigned, and his whole career will therefore be blocked - or destabilised, if the change of job is due to economic redundancy. The lack of these elementary skills is therefore liable to cause people to be excluded from some jobs in the short term, and from career advancement at the firm in the long term.

To reduce this risk, suitable vocational training responses need to be found. Although the main players at firms, on the side of both management and works committees, are aware of this need, they have difficulty in taking appropriate steps because they do not know how to go about it and wonder how to present employees with projects of this kind, which might have stigmatising effects. A few experiments have actually been carried out on these lines, such as the ECLOR project (ECLOR stands for "Écrire, Compter, Lire, s'organiser pour rebondir": writing, counting, reading and organising one's life to make a new start) which was launched in 1999 by the ADIA interim network for its workers (see the inset on page 3). In this project, sixty interim workers underwent vocational training in order to re-learn the three basic skills.

Overcoming painful past events

All the trainees in the latter scheme had past histories including an early drop-out from schooling and the occurrence of traumatic episodes. They remembered very little about their schooling, which was usually a painful subject as it often evoked bitter regrets as well as feelings of injustice and being abandoned: "When you are young, you are stupid, but you are sorry later on" "If only the teachers had been better... They put me right at the back of the classroom... they didn't pay any attention to me". Above all, however, their main reaction to their past history was a feeling of shame: "Standing in front of the blackboard, I was sweating all over because I felt so ashamed". Shame for not being able to meet the demands of society: "Luckily it is not written on our foreheads!". And shame at not being able to play their parental role as they would like to do, since they could not help their children with their homework or read them bed-time stories, or even leave them little notes with no mistakes on the kitchen table: "The note was lying on the table and my friends saw all the mistakes! I felt so ashamed!".

These interims tended to live narrow, isolated lives and to be inhibited at both cognitive and affective levels. They were afraid of exposing themselves again, of doing anything which might result in yet another painful experience, and sometimes they tended to blame others while strongly denying their own shortcomings. They tried to avoid all situations involving reading and writing so that their problems would not be publicly exposed for all to see. One person absolutely refused to give up his manual job in the handling department, for instance. Another kept himself apart from his colleagues so that they would not be able to "meddle with his personal affairs", and opted for working on night shifts. These defensive attitudes were designed to prevent painful emotions and to preserve a minimum level of self-esteem. However, they also resulted in wearing down what little basic knowledge these people had acquired at school, thus increasing their level of social and cultural exclusion.

Vocational training can disrupt people's sense of identity

At the start of their vocational training period, these interim workers' sense of identity was severely disrupted, since they had to reorganise their everyday lives as well as to cope with the painful feelings associated with their past history. The destabilisation inherent to all learning processes was therefore of a specific kind here, and it was also particularly strong. These interim workers had agreed, however, to re-learn the three basic skills because they perceived the value of these skills as being greater than the risks run in acquiring them. For some of them, it meant that they would be able to enlarge the scope of their work; for others, it corresponded to the need to extend the range of occupational possibilities available; and for others, this was the first step towards obtaining proper vocational qualifications. This at least was the case in the "Trampoline" scheme which was conducted under the aegis of ECLOR at an ADIA temporary employment agency and the Renault car company in Douai. The aim of this scheme was to give factory operatives an opportunity of filling their educational gaps prior to enrolling for vocational training and obtaining a CAP diploma and a permanent job. The decision to re-learn the basic skills was also motivated by more personal reasons. Many of the interim workers taking the course hoped that it would enable them to manage their everyday lives better and to help their children with their school work. The decision to join this training course was based here on the subjective idea that the past damage incurred would thus be repaired.

It is therefore obviously necessary to set up an appropriate training environment for people in this situation. All possible steps should be taken to ensure that interim workers do not have to face insuperable financial or organizational problems liable to demotivate them or cause them too much counter-productive fatigue. Everything possible must be done to provide them with stepping-stones to help them through this destabilising period and ensure that their fears will be overcome by their wish to learn, and that becoming an actor on the vocational training stage, i.e., taking part in an activity in which the very self undergoes a mutation – will be beneficial in the end.

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The task of spotting cases of illiteracy was carried out by permanent employees at the ADIA agency branches, who were specially trained for this purpose (see the inset opposite), as well as by other people such as those working at local employment agencies and customer firms using the services of this interim network. However,

the presentation of the ECLOR project to interim workers was entirely the responsibility of permanent employees at the interim company's branches. These employees had to show considerable delicacy and tact, and to carefully weigh every word they used, so as to encourage the people interviewed to express themselves without making them feel stigmatised, which might trigger defensive mechanisms and the refusal to participate in the scheme. They also had to explain that undergoing vocational training is quite different from going back to school, which adults might perceive as a degrading situation liable to reactivate past humiliations. And they had to explain quite clearly why the interim network was running this pilot scheme, which was quite unusual among firms of this kind and not quite in line with their traditional image. All these constraints show how important it was that the interim agency's permanent workers should undergo special training for this purpose and that they should be capable of creating a feeling of mutual confidence with each of the interim workers interviewed.

After this preparatory stage (spotting potential candidates for re-training in the basic skills), financial incitements were proposed, which were often one of the main reasons for which interim workers agreed to taking the course. They were paid as much per hour of training as they normally earned per hour as an interim. This meant that their income levels were maintained, or even increased if they happened to do any overtime: "I would never have agreed to enrol for unpaid training", "It was a relief to know that there would be some money coming in all the same!". Being paid encouraged them to enrol or increased their enthusiasm, not only for material reasons but also at a more symbolic level, since it made them feel they were being rewarded for their efforts: "I never expected to be paid for doing this... It's highly motivating!".

There were several issues as to how the vocational training should be organised which had to be settled before the ECLOR scheme could be actually launched. The first problem was how to manage the trainees' time schedules. The customer firms had to release interim workers during part of their working time so that they could attend the course. Rather than giving the workers time off, some firms preferred to announce the trainees' work schedules in advance or to adapt these schedules so that the training could be fitted in. There was not always much room for negotiation because of the economic constraints involved. Even when a firm had agreed to an interim worker signing up for the course, the productivity had to be maintained and the worker's tasks had to be carried out as usual. There were no doubt other reasons which could not be so easily expressed. The customer firms with which the agency dealt may have feared that this scheme might spoil

Some first-hand accounts by trainees

"It might help me to express myself more clearly at work..."

"I don't really need to be able to read at work, but you never know..."

"I need to obtain a CAP to be able to work for Renault. This is going to save my life!"

"I need to be able to fill in all the forms"

"My son will soon be going to school, and that's motivated me enormously"

their public image, which focused entirely on efficiency, competence and performance.

In the early stages of the ECLOR scheme, some of the trainees were asked to accept interim missions and were afraid of offending the interim agency if they refused. These interruptions demotivated some of them, and even caused them to give up the course. In the second phase of the scheme, situations of this kind no longer occurred because the customer firms were asked to cooperate, and because practically all the trainees had been working for the interim agency for a long time, doing long-term missions. They were nevertheless obliged to go on working during the training course, and the resulting fatigue sometimes affected their ability to learn. In most cases, however, the need to combine work and training did not detract from their readiness. Despite their extremely heavy daily schedules, they took great pleasure in acquiring knowledge. They were delighted by their own transformation and the projects it enabled them to form: *"It's hard in the morning, getting up at half past three and going to work at twenty past four. From twelve to two, I often have lunch in my car, and then I am here at the course until 5 p.m. After that, I have to go and collect my children from school. That makes for quite a heavy day!" "I am so happy to be going there that I can't really say it's hard", "We may be tired but we realize how very important it is..."*

The second major issue which arose was the need to obtain internal documents such as job files, machine operating instructions, safety regulations and stock-keeping cards from the customer firms, to be used for pedagogical purposes. Lengthy negotiations were sometimes necessary to obtain these documents, and they sometimes failed, as customers expect interim agencies to provide them with their labour requirements without any fuss and bother. Even the interim trainees themselves did not always want application to be made for documents of this kind, as they were afraid of being stigmatised afterwards at their place of work. Documents were easier to obtain when the initiative for the training was taken by the customer firm, since this generally meant that the ability to read and understand workplace documents would enable interim workers to pursue a process of professionalisation, or even to become properly integrated into the firm.

Re-learning involves the use of tools and media of many kinds

Any internal documents provided by customer firms were included in a whole set of tools which was one of the main features of the project. This set of tools consisted of documents issued by the interim agency, such as interim work contracts, rota sheets and the booklet given to newly registered interim workers, as well as

Accompanying a pilot study to fight illiteracy

In 1999 and 2000, the ADIA agency, which is the fourth largest temporary employment agency in France, carried out a pilot study in which a 300-hour training course designed to reduce illiteracy was proposed to the company's interims in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region. At the request of the Centre for resources against illiteracy (CRI) in this region, Céreq accompanied this scheme by launching a project in which trainees on this course were helped to produce their life histories. From 2002 to 2004, second stage in this project was carried out by the ADIA agency, with the support of the CRI in the Île-de-France region and financial backing from the Delegation for employment and vocational training at the French Ministry of Employment and the Insurance Fund for vocational training at SMEs. This phase, which was called ECLOR (which stands for "Écrire, Compter, Lire, s'organiser pour rebondir": writing, counting, reading and organising one's life in order to make a new start) focused on some of the ADIA network's branches.

All the stages in this scheme were handled internally by ADIA's Interim human resources department. After launching an information campaign at all the network's branches, this department carried out a survey with a view to identifying the interim workers wishing to benefit from this scheme. Two vocational training courses were also run for members of the agency's permanent staff working at these branches. The first training course, which focused on spotting cases of illiteracy, was run by the CRI in the Île-de-France region. The second course, which was carried out by ADIA's own Interim human resources department, was about how to carry out interviews in this context. These interviews constitute a tool which can be used to assess the competences of interim workers and help them to think about their personal career prospects. It also provides a means of diagnosing gaps in people's basic skills. ADIA's Interim human resources department then selected suitable training organizations to deal with teaching the basic skills to interim workers. The second stage in the scheme involved 46 interim workers from eleven agencies, to whom 9 906 hours of training were dispensed.

Céreq also contributed to this scheme by carrying out 40 interviews with various players in the ECLOR project: managers and recruitment advisers working at the ADIA agency's branches, heads of customer firms dealing with the agency, coordinators and trainers working at vocational training organizations, and trainee interim workers themselves, some of whose statements have been quoted in this *Newsletter*. These interviews took place at nine sites: two each in Châtelleraut and Douai, and one each in Bron, Chalon-sur-Saône, Saint-Nazaire, Marseille and Meaux. The aim was to investigate this training situation more closely, and in particular to determine what factors lead interims to engage in training of this kind as well as what unfavourable factors are liable to affect the various phases and levels in the project: spotting cases of illiteracy among interim workers, presenting the project tactfully to potential trainees, negotiating with customer firms, wage conditions, combining interim work with training, modes of learning, the individualised pedagogical approach, etc.

■ The final report on this contribution to the ECLOR scheme is available on the Céreq website: www.cereq.fr, under the heading "Nos collections": *Une action nationale de lutte contre l'illettrisme : l'expérimentation ECLOR*. (A national effort to fight illiteracy: the ECLOR pilot scheme), P. Roche, Net.Doc, no. 17, August 2005.

more general administrative papers such as work certificates and payslips. All these items were selected on the basis of their practical utility in everyday life, as well as on pedagogical grounds, and they also had to be as attractive as possible. They were submitted to the vocational training organisations and studied by groups of trainers, who used them to draw up didactic procedures. The resulting set of tools was subsequently used as teaching material at all the vocational training sites involved in the experiment.

Apart from the technical and cognitive aspects, the act of learning requires an intense psychic investment on the part of the learner. This meant that the teachers in this project had to avoid all signs of superiority and adopt a modest and humble attitude. Pedagogical skills alone were not sufficient, although they were certainly important, even when their practitioners had to hand over to psychologists and psychoanalysts whenever they

perceived affective causes underlying learners' difficulties. The pedagogical approaches and the forms of accompaniment adopted by the training organizations therefore certainly contributed greatly to the success of the ECLOR project. The use of individualised teaching methods, respecting the trainees' personal rhythms while integrating them into a collective peer group, attempting to demystify knowledge and the traditional status of learner and teacher and to relativise instrumental ideas about knowledge, and the trainers' strong commitment were the keys to helping trainees to face up to their fears with much less guilt and shame, and even to transform these feelings into an active force which dynamised their learning processes. These keys strengthened the trainees' wish to learn, and as one of them put it, "When somebody is really listening to you, everything bursts into flower!".

The occupational, social and personal returns

The problems encountered when setting up this project might easily have been discouraging. Nothing could ever be taken for granted because of the fragility, the reversibility and the unpredictability inherent to the processes at work in this context. However, the many concrete benefits obtained as the result of this pilot scheme show that all these efforts were not deployed in vain.

The improvement in the trainees' mastery of the basic skills often led to these skills being used immediately at the workplace. Newly trained interim workers no longer hesitate to fill in rota sheets in front of their superiors. Some of them are able to express themselves more clearly and are thus better equipped to attend to customers' needs. Practically all the trainees have acquired greater confidence and self-esteem and have therefore become more open-minded and reactive. In some cases, the training acquired has enabled them to undergo a process of professionalisation: some trainees subsequently underwent qualifying training and obtained CAP or CQP diplomas, for example. The "Trampoline" scheme set up by the Renault company was quite exemplary, as it involved vocational training and improving the mastery of the basic skills, followed by a qualification contract, a CAP diploma and eventually, a full-time work contract. Another case worth mentioning is that of one female interim operative at an agro-food firm who, after taking the ECLOR course, took individual training leave and obtained a vocational qualification certificate in the "adjustment and assembly of aircraft parts". Thanks to these qualifications, this person has obtained a job in the aerospace industry.

The benefits of this training scheme also extend to people's everyday lives. Tasks such as noting down an address, writing out a cheque and accomplishing administrative formalities, which used to be problematic, are now quite straightforward and

can be performed without any bother. Trainees suffer less from their past experience, and their future is full of wide open possibilities instead of being a vicious circle: they can apply for a driving test, carry out regular interim missions, and try to obtain diplomas or permanent jobs. Many of them look back on the training course as a place where pain was transformed into pleasure, and where the feelings of humiliation which had haunted them ever since their school days were replaced by pride in their actions: "I am proud of being able to do multiplications and divisions by hand... I enjoy doing that now, whereas I used to be ashamed of letting my children see I couldn't manage".

By the end of the training course, most of the trainees had formed a new image of themselves: "I used to try to copy my wife's handwriting. Now I have accepted my own handwriting, and somehow, my own personality as well!". The members of their entourage said these people had undergone a metamorphosis, which shows how profound these changes were and how clearly perceptible they were socially. There were other less conspicuous benefits which were nevertheless crucial to the person concerned. "It may sound ridiculous, but it is a huge thing for me!": statements of this kind show that an action which may look from the outside like just a small step forward can be a real turning-point which transforms a trainee's whole existence and leads him or her to making a complete change of lifestyle.

Given the nature of the processes at work during the re-learning of the basic skills, one must nevertheless take great care not to be over-triumphant. Every single trainee needs to be carefully followed at all times by all the players involved, who must be prepared to respond quickly when necessary. The ADIA network has decided to pursue the ECLOR project, keeping the number of trainees enrolled per year down to about ten. This is still quite an ambitious goal, which can only be reached if the network continues to train its permanent staff to spot cases of illiteracy and present the ECLOR scheme tactfully to them. The agency has therefore decided to include these points in its vocational training plan and to inform all new permanent members of staff about these issues during their initial training course. The agency also plans to use various tools such as booklets, life histories and films to make customer firms more aware of these problems so that they will participate more fully in the management and follow-up of training paths for interim workers, or even launch similar schemes for their own employees. Information campaigns of this kind are not simply intended to give the ECLOR scheme good publicity: they constitute one of the main stages on which the future pursuit of the project depends. They serve to enhance the legitimacy of the project by creating greater interest among customer firms and thus promoting their involvement in these schemes, as well as in the fight against illiteracy in general.

Pierre Roche (Céreq)

Further reading

- Illettrisme et monde du travail (*Illiteracy and the working world*), Ch. El Hajek (coord.), ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité-Groupe permanent de lutte contre l'illettrisme, La Documentation française, 2000.
- L'entreprise face à l'illettrisme. Les enjeux de la formation (*Enterprise faced with illiteracy. The vocational training issues*), Benoît Hess, Anthropos, 1997.
- Illettrisme et entreprise (*Illiteracy and firms*), E. Charlon, M. Lannoy, V. Robert, A.-M. Sharma, LASTREE, University of Lille, 1991.

Relevant internet sites

- The ADIA network site: www.adia.fr
- The French National Agency against illiteracy: www.anlci.fr

ISSN - 1156 2366

Céreq

Direction de la publication : Michel Quéré. Rédacteur en chef : Jean-Louis Kirsch. Traduction et adaptation : Jessica Blanc. Pao : Dominique Bally
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Dépôt légal 1^{er} trimestre 2007.

10, place de la Joliette,
BP 21321,
13567 Marseille cedex 02.
Tél. 04 91 13 28 28.
Fax 04 91 13 28 80.
<http://www.cereq.fr>

Briefing

Updates

Relevance of educational economists' research to the challenges faced by educational systems in contemporary societies

International meeting
June 2006

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In memory of Jean-Claude Eicher

The international meeting jointly organized in June 2006 by Iredu and the World Bank on the **relevance of educational economists' research to the challenges faced by educational systems in contemporary societies** was supported by the University of Burgundy, Céreq, the CNRS, the Burgundy Regional Council and the Dijon Town Council. This meeting was dedicated to the memory of Jean-Claude Eicher, who founded Iredu in the 70s, and was one of the main pioneers responsible for promoting educational economics in France. Eicher, who was convinced of the social benefits of educational investments and the links between education and the labour market, was also one of the founders of Céreq and its network of centres. Approximately 200 educational economists from 36 countries all over the world attended this meeting. Very few meetings of this kind have been held so far, since the previous one, which was also held in Dijon, dates back to 1986. Some critics have stated that educational economists have had little effect on national policies: according to these detractors, issues such as funding, efficiency, the rationalisation of means and selection procedures and aligning diplomas with the labour market requirements have been studied by many authors for a long time without greatly affecting educational policies. The papers presented in Dijon definitely put an end to suggestions of this kind. Studies on the multiple benefits of primary education at developmental level, on the most efficient and least expensive means of improving pupils' performances and the quality of educational systems, the effects of quality on macroeconomic growth and individual behaviour, equity and equal opportunity, the management of schools and the diversification of financial sources, the effects of the size of classes and the modes whereby teachers are paid have all contributed enormously to understanding the mechanisms at work in educational systems and have opened promising paths for reform which are liable to durably improve the results achieved by educational systems throughout the world.

The papers presented at this meeting can be consulted on the Iredu website:
www.u-bourgogne.fr/colloque-iredu

✓ Contact:
Jean-Jacques Paul
e-mail : jjpaul@u-bourgogne.fr

New Publications

La certification, nouvel instrument de la relation formation-emploi. Un enjeu français et européen

[Qualification, a new tool for linking training and employment. A French and European challenge]

> José Rose, Josiane Teissier (eds)

RELIEF no. 16, July 2006

This issue of Relief contains the proceedings of an internal symposium organized by Céreq and its network of centres on "What qualifications for what purposes?" On this occasion, the emergence of a research topic was confirmed: the accent is no longer on diplomas or vocational training and how they relate to employment and work, but rather on qualifications, how multiple they should be, and what they involve for the various actors. The authors of the papers published in this issue have attempted to answer the questions which arise as follows:

- a comparative, conceptual, theoretical approach to defining qualifications and analysing the points which differ between various kinds of qualifications, especially those involving diplomas;
- a review of economic theories as means of assessing the value of diplomas on the labour market and that of qualifications acquired in the framework of continuing vocational training;
- an analysis of how a nomenclature of levels was used to set up the general category known as "qualifications";
- a genealogical approach to setting up qualifications as a category, based on the case of the French Technical Homologation Commission;
- a historical analysis of the modes of governance adopted by the European Community with a view to achieving greater consistency between national systems of qualification;
- a comparative analysis of the objectives adopted by European countries and how they assess their policies.

Four main questions are addressed in all these texts. Does the emergence of qualifications of new kinds mean training is being separated from qualifications? Will this trend lead to educational systems playing a less predominant role than hitherto? Are the nomenclatures of levels which are being used for assessment purposes appropriate, and what does it mean if they are challenged? Why qualifications multiplying all over France just when the European Community has decided to harmonise national systems of qualification?

L'intégration des jeunes opérateurs chez PSA Peugeot Citroën. Contextes sociétaux, effets de sites et identités au travail

[The integration of young operatives at the PSA Peugeot Citroën group: societal contexts, differences between production sites, and the young workers' occupational identities]

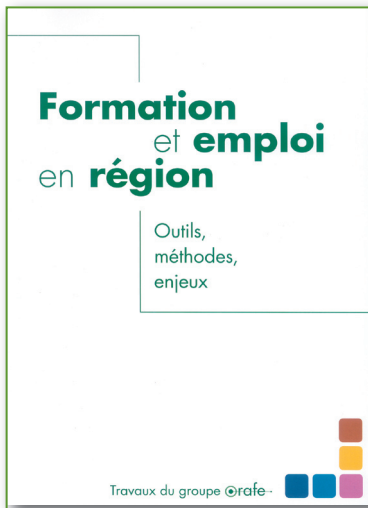
> Nathalie Moncel and Emmanuel Sulzer (Editors)

NEF no. 22, July 2006

This short report deals with the integration of young operatives at PSA Peugeot Citroën automobile assembly plants in three European countries (Spain, the UK and France). The authors studied how these young workers were integrated into their occupational groups and their establishments in each particular national context. In the first part, they examine the factors on which the recruitment of the young operators depended: the conditions under which young workers were available on the labour market in each of the countries studied; the characteristics of the automobile manufacturing sector; and those of the employment pools and manufacturing plants studied. The mediators and social networks involved in the recruitment process differed, as did the forms of employment, but all these first-time entrants were hired on temporary contracts. The selection process determining whether they were offered stable jobs and the decision-makers differed from one production site to another. All these young operatives with temporary jobs pictured themselves as standing in a queue and depending on a system where the decision as to whether they would be permanently recruited did not depend entirely on the quality of their work. This description of these young people's situation in each country sheds light on the modes whereby their image of work and that of the firm which employs them are structured. Integration into the firm depends first on the possibility of obtaining a steady job and subsequently involves a gradual, variably conflictual period of adaptation to the requirements of the firm and the hard working conditions. However, these youths do become attached to the firm, although they possibly have little choice in the matter, since there is little demand on the market for unqualified labour in the countries and employment pools studied here. This report is followed by a postface by the PSA Peugeot Citroën group's Head of European Social Relations, who explains how this study enabled the group to draw up action plans and to take steps to improve the integration of these young employees.

➔ See issue no. 66 of *Training and Employment*, which focused on this study.





Formation et emploi en région. Outils, méthodes, enjeux

[Vocational training and employment in the regions. Tools, methods and challenges]

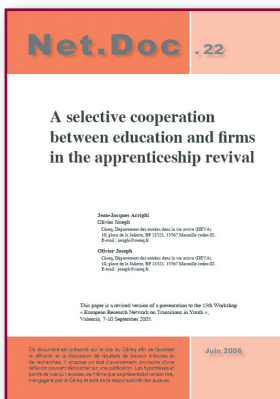
> Bernard Hillau, Georgie Simon Zarca (Editors)

Orafe - Céreq, 2006

In the field of vocational training and employment, the pool of technical expertise available has become an important issue for regional orchestrators in France, along with decentralisation. As needs and expectations continue to increase, many assessment tools have been developed. However, their great diversity has made the whole regional landscape rather obscure for non-specialists as far as regional expertise, vocational training and employment are concerned. How should technical resources be assessed? What criteria should be used to choose the right tools

and answer the right questions? On the other hand, there is often a considerable gap between the demands made by decision-makers and users, who are men of action, and the responses of designers and technicians, who were trained to be methodical and to view real-life situations objectively. Does the information generated by the tools produced in response to the sometimes misleadingly simple questions asked by decision-makers yield directly usable answers? To discuss questions of this kind about the methods and tools used in the regions, a symposium was organized for a group of technicians and experts. This volume edited by Céreq gives an account of this meeting.

■ These publications are 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).



A Selective cooperation between education and firms in the apprenticeship revival

> Jean-Jacques Arrighi, Olivier Joseph

Net.doc no. 22, June 2006

INTERNET "Net.Doc"

The role of apprenticeship in the French educational system has evolved considerably during the past two decades. Apprenticeship used to be mainly a means of reaching the first secondary vocational qualification level. Nowadays, it constitutes a parallel method of acquiring vocational or technical qualifications in several fields, at all educational levels. A large number of French studies have shown that although apprenticeship gives easier access to the labour market, it does not yield any special benefits in terms of wages. This conclusion was based on the analysis of a population who had reached secondary vocational qualification level, which was still the case of most people undergoing apprenticeship ten years ago. In the present study, opposite results were obtained on people with vocational qualifications versus technical college degrees: former apprentices had not obtained any real advantages as far as securing a job was concerned, but their earnings were higher than those of other leavers exiting from the traditional school track. Overall, the individual benefits of apprenticeship seem to have depended on the educational level.

↪ This paper is a revised version of a paper presented at the 13th Workshop of the "European Research Network on Transition in Youth" meeting which took place in Valencia in September 2005.

> This publication is available on the Céreq website :

www.cereq.fr/net.htm

De la pénurie à la mobilité : le marché du travail des informaticiens

[From penury to mobility: the labour market for computer engineers]

> Marc Zune

The mobility of computer engineers is often said to result from a shortage of specialists in this field and from the new so-called nomadic career model. These two ideas need to be revisited. This study provided an opportunity of re-analysing the structure of the labour market more closely, as well as examining computer engineers' career paths and their patterns of mobility. This qualitative longitudinal study focuses on the occupational paths of computer engineers during the problematic period from 1997 to 2000. The results throw light on the context associated with these patterns of mobility, which were rooted in the labour markets: their structure is described in the light of personal experience, and logical explanations are put forward for the patterns observed.

Les besoins de formation non satisfaits des salariés au prisme des catégories sociales

[Employees' unsatisfied vocational training needs, in terms of their socio-professional categories]

> Christine Fournier

The categories of employees who have the easiest access to vocational training are also those who claim to have the most "unsatisfied needs" in this respect. What makes matters worse is that those who have undergone vocational training are also those who declare most frequently that their needs are not met. One must avoid jumping to the hasty conclusion that some employees, are keen to obtain training and advancement and strongly committed to their work and their careers, while others are less motivated, take life as it comes and have to pay for their lack of investment in the end. It is necessary to examine the issue of unsatisfied vocational training needs more closely. Why do most of the employees who undergo no vocational training declare that they do not feel any need for it? Two factors seem to be decisive as far as expressing vocational training needs is concerned; the purpose of the training and the context, both of which give rise to different representations, depending on the socio-professional categories involved.

Jeunes dans la fonction publique territoriale : entre gestion publique et marchande

[Recruitment of young people by the French territorial civil service: between public and commercial practices]

> Françoise Dauty and Philippe Lemistre

The French territorial civil service is a little known but dynamic employer. How do its recruitment practices affect the first active years in young people's lives? A survey on young people leaving the educational system has shown that the managerial practices used by the French territorial civil service are partly public and partly commercial. The use of a wide range of modes of management applied to different employment categories, the preference given to technical diplomas, and the recognition of experience gained outside the public sector are modes of management specific to the private sector; whereas the fairly protective attitude shown towards women and people with no qualifications and the fact that recruitment is often set in the framework of public employment policies are typically public modes of management.

Les cadres de l'économie sociale et solidaire : un nouvel entrepreneuriat ?

[Managers in the social and solidarity economy: a new form of enterprise?]

> Gilles Lazuech

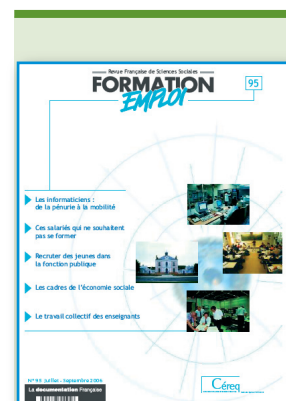
After outlining the local "integration by economic activity" (IAE) arena in Nantes, the author describes how a new managerial figure, the militant manager, has developed in this sector of activity. This figure contributes to achieving social and institutional recognition for the new activities and structures emerging as part of the social and solidarity economy. Here the author uses ethnographic data on structures pertaining to the "integration by economic activity" movement which started to develop in Nantes around the year 2000.

Le travail collectif des enseignants de l'éducation prioritaire

[Team-work among teachers in primary education]

> Michel Grangeat and Grégory Munoz

Recent changes in the French educational system have led to more cooperation and teamwork being introduced. Teaching has thus become more of a collective activity. The aim of this study was to examine how teachers manage to fit their own work into this collective overall approach. This paper focuses first on the collective activities involved. Secondly, based on interviews with 30 teachers at primary and secondary schools (working with pupils 6-11 and 11-15 years old) in an educational priority area, the authors describe teachers' ideas on the subject and how they affect their attitudes towards their work. Some suggestions about formal and informal vocational training are also put forward in this context.



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