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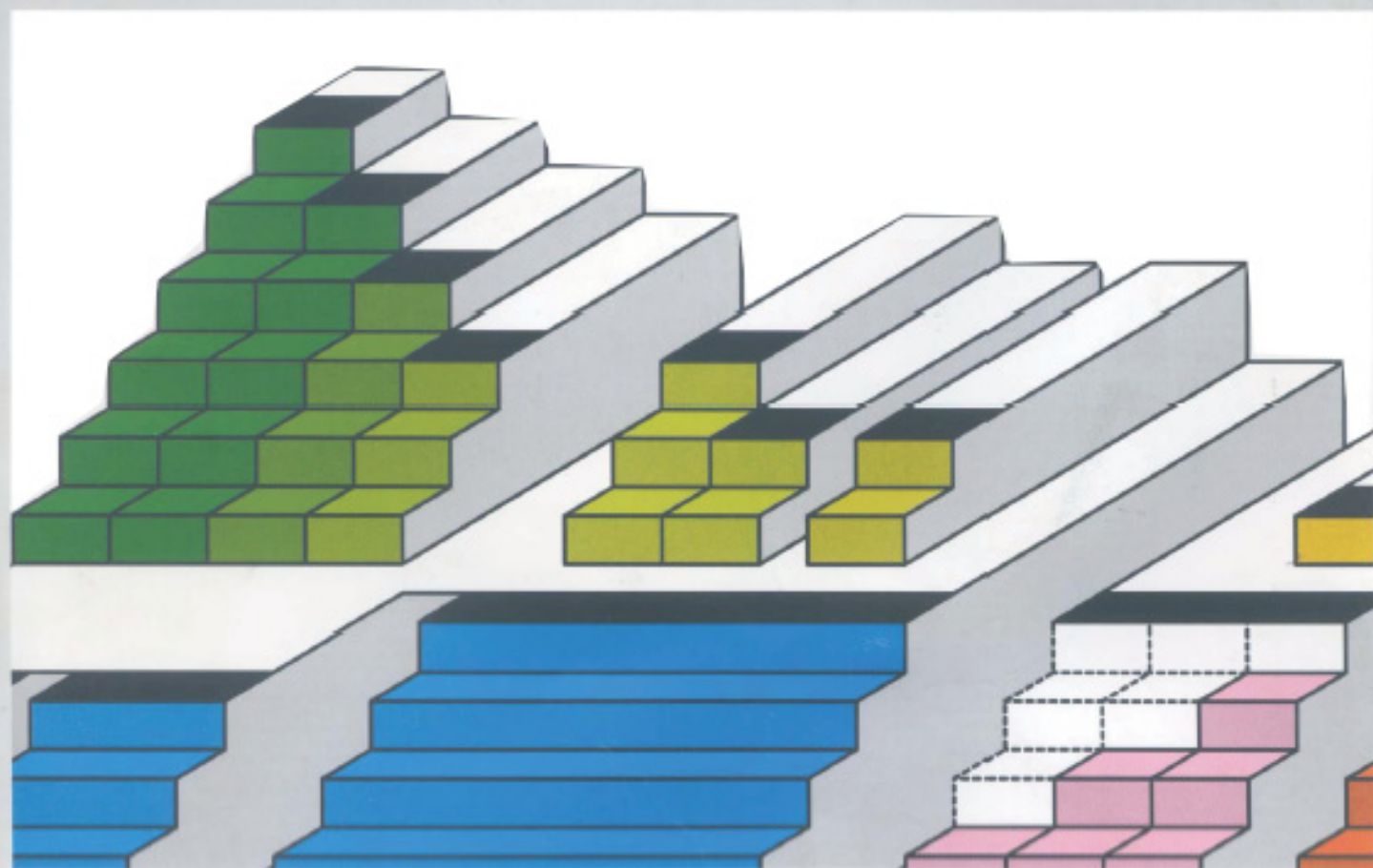
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# VOCATIONAL TRAINING

EUROPEAN JOURNAL



## Higher education





# University Education and Training in Europe

Many readers will ask why a journal bearing the name "Vocational Training" is concerned with university studies and university graduates. Are we not venturing into an area which is already occupied? What do universities have to do with vocational training? The most obvious answer is simply empirical: the public, politics and those interested in receiving education are increasingly treating universities in many countries as institutions for training for an occupation which has relatively clear tasks, opportunities for employment and personal development. The alternative at the end of the day would be to conceive of universities as parking places for unemployed young people. The image of university education having to correspond to the ideal of liberal education for life and work in academic freedom or as expressed similarly in other European languages, such an image today seems strange and antiquated. Is such a phenomenon of any value today in Europe except when offered in an elitist and highly-selective form?

In certain aspects it certainly has, but it would be wrong to look at this too simplistically. So we can admit that the historical period in which relatively purpose-oriented university education was held generally in high standing and which took place for the most part such a period is relatively short and extends, depending on the place and the area of study, at the most from the founding of the Berlin Reform University to the massive university expansion throughout Europe from between 1820 and 1970. Prior to that universities were clearly places for receiving vocational training. They trained priests, administrators, lawyers, some doctors and later engineers for public service. Universities provided vocational training for those who primarily had to be skilled in thinking, speaking and writing. Other forms of vocational training were provided through practical learning either in the family or more formally through corporations. These universities in the Mid-

dle Ages were very sober institutions and in status did not differ greatly from practical training. In contrast to our current ideologies, universities were given the term "*universitas*" not because they processed the totality of human knowledge but because they took in people from various nations. The fact is banal but today largely unknown: *universitas* were created through the amalgamation of *nationes* in which students were organised corporatively into one institution.

Universities in the Middle Ages were in another respect not so different from ours today although a very small proportion of the population attended them. They provided training with an occupational aim which was highly structured; the powers that be constrained academic freedom and internationally the students were fairly mobile. They had no ERASMUS Programme but often travelled hundreds of kilometres to the place of study in a fashion similar to journeymen or mercenary soldiers going to their place of work. In the universities, rebellious students fought among themselves and with the local authorities in a way which would make even the most hardy of the 1968 generation pale with envy. One only has to read historical sources on the disagreements in the renowned Oxford between *town* and *gown*. There were also "idle students" who in reality did something else, were unemployed or had not reached their aims as is the case today.

In the German language one differentiates between "*Bildung*" education and "*Ausbildung*", in English between education and training and in French between "*éducation*" and "*formation*". All European languages differentiate between a form of promoting human knowledge and skills for specific and easily comprehensible aims and the development of qualifications for initially unknown, changing, differing or obscure aims. The former is called training, the second education. We view education as taking place at univer-



sities while training would seem to be in practice, apprenticeship or would take place at vocational training centres. In the meantime we have lost our prejudices to such an extent that we can attribute to each educational process a training characteristic and, above all, an educational value to each training process. How else could we explain today that our naval captains are trained at maritime universities, while pilots receive their training in the airforce or at a pilots school? And even completely academic education is also training for relatively autonomous research or the development of theory.

In all EU Member States we can see that in vocational teaching and schools, whatever they may be termed in individual countries, education is becoming more emphasised in the course of time. It has been stated that the occupational and social value of training always depends more on stressing a general level of knowledge and skills, key qualifications or whatever they may be called. The reason for this is the changing and unpredictable aspects and the use of special qualifications and the increasing symbolism and abstractness of our working world. A central element of an increasing amount of work is manipulation of symbols in a more or less technical form. All this means more theory and more learning by practical example rather than in all conceivable practice situations. This is tantamount to education and not training alone.

Another visible aspect in this context is that a concerted historically short-term ideal of free academic education is changed or diluted through increased access to universities. When university expansion began, the demand was that education be a civil right. This culminated in

the demand for stressing the training value of university education in order to ensure a foreseeable use of this education. Such consequences had to adapt to a relative devaluation of university education in the course of its expansion.

It is in this way that vocational training and university education are gradually and inevitably becoming closer while in the previous century the points of departure were different. This proximity is reflected in the institutional structure, the content and the expectations placed upon both. This gives sufficient justification for this journal to discuss universities as places of vocational education and training. This should not question the general educational goal of universities. However their legitimacy on account of their educational value must be increasingly shared with vocational goals and both their legitimacy and effectiveness are increased when they are regarded as part of vocational training. It is interesting to know that the employment opportunities for graduates in different countries, as the article by Mr List shows, are better than for other applicants. Mr Verdier shows this in a more detailed way and analyses this aspect for France. Evidently, competitive pressure is being exerted from above. Those with higher education are displacing the less educated and all the more so the more tangible the aims of the specific course become, i.e. training with a view to more precise goals. This corresponds exactly to the trend described here of a dove-tailing of education and training. In principle, this works in favour of education but there are increasing disparities between courses of study and education systems which are oriented to a varying degree towards occupational activities.

**Arndt Sorge**

### **Farewell to Fernanda**

After four years Fernanda Oliveira Reis has moved on from her post as Editor-in-Chief of the European Journal for Vocational Training, to take up new duties with the European Commission. Fernanda's time as editor of the Journal saw the introduction of some major changes in its style, content and presentation. These were made possible because of the hard work she invested in the Journal and her commitment to its success. All of those involved in the production of the Journal, past and present, would like to offer her their thanks for her contribution to its development, and to wish her every success in her future career.



# Higher education

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# Employment opportunities for university graduates in Europe

## Academics and the labour market

As far back as the 1980s university graduates<sup>1</sup> in western industrialized countries began to face the possibility of not automatically finding employment in their area of study. The job prospects tended to be better for students of some subjects, such as natural sciences or technical subjects than for humanities majors or social scientists (OECD, 1987). In the mid-1990s, economists and business administration students have the best chances of recruitment. With a few exceptions, engineers have similarly favourable chances of entering the work force. Students of the humanities and social sciences still seem to have below-average employment prospects, however, with the outlook for teachers and educators varying greatly from country to country.

In France, the practice-oriented curricula in the second phase of university studies and the shorter technical course at the Instituts Universitaires de Technologie (IUT) provide good career opportunities. Only graduates of the Grandes Ecoles have equally promising first job prospects. Liberal arts and social science graduates encounter a generally unfavourable job-hunting environment, at least when their training background is limited exclusively to university.

In the United Kingdom, a number of trade associations and professional organizations ensure graduates obtain vocational training following their bachelor's degree. This makes launching a career a smooth transition for architects, doctors and dentists and veterinary and agricultural graduates. In contrast, biologists, physicists and social scientists have greater difficulties in finding employment. Consequently,

the proportion of students who go on to obtain a master's degree is correspondingly high in these disciplines. It is a way of avoiding unemployment and enhancing chances of obtaining a permanent job (UFC, 1994).

In Italy, the employment situation of university graduates appears to have deteriorated in the 1990s. Follow-up studies dating back to 1989 disclosed a tight job market in almost all fields. At that time engineers and economics and business students were the exception; they fared much better than most of their peers when it came to finding a job. In the meantime, they, too, face problems in moving from the campus to the office. The situation has been aggravated by the number of graduates from the recently established short college programmes, who are now competing with university graduates for the few adequate training places.<sup>2</sup>

Austrian labour office records listed humanities and natural sciences as the academic fields with the highest rates of unemployment in 1994. They accounted for 35 per cent of the university graduates who registered as jobless. This figure was almost twice as high as the number of unemployed social science and economics graduates. Veterinary surgeons, pharmacists, translators, interpreters and theologians experienced few difficulties on the labour market. They accounted for less than two per cent of the university graduates registered as unemployed (Federal Ministry of Economics, Research and Technology, 1994, Table 2.3.7). The reasons for the high unemployment rate in some disciplines are the lack of openings for newcomers in certain job sectors (e.g. public service), and the discrepancy between the qualifications in demand on the labour market and those that most students opt for, especially in the liberal arts faculties.



## Juliane List

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**When seeking employment, university graduates in Europe generally have an advantage over people with other or no certified qualifications. Graduate unemployment rates are usually far below national averages. However, many find it difficult to launch a career after they graduate. Economists, engineers and some natural scientists have better chances than humanities and social science graduates. Nonetheless, temporary positions are becoming a more common phenomenon among graduates entering the work force.**

1) The term "university graduate" is interpreted in different ways in the various European countries. Here it will be defined as ISCED Levels 6 and 7 in the OECD classification of educational levels, in other words it covers at least the lowest university qualifications or an equivalent degree.

2) For more information on the labour market for university graduates in Italy, see List 1996, Moscati/Pugliese, 1996



***“Similar trends can be recognised throughout Europe when it comes to launching a career. Immediate employment in a steady job is becoming less common than temporary employment contracts and part-time work. Female university graduates generally have a harder time starting a career than their male counterparts.”***

***“University graduates continue to enjoy better employment opportunities than graduates of other training courses and job applicants with no training.”***

Germany's university degree holders have also lost much ground on the labour market. The serious situation affects almost all disciplines equally. The brightest prospects are enjoyed by doctors, pharmacists, architects and civil engineers. The outlook is dimmest in the new *Länder*. Structural change in the German economy featuring expansion of the service sector and research and development will have an impact on the future employment prospects of the university educated. Highly specialized knowledge will be less in demand. In Germany as elsewhere, an ability to acquire such knowledge fast when required, as well as strategic thinking and problem solving skills will be crucial qualifications future university graduates must have.

Moreover, similar trends can be recognised throughout Europe when it comes to launching a career. Immediate employment in a steady job is becoming less common than temporary employment contracts and part-time work. Female university graduates generally have a harder time starting a career than their male counterparts. This is frequently because women tend to study subjects with poorer employment prospects. The number of women studying engineering, other technical subjects and natural sciences continues to be low. Courses in education, the humanities and social sciences remain female domains. Gender specificity is reflected not only in the unemployment rate. It is also apparent in the filling of temporary and permanent positions. Women more often hold temporary jobs. Available data fails to indicate whether women opt for this type of employment of their own accord for private reasons (second family income source, raising of children and caring for other members of the family).

The sectoral distribution of university graduates follows a similar pattern in all countries. Service enterprises, trade and industry and the public service recruit the lion's share of graduates, with practice-related courses and application-oriented subjects tending to yield better employment prospects than traditional academic studies.

University graduates continue to enjoy better employment opportunities than

graduates of other training courses and job applicants with no training. In almost all OECD countries the 1992 unemployment rate among university graduates was considerably lower than the overall unemployment rate (Table 1). This applied to the total 25-to-64-year-old age bracket and with a few exceptions to the 25-to-34-year-old category as well. However, comparison of different age groups also shows that the integration of young university degree holders into the work force is particularly difficult. Their edge over nongraduate peers was frequently less marked in the under-35 bracket than in unemployment figures for ages up to 64. The labour market prospects for university graduates improves with increasing age and professional experience in all countries.<sup>3</sup>

A detailed comparative study on the vocational integration of university graduates in three different, prototype European educational systems was carried out to identify common problems and put alternative solutions into sharper focus.

## **The labour market for university graduates in France**

In 1992, one third of the 827,400 young people who left the French educational system had completed higher education (MEN, 1994 a, p. 207). Despite more diversified qualifications and increasing vocational input in the curricula, university graduates have a hard time on the job market. Nonetheless, higher education improves employment prospects considerably. Labour market newcomers with no certified qualifications have poorer employment opportunities than the better qualified, and women are usually worse off than men. In 1993, university graduates had a 14.2 per cent lower unemployment rate than other members of the work force in the 15 to 24 age bracket (MEN 1994 b, p. 29). Nevertheless, this is overshadowed by the fact that by now one of every ten unemployed persons under the age of 25 is a university graduate.

The outcome of the first job-hunt depends increasingly on the graduate's field

3) The level of qualifications corresponds to at least the lowest university degree or comparable qualifications.



of study. The more practice-oriented the university course, the smoother the transition to the labour market in most cases. Good professional opportunities are provided by short technical courses, practice-oriented second level university degrees and DEA/DESS\* diplomas in natural sciences. Holders of the *licence* or *maîtrise* in natural sciences or mathematics appear to have no problems in launching a career. Particularly poor conditions are generally faced by graduates of humanities and social science courses, biologists and physiologists (*Le monde de l'Education*, December 1992, No. 199, p.98). Grande Ecole engineering and economics graduates have better chances of finding a permanent position soon after their final examination. However, this situation is expected to deteriorate. It is no longer unusual for graduates of the elite universities to spend 5 to 6 months job-hunting. A striking, new trend is for graduates to continue their studies. As recently as the 1980s this was almost unheard of, but 20 per cent of the 1993 graduates of a major Paris economics university decided to enrol in post-graduate studies (*Le Nouvel Economiste*, 10 September 1993).

A comparison of the monthly net income of 25-to-29-year-olds in 1993 revealed that graduates of short two-year university programmes made 20 per cent more and higher academic degree holders earned 60 per cent more than others of their age whose qualifications were limited to apprenticeships or vocational training. Similar figures held for the 35-to-44-year-olds. The level of education not only increases chances of finding a job, it also boosts earning potential (MEN, 1994, p. 31).

The chart shows that there is a close relationship between level of qualifications and starting salary. For example, graduates of two-year university courses who decide to continue their education and acquire a *licence* or *maîtrise* can increase their salaries by about 30 per cent. If they continued studying and obtained a DEA/DESS they would earn 60 per cent more. Technical university (IUT) business management/economics graduates can increase their salary from FF 7,000 to FF 10,300 by obtaining a practice-oriented higher degree (MST in accounting/finance), or even to FF 12,000 if they go

**Table 1:**  
**Total unemployment rate and unemployment rate among university graduates in selected countries in 1992 (in per cent)**

Countries	Unemployment rate among active 25-64-year-olds		Unemployment rate among active 25-34-year-olds	
	Total	Graduates	Total	Graduates
<b>Australia</b>	8.8	4.4	10.0	3.7
<b>Austria</b>	3.6	1.3	3.3	2.2
<b>Belgium</b>	7.8	2.2	8.6	3.4
<b>Canada</b>	10.0	5.2	11.9	6.5
<b>Denmark</b>	10.6	4.8	13.6	7.8
<b>Finland</b>	11.4	3.4	13.4	6.6
<b>France</b>	8.8	4.4	11.3	6.8
<b>Germany</b>	6.2	3.7	6.1	4.3
<b>Italy</b>	7.4	6.0	13.7	17.2
<b>Netherlands</b>	5.6	3.9	5.8	5.2
<b>Norway</b>	4.6	1.8	6.8	2.8
<b>Portugal*</b>	4.9	1.8	6.1	2.5
<b>Spain</b>	14.7	9.9	21.1	17.5
<b>United Kingdom</b>	8.4	3.6	10.2	3.8
<b>USA</b>	6.6	2.9	8.2	3.0
<b>OECD</b>	7.6	3.8	9.6	5.9

\* 1991

Source: OECD, 1995, Table R21 (A and B)

on still further to graduate from a Grande Ecole of economics and business studies.

Career opportunities for university graduates have deteriorated in the past few years. Although the unemployment rate among university graduates feared at the beginning of the 1990s failed to materialize, the goal of encouraging 80 per cent of the population to obtain university entrance qualifications and thus raise the country's overall educational level has aggravated the situation. Most young people who obtain this certificate consider it to be a minimum qualification and a stepping stone to further education. The horizontal permeability of postsecondary education and the trend to supplement completed studies with further qualifications and certificates have resulted in an increase in the number of university graduates and an inflation of university diplomas. In contrast to other European countries, France faces not only the problem of a degree

***"The more practice-oriented the university course, the smoother the transition to the labour market in most cases."***

***"The level of education not only increases chances of finding a job, it also boosts earning potential"***

\* Editor's note:  
DEA = Diplômes d'Etudes Approfondies  
DESS = Diplômes d'Etudes Supérieures Spécialisées





### Illustration: Salaries of French university graduates upon entering the labour force

(This 1991 survey of 43 000 academics who graduated in 1988 was carried out 33 months after they had completed their studies.)

Higher education degree qualifying for a job in industry or the business sector	Higher education degree qualifying for a job in the service sector
	FF 15,000
	Schools of economics: HEC, ESSEC, ESCPL (14 800)
	Engineering universities: SUPELEC, Pontes, Mines (14 200)
	FF 14,000
	FF 13,000
Other schools of engineering (12 600) DEA/DESS natural sciences (12 500) Schools of chemical engineering (12 400)	Business management universities: ECRICOM (12 700)
MIAGE (12 100)	Business management universities: ESCAE (12 200)
	FF 12,000
Schools of veterinary medicine (11 800)	Schools of political science IFP (11 600)
	FF 11,000
License/Maitrise in applied natural sciences (10 800) Schools of agricultural science (10 600)	License/Maitrise in administrative sciences (10 900) DEA/DESS law/political science (10 700)
	MST accounting/finance (10 300)
DEA/DESS natural sciences/chemistry (10 100)	FF 10,000
	License/Maitrise in economics (9 600) DEA/DESS languages/literary studies (9 500) DEA/DESS psychology (9 400)
License/Maitrise in natural sciences (9 200)	FF 9,000
	DUT informatics, License/Maitrise law (8 700) BTS informatics (8 500)
License/Maitrise in natural sciences/chemistry (8 500)	License/Maitrise in languages (8 200) License/Maitrise in humanities (8 100) BTS commerce (8 000)
BTS mechanical engineering, DUT electrical engineering (8 000) BTS electrical engineering/electronics, DUT chemistry (7 900)	FF 8,000
	DUT technology and commerce (7 800)
DUT mechanical engineering (7 700) BTS chemistry/biology (7 600)	
	BTS accounting/finance (7 100)
DUT biology (7 000)	FF 7,000
	BTS office studies (6 800)
	BTS tourism (6 300)
	FF 6,000

Source: Le Monde de l'Education, 1992, p. 102



**Table 2:**  
**What happens to British university graduates after their first university degree subdivided according to discipline in 1992/93 (in per cent)**

Subject	Employment permanent	Employment temporary	Employment total	Education continued	Other *	Total
<b>Medicine/dentistry and related subjects</b>	86.0	0.9	87.0	8.3	4.9	<b>100</b>
<b>Biology</b>	33.7	6.9	40.5	38.8	20.7	<b>100</b>
<b>Veterinary medicine/agriculture</b>	55.9	4.9	60.8	20.0	19.2	<b>100</b>
<b>Physics</b>	29.2	5.5	34.7	46.1	19.2	<b>100</b>
<b>Mathematics</b>	44.8	4.1	48.9	28.8	22.3	<b>100</b>
<b>Engineering/technology</b>	46.2	3.9	50.1	20.7	29.2	<b>100</b>
<b>Architecture</b>	55.2	5.0	60.2	16.2	23.6	<b>100</b>
<b>Social sciences</b>	31.8	5.1	36.9	39.7	23.5	<b>100</b>
<b>Economics and finance</b>	54.5	5.2	59.7	13.8	26.5	<b>100</b>
<b>Librarianship and information technology</b>	32.6	7.6	40.3	29.8	29.8	<b>100</b>
<b>Languages</b>	40.8	6.1	46.9	33.7	19.4	<b>100</b>
<b>Humanities</b>	35.8	6.7	42.5	35.8	27.8	<b>100</b>
<b>Art</b>	38.4	5.3	43.7	36.0	20.2	<b>100</b>
<b>Education</b>	70.3	3.3	73.5	8.7	17.7	<b>100</b>
<b>Multiple courses of study</b>	42.0	6.2	48.2	28.9	22.9	<b>100</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>44.1</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>49.1</b>	<b>29.6</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>100</b>

\*) Graduates who do not try to get a job or to continue their education, jobseekers and foreigners who left Great Britain after graduating

Source: UFC, 1994, Table 3; own calculations

glut. Although university graduation still offers a relative salary advantage over lower education, a closer look at the income prospects in different areas of study reveals that all subjects no longer lead to similar monetary rewards. This is all the more discouraging because the French higher educational system with its diverse selection of shorter and longer practice-oriented curricula theoretically offers the best chances for launching a successful career.

## The labour market for university graduates in the United Kingdom

A 1992 international comparison of educational levels showed the United Kingdom, where 20.4 per cent of the pertinent age group held a bachelor's degree,

as sharing the top place with Denmark. Corresponding figures included 13 per cent for the Federal Republic of Germany<sup>4</sup>, 14.5 per cent for France, 9.8 per cent for Italy and 7.9 per cent for Austria (OECD, 1994, Table R 12).

In 1992/93, 49 per cent of the 79,000 university students awarded a first degree obtained employment. The majority, or 44 per cent of the total, even held a permanent position. Thirty per cent of graduates continued their education, especially in physics, biology and humanities.<sup>5</sup> Doctors and teachers enjoyed the best chances of obtaining permanent employment lasting longer than three months. Librarians, humanities majors and biologists often had to content themselves with temporary positions (Table 2). On the whole, women were slightly more successful in finding a job than men. Fifty per cent of the 1992/93 female graduates of bachelor

4) These statistics equate the first university degree in West Germany and France to the master's.

5) While the United Kingdom regularly compiles comprehensive records of what happens to university graduates (based on reports by individual universities), other countries rely on sporadic studies of this subject.



**Table 3:**  
**What happens to university graduates subdivided according to branch of industry and sex in 1992/93 (in per cent)**

Branch of industry	Men	Women	Total
<b>First Degree</b>			
Public service	21.1	28.4	24.5
Education	4.4	11.2	7.6
Commerce	34.7	33.3	34.0
Industry	28.1	13.4	21.3
Other	11.6	13.8	12.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Higher Degree</b>			
Public service	20.1	33.0	25.3
Education	27.2	36.4	30.9
Commerce	13.2	8.8	11.5
Industry	28.8	11.4	21.9
Other	10.6	10.2	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Altogether</b>			
Public service	20.8	29.7	24.7
Education	11.9	18.1	14.6
Commerce	51.0	26.6	27.2
Industry	28.4	12.9	21.5
Other	11.3	12.8	11.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Universities' Statistical Records, 1994. Tables G and N. own calculations

the men, compared to 18.1 per cent of the women, obtained a position in the educational sector. The relation was reversed in industry: 12.9 per cent of the women, compared to 28.4 per cent of the men, went to work in that sector.

Figures for England alone<sup>6</sup> showed that 11 per cent of those who completed a first-degree course in 1992 were classified as unemployed (DFE, 1994 b, Table 10). Unemployment was rarer among university first-degree (9.7 per cent) and higher-degree holders (2.6 per cent) than among graduates of the then-existing polytechnics or one of the higher education colleges (14 and 11 per cent respectively). The reasons for this are the subject of speculation. The general educational level may play a role. Universities usually attract the best-qualified school leavers, as measured by A-level grades. Future employers also seem to place less emphasis on highly specialized training than on the development of intellectual capacities.

Crucial determinants of entry-level earnings are the level of the degree acquired and the academic major in addition to the industrial or business sector. On this count, parallels with the situation in France are apparent: in England, too, higher degrees mean higher pay. Specialists in application-oriented technical disciplines have an advantage over social science and humanities majors in their first foray into the labour market.

An annual survey of the Association of Graduate Recruiters (AGR, 1994) on beginning salaries of university graduates in the United Kingdom revealed a median annual salary in 1994 of approximately £13500. More than one quarter of first job holders earned salaries of £17000 or more. Average starting salaries for university graduates in industry in 1994 equalled those in the service sector, where the median ranged from £11000 in hotel and restaurant trades to £17 850 in legal counselling. The production sector showed a narrower scope, ranging from £13 000 in construction to £14770 in the chemical industry. Variance was particularly conspicuous in the higher salary brackets. The service branches offered up to £19 500, while industrial plants paid no more than £15 950.

***“Specialists in application-oriented technical disciplines have an advantage over social science and humanities majors in their first foray into the labour market.”***

courses found employment (compared to 48 per cent of their male counterparts). Forty-five per cent of the female and 43 per cent of the male graduates obtained permanent positions. A larger proportion of the women (31 per cent) than of the men (28 per cent) continued their education (UFC, 1994, Tables 1 and 2).

In 1992/93, commerce absorbed 34 per cent and industry 21 per cent of the graduates with a bachelor's degree. The public service provided jobs for just under a quarter of the graduates, while education provided jobs for only 8 per cent. This pattern differs for new master's and higher degree holders. Education absorbed 31 per cent of these people, commerce only 12 per cent (Table 3). Gender-specific differences were pronounced in education and industry. Only 11.9 per cent of

6) These figures apply only to England since no comparable data exists for Scotland or Wales.



Starting salaries of university graduates also vary according to the level of the degree obtained, the subject major and the nature of the job opening. Bigger salaries are offered above all to holders of higher academic degrees such as MA/MSc or PhD. A doctorate boosts the pay in the surveyed enterprises by an average of £2189. A master's degree increases the starting salary by £501. Studying the right subject can yield as much as £300 annually. Disregarding the generally lower salary levels in the United Kingdom, the situation of job market newcomers resembles that of the Federal Republic of Germany. The advantages of academic training are similar in both countries.

A conclusive assessment of the labour market situation of university graduates is difficult due to the latest reforms in favour of more competition and market orientation. Until now the elite character of university studies, the minimal government involvement in establishing standards, the teaching and research conditions and the brevity and more stringent organization of university programmes were considered to be relatively good safeguards for prompt labour market integration of university graduates. Despite the criticism - also voiced in Britain - about the low relevance of university courses to the requirements of the business sector, British university graduates, with a comparatively broad academic background, seem to have been fairly well prepared to cope on a job market which has afforded only loose ties between the curriculum and the demands of the job. So far entry to the labour force following briefer university first-degree courses and early job experience appear to have sufficed to offset the lack of specialist knowledge.

## The labour market for university graduates in Germany

The labour market for degree holders is tight in Germany as well. In 1995 about 206,000 university graduates, an all time high, were unemployed (iwd of 24 October 1996). Approximately 30 per cent of

**Table 4:**  
**Initial salaries of British university graduates according to branches of industry in 1994**

Branch of Industry	Average
Hotel and catering	11,000
Accounting	12,500
Public services	12,950
Civil engineering	13,000
Metalworking industry	13,000
Electrical engineering	13,250
Commerce	13,250
Insurance	13,450
Other processing industries	13,736
Transport/communication	13,747
Energy and water	13,830
Other private services	14,000
Food, drink and tobacco industries	14,200
Banking	14,584
Chemical	14,770
Legal counselling	17,850
<b>Average</b>	<b>13,500</b>

Source: AGR, 1994, Table B2

them had recently completed their studies; almost 60 per cent were between 25 and 39 years old.

The number of unemployed university graduates has increased almost fourfold since 1980. Nonetheless, university graduates encounter a more favourable environment when looking for a first job than groups with other vocational backgrounds. The unemployment rate among university graduates is four times lower than that of unskilled workers. Since the early 1990s the unemployment rate of university and college graduates has been increasing at a slower pace than that of other workers. The unemployment rate of young university degree holders in 1995 was estimated at 6.4 per cent in western Germany and 4.6 per cent in eastern Germany, compared to 9.4 per cent for the overall work force. However, the figure varies from field to field. Humanities graduates and young engineers face greater challenges in finding their first job than those who have studied economics or sciences, medicine or pharmacy, for

***"The number of unemployed university graduates has increased almost fourfold since 1980. Nonetheless, university graduates encounter a more favourable environment when looking for a first job than groups with other vocational backgrounds."***



**Table 5:**  
**Unemployment rate among university graduates in Germany according to age group (in per cent of all unemployed university graduates)**

Age	West Germany 1995	East Germany 1995
under 25	1.1	2.0
25 to 29	14.1	9.5
30 to 34	22.8	13.2
35 to 39	18.2	12.7
40 to 44	13.5	16.1
45 to 49	8.6	12.4
50 to 54	6.9	14.0
55 to 59	10.9	15.4
60 to 65	3.8	4.5

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Stand: 30.09.1995

***“The trend to downgrading is illustrated by the increasing number of university-educated persons who take positions which do not correspond to their qualifications. Almost one in every five performs a job for which higher education would not have been necessary.”***

whom the situation has improved slightly. Nevertheless, the average young unemployed university graduate spends seven months looking for their first job. Many make use of this waiting period as an opportunity for - unpaid - on-the-job training.

German university graduates do not begin their working life with what is commonly known as a “normal” position. More and more are forced to accept poorly paid short-term or single-project contracts with no social security. Nevertheless, getting started by means of a project-related contract is a way of obtaining professional experience, thus improving chances of finding permanent employment during the next round of job applications.

Even for university graduates higher unemployment rates and longer periods of unemployment increase the risk of employment in a job for which they are overqualified. The trend to downgrading is illustrated by the increasing number of university-educated persons who take positions which do not correspond to their qualifications. Almost one in every five performs a job for which higher education would not have been necessary. Graduates of specialized institutions of higher education are more prone to this pitfall than university gradu-

ates; women are at greater risk than men. The proportion of graduates of specialized institutions whose jobs do not conform to their education is between 19 and 33 per cent for females, and between 8 and 16 per cent for males. Eleven to 22 per cent of female university graduates are employed in positions requiring a lower level of qualifications than they possess; only 6 to 12 per cent of their male colleagues suffer the same fate (*Bundestagsdrucksache* 13/1714 dated 19 June 1995). The greater risk faced by women of working in a job below their qualifications is apparently related to gender-specific academic preferences. Women are more inclined than men to study subjects that are in less demand on the labour market (Büchel, 1996, p. 292).

The monthly net income of a German university graduate was just over DM 4200 in 1991, while graduates of specialized institutions of higher education earned slightly less than DM 3800 (Jagoda, 1996). Thus, the earnings of persons with a higher education exceeded that of unskilled workers (DM 1960) and skilled workers (DM 2284). In this context, too, German women graduates are worse off than their male counterparts. Women with a university degree average DM3200 per month, their male peers DM4600. Women who have



graduated from a specialized institution of higher education average DM2500 per month, males with the same level of qualifications earn DM4000. These differences in net income can partly be attributed to different tax brackets. The net income of a married woman who opts for payroll tax deductions according to Scale III is initially taxed more heavily than her husband, although this might be balanced out when their joint income is taken into consideration.

## Results

A common trend toward adapting higher education to the requirements of the national labour market can be ascertained in many European countries along with a reduction in the amount of time spent in higher education. Despite common problems it will be neither possible or sensible to develop a uniform European policy to foster the appropriate professional integration of graduates. This makes it all the more imperative to find solutions tailored to national peculiarities. However, planners would be well advised to look beyond their country's borders for inspiration. One question cannot be answered immediately: whether the orientation of higher education on specific requirements of the domestic labour market might limit qualifications for a European labour market and by the same token impair Europe-wide cross-border worker mobility.

The lion's share of the 150 million workers in the European economic area are employed in the service sector. By the turn of the century this number will have increased by 7 million (Prognos, 1990). Forecast growth varies from Member State to Member State, from 50 per cent in Greece to approximately 71 per cent in Norway, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The expansion of the service sector will have an impact on the educational and vocational training systems. The shifts in employment opportunities will primarily benefit highly qualified persons. Their know-how will be in particular demand in the areas of telecommunications, the media, electronic data processing, biotechnology, the environment, health, leisure and travel. Continuing structural change throughout Europe

and increasing internationalization of markets will open more and more foreign doors especially to job-hunting specialists and executives.

A survey of 286 enterprises in 12 European countries in 1992 produced the surprising discovery that German and French companies already recruit 42 per cent and 32 per cent respectively of their junior managers from other European Union countries (CSU, 1993). This is not due to any lack of qualified candidates in Germany and France but to the increasing internationalization of enterprises. Other important factors are the special cultural and language backgrounds of foreign graduates, who increase customer identification when firms venture abroad, and facilitate their access to foreign markets.

In the case of transnational recruitment in domestic placement, graduates who have studied economics or engineering have the edge on those who completed other courses. The highly qualified have higher hurdles to overcome in a foreign country than less qualified workers. The former are expected to possess not only expertise in their area. Their knowledge of the host country's legal system and government, their ease in dealing with business partners there as well as their mastery of the local language are taken for granted.

German enterprises cite their own uncertainty in evaluating qualifications acquired abroad as the greatest obstacle to recruiting foreign graduates at present. In addition, they complain about a lack of language skills and large investments in familiarization, which are frequently entirely unjustified by the length of employment (List, 1996). Although the relative size of the European mobile labour force is not expected to change drastically in the years to come, the issue of occupational and regional mobility of graduates in particular will continue to gain importance. In contrast to the mass migration of the 1960s, which was motivated by divergent employment opportunities and levels of prosperity, the impetus for movement in the coming millennium will be the network of economic, social and cultural ties gradually meshing into a uniform European social sphere.

***“Continuing structural change throughout Europe and increasing internationalization of markets will open more and more foreign doors especially to job-hunting specialists and executives.”***

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# Have higher education qualifications fallen into line again in France?



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## Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1980s, young people's integration into the labour market from higher education has gone through two main periods in France:

□ the flows entering this level of education rose sharply and were reflected, despite substantial failure rates during the initial cycle, by a spectacular rise in the flows entering the labour market from higher education. The integration of young people leaving higher education nevertheless continued to be of high quality and may even have improved, whereas the overall labour market situation of young people remained very mediocre;

□ labour market integration conditions worsened from 1992 onwards as a result of a downturn in the economic situation which, in contrast to previous trends, had more of an impact on young higher education graduates than on other school leavers; contrary to the prevailing opinion at that time, this trend might be more than a simple short-term and therefore transitory change.

If we are to interpret these changes and find out how the young people's labour market has adapted to this powerful education supply effect, we need to relate them to the wider-ranging changes in the relationship between training and employment. This article therefore attempts to follow a path previously explored by d'Iribarne (1986) and to move towards "an analysis of a labour market segment via which the active population is regularly renewed and which, even though investigations are localised, can be analysed only in relation to the major national structures" (p. 94). Consequently, "the condi-

tions under which young people are integrated (...) cannot be analysed separately from the foundations of education systems and their institutional relationships, on the one hand, with enterprise and, on the other hand, with workers' trade unions" (ibid, p. 95).

Some "societal" characteristics of the relationship between training and employment in France need to be stressed in this context: the important role that internal markets have traditionally played in labour market regulation and the construction of qualifications and the very high level of selection based on academic performance and very predominantly on school education; these two characteristics mean that individuals' positions in the queue for access to jobs, especially jobs in internal markets, are determined largely by the level of the qualifications that they have acquired in initial education. Increasing rationing of employment as a result of the economic recession has continued to bolster this trend. Higher education graduates have benefitted greatly from this process and it might even be said that they have turned the situation to their own profit (Goux, Leclercq, Minni, 1996).

## Some societal indicators of the training/employment relationship and the place of higher education qualifications

There was traditionally a strong structural coherence between the specific nature of qualifications and the low level of basic education of the labour force (see Maurice, Sellier, Silvestre, 1982).

**Since the beginning of the 1980s, higher education has grown very rapidly in France, with an increase in the flows leaving the various streams of higher education. Up to 1992, trends in the labour market seem to be marked by stronger selective mechanisms for young people and by the emergence of competitive regulation in some labour market segments, where young higher education graduates have been the main beneficiaries.**



**Box 1****An institutional analysis of the integration of young higher education graduates**

Going beyond these general principles, we shall follow Garonna and Ryan's (1989) comparative typology of the models of young people's integration since this advantageously re-introduces market mechanisms more explicitly into the analysis than does the theory of societal effect. Their starting point is the principle that adult workers try to protect themselves against the potential competition that young people may represent, especially if these young people have received high quality and/or higher level education. They show that workers already in employment fail to stave off this competition during periods of mass unemployment with little labour market regulation: the United Kingdom in the 1930s is a good example of this kind of "competitive regulation" allowing employers to call quite freely upon young people's inexpensive labour. Adult employees may be protected in two very different ways. In the case of "regulated integration", young people enter employment on a regular basis in all sectors of activity, but as apprentices: "the interests of workers are protected by rules which (by setting standards for training in the workplace) discourage any tendency among employers to profit from the low cost of apprentices" (Garonna, Ryan, p. 80). In the case of "selective exclusion", young people educated by the school route must acquire vocational experience through secondary jobs before they can hope to move on, through selection, to a primary job. Germany, and, to a smaller extent, the United Kingdom, fit the first scenario, while the United States and France, bearing in mind the traditional importance of internal markets, fit the second. These societal models obviously have to be differentiated by sectoral labour force management policies (see, for instance, Clémenceau and Géhin (1983) on the second half of the 1970s).

***"In France, the labour market has traditionally been structured as internal markets based chiefly on length of service (...) qualification was primarily shaped by enterprise and organisation."***

**Predominance of internal labour markets**

In France, the labour market has traditionally been structured as internal markets based chiefly on length of service. In France, the wage effect of length of service on workers' pay was double the figure for Germany (Depardieu, Payen, 1986). Eyraud, Marsden and Silvestre (1990) add to this characteristic the fact that the relative length of service of skilled workers with respect to unskilled and semi-skilled workers is much higher in France than in the United Kingdom where professional markets have traditionally predominated. As Maurice, Sellier and Silvestre (1982) have therefore shown, qualification was primarily shaped by enterprise and organisation. This method of structuring internal markets has made it possible to integrate a labour force with a low level of education destined to enter a more prescriptive and hierarchical labour organisation. This was therefore reflected by a very high proportion of employees with low educational levels among engineers and managers: in 1982, for example, over half of these groups

had no higher education qualification. The "house" engineer or manager was still a very widespread profile.

**The highly selective nature of education makes qualifications a major instrument in individuals' ranking in the labour market**

Educational performance, especially in academic subjects, is the standard against which everyone's merits are decided. This is all the more justified as its supposed neutrality is related to the quest for the accumulation of knowledge needed to pave the way for a society that is both more just and better grounded. It is against this backdrop that "school guidance based on the scientific detection of everyone's abilities developed at the beginning of the century" (Duru-Bellat, 1992). These general characteristics mean that schools have major responsibilities not just for education but for drawing up a ranking of individuals which is from then on of major social importance. School is therefore the theatre for individual strategies which necessarily re-introduce a strong social dimension into the results of school com-

**Box 2****Towards an analysis of societal change**

It is within this dynamic perspective that Silvestre (1986) located his study of the trends in national systems of mobility (looking at Germany, France and Japan) during the economic recession. He considered that three types of change could be envisaged. The first, called “mechanical”, has no impact on the original operating principles of societal structures, which does not mean that behaviour and institutions do not change: these changes simply take place “on the periphery of structural reality” (a typical case is the growth of precarious employment, while internal markets are maintained in their conventional form).

A second category of change concerns cases in which developments “urge on operating principles that are already in place”, i.e. there is no qualitative impact on or change to the compromises on which existing societal rules and relationships are based. Their “plasticity” allows initial structures to demonstrate their dynamism in managing and absorbing changes that are then called “organic” (a good example is the increase in the flows of apprentices in Germany as a response, during the first half of the 1980s, to the risks of a worsening youth employment situation).

A third type of change is called “structural” to the extent “that the recession is likely to destabilise practices regularly replicated in former systems” so as to “generate new forms of behaviour and social relationships”.

petition (Duru-Bellat, 1992); they consist in doing well and learning on the basis of a “noble” criterion par excellence, namely the individual accumulation of knowledge. Consequently, any other form of knowledge or educational method is by its “essence” a degraded or “impure” form of general education. For some authors (d’Iribarne and d’Iribarne, 1993), the strength of this meritocratic conception of society gives rise to the notion of a “school nobility” which is a replacement for the blood nobility of the Ancien Régime: in some ways it provides a synthesis between the significance of the hierarchical organisation of French society and the Republican ideal of an élite based on knowledge. This situation vindicates a process of guidance at the end of (four years of) secondary education that channels “the weakest performers” into vocational education.

**Qualifications provide a structure for vocational and social integration**

This meritocratic approach had a greater structuring effect, the more it was part of a society in which qualifications were not only a significant social reference point, but also a relatively rare resource: the spread of qualifications was relatively lim-

ited (close on 50% of the active population in employment in 1982 were not graduates). In this context, qualifications in France, whether in the general or vocational field, are predominantly instruments for ranking individuals in a school competition whose outcome is strongly linked to social status. This competition is unlikely to provide “poles around which a professional identity can crystallise” as is the case in Germany with the dual system, even though vocational and technical education has become increasingly advanced (Silvestre, 1987). The French system constructs individuals, while the German model in the first instance forms groups structured around professions.

During the period of major growth and to some extent during the 1970s, however, this meritocracy did not prevent significant social advancement in internal markets as a way of meeting enterprises’ qualification needs.

In a country such as France, where the education system is highly institutionalised and standardised (Campinos, Grando, 1988), the result of this has been to place the stress on the role and significance of qualifications as (potential) instruments for coordinating individual behaviour,

***“(…) the French education and training system is undoubtedly that system which (...) has undergone changes of both a qualitative (...) and a quantitative type (...)”***



***“The determination of public action has been symbolised by the objective, launched in 1984, to bring 80% of a generation to baccalauréat level by the end of the century.”***

***“Since 1991, as a result of school attendance rates for 17-18-year-olds, France was among the leading group of the developed countries (...) in 1995, 61% of middle managers had at least one higher education qualification (short or long cycle) in comparison with 44% nine years earlier.”***

public training policies and labour markets. This approach seems especially valid as the French education and training system is undoubtedly that system which, from the point of view of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), has undergone changes of both a qualitative type, with the creation of vocational baccalauréats, and a quantitative type, with very rapid growth. Since 1984, education attendance rates after the age of 18 have been the most intense (for a review, see Lutz et al, 1994).

Another characteristic of French trends is that these joint changes in training and labour market regulation have been accomplished in a context of increasingly rationed employment, whereas the reforms which paved the way for the German professional markets date from the end of the 1960s and the entry of 50% of young Americans into higher education dates back even further. The French method of integrating young people, particularly higher education graduates, and the way in which it has developed are an efficient indicator of the dynamics of the relationship between training and employment.

## **The very rapid development of higher education**

This increase in the flows leaving the various streams of higher education is due to the fact that deliberate public policy has converged with a major social demand.

### **Political will converted into law**

The determination of public action has been symbolised by the objective, launched in 1984, to bring 80% of a generation to baccalauréat level by the end of the century. The strength of this commitment is borne out by the fact that this objective was incorporated in 1989 into a framework law covering the whole of the education system without any opposition in parliament. It was intended to make up for France's relative backwardness in the area of secondary and higher education: in 1980 only 20% of the working population had passed the baccalauréat or a higher education qualification and half of the active population had not

passed the certificate of primary education (Goux, Minni, Leclercq, 1996).

### **Spectacular quantitative results**

The proportion of a generation reaching baccalauréat level doubled within the space of fifteen years: 34% in 1980, 70% in 1994. Close on two thirds of an age group now pass the baccalauréat. Student numbers have therefore increased substantially (by 500,000 during the 1980s, i.e. +40%, and by 400,000 between 1990 and 1994, i.e. +23%). Higher education graduates therefore account for 40% of those leaving education, i.e. double the figure twenty years ago. Bearing in mind, moreover, the trend towards longer education (an additional year every five years), there has also been a spectacular increase in non-participation.

As Elbaum and Marchand (1994) stress, the main feature of the way in which the situation of young people aged under 25 developed during the 1980s in France was the very rapid decline in their participation rate (-10% between 1983 and 1991) leading to the lowest figure for the major industrialised countries (34.4% in comparison with 64.4% in Sweden and 66.3% in the United States where the meaning of participation is similar, in contrast to Germany where apprentices are included among the active population). In 1994, this rate had fallen further to 30.7%. Since 1991, as a result of school attendance rates for 17-18-year-olds, France was among the leading group of the developed countries with Germany, Switzerland (both owing their position at this level to their apprenticeship system) and Japan, substantially in front of the United States and even further in front of the United Kingdom. The trend has become even more marked since then.

This policy decision to force up young people's levels of education has been largely in step with trends in job structures: the proportions of managerial and middle occupations, i.e. jobs destined in principle for higher education graduates, rose from 8.3% and 18.6% in 1982 to 12.2% and 20.3% ten years later. Trends have been even more spectacular in terms of flows: between 1982 and 1991, the number of managerial and middle occupations filled by higher education gradu-



ates increased by 929,000 people, whereas the active population in employment increased by only 424,000. Consequently, at a given grading level, holding a qualification of a level “corresponding” to that of the job is becoming an increasingly necessary condition, even if it is less and less sufficient: in 1995, 61% of middle managers had at least one higher education qualification (short or long cycle) in comparison with 44% nine years earlier.

### **Headlong economic and social progress**

Over and above the deliberate nature of public policy and trends in enterprise demand, several other factors have played a part in the accelerated development of this “organic change” of a French society that is particularly in keeping with the development of forced education, as was the case at the turn of the 1960s (see Prost, 1992).

### **Qualifications - (relative) protection against unemployment**

Young people and their families clearly consider that the quality of their vocational integration, whether from the point of view of exposure to the risk of unemployment and precarious employment or the pay levels and grades attained, is closely linked to their qualification level: between 1980 and 1992, the unemployment rate among higher education graduates, five years after the end of their education, was constant, whereas it had more than doubled for those holding CAPs (certificates of vocational aptitude) or BEPs (certificates of vocational education) and increased to close on three quarters for those with baccalauréats (Méron, Minni, 1995); in addition, France is among those countries where the wage advantage provided by higher education is the highest, although there has been a downward trend for recent generations (see Goux, Leclercq, Minni, 1996)<sup>1</sup>.

In addition, as has often been noted, the cost of convenience of education decreases with increasingly rationed employment and encourages people to wait for better prospects in the education system. This trend is particularly marked when, as is the case in France, secondary job creation is not enough to encourage people to try their

hand in the labour market. Vinokur (1995) gives the counter-example of the United States where college registration applications have been falling for some years as unemployment is being contained by the proliferation of “low-level” service jobs requiring few skills.

### **Managing employment on the basis of competences promotes the logic of grading by qualification levels**

Trends in the reference points of enterprises as regards grading and labour would tend to accentuate this approach by level. In this respect, Jobert and Tallard (1993 and 1995) note that the grading criteria grids recently re-negotiated, especially in industry, are based on the Ministry of Education’s six-level classification which “points to a major breakaway from the traditional method of taking account of qualifications (vocational diploma specific to the sector in question and strongly linked to a precise function (...) or endorsing the learning of a trade)”.

These trends tend to bear out the emergence of a model in which employment is organised and managed by competences, “a set of unstable properties that have to be tested for (and which would oppose) the qualification which has been measured in the recent period by the diploma, acquired once and once only, and length of service” (Ropé, Tanguy, 1994). This tends to make the contract of employment more inadequate and has several consequences: an increased use of qualifications as an indicator of the general level of competence (sorting function); the need to establish specific supplementary training schemes (taking the form of alternance) and/or the use of test and selection periods for employees sorted initially on the basis of their qualifications (see Lochet, Podevin, Saunier, 1995).

### **Qualifications to reduce uncertainty**

These comments follow on from the earlier remarks of Silvestre (1987) according to which qualifications in France do not directly construct a recognised qualification and a specific professional identity but point to abilities that are increasingly often likened to the level of education reached. In the short term, the application

***“(...) the cost of convenience of education decreases with increasingly rationed employment and encourages people to wait for better prospects in the education system.”***

***“(...) qualifications in France do not directly construct a recognised qualification and a specific professional identity but point to abilities that are increasingly often likened to the level of education reached.”***

1) In the case of some vocational streams, however, this approach has to be weighted by the specialisation of the qualification since the integration “performances” of industrial types of training are often better than those of service-sector or general higher education qualifications (see Minni, Vergnies 1994)).



***(...) the level of education is seen as a favourable index of overall competence and of an adaptability to "change".***

***"Families consequently make the rational choice to continue education and (...) this leads to a self-maintaining trend to continue education which is not regulated by prices, since most of the direct costs of education are borne by the community. It takes place to the detriment of vocational and technological training."***

of this principle decreases selection and recruitment costs, but there is a risk of subsequent misadjustments that will be reflected by additional continuing training costs and/or the repetition of recruitment procedures: the level of education is seen as a favourable index of overall competence and of an adaptability to "change". It does not, however, guarantee the ability to take one's place in collective dynamics, to take responsibility and to show initiative, all of which are qualities commonly desired by enterprises, for basic jobs as well. In brief, there is never complete certainty as to the level of competence of graduate recruits but there seems to be no doubt about the young people who have been ruled out. Does this not mean that education and qualifications are tending to become a filter rather than an investment in human capital?

Whether from the point of view of individuals or enterprises, the quest for a higher level of qualification operates as insurance against uncertainty, whether this concerns the labour market or people's actual competences (see Béduwé, Espinasse, 1995). Families consequently make the rational choice to continue education and, as a result of the aggregation of these micro-decisions, this leads to a self-sustaining trend to continue education which is not regulated by prices, since most of the direct costs of education are borne by the community. It takes place to the detriment of vocational and technological training. There has been a substantial increase in those continuing their education at the end of technological education with an almost twofold increase between 1984 and 1992 (from 33% to 60% in the case of the University Technology Diplomas (DUT) and from 20% to 39% for Higher Technicians' Certificates (BTS) with, it is true, especially in the latter case, a high proportion of specialisation in a third year of study (see Martinelli, Vergniès, 1995). The general trend is nevertheless towards the reproduction of the mechanisms that have had an impact on technological baccalauréats (85% going on to higher education to obtain a qualification seen initially from the point of view of labour market integration), especially as the selective streams of the DUT attract many people possessing general baccalauréats who wish to continue their education.

In an economic situation characterised by an overall rationing of employment, a qualification in the first place offers protection against unemployment and then ranks people for access to internal markets and more generally rationed jobs and is lastly the key factor in a paid career; consequently, the importance of educational policy in the hierarchical development of society has substantially increased in recent years and has particularly benefitted higher education graduates (Verdier, 1996).

Vinokur (1995) stresses that this development is part of a self-sustaining process whose only limit is budgetary cost (university fees in France are extremely low). It tends to accentuate a process of individual competition among young people for access to employment, which takes place in the first instance within the educational system. It could lead to the establishment of a "bureaucratic regulation" of the link between qualifications and employment which would be reflected, along the lines of methods of entry into public employment, by the establishment of "private competitions" to gain access to internal markets in which qualifications would be a precondition for entrance. Lochet, Podevin and Saunier (1995) give a number of examples of this emerging regulation in major industry. Consequently, continuing education towards and into higher education is part and parcel of Silvestre's "organic" adjustment: it is supported by the conventional method of regulation of the French educational system which makes academic performance the standard against which everyone's merits are measured.

### **The 1980s: selective exclusion of all young people, but higher education graduates benefit from the situation**

Certainly up to 1992, labour market trends seem to be marked both by a strengthening of "selective exclusion" mechanisms (to use Garonna and Ryan's term) for young people as a whole and by the emergence of competitive regulation in some labour market segments which has been



largely to the benefit of higher education graduates.

### **Overall decline in the proportion of young people in enterprise recruitment**

During the first period of the recession (1970s), the selection criteria used for enterprise recruitment did not undergo any radical change as a result of rationed employment. This was mechanically reflected by increasing youth unemployment which did not, however, rise at the same pace as the unemployment affecting other labour force categories (Affichard, 1981).

The prolongation, then the development of the employment crisis were subsequently reflected by a substantial shift in the recruitment of young people, especially young people leaving the education system, by enterprise. The volume and the proportion of young beginners recruited at the end of their education fell substantially (by 17% in 1973-4 to 13% at the end of the 1980s).

The recruitment deficit in comparison with the flow of education leavers increased sharply up to 1985-6 and reached close on 400,000 jobs (Pottier, 1990). Thereafter, the development of public schemes to assist with integration and the economic recovery and job creation from 1987 to 1991 took some of the constraints away, but did not fundamentally change the situation. The proportion of young beginners in recruitment started to decline again as a result of the downturn in the economic situation in 1992. On the basis of an indicator that is more restrictive as it does not include young people who entered the labour market for the first time after completing national service, Balan and Minni (1995) show that the proportion of enterprise recruitment accounted for by young people leaving initial education fell from 11.2% between March 1991-1992 to 9.1% for the period March 1993-March 1994.

The mechanism of "selective exclusion" of young people, to use Garonna and Ryan's term, was particularly clear-cut during the 1980s, since the proportion of young people aged under 25 fell in all sectors of activity. In overall terms, be-

tween 1982 and 1990, youth employment fell by over 19% whereas total employment increased by over 3% (special-status jobs for young people such as employment-solidarity contracts, with low rates of entry into normal employment, are nevertheless included (Aucouturier, Gélot, 1994)). Increased school attendance which is not, moreover, unconnected with the decline in employment opportunities, does not provide a full explanation since the number of unemployed people aged under 25 fell by only 3.5% between 1980 and 1990.

### **A growing dualism of integration and recruitment by qualification level**

Up to 1992 at least, higher education graduates largely escaped this kind of change. They profited from major job creation in managerial and middle occupations in some cases with an initial "downgrading" (at the beginning of the 1990s, 12% of level I-II graduates were in manual and white-collar jobs nine months after completing their education, 26% in the case of male and 38% in the case of female level III graduates) largely offset by subsequent mobility. It is not just that downgrading in the medium to long term (five years) affected higher education graduates to a lesser extent, but also that up to the beginning of the 1990s, their numbers tended to fall whereas the flows of students increased very substantially. In 1985, according to Laulhé (1990), 77% of young people with second or third cycle university degrees (at least baccalauréat + three years) or an engineering or "grande école" qualification became managers between one and five years after they left the education system. In 1977, the figure was only 62%.

Enterprises obviously attempted to profit from a training supply effect that provided a much more favourable response to their needs for a skilled labour force. They opened up their internal markets to provide direct access to skilled jobs. They were more inclined to do so as the various streams of higher education made a genuine effort to bring themselves more into line with enterprises' expectations. This professionalising trend bears witness to a structural change in the destination of the flows of higher education leavers in particular after university education:

***"The prolongation, then the development of the employment crisis were subsequently reflected by a substantial shift in the recruitment of young people, especially young people leaving the education system, by enterprise."***

***"(...) higher education graduates (...) profited from major job creation in managerial and middle occupations in some cases with an initial "downgrading" (...)"***

***"Enterprises obviously attempted to profit from a training supply effect that provided a much more favourable response to their needs for a skilled labour force."***



***“This opening up of internal markets probably worked against promotion opportunities for workers already in employment with lower levels of education.”***

***“The most striking development is that these trends no longer offer young higher education graduates the significant levels of protection of the 1980s.”***

alongside public employment which remained a primary recruiter for teachers, the private sector became an increasingly important employer, especially for young people who entered higher education to study for a short-cycle vocational qualification (DUT or BTS).

This opening up of internal markets probably worked against promotion opportunities for workers already in employment with lower levels of education. Promotion prospects were therefore substantially reduced after 1974 for the labour force recruited initially into low-skilled jobs (Goux, 1991). Pierre Béret's study (1991) of internal markets during the 1980s shows a clear-cut decline in wage improvement with length of service but a rise in cases of external mobility (recruitment of experienced workers, recruitment of trained young people), breaking away from the internal market regulation that predominated during the 1960s and 1970s. Higher education graduates were therefore the main beneficiaries of this (partial) calling into question of internal markets based on length of service which would tend to point to the emergence of more competitive ways of managing the labour force and therefore a structural type of change. As Béret shows, this trend does not conflict with an increase in the average length of service of the labour force in employment. This increase can be ascribed both to the increasing blockage of the careers of operative (especially manual) workers and to the closure of internal markets at these recruitment levels in order to promote the labour force already employed, repeatedly exposed to redundancy plans. This concern for protection is the more obvious, the more the labour force already employed, less well trained, has highly specific qualifications that do not prepare it for increasingly frequent and far-reaching changes in jobs and labour organisation. It should also be noted that, in general, the gaps between the generations in terms of training levels are much more marked in France than in Germany.

By way of conclusion, during this period, not only does employment become more accessible the higher the level of qualification, but also the risks of unemployment are substantially lower for young people leaving higher education than for

other young people: the middle and in particular less skilled levels were, however, greatly helped by assisted integration policies.

## **1992 and after: short or long term problems?**

Some of the previous youth labour market trends have become more marked since the beginning of the 1990s (see Verdier, 1995, for a review of the 1980s): the decline in the employment of young people aged between 15 and 29 has accelerated (-900,000 between 1990 and 1995), unemployment has substantially increased again after a major improvement between 1986 and 1991, the probability of finding a permanent job at the beginning of a career has fallen sharply and downgrading on recruitment is affecting a larger proportion of young people (see Goux, Leclercq and Minni, 1996, for a detailed analysis).

### **The quality of higher education graduates' integration has substantially worsened**

The most striking development is that these trends no longer offer young higher education graduates the significant levels of protection of the 1980s. The opposite is true. For instance, in the area of unemployment, it is significant that the fall in unemployment in 1994-5 benefitted all groups of young people **except** higher education graduates. In this respect, there has been a radical reversal of the situation in 1981-5 when unemployment rose sharply for all groups of young people who had left the education system at least four years previously (from 15 to 24% for those with baccalauréats, 34 to 48% for those without qualifications) **with the exception** of higher education graduates.

Employment became more precarious between 1991 and 1995 for young higher education leavers (from 15.1% to 22.4% of jobs occupied at levels I and II and from 17.1% to 25.8% for baccalauréats + 2 years) than for young people without qualifications (38.3% to 44.8%). The absolute figures are obviously very different but the tendency to catch up and, it



might be said, the commonplace nature of this situation among young higher education graduates is clear-cut.

As discussed above the quality of the integration of young higher education leavers remained high during the 1980s. Since then, this link between qualifications and employment seems to have become much looser, in particular for those with BTS or DUT qualifications. Consequently, during their first three years of working life, close on two thirds of these people were in manual or white-collar jobs in comparison with 38% in 1991<sup>2</sup>. While the situation has not worsened to the same extent at levels I and II (60% of managers in 1995 in comparison with 68% four years before), this has been due to some extent to a change of grading criteria: the regrading of primary teachers into the category of "schoolteachers" now ranked among "managers" biases comparisons, especially as these teachers accounted for a significant volume of recruitment at the end of the second cycles of general streams.

### **Towards a structural change?**

The gradual decline in the relative wages of the highest skilled jobs, "concomitant with the increased supply of graduates on the labour market", has deformed job structures towards the higher qualification levels (Goux, Leclercq and Minni, 1996). The hierarchy of wages by qualification continued to tighten between 1990 and 1995, since at the beginning of their careers, the pay of non-graduates increased faster than the pay of baccalauréat holders or engineering students. Between 1991 and 1995, however, close to half of the surplus of graduates from higher education had to turn to other less skilled jobs or remain unemployed (ibid). The situation may well have become more out of step because of the relative closure of internal markets, as enterprises are more concerned to offer career prospects to the middle levels of qualification structures after a long period of "top-down" deregulation of internal markets.

This is not, however, the essential issue. This has more to do with the fact that the employment system's absorption capacities are increasingly out of kilter with the very marked increase in the flows

leaving higher education. Martinelli and Vergnies (1995) have shown that the annual flow of recruitment into managerial and middle occupations did not decline after 1992, but that, on the contrary, the increasingly large flows of higher education graduates were leading to a situation in which there appeared to be fewer such occupations. While the Italian situation, where the unemployment rate among higher education graduates is higher than that of the active population as a whole (see Jobert, 1996), has yet to be reached, there has been a major reversal of the "profitable" position on the labour market that predominated in the 1980s.

At present, this process is self-sustaining since the overall rationing of employment and the precarious nature of jobs continue to encourage young people to continue their education for as long as possible. In addition, one of the features of French workers is their reluctance to take risks (Goux and Maurin, 1993) and this encourages many graduates to opt for "safer" jobs in particular in the public service, while accepting substantial downgrading and substantially reducing their pay prospects. Competition for entry into the public service has risen sharply since the beginning of the 1990s. For instance, among administrative secretaries (public service category B, i.e. a middle occupation), 70% held a level I or II qualification in 1995 in comparison with less than 20% four years earlier (example cited by Goux et al). The extent of the structural changes affecting the youth labour market has largely done away with any "resistance to downgrading" (d'Iribarne, 1990)<sup>3</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

It would, however, be exaggerated to predict a radical worsening of the labour market situation of young higher education graduates. This is particularly true in respect of the basic indicator provided by the unemployment rate. After five years on the labour market, their unemployment rate varied in 1995 between 6 and 8% (depending on the number of years of higher education), whereas it was 11.5% for baccalauréat holders, 14.9% for those with CAPs or BEPs and 31.4% for non-

***"(...) the essential issue (...) has more to do with the fact that the employment system's absorption capacities are increasingly out of kilter with the very marked increase in the flows leaving higher education."***

2) The rate of continued education at the end of these vocational streams could well become even more marked, contrary to the initial aims of this type of training.

3) This does not mean that it is not expressed throughout the initial stages of the transition process, for instance in the form of longer integration unemployment.





***“(...) can the regulation of flows from the point of view of youth integration be envisaged solely (...) through the relentless expansion of the education system as a whole (...)?”***

graduates. This ability to protect themselves against unemployment is particularly effective as higher education graduates are more able to take the place of other young people having less educational capital. In this respect, higher education can be seen as an exclusion mechanism (Bourdon, 1995), since this education more than ever determines the position of young people in the queue for jobs depicted as a Thurow diagram.

The issue of the integration of young students does not just raise problems of equity such as those discussed above. It is certainly possible to put forward the idea, which is difficult to refute, that training is always beneficial in the long term. In an increasingly unstable market economy, however, can the regulation of flows from the point of view of youth integration be envisaged solely, as seems to be the case at present, through the relentless expansion of the education system as a whole, itself constructed by the aggregation of micro-decisions inspired by a legitimate concern to protect against uncertainty? The question is worth raising especially as France seems largely to have caught

up as regards the level of education of its young generations.

Questions of cost seem to have played little part in the discussion up to now, as public financing is regularly called upon to cope with the rising tide of higher education. It could be asked, however, if the current changes can continue. While the proportion of the GDP channelled into education fluctuated around 6.5% from 1975 onwards, it has risen sharply since 1990, increasing to 7.3% in 1994. This increase, bearing in mind the very sharp increase in the numbers of students and teachers, has been contained by adjusting the average expenditure per pupil, especially in higher education (in 1993 the average cost of a French student, taking all streams together, was 47% lower than the OECD average). This raises two questions: in macro-economic terms, can public budgets continue to cope, especially if it is necessary to integrate increasingly heterogeneous students into higher education?<sup>4</sup> Is it possible to allow the average expenditure per student to decline without raising acute problems from the point of view of the quality of higher education?

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4) Unless it is decided to move in the direction of very high failure rates during the initial cycle of higher education, which is the current trend: at university, the failure rate among those with vocational baccalauréats is 90%.



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# International management education and leadership competence: a European Perspective

**The modern management school is an American creation.**

**The teaching of this practical and tacit competence in class as a scientifically based, standardized and documented knowledge is not generally agreed on as recommended practice. The European market for teaching management and competence development is replete with largely firm-based alternatives, that may, or may not, interact with academic programmes.**

**The question is whether there is a case for a European standardized management teaching agenda. The answer is that here, if anywhere, variety constitutes quality.**

## **Introduction**

European industrial performance over the last few decades has not been as good as that in the US and Japan. The internationalization of industry and increased competition in international markets are challenging both policy makers and firms in Europe. Hence, management education for excellence in entrepreneurship and international business leadership is seen as the key to success in the European policy discussion.

The modern management school is an American creation that has been variously received in Europe, which has created a variety of national approaches to competence development in management. The teaching of such a practical and tacit competence in class as a scientifically based, standardized and documented knowledge is not generally agreed on as recommended practice. Consequently, the European market for teaching management and competence development is replete with largely firm-based alternatives, such as systematic career and corporate education programmes that may, or may not, interact with academic programmes. These diverse approaches to learning business management skills is in response to the tacit nature of the educational services offered and taught. While the American management agenda has a strong tendency to filter out an elite, Germany has the greatest variety of approaches and with a focus on competence development that integrates classroom teaching and on-the-job training. While literature is dominated by treatises on the financial management of large-scale repetitive manufacturing, the integration of technology and economics, the down-to-earth run-

ning of small-scale innovative production and the practical management of unexpected change in an experimentally organized economy are not well documented matters.

The question is whether there is a case for a European standardized management teaching agenda. The answer is that here, if anywhere, variety constitutes quality.

## **European management diversity – an opportunity to learn from, or a standardization task?**

In the wake of the Europe 1992 enthusiasm, a string of publications has addressed this problem, and the specifics of European management and industrial leadership in particular. Differences to the US and the Japanese management and organization styles have been explored (e.g. in Aoki 1986, Locke 1996a). The question has been raised as to whether there is a distinct European management style that has the potential for better performance?

Rapid internationalization of industry and the real and financial integration of national economies have run ahead of European policy-induced integration. This suggests to some that management and leadership styles will also soon converge on a standardized international format. We will discuss the case for a unique European management technique through contrasting stylized versions of US and German management education with one another and comparing with intermediate Swedish practice.



## Teaching and learning: the art of management

Management is the active part of business administration, typically being associated with leadership and recently with entrepreneurship. While the early industrialists learned management on-the-job, modern business schools excel in ambitions to bring management competence into the classroom for artificial distribution. Teaching the art of management in business schools is an entirely American creation superimposed on the more tangible functional crafts of accounting, financial analysis and budgeting, that has been slow to obtain a foothold in Europe. It has, however, been surrounded by an aura of mystique, reflecting, as it was then believed, the successful management style of early post-war US business.

Management education is concerned with the teaching of the most exclusive forms of tacit business competencies like leadership, entrepreneurship and innovation, but it is typically taught in class by teachers with no personal experience in the field. The powerful image surrounding the American creation is made even more mysterious by the fact that American management proficiency during the post-war period might have had nothing to do (Locke 1996b) with the expanding parallel supply of management trained MBAs.

While European countries and Japan have gradually opened up to management teaching in class, the most common form of higher management education in those countries still is a varied career in a large firm. To get the right perspective on higher management education in Europe, has to be given equal attention to the growing importance of management careers in large, often international corporations and their global sourcing of candidates from a variety of academic backgrounds, not only management and engineering schools (Eliasson 1996c).

More precisely, to understand the accumulation of management competence in firms, we have to be clear about *the relative importance of management training as a form of learning, on the one hand, and as a selection device for talent, on the other*. Management schools and business

careers embody both functions but in different combinations, and employ different techniques.

We can conclude at this stage that formal higher education in management as documented in literature is focused on the management of large-scale and standardized volume production, typical of the big US firms in the early post-war period. It largely neglects viable competing alternatives in the market in the form of trainee programmes, corporate classrooms and managed executive careers. These are typical of both US and European big business and offer an immense variety of approaches to higher level competence development and focus on the ability of managers to integrate, rather than separate technological and economic considerations (Eliasson, 1994, 1996c). Until recently, moreover, the literature has been quiet on the practical management of small and new innovative firms in advanced technology markets, where US standardized management practice may be a killing experience. Finally, much of the literature on education, vocational training or competence development does not give sufficient attention to the need for the analysis of education to be thoroughly integrated with an understanding of the dynamic competence allocation processes in the labour market. *Education at all levels, the career and the labour market alike, constitutes critical selection functions geared towards allocating individual talent and acquired knowledge on the right production tasks.*

A career in a well managed firm like Electrolux, BMW or General Electric will typically offer a broad variety of career paths and learning opportunities on par with the best management and business schools. At different levels the Germans have developed very integrated vocational trainee and career programmes where practice on-the-job and classroom education at schools or in universities alternate during the week and the students receive certificates at the end.<sup>1</sup> The content of these integrated programmes varies a lot and the value of such certificates to the holder depends on the firm that has offered the training. This vocational training arrangement contrasts with the standardized US management teaching in specialist business schools, to which students

***“Teaching the art of management in business schools is an entirely American creation superimposed on the more tangible functional crafts of accounting, financial analysis and budgeting, that has been slow to obtain a foothold in Europe.*”**

***“(...) to understand the accumulation of management competence in firms, we have to be clear about the relative importance of management training as a form of learning, on the one hand, and as a selection device for talent, on the other.”***

1) In response to a demand for such teaching, so called executive MBA programmes are increasingly offered by US universities.



**“Since only the US had business schools (...) the excellence of post-war American management came to be linked with them. (...) However, (...) the early post-war period, with a few exceptions, saw no serious movement to establish graduate business schools in Europe, particularly in Germany.”**

return after a few years of job experience on top of a college degree, often in engineering. This management education is designed as a *platform for further learning on-the-job*, but is also standardized for large-scale production and a functional career in the big American firms. The capacity of the school to select elite students, in conferring elite status to the school and in offering a functioning network of professional contacts determines initial job offers to graduates (see, for instance, *Business Week*, October 21, 1996). This selection of talent through the education system is part of the US educational technique, and although present in Europe, notably in France, it is not as systematic. While the German management candidates follow the German apprenticeship tradition and pay for their learning opportunity through very low initial salaries, the American business school graduates finance their college or university degrees privately and directly over the market. Contrary to other academic pursuits in the US, MBAs are offered very few stipends, grants or other financial aid, on the assumption that their income opportunities will be more than sufficient to pay back their loans.

While the US MBAs leave university to pursue an upward functional career, frequently through job rotation between firms, German managers usually stay in their firms to pursue a functionally varied career. While the US career candidate usually has the higher degree (the MBA) in economics, earned at university, the European career candidate, notably in Germany and Sweden, begins with a master in engineering, with a touch of economics, and learns management on-the-job.

In general, the German approach to management education recognizes that a standard format is not to be recommended and that the appropriate format for each type of production is best developed through experimentation “in the market”.

### **A new management paradigm or the perpetuation of diversity**

The teaching of business practical economics in separate educational institutions

developed outside academia during the late 19th century and shared – together with the early engineering education – a low intellectual status. This practical education was the market response to a demand for people trained in accounting and other practical fields.

### **Modern business management – US style**

Although the application of scientific methods to the solving of factory organization and management problems dates back to the scientific management movement in the US and Frederick Taylor<sup>2</sup>, modern business management is largely a post Second World War US phenomenon that paralleled the rapid growth of the American management school (Locke 1989, p. 159).<sup>3</sup> The old and established business schools like Harvard and Wharton were slow to adopt the new methods. Instead, they were increasingly associated with new establishments close to engineering education, like the Case Institute of Teaching, the Sloan School at MIT and the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Since only the US had business schools at the time, the excellence of post-war American management came to be linked with them (Locke 1996b). *Le Defi Americain* by Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber predicted in the early 1970s that American managerial prowess would soon make American industry in Europe the third largest industrial power (after the US and the Soviet Union). However, although the implementation of the Marshall plan brought American management economists to Europe, despite this exposure and influence, the early post-war period, with a few exceptions, saw no serious movement to establish graduate business schools in Europe, particularly in Germany (Locke 1996b).

### **European management traditions**

The *German* management tradition with its recognition of both tacit and formal knowledge and functional competencies did not accept the detached, scientific and fully teachable management ideas from the US, and German universities resisted the idea of a vocational agenda (Sorge 1979). The *French*, having eliminated the

2) Or even to the Cambridge professor of mathematics Charles Babbage and his book “On the Economy of Machines and Manufacturing” from 1832.

3) Reflected also in the long-range business economic planning methods so popular in US firms in the 1960s (Eliasson 1976), the intellectual foundation of which was neoclassical, full information equilibrium economics, which is incompatible with the notion of tacit knowledge (Eliasson 1996a, and below).



guild system with its internal competence development and restrictive commercial practices, established vocational training as a central state responsibility and erected an elitist civil service-oriented dual system of higher education (Universities and Grandes Ecoles). With almost no previous institutionalized management teaching to resist change, the *British* began importing US scientific management teaching early, but not in the universities, which resisted vocational teaching (Sorge 1979). The expansion of such teaching, therefore, was slow, and took place outside universities. The *UK* would, however, be ranked at the top in Europe today when it comes to offering business management and international business management programmes, and especially in the last few years (see *Business Week*, October 14, 1996 on Oxford University's ambitions to compete in the market for American style elite management education). *Germany*, on the other hand, would come in at the bottom (Locke 1996a, p. 96 ff., Loustarinen and Pulkkinen 1990). Similarly, the Germans, among Europeans, are underrepresented at the well known international management schools like INSEAD, IMEDE and the Harvard Business School.

*Sweden*, long a bastion of large-scale international manufacturing in mature technologies based its management training on a solid, varied and long engineering education and the learning of tacit organizational competencies on-the-job. The early development of a competence to build, run and develop large firms coincided with the migration of military competence during the 19th century, first into railroad companies and then into private industry (Glete 1987). Contrary to the other large industrial nations the domestic market was far too small to support Swedish manufacturing technology as profitable industrial production. Swedish manufacturing firms thus had to become internationalized early, and therefore also offered international career and training opportunities very early. While the systematic integration of career and formal higher education in Germany was never established in Sweden, the German emphasis of a varied functional experience has always been typical of the Swedish management career. It has been claimed in my interviews (Eliasson 1994,

1996c) that there is no better education for the chief executive officer (CEO) than a broad engineering degree and a varied business career, preferably in more than one firm and ranging over all types of management job categories. To achieve that, a particular industrial structure with *internal labour markets within broad-based industrial groups* is needed. Sweden, more than Germany, developed such an industrial organization early, the Wallenberg industrial bank group being the best known example. Even so, during my many interviews and discussions with Swedish CEOs about their use of highly educated people it has been frequently mentioned that while the engineering degree included sufficient training in practical economics like accounting, the CEOs had never been offered the general economics education that they all find becoming increasingly important as they climb the corporate ladders.

While the major industrial economies in Europe have developed their own management education styles somewhere in between the German and US designs, the American business school training was rapidly picked up by the *international business schools* catering for the growing clientele of young people in the international career of large international firms. For historical reasons, European management practice and training therefore exhibit a more diversified structure than the standardized US management teaching agenda.

### **The firm as a competent team**

The modern view of the firm, just emerging out of half a century of post-war concern with machines, quantification and formal systems analysis, increasingly recognizes the dominant importance of effectively organized tacit knowledge embodied in human beings and in competent teams (Eliasson 1990, 1996a). In such a firm dominant emphasis is placed on people and their intellectual capital; managing, recruiting and releasing people with competence become critical for business success and top management. This career model of the firm (Eliasson 1996a

***“European management practice and training therefore exhibit a more diversified structure than the standardized US management teaching agenda.”***



***“In the US higher education is used more systematically than in Europe for talent selection. Some firms have even stopped recruiting career candidates with no academic degree.”***

***“In Germany it is still possible to reach top positions in the large companies by way of an entirely internal career, and without an academic platform to start from.”***

p. 67 ff.) is immediately recognized by firm management. Firm leadership is exercised through other people. Hence, the top-management team, which carries the ultimate responsibility for the firm is very careful in its choice of team members, always recognizing that the most effective education of top managers is a varied career.

### **Selection for a career**

Interviews I have carried out with US, German and Swedish firms on their use of highly educated people in production (Eliasson 1994, 1996c) all point in one direction. Firms are not looking for degrees, but for talent and young students with the right mindsets. Statements like “if you don’t find the best people, you lose” appear frequently in my interviews, and “initial selection” is regarded as very important and costly. Firms are, however, also recognizing that the probability of finding talent is much higher in the pool of graduate engineers, MBAs and even (notably in the US) among students with a doctorate degree than if you search at lower academic levels. In the US higher education is used more systematically than in Europe for talent selection. Some firms have even stopped recruiting career candidates with no academic degree. The business career, therefore, tends to start from an academic platform. Again, however, here too Germany distinguishes itself from other countries. In Germany it is still possible to reach top positions in the large companies by way of an entirely internal career, and without an academic platform to start from. The argument is that if you exclude non-academics from consideration you may miss extraordinary management talent.

While the recruiting of holders of doctorates for corporate careers has increased in the US in recent years, European firms appear not to be keen on recruiting students with a doctorate for their internal career paths. One reason frequently given is that doctors in Europe, excepting the UK, are too old and that they enter business jobs with a too academic mind. Old fashioned European universities, furthermore, are not believed to filter talent into their doctorate programmes to the same extent as US elite universities.

### **Integrating innovative diversity with repetitive manufacturing**

One reason for the increased interest in holders of doctorates recruiting in the US is the increased rate of technological change and the need for high level management, not only of repetitive manufacturing but also of the development of innovative new technology<sup>4</sup>. The US is dramatically ahead of Europe in the technological race and the problem there has been to integrate the management of repetitive manufacturing, which requires focus, with the management of change which requires diversity within the same organization. The one tends to destroy the other, efficient standardized manufacturing operations rejecting innovative change and efficient innovative change lowering repetitive production efficiency.

While solving the schizophrenic task of simultaneously managing repetitive volume production and innovative diversity has been the ambition of the large US corporations, they have not been all that successful. New development, notably in information technology, telecommunications and in biotechnology has taken place predominantly in small and new firms (Eliasson 1996a). There may be a joint team solution, but evidence so far points in the direction of an organizational solution through the market<sup>5</sup>. How to do it, however, definitely is no management technique that can be developed and taught in class. It is learned on-the-job.

### **The allocation of competence**

Competence capital is rarely exhibited in the balance sheet of firms, even though this capital dominates all other forms of capital and even though the modern firm may invest more in competence development than in machines and buildings. If properly measured, some firms would carry competence capital several times the visible (tangible) capital on their books (Eliasson 1992). Such firms require a very different competence background to manage than do the mature firms in slowly changing technological environments.

It also has to be recognized that while most documented information on management education refers to the large firms, the small competence-intensive

4) believed in academic literature to be of academic origin. This is not the case for IT (Eliasson 1996a), but for biotechnology (Eliasson and Eliasson 1996).

5) for instance through *competence bloc* formation; see Eliasson 1996b, Eliasson and Eliasson 1996.



firms, typically operating in the intersection between manufacturing and private services, are the dominant creators of new technology. The management of small and large firms with a dominant knowledge capital that is not visible in the books, furthermore, not only requires very special qualities of top management in dealing with the markets for venture financing and control. With almost the entire asset structure tied up in more or less mobile people with competence the composition of such teams of competent people to generate value growth in the stock market is indeed a different and radically new and difficult aspect of business management. Above all, new combinations of internal competence development have to be integrated by external recruiting of competence through employment arrangements and/or cooperation with other firms.

### **Learning on-the-job and in the market**

Competence can be reallocated within and between firms (Eliasson 1991) over the:

- *internal* firm, and
- *external* labour markets, and over the
- *mergers and acquisitions* (M&A) market.

The management of change in a rapidly changing technological environment is largely a matter of forming competent teams over these three markets and to engage in systematic on-the-job skill upgrading. Employees learn and gain experience by moving through the market, and firms (“corporate learning”) develop tacit team competencies in the same way and through reallocating people on new tasks to achieve better matchings of competencies and jobs. Stafford and Stobernack (1989) report that the high-tech firms acquire the competencies needed internally through long tenures rather than through external recruiting. It is important to recognize that even though people in the executive career spend brief but expensive spells in management schools or corporate classrooms, and draw the largest educational resources per individual, this is very different from the focused skill upgrading of specialist workers.

*Top level management training means focussing on becoming specialized as a generalist*, acquiring the kind of generic skills that we often associate with academic education. For the business leader, however – and this was repeatedly emphasized in my German interviews – this means acquiring a broad-based functional experience across the firm and focused on the capacity to work with and through people.

Such observations confuse the Becker (1964) distinction between *general skills* to be learnt at school and *specific skills* to be acquired on-the-job. Not even the American standardized management education system is in keeping with the Becker notation. In the US, functional specialist skills like accounting are taught in class. In the German education and training design the two modes of teaching and learning are integrated. Even the general skills associated with the competence platform needed to efficiently learn specific, general and advanced skills on-the-job are partly acquired on-the-job. The most important general skill emphasized during my interviews is organizational; the ability to organize people with different capacities into competent teams, notably with the purpose of integrating technological choices (possibilities) with economic (profitability constraints) considerations.

### **The firm as a management school**

A business leader only reaches that position after a long and varied career through one or several firms.

In large German firms the career typically runs through one firm, but over a range of functions. The US career means frequent upward job changes between firms in a specialist functional career. In contrast, the Swedish career to top positions ranges over several firms as well as different functions, perhaps because Swedish firms have been smaller and because of a different tradition, facilitating – at least in the past – career paths between firms belonging to the same industrial bank group. Increased decentralization, and fragmentation of the big firms into semiautonomous corporations, however,

***“(...) while most documented information on management education refers to the large firms the small competence-intensive firms, typically operating in the intersection between manufacturing and private services, are the dominant creators of new technology.*”**

***“Top level management training means focussing on becoming specialized as a generalist (...)”***





***“Business career programmes offer a combination of general corporate classroom teaching and specialist functional skill development in firm technologies. The more important firm-based corporate education and career programmes the more diversified management education will be.”***

have made such varied careers more difficult (Eliasson 1996a,c).

### **Functional experience**

The functional skills emphasized during the career are normally specific to the business, but German and Swedish business leaders often argued that a deep technical knowledge of one business was a necessary background for a business leader. Even though specific to the firm *a talented leader should be able to generalize from specific functional experience*. In the mechanical engineering industry it was long mandatory for high-level positions to serve some time as a factory manager and in purchasing. While such requirements appear to have continued in German industry, they were relaxed in Swedish and US industry through most of the 1980s. This relaxation of career rules paralleled the widespread outsourcing of manufacturing to other countries, and US type financial management style gained terrain in the big corporations with disastrous consequences according to many observers (see for instance Dertouzos, Lester and Solow 1989). The “hollow corporation” was a term often heard. The “return” of production management in recent years has also meant a partial return of the old career rules.

### **Learning to cope with business mistakes by making mistakes**

The capacity of business leaders to work with and through people – all business leaders recognize – can only be acquired on-the-job, but also demands particular innate talents. The career, therefore, becomes a selection device by which those with appropriate talent are filtered upwards towards increasingly demanding and comprehensive jobs. Part of the theory, clearly formulated in a couple of Swedish interviews, is that the method of learning through the career means constantly being placed on tasks that are too difficult for most of the candidates. Business mistakes along the career are regarded as a learning cost. The theory is that the CEO of a company should have been through an experience of correcting business mistakes and that such experience should be acquired early, before the mistakes became so large that learning is both impossible and prohibitively costly.

As mentioned, the career is preceded by a prior selection at recruitment oriented towards eliminating at an early stage candidates without a career potential. It was generally argued that “costly initial selection” was profitable compared to allowing low talent to enter the career. It is *more important* (Eliasson 1996a) *to prevent incompetence from reaching high positions in a firm, than to get the best to the top*. There is no way to get around the observation that at higher levels education and career competence development perform important filtering functions. The top level managers interviewed were very clear on this.

### **The placement market**

It is also of interest to note that part of the filtering of talent for management careers has been moved down to the university campus, notably in the US and in international management schools. The US elite campuses regularly become veritable market places for the trading of human capital where elite college or university graduates meet representatives from “elite” companies. The presumption is that elite schools abound with the talent firms are looking for. In Europe, the establishment of such markets is rare even though firms tend to focus their demand for talent on particular educational institutions believed to have recruited and processed talent: in Germany, Sweden and France notably engineering schools.

Increasingly, the large international firms, notably US but also European have established firm specific recruiting markets for, what is sometimes called, their global sourcing programmes, recruiting young graduates, notably from the top engineering and business schools for their international career programmes.

### **Standardization**

Business career programmes offer a combination of general corporate classroom teaching and specialist functional skill development in firm technologies. The more important firm-based corporate education and career programmes the more diversified management education will be.

As mentioned already German firms distinguish themselves by offering elaborate



inhouse programmes at all levels, notably emphasizing functional skills and functional diversity. Furthermore, they do not rely much on the standardized management teaching institutions so common in the US, a circumstance that has rendered them a bad reputation of conservatism in management academic circles (Locke 1996a, p. 96 ff.). German firms emphasize engineering skills but do not rely on the Technische Hochschulen, considered to be too academic, but rather on the more practically oriented Technische Fachhochschulen. More than in the other European countries career programmes in the large German firms integrate formal education at some university or Hochschule with on-the-job training and work during the week. In conclusion, a certificate is awarded for a particular authorized field. The "market value" of that certificate depends on the firm in which the programme has been conducted. Even though German managers tend to stay with their firms much longer than do American and Swedish managers, this market quality grading of certificates is similar to the value of degrees from American colleges and universities. However, the diversity offered by a firm-based educational system must be greater.

Locke (1996a, p. 55 ff.; also see Sorge 1979) argues that the German rejection of the US managerial education system is rooted in the German leadership tradition, accepting a broader role for the State and interest groups than is accepted in the US and the UK.

Contrary to the US, Germany concentrated on relatively low volume quality production after the war which meant a necessary emphasis on functional competence development within firms. German management and interest groups paid great respect to science and engineering, but not to commerce, which resulted in, Locke (1996a, p. 74) contends, the development of their typical "management education without business schools".

By the late 1970s German industry had developed its own alternative to the American dichotomy between ownership and management that focussed on "knowledge management" (Locke 1996a, p. 99), not on formal education. The American leadership style, more accepted in other European

countries, emphasized the teaching of quantitative methods, analytical thinking and the structuring of problems, all associated (in the US) with good management. German leadership and management in comparison were often found inferior, conservative and lacking necessary intellectual qualities. Locke (1996a, pp. 98 ff.), observing the gulf between German management reputation and German management performance, finds that while good American business schools work on real problems that they translate into formal systems that they teach businesses to use in their practice, German faculties of business economics do not possess the skills of their American colleagues to translate business problems into formal systems. This is, however, not what they are supposed to do. Rather than creating overly simplified models to be used for solving business problems, Locke argues, German academics in management are involved in schooling the mind for practical problem solving of future business decision makers. There are plenty of people in German academia capable of translating business problems into formal models for teaching, but they are not to be found in the faculties for business economics. The "locus of German management is in the firm, not in the management profession" (Locke 1996a, p. 100).

### **Integrating engineering and economics in class**

Classroom teaching by definition, builds on specialization and communicable standardization. Engineering schools teach engineering subjects. Management schools teach economics fragmented into increasingly specialized and standardized courses in narrow subjects.

Running a business, however, means integrating it all. The outcome is the result of the tacit undocumentable skills of integration. The career is where the apprentice learns such integration competencies. The executive career is the perhaps most important form of both vocational training and higher learning. It develops the higher order generic skills to coordinate people with diverse competence attributes (Eliasson 1996a) to perform as competent teams. In a way one can say that *the career specializes in turning out accomplished generalists*.

***"Classroom teaching by definition, builds on specialization and communicable standardization. Engineering schools teach engineering subjects. Management schools teach economics fragmented into increasingly specialized and standardized courses in narrow subjects. Running a business, however, means integrating it all."***

***"The executive career is the perhaps most important form of both vocational training and higher learning."***



***“Teaching in class and learning on-the-job should be integrated and that a diversity of approaches is to be preferred to standardization. Perhaps this is where Europe, after all, may have an opportunity to excel.”***

## **Can entrepreneurship and leadership be taught in class?**

Most of my presentation and most of the literature refer to the management of, and corporate education for large business organizations. And most large business organizations have an entrepreneurship problem.

Effective management of large businesses is disturbed by the uncontrollable variety associated with entrepreneurship (Eliasson 1976, 1996a). Entrepreneurship in large firms, furthermore, typically resides at the top leadership level and is executed through innovative reorganization, notably of people.

Can business executives learn these most important and difficult tasks at school, and even more importantly to integrate them in the same firm? They think so and business schools open up programmes in en-

trepreneurship and leadership at an increasing and alarming rate.

While US management education offers selection and the teaching in class of standardized both analytical and functional skills, Germany, at the other extreme, focuses on tacit competence development and selection through a job-based education programme, partly outsourced to school. The rest of Europe is found somewhere in between.

Empirical studies offer little advice on the details of the preferred management education. Both economic common sense and studies of business performance, however, strongly suggest *that* study programmes should integrate functions, notably engineering and economics. Teaching in class and learning on-the-job should be integrated and *that a diversity of approaches is to be preferred to standardization*. Perhaps this is where Europe, after all, may have an opportunity to excel.

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# Who should pay for tertiary education?

## The problem

Tertiary education in many European countries in the 1990s is large, complex and expensive. Degree courses are still the dominant component but many others are now considered to be legitimate tertiary education. There is a large and growing number of subjects and levels of study. Research blurs one boundary, professional and vocational education and training another. In considering what constitutes efficient and equitable funding of mass tertiary education, linkages throughout the complex network must be taken into account.

Tertiary education differs from primary and secondary education in two fundamental ways. One is that its students are

adults who have a much greater responsibility for their own learning than younger people. The second is that there must be great diversity of provision so little in the way of a common curriculum framework is possible. Both of these features have far reaching implications for policy and funding.

Table 1 shows that in 1992 between a third and a half of the young population entered tertiary education in EU countries. In most countries the figures are certainly higher in 1996. Furthermore the figures in the table ignore part time students, who constitute an important group in some countries. The table also takes no account of the growing number of students in some countries who enrol in tertiary education for the first time at a later age than their early 20s.



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**The production of graduates makes substantial claims on national economies. It is not surprising that many governments are showing signs of concern about the size of the public expenditure commitment they are making to it.**

**There is no reason why the state should be the only, or even the dominant, source of finance, but it must ensure that all have reasonable opportunities of tertiary education relevant to their needs. It must also fill gaps where the market fails to provide.**

**Table 1**  
**Entry and Graduation Rates in Tertiary Education**

	Entry rates as % of relevant age group	BA graduation rates as % of age group	MA graduation rates as % of age group
<b>1992</b>			
<b>Greece</b>	29.3	11.8	0.1
<b>Austria</b>	34.1		7.9
<b>UK</b>	36.9	20.4	7.2
<b>Ireland</b>	39.9	17.4	3.5
<b>Netherlands</b>	40.1	17.8	8.6
<b>Italy</b>	41.7	10.5	9.8
<b>Spain</b>	43.3	8.0	12.1
<b>Germany</b>	47.8		13.0
<b>France</b>	48.0		14.5
<b>Sweden</b>	52.0	11.4	
<b>Belgium</b>	52.6		13.6
<b>Denmark</b>	52.8	22.1	7.9



**Table 2**  
**Expenditure on tertiary education as percentage of GDP**

	Public expenditure on HE institutions	Transfer to private sector	Net private expenditure	Total
<b>1992</b>				
<b>Portugal</b>	0.90			0.90
<b>France</b>	0.80	0.10	0.10	1.00
<b>Spain</b>	0.80	0.00	0.20	1.00
<b>Germany</b>	0.90	0.10		1.00
<b>UK</b>	0.80	0.30		1.10
<b>Ireland</b>	1.00	0.30	0.30	1.60
<b>Sweden</b>	1.00	0.60		1.60
<b>Netherlands</b>	1.20	0.60		1.80
<b>Denmark</b>	1.30	0.70		2.00
<b>Finland</b>	1.90	0.30		2.20
<b>USA</b>	1.20	0.10	1.10	2.40

Source: Education at a glance OECD 1995

Table 2 shows the share of national income devoted to tertiary education. It varies between about 1 per cent and 2 per cent in most European countries; (Finland joins USA as one of the few countries where more than 2 per cent of national resources each year go to tertiary education). Table 3 shows the information on a per student and a per graduate basis. The per student figures are taken from the OECD report. The per graduate figures are estimated by the author. They are

based on the per student figures which have been adjusted to take account of estimates of the average number of years required to complete a degree and the percentage of entrants who fail to complete their courses. It should be noted that the estimates are extremely sensitive to the assumptions made about average course lengths and student wastage. With these reservations in mind the figures show that the average graduate in the European Union costs the taxpayer between 2.7 and 5.1 years of the average income in the country concerned.

Even allowing for possible large margins of error, these figures indicate that the production of graduates makes substantial claims on national economies. It is not surprising that many governments are showing signs of concern about the size of the public expenditure commitment they are making to it.

There are three main reasons for this concern:

- general restraints on public expenditure to which most European Union countries have committed themselves;
- inappropriate distribution of resources within tertiary education (usually a belief that the balance is too much in favour of academic rather than professional preparation);
- inefficient use of resources within universities and colleges.

## Efficiency

Table 4 provides further information relevant to the equitable and efficient funding of tertiary education. It shows that in European Union countries men with university degrees earn, on average, between 32 per cent and 92 per cent more throughout their lives than those with completed upper secondary education only. Workers with non-university tertiary education fare less well but it is still a worthwhile private investment. Their average lifetime income is 10 per cent more than secondary school leavers in Denmark and 32 per cent more in Finland. For women the variation between countries in the differen-

**Table 3**  
**Expenditure per student and per graduate**

	Expenditure per student		Expenditure per graduate	
	US\$	Percentage of per capita GDP	US\$	Years of per capita GDP
<b>1992</b>				
<b>Spain</b>	3770	29.4	37700	2.9
<b>Austria</b>	5820	32.3	49885	2.8
<b>Italy</b>	5850	33.7	87750	5.1
<b>France (public)</b>	6020	32.5	49255	2.7
<b>Germany</b>	6550	32.2	80615	4.0
<b>Belgium</b>	6590	36.4	45769	2.8
<b>Denmark</b>	6710	38.1	61938	3.5
<b>Sweden</b>	7120	42.9	61029	3.7
<b>Ireland</b>	7270	56.9	48467	3.8
<b>Finland</b>	8650	49.4	74143	4.2
<b>Netherlands</b>	8720	51.5	74743	4.4
<b>UK</b>	9400	59.4	47000	3.0
<b>USA (public)</b>	11880	52.0	79200	3.5

Source: Education at a glance OECD 1995



tial is greater. Women university graduates in Italy earn on average 16 per cent more than secondary school leavers, while in the UK they earn more than twice as much as their sisters who leave school after upper secondary education.

There are also wide differences in the salaries earned by graduates of different subjects. Rate-of-return calculations based on what graduates earn and what they and the state pay for their higher education show it to be a much better investment for some than for others. Table 5 shows both **private rates of return**, valuing higher education as an *individual* investment, and **social rates of return**, which value *society's* investment in terms of estimates of an individual's enhanced productivity, in the UK. In all cases private rates of return are much the higher. This means that under present financing arrangements higher education is a much better investment for individual students than for society as a whole, simply because the state bears most of the direct costs. Furthermore students of some subjects obtain a more valuable investment than others. Students can therefore be said to receive different "products" when they "buy" tertiary education. Variations in financial support for their studies and their living expenses intensify the differences.

Many recent reports from international and national organisations have concluded that students and their families ought to contribute significantly more to the costs of their tertiary education. Their recommendations are based on two distinct analytical interpretations. The protagonists may be labelled the **efficiency** faction and the **equity** faction.

The **efficiency** view is based on the belief that economic efficiency is served if individuals pay directly for services they receive, and that the high rates of taxation needed to provide them out of public funds inhibit more general economic efficiency.

The **equity case** for student contributions lays greater stress on disparities in the financial support available to different categories of students. It is very frequently the case that students taking academic courses are more generously provided for

**Table 4**

### Men graduate earnings as % of earnings of workers with upper secondary level qualifications

	Men University	Men Other tertiary	Women University
<b>Netherlands</b>	132		147
<b>Italy</b>	134		116
<b>Spain</b>	138		149
<b>Austria</b>	146		134
<b>Denmark</b>	146	110	135
<b>Belgium</b>	149	115	164
<b>Sweden</b>	160	118	156
<b>UK</b>	171	121	206
<b>France</b>	174	127	142
<b>Portugal</b>	179	124	188
<b>Finland</b>	192	132	176

Source: Education at a glance, OECD 1995

than those doing professional and vocational training courses that are usually seen as being of a lower level. **Equity gaps** are particularly serious if the students who benefit most from the academic courses are from relatively more affluent households.

If different types of course attract different levels of financial support it creates incentives for tertiary education institutions to offer, and for students to attend, courses in the most financially favourable form even if they could be more effectively offered otherwise. Thus, inequalities of financial support may promote inefficiencies.

*"(...) under present financing arrangements higher education is a much better investment for individual students than for society as a whole, simply because the state bears most of the direct costs."*

**Table 5**

### Rates of return to university education in the UK

	Private 1981-1985	Social 1986-1989
<b>Social sciences</b>	32.5	12.0
<b>Engineering</b>	34.0	7.5
<b>Science</b>	23.5	6.0
<b>Arts</b>	10.0	0.5

**Notes:** The private rate of return is estimated by comparing prospective lifetime earnings (minus taxes) with the private costs of higher education. Social rates of return are based on the full costs and include taxes paid during working life. The figures shown make no allowance for the higher ability of graduates (which might be expected to result in higher earnings anyway) because the purpose of the table in this report is to draw attention to the wide subject differences in higher education as an investment.

Source: Top-up Loans for Students DES (DfE) 1990



***“The boundary between university and other tertiary education will probably become increasingly blurred. It is important that the incentives provided by public-funding mechanisms do not distort what is efficient and equitable for students, employers and the community.”***

An important strategic issue for the future development of tertiary education is the distribution of further increases in enrolments amongst its different elements. The shift away from traditional mainstream first-degree courses towards post-graduate courses on one side and vocational training on the other is likely to continue. The boundary between university and other tertiary education will probably become increasingly blurred. It is important that the incentives provided by public-funding mechanisms do not distort what is efficient and equitable for students, employers and the community.

### **Sharing the costs**

There is no reason why the state should be the only, or even the dominant, source of finance, but it must ensure that all have reasonable opportunities of tertiary education relevant to their needs. It must also fill gaps where the market fails to provide. Despite the high private rates of return there are five main reasons why governments must continue to play a large part in funding higher education:

- to help ensure that all students are fairly treated;
- to help avoid waste of talent;
- to share the investment risks between those for whom it proves to be a good investment and those who are less lucky;
- to enable society as a whole to benefit from the external benefits of having a significant number of its members educated to high levels;
- to encourage universities and colleges to pursue national policy priorities that might have less importance for any of the other stakeholders.

However, none of these offers unambiguous policy direction in a mass tertiary education system.

### **Equity**

If students have to pay fees, young people from poor and middle-income families are deterred from achieving their full educational potential. This is inefficient

for the nation as well as unfair to the individuals. However, once some groups have their educational expenses supported, it becomes difficult to devise schemes of subsidy that do not discriminate against others. In the United States for example both rich and poor students are able to attend expensive major private universities but it is difficult for members of middle-income families to do so (see Michael McPherson and Morton Schapiro. 1993). In Britain the system of student support discriminates in favour of full-time students on first-degree courses who are drawn disproportionately from relatively affluent families.

### **Loss of talent**

There are economic as well as welfare losses if some people are deprived of educational opportunities from which they could potentially benefit. In the future even more than in the past, European countries must depend on the brains and skills of their people for their economic well being.

However, the principle that everybody should achieve his or her full potential, needs to be used with care as an efficiency criterion. Like any other public or private investment, education and training need to be evaluated in terms of costs and benefits. For individuals and for societies the costs of extra education may exceed the benefits before the full potential is realised. For governments to invest beyond this point is socially inefficient because the same resources used in other ways will bring greater overall benefits. There may be other reasons for continuing education beyond the point where it is economically efficient to do so (for example in the case of students with disabilities) but it is important to appreciate that those reasons imply political judgements about distribution of welfare, not about economic efficiency. Efficiency suggests that it may be in the national economic interest to invest more heavily in individuals who learn easily, and cheaply, than in those who require more resources to reach their full potential. In many Asian countries public funds in tertiary education are concentrated on the most able students. Competition for the national universities is very severe. Meanwhile the majority of students attend private universities with much less favour-



able facilities and staffing, and virtually the full cost of their education is borne by their families. In many European countries on the other hand, of which Germany, Spain and Italy are prime examples, there is little rationing; all reasonably qualified school-leavers can enter higher education. The result is low costs but many complaints of low quality also. France occupies an interesting midway position. Admission to the prestigious Grandes Ecoles is as competitive as to the Japanese National Universities, but most students attend the much cheaper, publicly funded universities.

These reservations are particularly important when tertiary education becomes a mass system with open access. If it is offered to individuals free of charge there is an incentive for some of them at least to pursue it so long as there are *some* individual economic benefits. However, since the community as a whole is incurring costs, it may be economically efficient for society as a whole to stop spending before that point is reached.

This is not to say that the principle of tertiary education for all who can benefit from it has no relevance as an efficiency criterion. Obviously there is an economic loss if individuals who potentially have much to contribute to society are prevented from doing so by their family circumstances. However, it is not necessarily efficient to extend the same financial support from public funds to all individuals regardless of the amount of benefits obtained.

### **Risk sharing**

Although in general tertiary education in Europe has private rates of return as high and as secure as many blue-chip commercial investments, it is long-term and very risky for individuals. Returns for some individuals are very high, for others they are low, or even negative.

Employers who invest in tertiary education through student sponsorship also face risks. As well as the danger that their faith in a particular student may be unjustified, there is the problem in a free labour market that graduates whose degrees have been paid for by one employer may take their skills elsewhere.

These risks mean that total reliance on private funds would result in less than optimal levels of expenditure on universities and colleges when it is seen as a national investment. The state, however, is in a position to offer what is, in effect, collective insurance for all individuals and all employers against the failure of the investment in any particular one.

External benefits are another reason for public funding. They arise because some of the benefits of tertiary education accrue to third parties. It was widely used to justify publicly funded expansion of higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. For example it is claimed that qualified doctors bring benefits to patients which go beyond the earnings they receive.

Again, however, a strict economic analysis suggests some reservations. The modern world both spots and rewards high ability. Some writers claim that the shoe may now be on the other foot. The "Diploma Disease" (see Dore 1976) and associated hypotheses claim that, in a modern economy, graduates are often employed in preference to secondary school leavers even though the latter could do the particular job just as well. To the extent that this is so, higher education may benefit the individuals who receive it, while **penalising** their neighbours who leave school earlier.

### **National interest**

Finally there is the "national interest" that transcends individual interests. National governments inevitably have a concern with education and training that goes beyond the market. In tertiary education this is most apparent in some quality issues and in matters related to the national priority given to certain subjects. It is now widely realised that financial incentives are an effective steering mechanism and in order to use it the state must be making a significant financial contribution.

In addition it is now generally recognised that all markets require some regulation by the state, if only to ensure that all participants play by the rules. Beyond this, however, tertiary education has special features which make heavy reliance on the market a doubtful proposition. If markets are to operate properly, consumers

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***“Students (...) should contribute to the costs. The principle is now generally agreed. There is less consensus about which students should pay, when they should pay, how they should pay and how much they should pay. What is fair, what is efficient, what is politically acceptable and what is practicable?”***

must be well informed about the likely outcomes of their purchases, and they must have the opportunity of learning from experience in making subsequent purchases. Most decisions about post-18 education, on the other hand, are irreversible and are made on very few occasions. The ultimate outcomes of a particular choice are not apparent for a long time, are usually mingled with the effects of other decisions and are influenced by decisions taken at the same time by other students. Thus, the essential information feedback loops of efficient markets are absent.

Higher education provision determined solely by the wishes of large numbers of individual students would be unlikely to meet their real long-term needs, or those of society as a whole, as effectively as a system in which significant resource allocation authority is held by a democratic government, advised by expert agencies that can interpret the economic and social processes with which tertiary education interacts.

## Student contributions

The general case for students' contributing to the costs of tertiary education is that “he who benefits should pay”. Students receive most of the benefits: they, or their families, should contribute to the costs. The principle is now generally agreed. There is less consensus about **which** students should pay, **when** they should pay, **how** they should pay and **how much** they should pay. What is fair, what is efficient, what is politically acceptable and what is practicable?

Students can contribute to the cost of their tertiary education in three main ways.

- They can pay fees while they are studying
- Their studies can be free but their subsequent taxes higher to help pay for their successors' education.
- They can borrow while they study and repay when they are earning.

The first option is plainly the simplest but it has the obvious disadvantage of excluding those unable to raise the capi-

tal needed to buy a higher education course.

The second option is the Welfare State model in operation after 1945 but in retreat since the mid 1980s. People received benefits according to their needs and paid according to their means. Not only has there been a general reaction against this principle since 1980, but it fits tertiary education rather badly: although most students come from the more affluent families and enter better paid jobs, the extra tax payments from the higher income associated with tertiary education can be shown to be insufficient to repay the debt to the rest of society.<sup>1</sup>

Current policy debates are, therefore, largely concentrated on the third model.

In summary the main issues are:

- whether the balance between public and private funding should be similar for all categories of student in tertiary education;
- whether student contributions should be confined to their living expenses or whether they should also help meet their tuition costs;
- what account should be taken of the current financial circumstance of students' families;
- the proportion of total costs that should be covered by fees;
- how much students should be allowed to borrow and for what purposes;
- whether repayments should be at a fixed level throughout the repayment period, or related to income (so that they usually start low and rise with a graduate's earnings in the early years of employment);
- whether the lending agency should be a state-sponsored body or a commercial bank;<sup>2</sup>
- whether government loan subsidy should be limited to risk insurance (against graduates whose income fails to reach threshold levels) or whether there should be some general subsidy of loan interest.

1) This balance shifts with time. If everybody had higher education, graduates would have to pay for the higher education of their successors, while if few people have it, it is much more likely that non-graduates are in effect paying a large part of the costs. Thus the more people who receive higher education the stronger is the case for paying for it out of public funds.

2) This has important public finance implications for whether student loans are treated as part of public expenditure. It is particularly important at a time when many European countries are preparing themselves to meet the Maastricht conditions for the introduction of the Euro.



One possible basic principle for a mass tertiary education system is that all students should be treated equally. A student doing a secretarial course at the local college has the same *a priori* claim as another studying physics at a major university. Differential subsidy of students can be justified in terms of *fairness* if their financial or other relevant personal circumstances are different, or in terms of *efficiency* if there is reason to believe that society as a whole benefits more from some educational investments than others. Present patterns of subsidy in many countries are hard to justify in either term.

The political acceptability of any change in student contributions depends ultimately on perceived costs and benefits. From the viewpoint of students in general, any scheme which transfers some costs from general taxation to them or their families, is a loss. But the losses will be greater for some groups of students than others and some may actually gain; different schemes distribute the costs differently.

Any proposed redistribution of costs risks short-term political opposition from influential groups of students and their universities. This opposition is likely to be less if student payments can be paid on a phased basis during their working lives and related to their level of earnings. This suggests payment through the tax system and some commentators have suggested a permanent graduate surcharge on income tax. This could certainly raise large amounts of money but would almost certainly run into stiff political opposition.

Repayment of loans through the tax system is often confused with a graduate tax. The Australian scheme, introduced in 1989, requires students to pay about 25 per cent of the teaching costs of their higher education. They can pay it either in the form of a fee or they can, in effect, borrow the money for the fee and pay it back later through a special surcharge on their income tax which ends as soon as the loan has been repaid. The arrangement is not a "graduate tax" but the use of the tax system as a means of collecting loan repayments.

## Employers

Employers benefit from the skills of their educated staff, and also from the assessments the education system makes of graduates' abilities. Therefore, it is sometimes claimed, they should make significant contributions to the costs of that education. However, an employer pays workers according to their value to the enterprise. If tertiary education enhances that value a qualified worker is rewarded accordingly and therefore, employers maintain, any contribution to the costs of higher education is a matter for the individual graduate, not the employer. The labour market may be less efficient in practice than is suggested, but the principle is valid nonetheless.

There are, however, some ways in which employers are direct customers of tertiary education. One is as a result of the growing volume of professional development and updating provided by universities and colleges. Individual employers are often direct beneficiaries of this and frequently bear at least part of the costs. In the second place employers are increasingly wanting to influence the content of teaching programmes. It is reasonable to expect them to pay for that privilege: even though there will be some in traditional higher education who see it as a breach of academic freedom to allow employers to exercise direct influence on what is taught in tertiary education institutions. "Collaborative" courses developed jointly between employers and tertiary education institutions are becoming quite commonplace.

Such forms of employer contribution are voluntary. Other proposals would introduce an element of compulsion. One suggestion being actively discussed in the UK is an employer-assisted "learning bank" as a constituent of a lifelong-learning strategy. Under this scheme employees would be able to build up "learning credits" to which employers would contribute and which employees could encash at times convenient to them.

Another possibility widely used in the United States, and also to some extent in Japan, is the use of tax incentives to encourage the private sector to invest in

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education. Analytically this is interesting. In one sense tax exemptions are in part public expenditure since the government has forgone some of the income it would otherwise have collected in order to encourage certain categories of private spending. However, tax exemptions transfer from government to private individuals and corporations part of the responsibility for determining detailed priorities in the activities to which they are permitted to make tax exempt contributions

## Conclusion

Five principles ought to underlie any tertiary education funding system.

1) Everyone over 18 who has achieved an appropriate standard in secondary level education should be entitled to a standard amount of tertiary education at public expense.

2) Public funding ought to be equitable across all sectors of tertiary education: any

departure from equal treatment of all students should be explicitly justified in terms of equity, efficiency or national policy priorities.

3) Students themselves should expect to meet a significant part of the costs of their tertiary education beyond the basic entitlement.

4) Student contributions would normally be paid in instalments after graduation but those who wished to make the payment in advance should be allowed to do so. Annual repayments would be linked to each graduate's level of earnings.

(5) Public funding mechanisms should offer incentives for the widespread introduction of appropriate quality-improving and cost-reducing technology.

The precise implementation of the principles must remain a political choice in even country. It is the assertion of this paper that tertiary education would be financially healthier if the principles were widely accepted.

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# EU cooperation in higher education and training: new challenges and recent progress

## The initial track record

In almost ten years since the launch of ERASMUS and COMETT, the first major European Community action programmes involving higher level education and training, the drive towards more diversified and constructive Community-wide cooperation in these fields has proved irreversible. Both programmes were among several to make an original and effective contribution to Member State implementation of a common vocational training policy whose general principles had already been established in accordance with the 1957 Treaty of Rome.

Launched in July 1987, ERASMUS (the EC Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) was a comprehensive programme for all-round cooperation in higher education throughout the Community. However, its main aim initially was that a far greater proportion of all Community students than hitherto, should be able to complete an integral part of their education and training at a higher education establishment in another Member State. This organized student mobility has been realized within a European university network of inter-university cooperation programmes (ICPs) voluntarily negotiated by the staff of individual faculties or departments in different countries. Subject to endorsement by the higher education establishments themselves, a coordinating faculty acted as ICP contractor to develop the infrastructure needed to send large numbers of students abroad regularly for up to a year. Meanwhile, the students taking part received nationally administered ERASMUS mobility grants to

help them meet the additional costs of foreign study.

In many cases, ICPs also provided a framework for teaching staff exchange, joint curricular development and intensive programmes. Where they entailed student mobility, one essential precondition for support has been that the study period abroad be explicitly recognized (as a rule by the sending institution) in the award of the degree or diploma.

COMETT, which became fully operational in January 1987, involved collaboration between universities and industry for training in the new information technologies. Its counterpart to the ICPs within ERASMUS were university and enterprise training partnerships (UETPs) which brought higher education institutions and firms across the Community together on a geographic or sectoral basis to help them identify needs, improve the quality of training, and perfect the practical applications of technology. Transnational mobility within UETPs entailed student placements in firms abroad and reciprocal foreign exchanges of university and industrial staff.

In the eight years which followed their launch, ERASMUS and COMETT both expanded steadily. By 1994/95, over 137,000 students out of a total student population (EU plus EFTA - the European Free Trade Area) of some 10,417,000 were eligible to take part in ERASMUS ICPs, as compared with just 3000 in 1987 when the entire EC student population was an estimated six million. Meanwhile, the number of UETPs reached 205, involving 1500 higher education institutions, 3500 firms,



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**The drive towards more diversified and constructive Community-wide cooperation in these fields has proved irreversible. Cooperation in higher education and training has been summoned to respond to several challenges. Considerations other than mobility alone have gradually assumed greater significance. Yet the basic premises of cooperation remain, that its success depends on the exceptional variety of education and training systems throughout the Community.**

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24,000 in-company training courses for students, and approximately 800 exchanges of university and industrial staff. Transnational mobility in education and training had already made an impressive impact as a basis for Community cooperation in this field.

## **A shifting political agenda**

Meanwhile, fresh considerations were determining the future bearings of cooperation, paving the way for a more diversified strategy. Encapsulated for the most part in Articles 126 and 127 of the Treaty of Maastricht, they gradually took shape in response to a variety of developments linked to the EC education and training programmes in the years preceding the ratification of the Treaty in November 1993. They were also clearly expressed in the Community-wide debate on the programmes, which the Commission launched at the start of 1992 among national representatives in the academic, professional, teaching, business, industrial and government sectors, and which centred on three Memoranda or discussion documents.

### **A case for restructured cooperation**

A first area of concern was with the basic structure of programmes like ERASMUS and COMETT. The ideal of a “People’s Europe” debated prior to the 1987 Single European Act had lent added significance to the concept of the “European dimension” in education, dating from the mid-1970s. Renewed interest in this notion on the part of the Council and the Parliament now accompanied gradual acknowledgement that, despite the spectacular growth of student mobility in ERASMUS, the vast majority of students would nonetheless remain unable to benefit from study abroad. It thus became apparent that the cause of European integration might be better served by bringing Europe closer to the classroom of the much greater non-mobile student and staff populations.

Indeed, from around 1990 onwards, there were signs that “Europeanization” might be a natural tendency. Many higher education institutions started to set up Euro-

pean or international offices providing an administrative infrastructure for their ICPs. Teichler & Maiworm have found that in a recent survey of higher education institutions taking part in ERASMUS for the first time between 1987 (the year the Programme was launched) and 1992, only a minority (21%) had at least one unit in charge of international relations in 1986. However, around 63% of the same sample had set up such a unit within five years of their initial participation in ERASMUS. This trend was consistent with views later expressed in an independent evaluation of ERASMUS which suggested that the programme had not sufficiently consolidated the potential for full institutional commitment to cooperation, despite the invaluable role of the ICPs in encouraging a more international outlook. The trend was endorsed more firmly still in virtually all responses to the 1991 *Memo- randum on Higher Education in the EC* which agreed that the formation of networks of universities and similar institutions was the best long-term operational framework for cooperation in higher education with a “European dimension”.

### **Concern for quality**

Although the question of quality had come to the forefront in the higher education policy-making of many European countries throughout the 1980s, new systems for the quality evaluation of university teaching and learning were institutionalized in only two Member States, France and the Netherlands, by the end of the decade. However, concern for the issue has been increasingly self-evident, partly as a result of the recent surge in enrolments in European higher education. According to EUROSTAT data, student enrolments in the present 15 EU countries doubled in the 15 years from 1975/76 to 1990/91. Naturally, the trend has prompted anxiety that academic standards might deteriorate if financial resources are unable to keep pace with policies for increased access.

However, “academic standards” is only one of several interwoven considerations associated with quality which tend to complicate its meaning, measurement and subsequent translation into effective and realistic educational practice and policy-making. The relative efficiency or utility



of different branches of higher education or training constitute another. A third consideration linked to the quality issue may be the idea of accountability. Yet a fourth tends to regard quality in terms of the formal structures and procedures amounting to a methodology for its assurance and evaluation. As we shall see, this fourth perspective is the one closest to the *modus operandi* of the most recent EU initiatives in this area.

The quality issue is rendered trickier still by the different connotations of the foregoing considerations for different interested groups or stakeholders. Nowhere is this more self-evident than where the idea of quality education is linked to the question of what should be taught. Do some disciplines, perceived as essential to education and training in a modern industrial society, matter more than others?

Serious resolution of this category of dilemma is itself prone to over-simplification. Quality education may indeed deliver the skills needed to develop the modern high performance technologies of the information society, and exploit their market potential. It is less often remembered that such a society also requires **competent users** capable of making the most of these technologies, both in the narrow technical sense and in terms of their applications. Yet quality in higher education can also help to encourage and sustain a discriminating "consumer" class of this kind.

Likewise, the "accountability" of higher education is often viewed as a simple "value for money" matter, without acknowledgement of its more subtle implications. In some countries, the State has tended to grant institutions greater autonomy for the very purpose of enabling them to attain a growing range of objectives and fulfil their varied responsibilities not to one but several stakeholders (including students, employers, parents and the national and global academic communities). By the same token, such institutions are obliged to assume greater individual responsibility for the quality of the education they impart than those within more State-regulated systems.

ERASMUS may be credited with focusing increased attention on some of these com-

plexities. It has done so partly through the potential contribution of teaching staff mobility to improved education and training, as originally envisaged, but partly also through prompting closer examination of the criteria for academic recognition underpinning student mobility. The result has been broader appraisal - including self-scrutiny by institutions - of general academic practice, standards, course content and methods of assessment. The sharpened perception of the contribution cooperation might make to quality education is at least one reason for the priority accorded this objective in Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty. Furthermore, both the 1991 *Memorandum on Higher Education* and the responses to it from Member States stressed the importance of quality in the increasingly diversified world of higher education, as a problem of paramount interest. It was emphasized nonetheless that quality evaluation of research was not enough to guarantee the quality of teaching and learning and, less still, that of programme organization, management methods and communications, all of which were assuming increasing importance in a rapidly changing social environment.

#### **Academic and professional recognition**

Given its multiple ramifications, the extent to which "quality education" can be recognized in terms of traditional or novel academic qualifications may be questionable. Yet the stipulation that study abroad in the ERASMUS ICPs must be formally recognized was a significant development in the field of "academic" recognition. This is usually defined as the certification or other kind of explicit acknowledgement required to gain access to further studies, often in a higher education institution abroad. Notably, by 1993, well over 200 ICPs gave students the opportunity to earn professional qualifications in two Member States.

However, Community action regarding recognition specifically for professional purposes has centred, in particular, on the so-called regulated professions, which are formally subject to the possession of a professional qualification, and defined through reference to a specific national education or training sys-

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***“When it ended in 1994/95, no less than 7,895 students had been selected for courses abroad involving ECTS recognition procedures, in some instances at two or more foreign establishments.”***

tem. It has thus aimed to ensure that the right to freedom of movement and establishment in the EU is not compromised by failure to enter a regulated profession in a Member State which did not recognize appropriate qualifications for the same profession obtained elsewhere in the Community.

A series of EC Council directives between 1975 and 1985 sought mutual recognition by Member States of the conditions governing access to professional sectors such as medicine, pharmacy, architecture and, subject to certain restrictions, law. However, two more recent broadly-based and mutually complementary directives are geared to a general system for Community-wide recognition of the qualifications needed for access to most other regulated professions. In contrast to the initial sectoral approach, these “general directives”, dating from 1988 and 1992 respectively, require Member States to introduce horizontal cross-sectoral arrangements and structures enabling applications for recognition to be considered on an individual case-by-case basis. Although these provisions are formally separate from the EU education and training programmes, their effective implementation depends on substantial Community-level coordination involving national representatives responsible for introducing appropriate measures in each of the Member States. EU oversight of these activities is the responsibility of Directorate-General XV of the European Commission and is concerned with the Internal Market and Financial Services.

Meanwhile, in the search for a more comprehensive yet voluntarily based mechanism for academic recognition, an ERASMUS experiment for a European credit transfer system became operational in 1989. During a six-year pilot phase, the European Community Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS) was tested in five subject areas (business administration, chemistry, history, medicine and mechanical engineering). In all, 145 higher education faculties or departments took part in this pilot project. When it ended in 1994/95, no less than 7,895 students had been selected for courses abroad involving ECTS recognition procedures, in some instances at two or more foreign establishments.

### **Rationalization of cooperation**

In the debate on the Memoranda, recurrent reference was made to the need for the Community to achieve optimal development and use of its human resources, in part to remedy the persistent shortage of skills required to boost its competitiveness. One possible response to this challenge was to rationalize EC cooperation in education and training. In May 1993, the Commission accordingly announced plans for two new action programmes corresponding to each of the two fields. Following detailed drafting and negotiation involving the other Community institutions, SOCRATES and LEONARDO DA VINCI were adopted, and came into force in early 1995. As such, higher education became a major component of SOCRATES accounting for over half of its annual budget from the ECU 850 million earmarked up to 1999. But it retained its name - ERASMUS - and specific identity as a programme for cooperation in higher education and training. Most of the provisions of the 1990 LINGUA Programme have also been carried forward within SOCRATES. The achievements of the former COMETT programme, alongside those of other EU vocational training programmes, are being further developed in LEONARDO DA VINCI.

Already perceptible in the debate on the Memoranda, a sense that the human resources of the Community could be better geared to its material, social and cultural enrichment, including the personal fulfilment of its citizens, was now being defined more vigorously. The Commission's White Paper, *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment* adopted by the European Council in December 1993 noted that economic growth in the pre-1992 period was unable to halt a longer term decline in the Community's relative position in international trading markets or create enough new jobs. In early 1994, IRDAC (Industrial Research and Development Advisory Committee of the European Commission) took up the idea of increased competitiveness and speed of adaptation to industrial change as a realistic remedy in the report *Quality and Relevance*. Among its recommendations was the adoption of quality concepts in education and training and the prepara-



tion of people and society for a lifetime of learning. Little over a year later, *Moving towards a Learning Society*, a Forum Report on European Education prepared jointly by the European Roundtable of Industrialists (ERT) and the Conference of European Rectors (CRE), echoed this concern.

The most recent document consolidating these and related themes has been the White Paper, *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* presented on behalf of the Commission by Édith Cresson, Commissioner for Research, Education and Training and Pádraig Flynn, Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs. Adopted on November 29th 1995, it raised issues of critical importance to higher education, including its possible contribution to quality in advanced training as vital to the competitiveness of the EU and the preservation of its social model.

In the face of all these developments, cooperation in higher education and training has been summoned to respond to several challenges with a fresh sense of urgency. Considerations other than mobility alone have gradually assumed greater significance. Yet the basic premises of cooperation remain, that its success depends on the exceptional variety of education and training systems throughout the Community, with their widely differing structures and firmly entrenched individual cultures. As Jacques Delors, whose presidency of the Commission spanned virtually the entire period covered by the foregoing events, emphasized in his final year of office: *"it is precisely the creative opposition between the diversity of national systems and the growing similarity of our problems that provides one of the main raisons d'être of European cooperation. Community action in this area, which supports and supplements policies decided at national level, is designed to promote innovative practice, exchanges of experience, discussion, joint thinking and research"*. The following sections will review a modest but representative sample of the most recent activities indicative of its attempt to do so.

## Cooperation - a novel structure and emphasis

### An institutional contract

Alongside the continued encouragement of student mobility, the promotion of the European dimension in universities is one of two major pillars of ERASMUS in SOCRATES. The main formal key to its implementation is to be a contract between the European Commission and every higher education institution receiving support for its European cooperation activities.

Subject to formal approval, contract grants expected to total at least ECU 25 million will be awarded by the Commission in 1997/98 to institutions selected from around 1,600 applicants out of approximately 5,000 eligible higher education establishments in the 18 countries taking part in ERASMUS. To plan the satisfactory introduction of these arrangements, 1995/96 and 1996/97 have been transitional years during which over 2,500 ICPs received EU funding directly, in accordance with pre-SOCRATES ERASMUS procedures.

Normally concluded for three years and subject to annual review, the new institutional contracts will group together the great majority of ERASMUS-supported cooperation activities, including student and teaching staff mobility, joint curriculum development, intensive programmes and ECTS. The rationale for all such activities must be set out in a European policy statement submitted by each establishment as a mandatory part of its application. As further evidence of their commitment, universities are also expected to find other means of support to complement the EU grants.

The institutional contracts are expected to provide a focus for the development of numerous models of good practice in inter-university cooperation. They are also likely to impart a real institutional momentum to what have sometimes been uncoordinated ICP initiatives, and to strengthen institutional capacity to cooperate with regional partners beyond the confines of higher education.

One important and relatively new form of cooperation, however, stands outside

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***“One important and relatively new form of cooperation, however, stands outside the framework of the institutional contract - the so-called “thematic network” projects. (...) These thematic networks are pooling experience and spreading their best practice, through discussion of innovatory aspects of higher education, improvements in teaching methods and the comparability of curricula.”***

***“Joint transnational curriculum development has been eligible for ERASMUS support from the outset. (...) in 1996/97 three novel activities of this kind are being piloted under the ERASMUS element of the SOCRATES programme (...) the joint preparation of advanced-level “Master’s type” courses, European modules and integrated language courses.”***

***“In its Community support measures, LEONARDO DA VINCI also supports transnational pilot projects enabling universities and firms jointly to develop content, tools or material for common training modules which facilitate the mutual recognition of qualifications and skills.”***

the framework of the institutional contract - the so-called “thematic network” projects. Initially, some 28 networks built around discipline-related themes and in a few cases bringing together well over 100 faculties will cooperate on subjects of mutual interest. These thematic networks are pooling experience and spreading their best practice, through discussion of innovatory aspects of higher education, improvements in teaching methods and the comparability of curricula.

### **Pioneering curriculum development**

Joint transnational curriculum development has been eligible for ERASMUS support from the outset. However, in 1996/97 three novel activities of this kind are being piloted under the ERASMUS element of the SOCRATES programme with a view to reinforcing the strong European focus of the institutional contract from 1997/98. They comprise the joint preparation of advanced-level “Master’s type” courses, European modules and integrated language courses. Between them, these activities will centre, in 1996/97, on over 20 specially selected themes with a high-level professional dimension. The themes were chosen in collaboration with academic and professional organizations working at European level on higher education qualifications and also reflect the concerns of the 1995 Commission White Paper, *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society*.

The advanced-level curricula support the development of new, highly selective degree courses seeking to respond to European shortages of highly qualified human resources by pooling transnational expertise in the specialized fields concerned. Applications must demonstrate that such a shortage exists and how the programme proposes to respond to it. The kind of development encouraged is well illustrated by a current ERASMUS project for a diploma awarded to postgraduate students successfully completing multi-disciplinary training as international humanitarian aid administrators. Operational since 1994/95, it was developed in collaboration with universities in five Member States and the European Communities Humanitarian Office (ECHO), and strikingly combines a concern for quality, high level professional skills, and the

European dimension. It also incorporates the main types of activities supported under ERASMUS, namely student and staff mobility, intensive programmes and curriculum development.

European modules are intended to develop knowledge of different European approaches to content in their selected themes at partner institutions, and introduce new models for their integration in degree programmes from which non-mobile students will also be able to benefit. The scope of the modules will subsequently be broadened to cover Europe and European integration considered more comprehensively.

Similarly, in 1996/97, the joint development of integrated language courses will concentrate on the preparation of theme-specific modules for integration into teaching programmes as a degree requirement of the partner universities. Besides encouraging greater European awareness among students, this measure should contribute significantly to their subsequent professional marketability and, by the same token, extend their career prospects in Europe beyond their country of origin.

In its Community support measures, LEONARDO DA VINCI also supports transnational pilot projects enabling universities and firms jointly to develop content, tools or material for common training modules which facilitate the mutual recognition of qualifications and skills. Other LEONARDO DA VINCI projects are concerned particularly with innovation in advanced training and include the production of modules contributing to the development of key skills. As a rule, projects aim to ensure that university training for such skills is available to firms and, indeed, very widely incorporated into university curricula, irrespective of the occupational sector concerned.

It is in LEONARDO DA VINCI also that the continued scope for placements in the modern European industrial environment is probably most marked. Building on the initiatives developed under the former COMETT UETPs, the Community Measures in the new programme provide for both graduate and undergraduate placements in firms, and transnational ex-



changes of staff between firms and universities or training bodies.

## Cooperation for quality

As already suggested, "quality education" is a complex and often highly charged issue. Where it is sought through cooperation based on the creative juxtaposition of different national systems, it runs the risk of being more sensitive still. Indeed, there is widespread belief among experts that any reliable definition of "quality education", is not only elusive but liable to vary with changing socio-economic conditions. It is thus hardly surprising that the many academics and others who took part in a recent highly encouraging EU-supported experiment, considered that cooperation for quality should be driven by and test practical methodologies which might be used as a basis for exploring and evaluating its many different aspects. In the event, the experiment developed into an effort to help Member States address quality in higher education and training in a practical manner which was transparent but adaptable to a wide range of educational contexts and objectives.

### A comparative study and two pilot projects

The initiative dates from November 1991 when the Council, under Dutch presidency, called for the Commission to fund a comparative study of evaluation methods used in the Member States, and to develop a limited number of pilot projects in the field. Published in 1993, the study devoted particular attention to existing mechanisms in France, the Netherlands and the UK which, faced with an enlarged university sector, had by 1991 joined the former two countries in establishing new national-level quality assessment bodies and procedures. A fourth country, Denmark, was to do so the following year.

In November 1994, two parallel EU cooperation-based pilot projects were launched to test pre-designed procedures for assessing the quality of teaching and the "learning experience" in engineering sciences, the broad field of communication and information sciences and art and

design. The projects received Community support of ECU 710,000 and involved 46 higher education institutions in 17 EU and EFTA countries. Taking part voluntarily, these establishments were selected by their national authorities with an eye to criteria which included regional balance and the need for both university and "non-university" higher education representation.

The projects sought to heighten awareness of the need for promoting higher education quality evaluation, give it a European dimension, enrich existing national level procedures and, in the process, help improve effective academic recognition and mutual understanding of curricula. They were emphatically not intended to introduce official EU quality evaluation procedures or secure their Europe-wide harmonization or standardization. On the contrary and in the spirit of the 1991 Council proposal, the participants recognized that the experiments would challenge neither the responsibilities of Member States in this field, nor the autonomy of their higher education institutions.

Certain key principles were built into the projects. First and foremost, it was agreed that quality evaluation should begin with institutional self-assessment of the discipline concerned according to a common checklist of criteria. The methodology of the projects focused primarily on the quality of teaching, but allowed, to a certain extent, for possible interaction with the management of institutions, as well as with research. They also encouraged administrative staff and students to participate alongside academics in the self-assessment process and, at many of the "test" institutions, this actually occurred.

The second principle was assessment, with reference to the initial self-assessment, by a peer review group of external experts, entailing one or more site visits. Here again, it was recommended that membership of these groups should include not only academics but representatives from employment sectors which recruited students and, where possible, from one of the other participating countries.

Third, these two assessment stages were to lead to the preparation by the peer

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***“(...) the practical orientation of the projects had heightened awareness of the need for a well-designed evaluation programme to define its aims clearly and grasp their possible significance in terms of funding, adapting its methodology accordingly.”***

***“The Commission is preparing a draft Council recommendation for future action, which is intended to encourage Member States to make the setting up of quality evaluation and assurance systems an integral part of their responsibilities for higher education.”***

review group of a published report detailing the conclusions of the foregoing institutional evaluation considered overall.

The fourth and final common principle was that there should be complete autonomy and independence from government and, indeed, the higher education institutions themselves regarding the procedures and methods to be adopted.

The preceding elements were exploited as pre-designed procedures enumerated in a set of formal *Guidelines* specially prepared for the projects which, however, also included two additional features. These were the preparation of a national report by the national committees formed to oversee the projects in each Member State, and production of a European report by a group appointed by the Commission to manage the experiment at European level.

The European report was produced in the later stages of 1995, following completion of the pilot projects. It found that they provided a generally successful basis for checking the quality of teaching in the selected fields of study. The report considered that the practical orientation of the projects had heightened awareness of the need for a well-designed evaluation programme to define its aims clearly and grasp their possible significance in terms of funding, adapting its methodology accordingly. Evaluation might be a response to any one of a number of pressures and, depending on circumstances, had to be tailored to the national education system and the chosen discipline. According to the report, quality evaluation criteria are closely linked to the mission of individual institutions and the definition of an institutional goal. At a more strictly technical level, the report also set out proposals for revising and refining the original method of quality assessment for transnational purposes.

As intended, the pilot projects triggered from the outset a constructive exchange of experience between the participating institutions, experts, and State authorities, as well as representatives of international and non-governmental organisations, including UNESCO, OECD, the Council of Europe and the European Rectors' Con-

ference (CRE), which took part as observers. The European report, moreover, testified to the potential for creative interaction between the methodology it adopted and the academic cultures of the individual countries involved

The ongoing discussions which took place throughout the pilot project clearly indicated that while discipline-based assessment was viewed as a good thing it should not be treated in isolation. Its combination with other methodologies such as institutional review and quality enhancement within a holistic set of institutional quality policies would significantly enhance its value. All participants shared the view that a regular exchange of ideas and experiences at the European level as well as discussions on worldwide developments on methodologies for quality assurance in higher education would be an immensely beneficial exercise.

#### **Follow-up to the projects**

The Council of Education Ministers, on the basis of an information note presented by Commissioner Édith Cresson to its May 6th 1996 meeting, encouraged the Commission to consider more permanent provision for EU cooperation in higher education quality assurance.

The Commission is preparing a draft Council recommendation for future action, which is intended to encourage Member States to make the setting up of quality evaluation and assurance systems an integral part of their responsibilities for higher education. With regard to procedures and methodologies, it is considered that, as far as possible, the bodies in charge of quality evaluation in such systems should be autonomous and independent of the State and higher education institutions. Where systems are not established, Member States may be invited to maintain an ongoing dialogue and exchange of experience on quality evaluation and assurance with other EU countries, the European Commission and appropriate international bodies. Subject to Council agreement, the Commission may develop measures to support and supplement the cooperation of Member States and higher education institutions active in this field.



## Cooperation for recognized qualifications

As emphasized in the previous section, a central aim of the European pilot projects on quality has been to facilitate academic recognition of study abroad. One reason it may do so is that the necessary dialogue between self-assessment and peer review groups in the projects is very similar to the self-analytical and cooperation procedures for transparency and determination of workload credits among institutional partners using the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS). With the implementation of SOCRATES, this has been extended beyond its initial pilot status to become an increasingly important part of the overall ERASMUS architecture.

### Academic recognition - a novel approach to credit transfer

The novelty of ECTS lies in a uniquely combined set of operational principles. The first is that the road to sound academic recognition of foreign study is a **prior agreement** reached by students, with their home and prospective host institutions, on the courses they are to take abroad and the measurement of their learning performance there. Whether compulsory or optional, these courses are always part of the normal curriculum of the host institution concerned, and not created specially for ECTS.

Secondly, ECTS assumes that academic recognition of study abroad can be based on a transferable common currency, the unit of credit related to **total student workload** including not only student/teacher contact hours at lectures or tutorials but also extra reading assignments, essay writing, the completion of projects, field or laboratory work, etc. For this purpose, credits are normally agreed on the basis of 60 for an academic year, 30 for a semester and 20 for a three-month term.

These two principles presuppose a third - that institutions voluntarily committed to ECTS will spare no effort to exchange clear unambiguous **information** on the purpose, content, structure and assessment of their courses, and on how the commonly agreed procedures for the award of credit are applied to them. They

further presuppose the willingness of teaching staff to show entire confidence in the academic judgement of colleagues at the foreign partner institutions.

The practical implementation of ECTS depends on the correct exploitation of several key technical instruments: a comprehensive information package prepared by all partner institutions, from which students and staff gain an insight into their academic practice, and choose suitable foreign study courses; a student application form linked to a binding learning agreement; and a transcript of records to facilitate the transfer of academic credit.

Although the foregoing aspects are understood and implemented by virtually all participants in ECTS, it is not always clear to others that the principles and mechanisms of allocating credits is a different issue from that of the gradings or marks awarded to students for their academic performance. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that a fixed number of credits is **preallocated** to courses or course units on the basis of a joint **prior** appraisal of student workload by partner institutions. Although this work then has to be satisfactorily completed by students, their academic performance does not otherwise affect the number of credits awarded since this is determined **in advance**. A grading scale has, however, been devised to help ECTS partners interpret marking conventions and practices which vary quite widely throughout Europe, and which may have a bearing on a student's academic record. Nevertheless, the grading scale is meant to clarify such practices, not replace them.

Similarly, the length of studies is relevant only insofar as the number of credits is normally preassigned with respect to an annual base allocation of 60. The time actually taken by students to complete courses plays no part in determining the credits awarded, although every effort is made to ensure that the officially stated duration of courses corresponds realistically to the workload they entail.

Although respect for all these matters is vital to the successful operation of the system, all institutions taking part do so voluntarily. Like most other credit-based systems, ECTS is particularly well suited

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***“(...) a third “consolidation” directive, essentially to facilitate free movement and recognition of qualifications for those regulated professional activities still not covered by the general system, (...) is expected to come into effect in 1997.”***

to the development of modular courses. But it is entirely compatible also with the award of traditional qualifications, with which an appropriate number of credits can be equated depending on the higher education system involved.

### **Moving ahead**

In 1994, the 145 faculties taking part in the pilot project were invited by the Commission to submit proposals for the extension of ECTS as a fully fledged scheme. In the same year, a team of 26 national promoters was nominated to support the planned extension in all Member States. Two consecutive extension phases have resulted in the overall participation of 958 faculties (departments, etc.) in around 230 institutions in the 1995/96 academic year, including 36 non-university higher education establishments in the second extension. Most major subject area groups are already covered, led by engineering (approximately 17% of all networks), natural sciences (16%), medicine (11%) and business studies (10%). Above all, the system is due to operate within higher education institutions themselves and will thus be a highly visible element in the institutional contracts awarded from 1997/98.

It is clear from a 1996 evaluation that ECTS has passed its experimental stage, and is capable of successfully establishing working principles for credit transfer across a diversified range of higher education systems and practices, as well as in most subject areas. A further conclusion is that a successful institutional strategy for the extension of ECTS should take into account the national, institutional and curricular levels of implementation.

### **Impact of the general directives on professional recognition**

In February 1996, the Commission presented the European Parliament and Council with a progress report on the first general directive dealing with the recognition of higher education diplomas awarded on completion of professional training lasting at least three years. Examples of regulated professions thus covered include physiotherapy, certain categories of engineering in some Member States, teaching, law, auditing and ac-

countancy and certain occupations in the public sector. The report found that the directive has had a significant impact with at least 11,000 persons obtaining recognition of their diplomas up to December 31st 1994. While the cross-border mobility which might have occurred in its absence is unknown, records to date indicate that applications for recognition have been upheld in around 95% of all cases.

A second general directive introduced similar arrangements for the Community-wide recognition of qualifications associated with all regulated professions requiring less than three years' training. It will be subject to a similar progress report in 1999 when the system as a whole is due for review. Meanwhile, a proposal for yet a third “consolidation” directive, essentially to facilitate free movement and recognition of qualifications for those regulated professional activities still not covered by the general system, is scheduled for examination by the Council and European Parliament in the second half of 1996. It is expected to come into effect in 1997.

### **Streamlining recognition for study and jobs**

Despite its apparent convenience, the practical usefulness of distinguishing between “academic” and “professional” recognition is questionable. Most degrees or diplomas when not used to gain admission to further study, may be at least a minimal requirement for recruitment to both regulated and non-regulated professions outside the strictly academic world. In these and other instances, there is little or at least no fundamental difference between recognition *processes* whether the end is academic (further study) or professional (access to an occupation requiring high-level training). Furthermore, in many Member States, the information providers on both “academic” and “professional” recognition are the National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARICs) whose Community-wide networking benefits from regular EU support.

Alive to such reservations, the Commission in December 1994 issued a *Communication on recognition of qualifications for academic and professional purposes*,



for debate in the EU institutions, and among interested parties such as higher education institutions and professional organizations in the Member States. In May 1996, the Council examined a Commission report on the debate which it recommended for widespread circulation. It then set out additional proposals (as the report put it) to “*create and develop interactions between the various types of recognition, rather than to examine the possible developments of each considered in isolation*”. Progress in achieving this objective will be reviewed by December 1998.

The Council proposals cover several key areas whose finer implications are now being considered by the Commission and in the Member States. A central concern with a potentially pivotal role for the NARICs is the introduction of appropriate information measures. A further proposal is for a so-called “European administrative annex to the diploma” to describe the studies completed, with a view to boosting their transparency and recognition in States other than the one where the diploma was awarded. Yet another suggestion is to promote good practice in securing amicable settlement of disputes in the course of individual applications for academic recognition. Here again, the NARICs could play an important supporting role.

Finally, the Council envisages a contribution by the new ERASMUS thematic networks to a more comprehensive approach to recognition issues in cooperation with professional and industrial partners, management and labour representatives, and student bodies, including their direct participation in network activities where appropriate. Thematic networks are well placed to ensure that curricular content demonstrably reflects the needs of professions at European level, thereby reinforcing the thrust of the novel ERASMUS curricular development projects.

## Cooperation in open and distance learning

The present account of EU cooperation in higher education would be incomplete without mentioning its fast growing as-

sociation with the potential of open and distance learning (ODL). In the last two decades, this concept has gained currency in Europe to refer to arrangements in which students are liberated from the time and place constraints of the classroom and are able, in general, to exercise far greater control over the whole learning process, often making use of new information and communications technology (ICT).

ODL is fast expanding its capacity to deliver high quality education and training, including advanced level courses, to a potentially broader sector of the population. This includes those who belong to groups threatened by different forms of geographical or social exclusion. It can thus help to enlarge the pool of skills available to the European workforce in a more egalitarian way. Secondly, it is ideally suited to continuing education and training, enabling skills to be updated in a modern professional environment in which previously acquired knowledge can quickly become obsolete. Thirdly, with the support of ICT, it can deliver university courses from abroad in so-called “virtual” mobility programmes which ensure technological provision of face-to-face interactive learning in a process similar to that of the traditional classroom. In this way foreign courses can be offered to students unable to benefit from real mobility programmes such as ERASMUS. These and other positive aspects have all been explicitly endorsed in the 1995 White Paper, *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society*.

Earlier cooperation in ERASMUS, COMETT and some associations undoubtedly catalysed exchange of experience and expertise in ODL. But it also heightened awareness that initiatives in the field as a whole remained too fragmented for the most to be made of their demonstrable benefits. As the 1991 *Memorandum on Open Distance Learning in the European Community* emphasized, substantial economies of scale might be secured if the high initial fixed costs of large-scale ODL systems could be set against delivery to much larger international target groups. Given the diversity of the education systems in Europe, it was also recognized that ODL, while not constrained by national boundaries, could become constrained as soon



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as an educational qualification is sought. Thus embedding open and distance learning (ODL) in education initiatives at Community level is seen as a critical factor in its lasting effectiveness.

Similarly, more concerted European-level action is needed to monitor the quality and suitability of ODL systems in terms of their ability to promote effective teaching and learning. Yet another priority for cooperation is the effective and flexible integration of open and distance methods and systems of recognition into traditional learning environments in the Member States.

One important upshot of the foregoing concerns is that many higher education institutions are already partners in a group of SOCRATES projects financed for the first time this year to promote a broader exploitation of ODL within European education. Several of them focus on the refinement of teaching practice and materials in ICT-supported open systems. An example is MECPOL which coordinates the joint conception and testing of suitable models for teaching in systems based

on information and communications technologies.

More generally, projects tend to address the impact of ODL on both courses and on disciplines. Cooperation between higher education institutions specializing in ODL and “conventional” universities has also been encouraged. An example is PRELUDE coordinated by the UK Open University and involving the Universities of Bologna, Vienna and Hamburg. Yet another initiative, TRANSCULT, seeks to redress a perceived imbalance between the technological and organizational development of ODL and its cultural, cross-cultural and linguistic aspects.

Finally, mention must be made of the numerous university-based projects financed under the separate heading of research on telematics applications administered by DG XIII of the European Commission. An example is DEMOS (initiated by the Spanish National Distance Education University) which is developing the use of multimedia for the flexible support of cooperation between both teachers and learners involved in ODL.

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# The European Union and Dutch higher education: law and policy<sup>1</sup>



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## Introduction

The way in which European education law has been viewed in the Netherlands since the first rulings of the European Court of Justice can be characterised by a statement made by Crijns at the end of the eighties:

“The Minister of Education and Science need to fear not so much EC legislators as Community judges, who often have unpleasant surprises in store for national policy-makers.”

The words ‘fear’ and ‘unpleasant’ are indicative of a way of thinking which is still current, in which Europe is seen as a threat. This way of thinking is also encountered in other Member States.

Judges are viewed as an unpredictable factor (the ‘surprises’). Influence is wielded not just by European judges but above all by the national courts, which have their own responsibility in enforcing European law. This will be illustrated below with a specific Dutch example.

The direction of educational co-operation has not become any more predictable for the Member States since ‘Maastricht’, and judicial ‘surprises’ remain possible. The Treaty on European Union is a political compromise, and that certainly applies in the field of education, resulting in vague and complex Treaty articles which leave a great deal of scope for interpretation (cf. Articles 126 and 127 of the Treaty on European Union).

In view of this background it is useful to examine the question of why and when European instruments in the educational

field are legally binding. The answer to this question, if it is correct, will provide some clarification on the ‘surprises’ in store from the judges.

In describing the impact of law on the national legislative system, a broad distinction can be made between European regulations with a direct effect and the normative impact of European policy. An interaction takes place between the two.

Community law which has direct effect can be invoked by individual people before the national courts. This is particularly applicable for matters concerned with economic integration. It mostly involves the prohibition of discrimination in relation to the free movement of workers, services or freedom of establishment.

More subtle normalisation originates in European educational policy. The norms in the action programmes, for example, are intentionally kept more vague; innumerable reservations have been made. The norms here usually cannot be invoked before the courts. We are in the midst of the discussion on powers in European education policy: must education remain a national policy area and is the Community only allowed to do what can be tackled better at a supranational level (subsidiarity)? It has been pointed remarked by De Groof that the discussion on powers is characterised by ambiguity: on the one hand it is oriented towards minimising the powers of the Union while on the other responsibilities are being imposed on this same Union which touch on the core of national education policy.

The legal framework with regard to European co-operation in education is complex and it is - in my view too readily -

**This article examines the question of why and when European instruments in the field of education are legally binding. Attention is then focused on the influence of European law and policy on Dutch higher education on the one hand and developments in the Netherlands which are significant for European co-operation on the other.**

***“In describing the impact of law on the national legislative system, a broad distinction can be made between European regulations with a direct effect and the normative impact of European policy”.***

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a presentation of a ‘Round Table Session’ on European educational co-operation organised by the Asser Institute in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science on 8 May 1996.





*“We are in the midst of the discussion on powers in European education policy: must education remain a national policy area and is the Community only allowed to do what can be tackled better at a supranational level (subsidiarity)?”*

*“All large action programmes of the Council which do not have the form of a particular legal instrument are taken as what are known as decisions sui generis (...).”*

*“That which cannot be attained by regulation is partly accomplished using contracts/public-law agreements between the Commission and educational institutions.”*

*“A policy has been conducted in the Netherlands since the mid-eighties which is based on great autonomy for institutions of higher education. The autonomy of the institution of higher education in the Netherlands is also great in comparison with other countries.”*

assumed that European policy cannot have any legally binding consequences. A ‘tour d’horizon’ with regard to legal instruments is therefore needed. This will then be illustrated by a few practical examples relating to the Dutch situation, after which some concluding remarks will be made.

### **A closer look at European legal instruments in the field of education**

Article 3 p of the Treaty on European Union provides for action by the Community which makes ‘a contribution towards education and training of quality’. This objective is elaborated in Articles 126 (education) and 127 (vocational training) of the Treaty on European Union. We encounter specific elaboration of Community activities in the second paragraph of these articles.

With regard to the instruments of the Council in European educational co-operation, mention is made of ‘measures’ and ‘incentive measures’ (Articles 126 (4) and 127 (4) of the Treaty on European Union). The Treaty revisers have, I presume, intentionally not opted for clarity, because specific and binding legal instruments were opted for then such as ‘Directives’, ‘Regulations’ or ‘Decisions’ (Article 189 of the Treaty of Rome).

The position in the case of non-specific legal acts is generally such that norms often arise which do not have any legal force in the formal sense, as a result of problems with the legal basis or because of judicial enforceability. However, being binding is not the only relevant criterion. A legal act may have a consequence because it plays a role in the interpretation of provisions which are compulsory. The latter also applies to what are known as **framework decisions**. These are acts of the Council with a mixed Community and inter-governmental character. This relates to matters where the Member States doubt whether a power exists or where the intention is to indicate that no powers exist. Extensive use has been made of this specifically in the field of education.

All large action programmes of the Council which do not take the form of a par-

ticular legal instrument are taken as what are known as **decisions sui generis**. A decision sui generis has a legal basis in the Treaty of Rome and has come about according to the decision-making procedure indicated.. The legal force of such a decision consists of a duty to co-operate: as soon as an individual addressee of the programme, a university or student, takes part, national policy and law should be adapted. Participation in such programmes is promoted by financial incentives from the European Community. A duty to co-operate of this kind may have consequences which can be invoked before national courts.

That which cannot be attained by regulation is partly accomplished using **contracts/public-law agreements** between the Commission and educational institutions. It is remarkable that this form of influencing of national education receives virtually no political and scientific attention, despite the fact that the consequences for national education may be huge. In my opinion the limit on what may be regulated is determined by the legal instruments (usually decisions sui generis) within which these contracts are concluded.

### **European co-operation in education in practice: some examples from the Dutch context**

A policy has been conducted in the Netherlands since the mid-eighties which is based on great autonomy for institutions of higher education. The autonomy of the institution of higher education in the Netherlands is also great in comparison with other countries. The role of central government is limited to creating the general framework conditions. Higher education in this approach is controlled in a dialogue with the institutions on the basis of a two-yearly Higher Education and Research Plan (Hoger Onderwijs en Onderzoeksplan - HOOP).

The observation on autonomy for the institutions is important for the working-through of European law and policy. It is generally still considered at the European



level that the Member States have complete power over their own institutions. However, the danger of the autonomy of educational institutions being steam-rollered is often concealed in the discussion on powers which is conducted at Member State level.

The autonomy of the institutions is obviously also of direct significance with regard to the freedom to conclude public-law agreements with the Commission. The freedom of will of contracting parties as a result of the relatively great autonomy of the Dutch educational institutions is of great importance here. A good exchange of information should take place between central government and institutions of higher education on European co-operation and the ensuing obligations. This is all the more true because in the event of failure to comply with European obligations it is central government which can be addressed by the Commission and where appropriate will be ruled against by the Court of Justice.

### **Impact of European law and policy on Dutch higher education: some examples**

A specific Dutch example of what the 'duty to co-operate' entails and application of this duty by the national courts is the Van Ingen Scholten case.

This case concerned a problem which arose with regard to financial aid for students and the ERASMUS programme. The Dutch system of financial aid for students offers students entitlement to a basic grant and a public transport card (OV card), a possible supplementary grant - depending on the parents' income - and a possible interest-bearing loan which is tied to a maximum.

Van Ingen Scholten was a student of English who studied for six months in Newcastle (UK) under the Erasmus programme. The question arose with regard to the Dutch OV card as to whether this had to be compensated for on the basis of the ERASMUS decision now that Van Ingen Scholten could no longer make use of it.

The Ministry of Education and Science felt that no duty to pay compensation existed,

even on the basis of a special provision in the Dutch Financial Aid for Students Act in which administrative powers with freedom of policy is laid down.

The national Financial Aid for Students Appeal Board (College van Beroep Studiefinanciering) to which the dispute was submitted, thought differently. In a judicial review, the Board looked at the question of whether the national administration had correctly applied the freedom of policy given in the Dutch Financial Aid for Students Act according to European law (the principle of Community allegiance and the ERASMUS decision) and came to the conclusion that it had not done so. The ruling was partly based on the fact that in Dutch administrative practice the annual OV card was clearly regarded as being part of the grant and that the financial compensation for the mobility costs was not sufficient. There is no higher appeal against this decision of the national court (the Board). The consequences of this decision from the financial point of view were massive for the Dutch state. A sum of around NLG 5 million - over 2 million ECU - is involved in the potential claims for refunds to be submitted by ERASMUS students.

The duties ensuing from European-Dutch co-operation are also found to be relevant with regard to national internationalisation policy. Participation in European action programmes is propagated by the Dutch government as part of internationalisation policy. However, the margins for a Member State conducting its own national internationalisation policy are becoming narrower as EC policy yields more rewards. It should even be ensured that the internationalisation policy does not conflict with obligations entered into in the European context. This question arises, for example, in an encouragement of the Dutch government to direct internationalisation efforts in particular towards co-operation with non-EU countries.<sup>2</sup> One of the important arguments for this policy is that higher fees can be charged for students from outside the Union than for a Member State's own students, something which is prohibited in relation to students from within the Community.

***"It is usually still considered at the European level that the Member States have complete power over their own institutions."***

***"The duties ensuing from European-Dutch co-operation are also found to be relevant with regard to national internationalisation policy. (...) However, the margins for a Member State conducting its own national internationalisation policy are becoming narrower as EC policy yields more rewards."***

2) cf. HOOP 1996.



***“( . . . ) it is to be expected that the new system of financial aid for students applicable with effect from 1 September 1996 will have a negative impact on student mobility. (...) A decline in interest in mobility programmes can already be observed.”***

### **Dutch developments which are significant for European educational co-operation: some examples**

Nor is it difficult to find the reverse situation in which Dutch policy influences European policy. For example, it is to be expected that the new system of financial aid for students applicable with effect from 1 September 1996 will have a negative impact on student mobility. In the new Dutch system of financial aid for students, students are allocated their basic grant and any supplementary grant in the form of a conditional interest-bearing loan: the performance loan. The loan is only converted into a grant if a strict standard is complied with.

This “performance grant system” is not an encouragement to study abroad, because it is not an exaggeration to say that some risk of a delay in studies is run as a result of studying abroad. Delay in study in the new system may possibly lead to an interest-bearing loan and the danger of missing out on the whole grant and being left with a heavy interest-bearing debt from one’s studies.<sup>3</sup> A decline in interest in mobility programmes can already be observed.

Another example of the connection between Dutch and European policy is that the new system of student grants makes special demands on the ‘studyable’ nature of the programme. It is not right and proper to saddle the student with an interest-bearing loan if the programme **cannot** be completed. Extra finance is therefore made available to the institutions in the Netherlands to make the programmes ‘studyable’. However, the requirement of ‘studyability’ of programmes must also be viewed at the European level. In brief, European student mobility must no longer result in any delay. The language aspect for example will play an important role in the European context in ‘studyability’. A lack of coherence between European and Dutch policy without doubt leads to disputes here with regard to financial aid for students.

### **Concluding remarks**

The discussion on European co-operation in education is dominated by the distri-

bution of powers between the Member States and the Community. This overlooks the fact that the institutions of higher education, and this certainly applies to the Dutch institutions, themselves have a large degree of autonomy. It is at the level of the institutions that the obligations arise to which central government is bound. Tension then quickly develops between central government and the institution level. The consequence may be an adverse effect on the autonomy of the institutions of higher education. That would be a shame, because a large part of the success of European co-operation in education was attained at institution level.

Viewed from the perspective of national government, the consequences of the ‘duty to co-operate’ from European integration are difficult to predict. The legal basis of the duty is even difficult for specialists to understand. This reinforces the sense of a European threat. However, the binding nature of European education law ought not to be the domain of a few lawyers but should be made comprehensible to every lawyer, policy-maker and not least the ordinary citizen.

The description given above with regard to developments in Dutch financial aid to students is in my opinion the most important factor determining the success of the European programmes for Higher Education in the future for the Netherlands. It is regrettable to have to note that the situation does not look promising. In the new Dutch system of financial aid for students a grant (donation) is available for the duration of the course. A number of years ago that was still the case for the duration of the course plus two years. In those two years students could allow themselves an ‘excursion’ abroad. A delay in studies nowadays leads directly to interest-bearing debt or an extension to interest-bearing debt. Compared with the last ten years, Dutch students borrow more, have greater debts and work more alongside their studies. In view of this situation, it is understandable that students will be less inclined to plunge into a foreign adventure for which a very high price soon has to be paid.

<sup>3</sup> This Dutch problem of financial aid for students is discussed in more detail in: Roel van de Ven. *Onderwijsrecht en onderwijsbeleid in Nederland en de Europese Unie [Education law and education policy in the Netherlands and the European Union]*, The Hague, Nuffic, 1996



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# Student mobility within the European Union

**This article examines the opportunities in European law for taking part in education in another Member State. These opportunities ensue from the provisions relating to the internal market, including the free movement of persons on the one hand and the section on education in the Treaty on European Union on the other.**

## Introduction

1996 was declared the "European Year of Life-Long Education and Training" by a decision of the European Parliament and the Council.

Education is a sector which has gradually come to be affected to an ever increasing extent by the law of the European Community. Although education has historically been regarded as part of the non-economic sector, it clearly touches on the economic sphere. Mobility of students is in the interests of European unification, because it promotes integration. A need exists among students for opportunities allowing them to take their training, or part of it, abroad. European law offers these opportunities, firstly on the basis of the provisions relating to the internal market, including free movement of persons, and secondly under the section on education in the Treaty on European Union.

## European law and education

It is evident from policy documents of the European Commission that investments in education are considered to be of prime importance for the internal market to operate as well as possible and for the competitive position of European businesses to be maintained in the world market. According to the White Paper on "Growth, Competitiveness and Employment", education and training can make a contribution in the area of economic and social change and the fight against unemployment. The opportunity to receive suitable education also leads to a rise in the standard of living of workers. In addition, the

mobility of students promotes integration in the receiving Member State and therefore benefits the Europe of citizens, as mobility strengthens the bonds between the citizens and the Member States.

### The Treaty of Rome

The Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (Treaty of Rome) was purely economically oriented and therefore in principle did not relate to education at all. However, the Court of Justice decreed in the Casagrande judgment (case 9/74) that although education had not been explicitly brought within the powers of the Community institutions in the Treaty of Rome, Community law could have an indirect bearing on this sector. The Court justified Community activity in the field of education in so far as was necessary to accomplish the common market. EEC law has had consequences for the education policy of the Member States particularly via the free movement of workers (Article 48 et seq., Treaty of Rome) and through a broad interpretation of the term 'vocational training' (Article 128 of the Treaty of Rome; case 293/83, Gravier, and the subsequent case law).

### The Treaty on European Union

In November 1993, when the Treaty on European Union (the 'Treaty of Maastricht') came into force, education as a policy area was brought within the scope of the European Community. Alongside the impact which the provisions relating to the internal market have on the education policy of the Member States, the European Community now also conducts a policy of its own in the area of education. Articles 126 and 127 of the Treaty on European Union, known as the 'education section', form the legal basis for this policy. One of the objectives is to

***"EEC law has had consequences for education policy particularly via the free movement of workers (...) and through a broad interpretation of the term 'vocational training'."***



encourage the mobility of students and instructors (Article 126 (2) of the Treaty on European Union). This is done in particular through action programmes such as ERASMUS.

## Why do EC students want to take training courses in other Member States?

There is a need among citizens of the EC for opportunities to study in another Member State. Various motives may underlie this.

Firstly there are citizens who have a different nationality than that of the country they are living in. Examples are migrant workers who wish to attend a training course alongside their careers, and their children.

There is also a group of 'ordinary students'. They want to study in another Member State because the training they desire is not offered in their own country or is better in another country. Students who have been turned down for a place through a "lottery", such as Dutch medical students, also have an interest in being admitted to medical studies in Belgium, where there is no *numerus fixus* for medicine.

A third category which can be mentioned is that of students who want to take part of their training in a particular country because of their interest in its language and culture. A large proportion of these students participate in one of the action programmes of the European Community.

## The term 'worker' in Community law

The term 'worker' has a Community meaning. A worker in EC law according to the Court of Justice is 'the citizen of a Member State who for a particular period of time performs work for and under the authority of someone else and does so in return for payment.' What is decisive is the criterion that actual and real work is performed; the work must not be *marginal and incidental*.

It is apparent from the case law of the European Court that students can also have the capacity of worker, for example if they are on a practical placement or if they are attending a training course in the context of their work. Citizens who stop working and start studying can retain the status of worker provided there is a sufficient link between the previous work and the study.

To prevent abuse, the Court has stipulated in the Lair judgment (case 39/86) that an EC citizen who moves to a Member State with the sole purpose after having worked for a very short period of being able to claim particular benefits (for example student grants), is not regarded as a worker. The question is, however, how potential students can be deterred. The Court ruled out the requirement of a minimum period of employment in the same judgment.

## Conditions to be met for student mobility

A number of conditions must be met if students are to be offered a real opportunity to receive their training (or part of their training) outside their own Member States. These conditions fall into two groups: *access* to education in another Member State and *recognition* of diplomas obtained abroad and periods of study.

A Dutch citizen can only go to Belgium to study if he is admitted to Belgian education. This means that he is not refused on the grounds of his nationality and that the same conditions for registration apply to him as to Belgian students.

Under Belgian legislation in the eighties, foreign students had to make an extra contribution towards university spending by paying an additional registration fee, known as the Minerval. Unlike Belgian students, they did not pay any tax. This Minerval represented a financial obstacle to studying in Belgium for foreign students.

If the student has been admitted to the training course he wants, he will want to remain in the host country throughout the course. He will also have to support himself in some way, and it will be particu-

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***“The Treaty on European Union firstly prohibits certain measures taken by the Member States which obstruct mobility. Secondly, the European Community itself promotes the mobility of students, chiefly through the European action programmes.”***

larly significant whether and to what extent he receives financial aid.

When the student has completed his training, it is necessary for the qualification he has obtained abroad to be *recognised* in his own country. It is also important for students who have only received part of their training abroad that the credits earned there are transferable.

## **Encouragement of student mobility by the European Community**

European Community law offers subjects of Member States opportunities to go and

study in another Member State. The Treaty on European Union firstly prohibits certain measures taken by the Member States which obstruct mobility. Secondly, the European Community itself encourages the mobility of students, chiefly through the European action programmes.

Subjects of particular countries outside the European Community can also go to EC Member States to study. The European Community has concluded agreements in the field of education with the European Economic Area (Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein) and with a number of third countries, including the United States and Canada.

The rights which citizens of the Member States can derive from European law depend on the ‘capacity’ of the EC citizen, for example (member of the family of) a migrant employee or ‘ordinary student’ (see section 2). The participants in the Community action programmes occupy a special position; their position will be examined later.

### **The prohibition of measures of the Member States which obstruct student mobility**

The Treaty on European Union provides for the free movement of persons in order to accomplish the internal market. National measures which obstruct this free movement are prohibited. This prohibition is applied in conjunction with the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of nationality: Member States must not treat their own citizens better than citizens from other Member States.

The free movement of persons can also be significant for students; they can derive particular rights from it. The Court of Justice has played an important role in granting these rights.

### **Admission to training and residence in the host country**

Although the legal basis differs, the right to be admitted to a training course is in principle enjoyed by all categories of students. The same conditions for admission must therefore apply to all students. With regard to the diploma in secondary education, the European Treaty is significant

## **Treaty on European Union Title II**

### **“Chapter 3 Education, vocational training and youth**

#### Article 126

1. The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.

2. Community action shall be aimed at:

- developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
- encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
- promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
- developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States;
- encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors;
- encouraging the development of distance education.

3. The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the field of education, in particular the Council of Europe.

4. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:

- acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189b, after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee

of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States;

- acting by a qualified majority on a proposal from the Commission, shall adopt recommendations.

#### Article 127

1. The Community shall implement a vocational training youth policy which shall support and supplement the action of the Member States, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content and organization of vocational training.

2. Community action shall aim to:

- facilitate adaptation to industrial changes, in particular through vocational training and retraining;
- improve initial and continuing vocational training in order to facilitate vocational integration and reintegration into the labour market;
- facilitate access to vocational training and encourage mobility of instructors and trainees and particularly young people;
- stimulate cooperation on training between educational or training establishments and firms;
- develop exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the training systems of the Member States.

3. The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the sphere of vocational training.

4. The Council, acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189c and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, shall adopt measures to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States.”



in relation to equating diplomas for admission to universities. On this basis, someone who meets the requirements for admission to university in his own country cannot be refused by universities in other Member States; a supplementary language test may, however, be required. Most of the EC Member States have ratified this treaty, which was drawn up on 11 December 1953 in Paris by the Council of Europe.

The Belgian Minerval was prohibited by the Court of Justice, because higher tuition fees could not be required from foreign EC students than from the country's own students. Belgian universities are not allowed to refuse Dutch medical students who have been turned down by lottery. As a result of the *numerus fixus* in the Netherlands, more than half the first-year students in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Antwerp in the 1995/96 financial year were of Dutch nationality.

Students are also allowed to remain in the host country during the training, although they must have sufficient means of support and medical insurance.

### Student grants

The difference in legal position is most clearly manifested in the right to a student grant for subsistence and training. To what extent can the student claim a student grant in the Member State where he is receiving education which is allocated by the Member State to its own citizens? The migrant worker who wishes to take up studies and the members of his family are in the best position. The free movement of workers represents an important condition for the creation of the internal market. To make this free movement possible, it is necessary for the migrant worker to be fully integrated in the receiving Member State. Discrimination on the grounds of nationality with regard to employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment is prohibited (Article 48 (2) of the Treaty on European Union). Rights are attributed to the foreign worker in the field of education in secondary legislation (particularly Regulation 1612/68 concerning the free movement of workers within the Community). The migrant worker and the members of his family are entitled to student

grants on the same terms as the workers of the country where the training is taken.

The "ordinary student", on the other hand, is not entirely equated with the students of the Member State where he takes his training. The Court of Justice decreed in the Lair (case 39/86) and Brown (197/86) judgments that he is only entitled to financial aid in so far as this is awarded to cover the registration costs or other costs, particularly school fees, which are charged for access to the education. As Community law stood in 1988, the right to a grant for subsistence fell outside the scope of the Treaty of Rome.

### The action programmes

On the basis of the section on education, the European Community conducts an active policy to encourage the mobility of students within the European Union, particularly by setting up action programmes. The Community makes subsidies available for activities of educational institutions which contribute towards attaining the objectives of these programmes. Several EC programmes have been approved since 1987. The best-known of these are ERASMUS (mobility of university students), LINGUA (encouragement of the knowledge of foreign languages), COMETT (cooperation between universities and industry with regard to training in the technological field) and Tempus (trans-European mobility programme for university studies). Two new programmes came into effect in January 1995: LEONARDO DA VINCI, to improve vocational training, and SOCRATES, which among other things merges ERASMUS and LINGUA. ERASMUS represents the first chapter within the Socrates programme. Although differences exist between the 'old' and 'new' ERASMUS programmes, the legal position of the participating students is unchanged.

### The ERASMUS programme

Most students are exchanged via ERASMUS: more than 127,000 students participated in the programme in the 1994/1995 academic year. The position of the ERASMUS student is largely regulated. If a student satisfies the selection criteria (among other things no first-years, adequate knowledge of the language in

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which the lectures at the host university are given), nothing can stand in the way of a period of residence of between three and twelve months in another Member State. The ERASMUS student remains registered at the university in his own Member State and does not pay a registration fee to the receiving educational institution. In addition, he retains the full student grant as allocated by his own Member State. The ERASMUS programme also provides for a system of direct financial support to compensate for the extra costs of mobility, such as travel costs and higher costs for subsistence in the host country. A total of almost 70 million ECU was spent on ERASMUS grants in the 1994/1995 academic year. Finally extra provisions are offered to ERASMUS students in many countries, such as accommodation and a language course.

## **Recognition of diplomas**

### **Profession recognition**

Some of the students who have taken a course of training in another Member State will want to return to their country of origin after completing the training. A diploma is required for access to many professions. In order to be admitted, the diploma which has been obtained abroad must be recognised in the student’s own country.

In the Treaty on European Union, the Council is granted the power to issue directives in the area of the mutual recognition of diplomas (Article 57 of the Treaty on European Union). As well as a number of sectoral directives, particularly for the medical and paramedical professions, two general directives have come into being: one for the recognition of vocational training courses of at least three years and one for the recognition of vocational training courses of less than three years. The emphasis in these general directives is on reciprocal trust between the Member States: if a particular diploma is accepted in a Member State, it is considered to be satisfactory in the other Member States.

### **Academic recognition**

It is also important for students who only take part of their training abroad that the

results attained in studies there count towards their own curriculum. Although the Member States cannot be obliged to adopt academic recognition, the activities of the European Community are partly aimed at encouraging the recognition of periods of study to promote the mobility of students and instructors (Article 126 (2) of the Treaty on European Union).

Academic recognition is included as an objective in the SOCRATES programme. University programmes are only approved, and therefore are only eligible for financing, if the period of study spent in another Member State is fully recognised by the student’s own educational institution.

The EC and the Member States have created a European Community Course Credit Transfer System (ECTS). Under this system, credits can be allocated to programme students for attending or having attended training at university in another Member State. The National Academic Recognition Information Centres network (NARIC) has the task of giving advice on the transferability of study credits obtained abroad. Further improvement is nevertheless possible on this point. Educational institutions, particularly examination boards, remain reticent about recognising periods of study spent in another Member State. The characteristic nature of the national education systems and the lack of transparency in these systems contribute towards this.

## **Final remarks**

Alongside conducting a distinct education policy, EC law puts limits on the policy of the Member States in the area of education. This often means that foreign students and the Member State’s own students have to be treated equally. The scope of the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of nationality depends on the state of Community law. In 1988, when the Court passed the Lair judgment, grants for students to cover the costs of subsistence fell outside the scope of the Treaty of Rome. However, it is not out of the question that financial aid for students as a whole falls within the scope of the Treaty on European Union, as the encour-



agement of student mobility has come within the powers of the Community since the Treaty came into force.

If this is not the case, students who wish to take a full course of training in another Member State have an interest in being qualified as workers. Workers and the members of their families have the same right to student grants as the Member State's own students.

Within the limits set by European law, EC Member States may determine their education policy themselves. The Member States are free to go further than they are obliged to under European law. They have the power to enter bilaterally into agreements which benefit mobility. Under agreements which the Dutch government has made, for example, Dutch students can go and study in North-Rhine/

Westphalia and Flanders while retaining their student grants.

## Conclusions

The opportunities which EU citizens have for studying in other Member States depend on a number of factors. In the first place the length of time the student wishes to stay abroad is significant. The action programmes of the European Community only offer the possibility of a temporary stay. In addition, the rights of the mobile student depend on his capacity. If the student intends to take the whole course of training in the host country, he is in the best legal position at present if he is a Community worker. However, Community law is developing: mobile students (and their rights) and not stationary!

***“The Member States are free to go further than they are obliged to under European law. They have the power to enter bilaterally into agreements which benefit mobility.”***

*This section has been prepared by*  
**Martina Ní Cheallaigh,**  
*and the Documentation Service with the help of members of the national documentation network*

*This section lists the most important and recent publications on developments in training and qualifications at an international and European level. Giving preference to comparative works, it also lists national studies carried out as part of international and European programmes, analyses of the impact of Community action on the Member States and national studies seen from an external perspective.*



## Reading selection

### **ERASMUS Programme**

The SOCRATES programme now incorporates ERASMUS, the EU programme covering higher education. ERASMUS has two main actions: grants to universities for European dimension activities and student mobility grants. The grants to universities include institutional contracts for organising student and teaching staff mobility, European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), curriculum and course development, intensive programmes, preparatory visits, and university co-operation projects on subjects of mutual interest. The following are brochures and information leaflets on ERASMUS available in EU languages from the SOCRATES National Agencies in the Member States and from the central office:

*SOCRATES & Youth Technical Assistance Office*  
rue Montroyerstraat 70  
B-1000 Brussels  
Tel. +322 2330111  
Fax. +322 2330150

### **SOCRATES, guidelines for applicants 1997**

Luxembourg, 1996, 52, p.,  
ISBN 92-827-0303-7

**SOCRATES, manuel de bonne pratique Erasmus**, Luxembourg, 1996, 34 p., ISBN 92-827-6420-6

**SOCRATES, étude comparative des initiatives de garantie et d'évaluation de la qualité dans l'enseignement supérieur en Europe**, Brussels, 1996, 30 p.

**SOCRATES, les stratégies européennes des universités: aide-mémoire de la CRE aux institutions européennes d'enseignement supérieur**, Brussels, 1996, 19 p.

### **COMETT: the results**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1996, 132 p.  
ISBN 92-826-9423-2 (en)  
EN, FR, DE

This report summarizes the experience gathered with regard to the synergies ex-

isting between COMETT (company-university cooperative programme for technology training) and other R&D programmes in Europe. The report is based on the experience of the COMETT programme since its inception. The paper also looks at the future and, more precisely, considers the potential offered by the 4th framework R&D programme and the new LEONARDO and SOCRATES programmes.

### **ERASMUS & LINGUA 1995/96 directory - répertoire - Verzeichnis**

European Commission - DG XXII  
Luxembourg, Office for official publications of the EC, 1996, 1915 p.  
ISBN 92-827-5480-4  
EN/FR/DE

The main aim of the book is to give a comprehensive guide to all the Inter-University Cooperation Programmes [ICP] which received Community support in 1995-96 based on the information available in June 1995, covering all the Community countries, followed by the EFTA countries, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Iceland. The descriptions include information on: type of cooperation financed; field of study covered; higher education institutions involved, with names and addresses of coordinators and directors; short overview of number of participants. Also included are lists of visit grants for higher education staff, institutions participating in the European Community Course Credit Transfer System [ECTS] and details of other activities funded by ERASMUS. Participation in LINGUA II is indicated throughout. The guide should be of use to institutions or persons looking for partners in order to set up new programmes.

### **Report to the European Parliament and the Council on the state of application of the general system for the recognition of higher education diplomas**

European Commission  
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1996, 36 p.  
(COM(96) 46 final)  
ISBN 92-78-00258-5 (en)  
ISSN 0254-1475 (en)  
DA, DE, EL, EN, ES, FR, IT, NL, PT, FI, SV



**Proposal for a European Parliament and Council Directive establishing a mechanism of recognition of qualifications in respect of the professional activities covered by the directives on liberalization and transitional measures and supplementing the general systems for the recognition of qualifications**

European Parliament, Council of the European Union

in: Official Journal of the EC (Luxembourg), C 115, 1996, p. 16-33

ISSN 0378-6986 (en)

DA, DE, EL, EN, ES, FR, IT, NL, PT, FI, SV

In this paper, the Commission reports on the application of the system of recognition of diplomas in higher education. The notions of "higher education diploma" and "post-university training title" are covered in detail. By virtue of the subsidiarity principle, the individual Member States decide on the equivalence of a vocational qualification to a particular diploma, and define whether a particular institution is an institution of higher education or not. The Directive states as a general rule that a person entitled to exercise a profession in his or her country of origin has the right to have his or her diploma recognized in a guest Member State. This second Member State, however, can impose compensatory measures, training placements or aptitude tests.

The Member State where an application is made has four months to reach a decision on the case. Potential applicants may request information on this Directive from NARIC (National Academic Recognition Information Centre) or from a co-ordinator. For certain professions, applicants must conform to national recruitment modes. Moreover, access to a profession is not equivalent to access to employment.

The second document, a proposal for a European Parliament and Council Directive, establishes a mechanism for the recognition of qualifications for certain professional activities. A list of these professions has been drawn up.

**TEMPUS country monograph**

**No 1 - The Slovak Republic,**

1995, 88 p., ISBN 92-826-8724-4 (en)

**No 2 - The Czech Republic.**

1996, 153 p. ISBN 92-827-5909-1 (en)

**No 3.- Romania,**

1996, 156 p., ISBN, 92-827-5988-1 (en)

**No 4 - Bulgaria,**

1996, 155 p., ISBN 92-827-5999-7 (en)

**No 5 - Hungary,**

1996, 154 p., ISBN 92-827-6005-7 (en)

**No 6 - Slovenia,**

1996, 148 p., ISBN 92-827-6002-2 (en)

**No 7 - Poland,**

1996, 158 p., ISBN 92-827-6008-1 (en)

European Commission - DG XXII

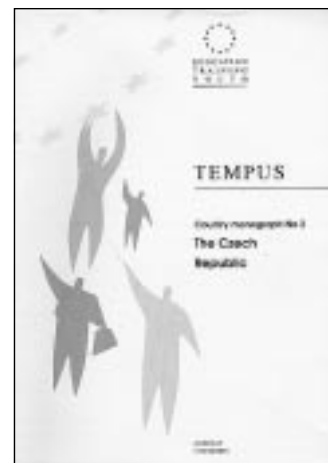
Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the EC, 1996, 153 p.

EN, EN, FR, RU

This series of monographs analyses the impact of the Tempus Phare Programme in seven of participating countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Part 1, the text of which is common to all monographs in this series, examines those features of Tempus which are broadly similar in all eligible countries. The analysis is at three levels: that of the individual projects, the level of the universities as institutions, and the national level. The benefits which Tempus has brought are described, and it is suggested that these are to be seen not only in concrete outcomes (syllabuses, new equipment) but also in the processes and in the infrastructures which have been established as a result of Tempus. Part II looks those features which are specific to the individual country examined. Part III draws general and specific conclusions; the text here is largely but not entirely common to each volume.

**Ortelius database**

From March to October 1996 Internet users had the opportunity to test the European database on higher education, Ortelius, free of charge. Ortelius, which is co-ordinated by Consorzio Ortelius in Florence, contains information on the higher education systems of the EU Member States and profiles of the institutions which include descriptions of their various departments and services. The qualifications and curricula sections provide the user with detailed academic information pertaining to each faculty or depart-





ment. Future WWW links to the individual institutions' home pages are envisaged. Ortelius database also offers information on European legislation and programmes dealing with higher education. Starting in 1997 it is available on the Internet on an annual subscription basis. As by-products of the database a number of publications are being prepared, two are already available:

**Directory of institutions of higher education, All the addresses students need to know for studying in the European Union**

Ortelius  
Florence, Giunti Multimedia, 1995, 477 p.  
ISBN 88-09-20770-X  
EN

**The European Student's Guide, Information, tips and tricks for studying in the European Union**

Consortium Ortelius  
Florence, Giunti Multimedia, 1995, 299 p.  
ISBN 88-09-20783-1  
EN

**Internationalisation of higher education**

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, CERI - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD  
Paris, 1996, 135 p.  
(OECD Documents)  
ISBN 92-64-15288-1  
EN

As OECD countries globalise, so does education, and its internationalisation is one of the most important challenges for higher education. Internationalisation means expanding international student exchanges, and changing curricula for domestic students. Despite differences in educational structure, higher education institutions around the world are making similar efforts to internationalise their programmes. Based on the discussions and papers presented at a seminar in The Hague, 30 Nov.-1 Dec. 1995, this publication presents a comprehensive view of the development and approaches taken by individual countries to internationalisation. Individual chapters examine: internationalising the curriculum; financing and effects of internationalised teaching and learning;

and the views of governments, higher education, professional associations and the business sector in North America.

**Information technology and the future of post-secondary education**

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, CERI. Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education, IMHE. - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD  
Paris, 1996, 138 p.  
(OECD Documents)  
ISBN 92-64-14923-6 (en)  
EN, FR

At the end of this century, post-secondary education faces a triple challenge - how to provide high quality education and training attuned to the 21st century for all adults who need it and can profit from it in the most cost-effective way. Information and communication technology can help meet these challenges. This report addresses the main issues related to developing a new teaching and learning environment and its implications for teachers and students. Information and communication technology can improve teaching and learning in both face-to-face and distance education and slowly contribute to easing the differences between these two models of education. This will raise new issues for higher education management, as increasing numbers of students equip themselves with the most recent new technologies.

**Performance standards in education: in search of quality**

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD  
Paris, 1995, 220 p.  
ISBN 92-64-14568-0 (en)  
EN, FR

Students performance standards are central to educational policies in many OECD countries, yet little has been published on how standards are established, monitored and reported. Who sets standards? What role does government play? Can student performance standards be used as measures of educational effectiveness? Is student performance best assessed by teachers or by external examinations? There is little consensus on





these matters but a growing realisation of the need for clarity in decisions and policy-making. This study, based on reports from experts in ten OECD countries (Australia, Canada, England and Wales, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Spain, Sweden, United States) represents a range of different approaches to standard-setting, revealing the common pursuit of quality in education and substantially different means adopted to achieve it.

**Educational research and development: trends, issues and challenges.**

Kogan M.; Tuijnman A.

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, CERI - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD

Paris, 1995, 180 p.

ISBN 92-64-14553-2 (en)

EN, FR

This is the first report of an ongoing CERI study on the means and ends of improving the knowledge base for educational practice and policy-making, urgently needed by governments world-wide. It underscores both the importance of educational R&D and the obvious need to improve its relevance and efficiency, so that the available funds are used effectively and the scope for additional investment created. But this will largely depend on whether diverse interests can be aligned and better partnerships forged among the "three communities" - researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners. The CERI study was launched with the explicit purpose of identifying the problems and examining ways to improve the situation.

**Knowledge bases for education policies, Proceedings of a Conference held in Maastricht, The Netherlands on 11-13 September 1995**

Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, CERI - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD

Paris, 1996, 174 p.

ISBN 92-64-14895-7

EN

This publication underlines the necessity for policy-makers to also rely on other forms of knowledge bases than that of R&D, such as inspector and indicator systems, both at national and international levels. The use of a broader range of knowledge bases highlights the important role of "mediators" who can facilitate the necessary communication and reciprocal enrichment between knowledge producers, decision-makers and practitioners.

**Educational research and development: Austria, Germany, Switzerland.**

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD

Paris, 1995, 90 p.

(OECD Documents)

ISBN 92-64-14554-0 (en)

EN, FR

This document assembles the proceedings of the third CERI joint international seminar on governmental roles in organising and promoting R&D, held in Vienna, 5-7 October 1994. It reviews the educational research and development policy framework of the three principal countries investigated, Austria, Germany and Switzerland, examines major similarities and differences in research and policy cultures, and compares them with the approaches to educational R&D in other Member countries.

**Evaluating and reforming education systems.**

Kallen D.; Kogan M.; and others.

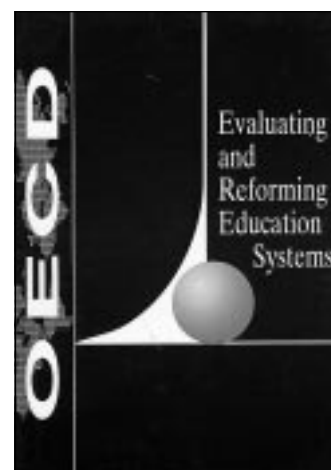
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD

Paris, 1996, 83 p.

ISBN 92-64-14779-9 (en)

EN, FR

In order to respond to the demands of governments and the public in general, schools must be more attentive to ongoing evaluation. This means implementing new practices. Evaluation methods and practices should rely on basic concepts, which are as transparent as possible, and should reflect a consensus among stakeholders. An outside evaluator would thus be able to delineate and implement evaluation strategies consonant with the educational reforms in any national context.





### **Structural adjustment and the changing face of education.**

Carnoy M.

International Labour Organisation, ILO  
in: International Labour Review (Geneva),  
134(6), 1996, p. 653-673

ISSN 0020-7780 (en)

EN, FR

All economies are having to adjust to new structural realities, and the education sector, being critical to the application of knowledge and information to production, is a focus of great attention in most societies. The author analyses the particular adjustment policies recommended by the World Bank and addresses the debate on the priority to be accorded to basic as compared to higher education. He explains the nature of the main types of reform under way, discusses their impact on the quality of education, and argues that alternative approaches are worth considering.

### **Reviews of National Policies for Education: Finland higher education.**

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD

Paris, 1995, 246 p.

ISBN 92-64-14442-0

EN

The Finnish government has deliberately promoted mass higher education in order to further social and economic development. But the economic crisis and high unemployment rates necessitate more effective resource management and a better transition from education to employment. This report lends its support to the different measures designed to help solve these problems: systematic evaluation of educational quality and its results; decentralising many of the decisions affecting higher education; and creating a new and more professional sector and new intermediate-level university diplomas. Realising these goals implies greater staff development and ensuring a balance between teaching and research, improving institutional management at all levels, and making newly created diplomas more responsive to labour market requirements.

### **Student mobility**

in: European Journal of Education  
(Abingdon), 31(2), 1996, 251 p.

ISSN 0141-8211

EN

In the European Union, student mobility is seen as part of a broader policy mandate aimed at freedom of movement within the Internal Market. From 1988 onwards, the ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA programmes made decisive contributions to student mobility within EU countries. The first two articles of this issue provide an overall statistical account of student mobility in the EU, dealing respectively with 'spontaneous' mobility of students on their own initiative, and 'organised' mobility with the support of an ERASMUS or LINGUA grant. Other articles treat the transatlantic student mobility between Europe and the USA, the long tradition of both types of mobility in Scandinavia, an economic analysis of student mobility in the EU, and two case studies on the national approach to mobility in the Netherlands and Japan.

### **La Universidad de los noventa**

Neave G., Muños Vistoria F., De Miguel M. et al.

Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia

in: Revista de Educación (Madrid), 308,

1995, 401 p.

ISSN 0034-8082

ES

This monograph, published by the Journal of Education and dedicated to the university of the nineties, includes among others the following topics: 1) quality in university teaching, an analysis of quality policies from a historical and organizational point of view, in order to ascertain the authority responsible for the elaboration of quality control or quality guarantee systems, and from a comparative point of view, in order to examine the various models followed mainly in France, the Netherlands and Great Britain; 2) access to university in Spain; 3) final relations between higher education and the employment market, covering the main debates and investigative approaches with regard to this topic, the socio-economic challenges universities have to assume, the influence of the European Union on the re-structuring of higher education sys-





tems in Europe and tendencies and measures of support for a successful adjustment between acquisition of skills and experience in the course of education and the necessities of a job.

### **The Danish Model - das dänische Modell - le modèle danois**

Video produced by DTI Arbejdsliv, TDstrup, 1996, 13 minutes, DKR 145.

DE, EN, FR

*DTI Arbejdsliv, Gregersensvej,*

*Postbox 141, DK-2630 Tåstrup,*

*Tel. ++43 504801, Fax. ++43 504833*

A new video describing the vocational education and training system in Denmark. This video, launched in an English, German and French version, aims at explaining to foreigners the unique features of the Danish model, in particular tripartite structure comprising ministries, employers and employees. The dynamism in vocational training is described, how the system is developed and renewed, the roles of the social partners in this process. A number of examples demonstrate how the cooperation takes place in practice. The broad focus on the Danish VET system gives a lively picture of the interplay between schools, institutions and companies which should undoubtedly be of great value in future cooperation projects with partners abroad.

### **Doppelqualifizierung im Handwerk. Ergebnisse und Kommentierungen einer Betriebs- und Schülerbefragung**

Esser F.H., Fischer A., Steeger G., Twardy M.

Bad Laasphe i.W., Cologne,

Kommissionsverlag Adalbert Carl, 1996, 102 p. + Appendix

(Berufsbildung im Handwerk, Series B, Volume 47)

ISBN 3-88149-087-7

DE

With numbers of apprentices on the decline in several trades, it is increasingly important to look at the attractiveness of vocational training, and, if possible, to find ways of enhancing it. This was the aim of the study investigating whether offers of training leading to a double qualification are attractive for potential

apprentices as well as for the companies training them. This report presents the results of a survey started in early 1994 and conducted among companies and school pupils in five selected chamber districts. A comprehensive analysis of the concrete survey results is followed by a presentation of the consequences and by proposals for designing double-qualification training courses in the trades, as such courses are considered likely to increase the attractiveness of trade professions, particularly with regard to ensuring the continued existence of a particular trade (answers from companies) and with regard to improved career planning possibilities (answers from pupils). To implement such double-qualification training courses, the authors have also examined the need for developing or updating the organizational structure of companies and the pedagogical qualification of in-company executive staff.

### **Gleichwertigkeit beruflicher und allgemeiner Bildung: Hochschulzugang für Berufserfahrene. Stellungnahmen und Vorschläge.**

Mucke K.; Schwiedrzyk B.

Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung

Berlin/Bonn, Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung, 1995, 215 p.

(Ergebnisse, Veröffentlichungen und Materialien aus dem BIBB, 14)

DE

*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung,*

*Ref. K3, Fehrbelliner Platz 3,*

*D-10707 Berlin*

This report reflects the current status of the debate on the extent to which graduates of a dual-system traineeship are capable of proceeding to higher education. It contains policy statements and proposals from the Federal Government, including the Ministry of Education, the Länder governments, employers and trade unions. The materials submitted by BIBB on this question include recommendations, position statements and the findings from research involving projects which investigated higher education access for persons with skilled work experience but without the "Abitur" qualification and demonstrate the equivalence of vocational and general education.





### La qualité de la formation

Bonamy J., Voisin A.  
in: Education permanente (Arcueil), 126,  
1996, 253 p.  
ISSN 0339-7513  
FR

The quality of training has become a major factor for companies, public authorities and training organizations. This issue summarizes current discussion on this topic and examines what is being done in France and in Europe with regard to quality.

### Shaping our future, a strategy for enterprise in Ireland in the 21st century

Dublin, Forfas. 1996  
EN  
*Forfas, Wilton Park House, Wilton Place,  
IRL-Dublin 2*

This report is the most detailed and comprehensive economic strategy document since the Culliton report. It encompasses both overall budgetary and financial policy and specific measures to encourage industrial development over the next 15 years. It recommends a wide variety of reforms to build up international competitive skills through education and training, among them more spending by Government and private business on training, more emphasis on technological and language courses, the re-allocation of educational resources towards those most at risk of leaving school without qualifications and the introduction of a new system of nationally-certified traineeships for those about to enter the workforce.

### Onderwijsrecht en onderwijsbeleid in Nederland en de Europese Unie: ontwikkelingen voor het hoger onderwijs na Maastricht

Van de Ven R.  
The Hague, Nuffic, 1996, 70 p.  
ISBN 90-5464-018-9

This book looks at the current and future relationship and interplay between European and Dutch educational law and management with regard to higher education, on the basis of a number of current topics such as the Dutch financing system for higher education.

### Trends in employment for academics in Austria

Schedler K., Wratzfeld C.  
Editor: Federal Ministry for Science, Transport and the Arts (bmwvk), Vienna, 1996,  
140 p.  
DE

The study aims to analysis and describe employment for academics in Austria over the past few decades. The university expansion in this period did not have similar implications for all areas of study. The quota of academics has not only increased but has also led to major shifts in the composition of employed academics in Austria. This has had consequences for the labour market and the employment situation of graduates. The study includes a survey of data on areas of study, areas of employment access according to occupational sub-categories and economic areas as well as job security.

### O desenvolvimento do ensino superior em Portugal, situação e problemas de acesso

Cruz M., Cruzeiro M., coord.  
Ministry of Education, Department of Programmes and Financial Management (DEPGEF)  
Lisbon, DEPGEF, 1995, 246 pages  
ISBN 972-614-281-4  
PT

This publication examines information regarding the evolution of the system of access to higher education, more particularly the study of supply and demand with regard to higher education, the options offered at this level of teaching and the socio-cultural, socio-economic and socio-political characterization of students. In order to fulfil these aims, the project presented here foresaw the use of the statistics available and gave a questionnaire to a sample group of 3000 students in higher education. Whereas the statistics were intended to provide an idea of the morphology and evolution of higher education, the investigation essentially attempts to characterize the student population in Portuguese higher education.





### **Higher education policy in Finland**

Ministry of Education  
Helsinki, 1996, 118 p.  
ISBN 951-53-0837-2  
EN

This book gives a general introduction to the Finnish educational system and standards before describing the higher education system and policy in detail. It examines university education, its structure, administration and evaluation, supply and demand of services, student population, resources and research activities. The growing non-university sector of higher education is described, including a brief description of the reform enacted in 1995, as is the internationalisation of higher education. The work ends with a statistical annex comparing figures for Finland with other OECD countries, and a bibliography.

### **Kvalificerad Yrkesutbildning m.m.**

Ministry of Education and Science  
Stockholm, 1996, 29 p.  
(Government bill 1995/96: 145)  
*Ministry of Education and Science,  
Drottninggatan 16, S-103 33 Stockholm*

This bill initiates a pilot scheme for a new post-secondary level vocational education and training route from autumn 1996. This new non-university based education and training is intended to contribute to the supply of a qualified labour force suited to modern production of goods and services. Information technology, more knowledge intensive production and a "flatter" work organisation result in demands for higher competence where vocational education and training at upper secondary level often used to suffice. The new courses shall unite in-depth theoretical competence, a practical approach and strong workplace integration. About one third of the period of education will therefore be spent learning at work, in a workplace environment. The scheme is directed at young people who have finished their upper secondary education, as well as people already at work who need to up-date their competence.

### **Graduate utilisation in British industry: the initial impact of mass higher education**

Mason G  
National Institute of Economic and Social Research (NIESR)  
in: National Institute Economic Review (London), 2, 1996, p. 93-104  
ISSN 0027-9501

The recent growth in higher education participation rates in Britain has been so sudden and so rapid that there is now intense public interest in its effects on graduate employment and salary prospects. Particular concern has been expressed about the development of certain phenomena associated with US-style "mass higher education", for example, an increase in the numbers of graduates who appear to be "under-utilised" in jobs which have not traditionally been filled by degree-holders, and reports of apparent growth in variation in "quality" of the graduates emerging from different kinds of degree course. This paper focuses particularly on the initial effects of mass higher education on graduate utilisation in Britain, arguing that there are close links between employers' perceptions of graduate quality and the ways in which firms choose to respond to continuing growth in graduate supply.

### **Besluit van de Vlaamse Regering betreffende de omvorming van de opleidingen en opties van de hogescholen van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap**

in: Belgisch Staatsblad, Moniteur belge (Brussels) no. 95, 23/11, 1995, p. 31977-31989  
NL  
*Belgisch Staatsblad / Moniteur belge,  
Leuvenseweg 40-42, B-1000 Brussels*

This index contains charts describing the changes which have taken place in one-cycle and two-cycle initial training courses at institutions of higher education in the Flemish community (training and options). More concretely, this decree covers a change in the names of training courses for the 1995-1996 academic year.



## Members of CEDEFOP's documentary network

<b>B</b>	<b>GR</b>	<b>IRL</b>
<p>FOREM (Office communautaire et régional de la formation professionnelle et de l'emploi) CIDOC (Centre intercommunautaire de documentation pour la formation professionnelle) Jean-Pierre Grandjean Bd. de l'Empereur 11 B-1000 BRUXELLES Tel.: 322+506 04 62/60 Fax: 322+506 04 28</p> <p>VDAB (Vlaamse Dienst voor Arbeidsbemiddeling en Beroepsopleiding) ICODOC (Intercommunautair documentatie-centrum voor beroepsleiding) Frederic Geers Philip de Smet Keizerlaan 11 B-1000 BRUSSEL Tel.: 322+506 04 58/63 Fax: 322+506 04 28</p>	<p>OEEK (Organization for Vocational Education and Training) Epameinondas Marias Alexandra Sideri 1, Ilioupoleos Street 17236 Ymittos GR-ATHENS Tel.: 301+92 50 593 Fax: 301+92 54 484</p>	<p>FAS - The Training and Employment Authority Roger Fox Margaret Carey P.O. Box 456 27-33, Upper Baggot Street IRL-DUBLIN 4 Tel.: 3531+668 57 77 Fax: 3531+668 26 91</p>
<b>DK</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>I</b>
<p>DEL (The National Institute for Educational Training of Vocational Teachers - Danmarks Erhvervspædagogiske Læreruddannelse) Søren Nielsen Merete Heins Rigensgade 13 DK-1316 KØBENHAVN K Tel.: 4533+14 41 14 ext. 317/301 Fax: 4533+14 42 14</p>	<p>INEM (Instituto Nacional de Empleo) Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social Isias Largo Marqués Maria Luz de las Cuevas Condesa de Venadito, 9 E-28027 MADRID Tel.: 341+585 95 82/585 95 80 Fax: 341+377 58 81/377 58 87</p>	<p>ISFOL (Istituto per lo sviluppo della formazione professionale dei lavoratori) Alfredo Tamborlini Colombo Conti Via Morgagni 33 I-00161 ROMA Tel.: 396+44 59 01 Fax: 396+44 25 16 09</p>
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<b>F</b>	<b>NL</b>	
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## Associated organizations

### A

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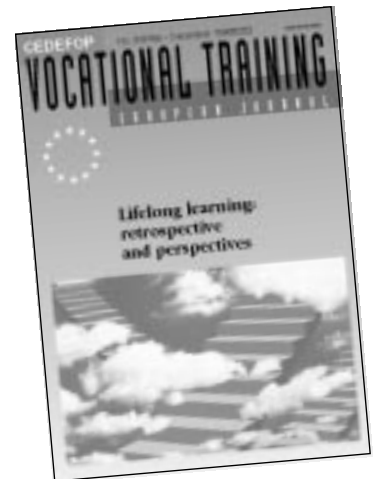
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