DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 143 853 CE 012 480

AUTHOR	Reubens, Beatrice G.
TITLE	Bridges to Work: International Comparison of Transition Services.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. Conservation of Human Resources Project.
SPONS AGENCY	Employment and Training Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	DLMA-21-26-73-51
PUB DATE	Jul 77
CONTRACT	DL-21-26-73-51; DL-21-36-75-20
NOTE	330p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$18.07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Comparative Analysis; Cross Cultural Studies; *Developed Nations; Employment Problems; *Employment Services; Government Role; *Guidance Services; *National Programs; Occupational Guidance; Organization; Public Policy; Secondary School Students; Vocational Adjustment; Vocational Followup; *Youth; Youth Employment
IDENTIFIERS	Canada; Europe (West); Japan; *School to Work Transition; United States

ABSTRACT

Using a cross-country framework which draws on the experience of the developed nations--Western Europe, Canada, the United States, and Japan- this study examines the way countries view the problems of the transition from school to work and the role of the transition services in smoothing the passage. Focus is on the formal and public transition services provided by official agencies at various levels of government which encompass information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up of young workers on the job. Stressing the experience of a few countries whose size or programs command attention, the study alludes to others when they have distinctive experience or policies. Greatest emphasis is placed on the problems and services for the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education. An introductory chapter outlines the objectives. Chapter 2 presents the basic discussion of the intermediary services of which the transition services are part. In chapter 3 the organizational structure of the transition services is analyzed. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with educational and occupational guidance, and chapter 6 reviews the issues and practice in guidance and counseling. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to methods of finding jobs and official job placement efforts. Induction to work and the follow-up of young people in their early jobs are the subjects of chapter 10 while chapter 11 summarizes and discusses policy implications. The full 928-item bibliography is included. (JT)

BRIDGES TO WORK

International Comparison of Transition Services

by

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Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
July, 1977

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	DLMA 21-26-73-51	
4. Title and Subtitle: BRIDGES TO WORK. International Comparisons of Transition Services		5. Report Date 6.
7. Author(s): Beatrice G. Reubens		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.
9. Performing Organization Name and Address: Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No. 11. Contract/Grant No. DL 21-26-73-51
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Research and Development, 601 D Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20213		13. Type of Report & Period Covered: Final 14.

15. Supplementary Notes: To be published by Allenheld &Osmun, Montclair, N.J.

16. Abstracts: Drawing on the experience of the United States, western Europe and Japan, this comparative study examines the way countries view the problems of the transition from school to work and the role of the transition services in smoothing the passage. Transition services are concerned with educational and occupational information and orientation, educational and occupational gu9dance and counseling, job placement, induction to work, and follow-up of young workers. The study also considers the overall organizational structures to deliver the transition services, the inputs, the quantity and quality of outputs, the reactions of consumers, and the outcomes. Evaluation studies are reviewed. Lessons for the United States are drawn from the experience of countries with more highly developed transition services.

Full bibliography.

17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors: Counseling-vocational interests. Education. Effectiveness. Evaluation. Information Systems. Placement. Professional personnel. Psychological guidance. Schools. Students. Universities. Vocational Guidance. Work Sampling.

17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms:

17c. COSATI Field/Group: 5A, 5I, 5K

18. Availability Statement: Distribution is unlimited. Available from National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va. 22151.	19. Security Class (This Report): UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages
	20. Security Class (This Page): UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

The material in this publication was prepared under contracts numbers 21-26-73-51 and 21-36-75-20 from the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under the authority of Title III, Part B of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Researchers undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view and opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor.

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PREFACE

The comparative approach to social science research requires a sufficiently deep understanding of several cultures and institutions so that the investigator is capable of differentiating form from essence. Dr. Beatrice Reubens, Senior Research Associate of the Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, has demonstrated her skills in comparative social analysis in a comprehensive study, The Hard-to-Employ: European Programs (Columbia University Press, 1970).

The present study represents the first of Dr. Reubens' three volumes on youth. These works will develop comparisons dealing separately with education and training, transition services from school to work, and the youth labor market situation. Bridges to Work, as the subtitle makes clear, focuses on the theme of "International Comparisons of Transition Services."

In her studies, Dr. Reubens considers the advanced economies of Western Europe, Canada, Australia, the United States, and Japan. The scope of activities subsumed under the term "transition services" include the following functions: orientation and information; guidance and counseling; initial job placement, including research methods and results; induction to work; and follow-up. After an analysis of diverse conceptions of the transition from school to work, Dr. Reubens places the transition services in the context of efforts to expand and improve a nation's delivery of human services. She proceeds to a discussion of overall organizational issues and the individual transition services, ending by considering the significance of these transition efforts for individual and societal well-being.

The aim of the comparative approach is to distill lessons from one nation's experience for constructive use by another, thereby facilitating the diffusion of what has proved successful and warning against a repetition of experiments that have failed. Since the value of this study is rooted in its lessons regarding the interactions among the methods, goals, and results that different countries have pursued to improve a critical facet of their national development, there is little point in seeking to summarize Dr. Reubens' findings and conclusions. Students, public servants, and citizens who are concerned with the theme of transition should read her highly informative, clearly organized and well-balanced study. However, a few major themes do emerge from Dr. Reubens' work and are of interest to a wide range of readers.

First, why did all of these developed countries devote more and more public resources to improving the transition of young people from school to work? Clearly, these nations' leaders did not share the view of Theodore W. Schultz of the University of Chicago. Several years ago, in a speech for consultants to the National Institute of Education, Schultz argued that there was no problem of transition because, as every economist knows, the excessively high unemployment rates characteristic

of youth (at least in the United States) disappear by the time these youth enter their early or mid-twenties. Despite such facile arguments, leaders in countries with much lower absolute and relative unemployment rates for youth and leaders in countries as different as Sweden and Japan have been concerned with improving the transition of young people into the world of work.

Dr. Reubens suggests that the increasing preoccupation with the transition process has multiple roots. The elongation of the educational process has not been an unalloyed boon. While it has enabled a high proportion of young people to delay occupational decisions until they are more knowledgeable and mature, the less academically oriented segment of the adolescent population continues to enter the labor market at about the age of 16. Poorly prepared, they encounter difficulties in finding a suitable job opening.

Another reason for widespread concern with the transition process stems from the belief that a period of prolonged search for a first job by a youthful entrant into the labor market or a revived search based on dissatisfaction with an initial job creates unnecessary costs for the economy and society by raising the unemployment rate and forcing employers to increase their expenditures for orientation and initial training.

Moreover, an intensified concern with improved transition services grows out of the greater social sensitivity to the maturational needs of young people who should not be forced to make job and career decisions without reference to their own aspirations, interests, and values. Young people have need for informational, counseling, and guidance services. With many families poorly positioned to meet these needs, the social welfare state has stepped into the breach.

Dr. Reubens makes clear that while the specific factors encouraging higher expectations for transition services differ from one developed country to the next, all of these nations believe that it is to their advantage to invest additional resources in strengthening the transition process.

This leads to the second theme. Given the overriding importance of the school (and the family) in determining the levels of cognitive and social skills and competences that young people acquire and given the compelling influence of labor market conditions in determining the level and specificity of demand for young workers, just what is sought by a strengthening of transition services? What can improved transition services hope to accomplish?

The principal chapters of Dr. Reubens' book center on a detailed analysis of the efforts that these countries have made and continue to make to improve the range and quality of the orientation and informational services available to young people; to secure counseling for young people with respect to their educational and career planning; to help youth in their job search and initial placement; and to aid them

in adjusting to work. The approach followed in each of these probes is not only to present a wealth of descriptive data about the manner in which the major countries have gone about the task of strengthening informational, counseling, and placement services, but also to address the more important question of whether doing more results in improved outcomes for youth.

Although several chapters reveal that Dr. Reubens searched carefully and thoroughly for evidence and evaluative studies to support sound conclusions about the outcomes of these expanded efforts to improve the transitional process, the relevant literature and data bases prove to be disappointing. The interest in and methodology of evaluation is much further advanced in the United States than abroad. In the social realm, difficulties in evaluating programmatic interventions arise because of the multiple factors that influence the critical variables under assessment. Thus hampered, Dr. Reubens was unable to identify the specific consequences of incremental investments in the transitional services. Hence the reader will not find a simple listing of what worked and what did not, but he will get a balanced view of how informed observers and the author assess the several types of intervention.

A third theme worthy of consideration relates to the organizational structures within which the expanded transitional services were provided. Specifically the critical question is the relative roles of the educational authorities and the employment service. What comes through with great vividness in Dr. Reubens' account are the significant differences among countries and their constant efforts to change and improve their operations. The lesson to be learned from Dr. Reubens' review of the varying organizational arrangements is the imperative need for bringing the school and the employment service into a closer and more effective relation with each other. Neither institution can be solely responsible for strengthening the transitional process. The experience of Japan speaks clearly to this point: in a country that has placed great importance on prearranging employment for potential school leavers, educational officials work closely with the labor market authorities, not only with the employment service but with the individual employer who is recruiting young workers.

Dr. Reubens' book will be useful to many countries, each of which will find relevant analysis and suggestions. It prompts me to draw a few concluding observations relating to planning and programmatic efforts in the United States. Dr. Reubens makes the point, not once but several times, that the more successful efforts at strengthening the transitional process abroad stem from national initiatives in terms of policy, budget, and administration, which result in coverage of the entire country through reasonably uniform provisions at the local level. There may be room for the U.S. government to do more in this arena than it has as yet ventured. But I question whether even an optimal federal effort could, by itself, significantly strengthen the transitional process in the United States where both the employment service and the educational system are largely under state direction. Further, the relatively low penetration rate of the U.S. Employment Service makes it a weak underpinning for programs that require the active involvement of employers and trade unions if the

transitional process is to be strengthened. The federal government may be in a position to do more directly in the arenas of information gathering and dissemination, counselor education, financing new types of transition officers to supplement overextended counselors, and the staffing and financing of the Employment Service, but the key to improved transitional services in the United States seems to me to be more active participation of local and state governments and the profit and nonprofit sectors. The expanded and improved provision of human services must meet the challenge of strengthening the local delivery system.

Dr. Reubens emphasizes the fact that, when Sweden decided to improve its transitional services, it allowed for the lead time required to plan, to train personnel, and to experiment in service delivery. The record of social reform in the United States shows repeated failures on these fronts. We expect too much too quickly and seldom face up to the critical need for qualified personnel to implement reforms. If Dr. Reubens' book does nothing more than remind readers of the importance of these several preconditions for improving human services in any field, including the transition from school to work, it will have done a great deal.

ELI GINZBERG

CHAPTER 1. FROM LEARNING TO EARNING

Not so long ago young children were so easily placed in factories beside their mothers and fathers that social reformers were interested only in postponing the transition from home to work. By sponsoring education they hoped to delay the inevitable drudgery in unhealthy shops and mines, a more repellent form of child labor than prevailed on the family farm. Thus the movement for mandatory, free education was intimately related to the crusade to end child labor. Both programs flourished as technological progress, urbanization, and social wealth made it possible to dispense with child labor, to finance an organized public school system, and to impose, compulsory education. While some present-day critics of education, on both the left and the right, question such a benign interpretation of the advent of compulsory education, there is little doubt that compulsory education appeared wholly beneficient to the early reformers whose efforts constituted the first concern with the transition from school to work.

At that time the emphasis was on the evils of work and the virtues of school. In Great Britain, where the legal school-leaving age was 12 through World War I and the great majority of children did not voluntarily stay on at school, the 1909 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws heard juvenile employment described as destructive to healthy development and indeed, wholly demoralizing (510, 5). To the committee which reported in 1917 on British juvenile education in relation to employment, additional education was pictured as the best alternative--the builder of morality and character (454, 117-18). In this period, here designated as phase one, the Education Committee of Manchester declared that the sudden break from school into the world of jobs or unemployment could "result in complete and perhaps disastrous interruption of development of the young person's bodily and mental powers" (664, 28).

In keeping with this outlook, echoed in other countries, early efforts to aid the transition from school to work focused on the prolongation of compulsory education, referrals to apprenticeship, medical examination of children to prevent entry of the weaker and more susceptible into particularly dangerous jobs, and legal restrictions on children's work. While the pioneer public vocational guidance and job placement services also were established during this first phase, the overriding aim still was to postpone the age of transition from school to work.

In the period between the world wars and especially after World War II, here called phase two, new attitudes toward the transition developed out of changes in schooling and the work environment. It became common for basic education to cover 15 or 16 year olds, while mandatory or

voluntary part-time education in several countries extended to young people up to 18 who already were in employment. A significant residue of child labor remained in some countries, especially in agriculture, but the prevailing mode was school. As a concomitant, childhood, adolescence, and youth were legitimized as distinct stages of psychological and sociocultural development and children ceased to be viewed as miniature adults.

Under these circumstances, the transition from school to work emerged as an independent arena for study and action, distinct from efforts to reform education or youth employment; the latter efforts, of course, had a lively life of their own. Discussions of the transition basically accepted the length and quality of education and the nature of the job environment as facts of life and concentrated on understanding and improving the transition process itself. Analysis and official action were most conspicuous in those industrialized countries where a great majority of the youngsters left school at the earliest legal time, where a tradition existed of employer responsibility for training young people, and where social interventions were well accepted. A rich and accessible literature emerged in Great Britain, especially after World War II when full employment and a strong demand for young workers made it realistic to speak of a deliberate choice of job or occupation.

Those who theorized about the transition from school to work emphasized that it involved simultaneously internal and external stresses which arose from accelerated personal development, physical and emotional changes, altered family status and living modes, attempts to adopt adult behavior patterns, and entrance to the predominantly adult world of work. One analyst concluded that the transition from school to work was a "focal point in adolescent development, associated with uncertainties, disappointments, frustrations, and stress situations" (510, 303). To another, it seemed that "all the problems connected with the process of growing up in the modern world are writ large in the field of employment" (699, 14).

Significantly, the transition from one level of education to another or from one type of school to another did not form part of the subject of the transition, as it does currently in most developed nations. Because only a small elite was involved and usually was able to obtain needed information or advice, no transition problem was seen. Similarly, it would have been considered fatuous to define work to include unpaid or volunteer activities, or to speak of "careers" for the large segment of youth who entered paid employment in essentially unattractive jobs.

Reviewing the phase two literature, one finds a few main themes which define the difficulties of the transition. First, school is seen as an easier environment for youth and as profoundly different from employment. Second, the transition between school and work is judged to be too swift and abrupt. Third, the initial transition experience is considered crucial and is said to exert a decisive influence on a young person's whole occupational future. However, the transition process is

seldom examined as a whole and the authorities complain of too few theoretical or methodological contributions (510, 5; 698; 454; 115).

Differences between school and employment lie at the heart of phase two transition analyses, with the school environment implicitly or explicitly deemed superior in most statements. In 1959 the influential Crowther Report in Great Britain identified school as "an environment designed specifically to develop powers," while the work situation was one in which a young person "finds a place only, or mainly, insofar as an employer can make use of him" (310, 1, 108-9). School was distinguished from work in the method and manner of supervision, the exercise of responsibility, interpersonal competition and social relationships, daily tasks and routines, penalties and sanctions, values and moral codes, and financial and social status. In many accounts school appeared as a place for maturation, a refuge, a protective cocoon. Contrasts were drawn between the sheltered school life and the sterner trials of the working world. Stress, culture shock, and role discontinuity were discerned in the transfer from school to work.

A second theme, widely stated, was that the transition from school was signally abrupt, a headlong plunge which produced anxiety in all concerned. Young people also might find the transition abrupt if the school's socialization process was inadequate or faulty. In this literature, the absence of occupational skill development at school usually is accepted, since the duration of school was too short to justify anything but general education, and, in some of the countries, employers expected and preferred to provide the occupational skills to young school-leavers.

Another recurring theme stated that the transition process played a critical role in the young person's life sequence, influencing the whole future occupational history. As Roberts sees it, "for school-leavers the entry into employment can be a process of momentous significance. Vocational decisions made at this stage in an individual's life can shape the whole of his future career (699, 19). According to Johnson, a distinguished economist, the initial occupational decision is akin to that faced by a prospective investor in capital equipment or in stocks and bonds; in job choice also there is a collection of information, an assessment of risks, an evaluation of returns, and an assembling of resources (569, 15). This once-and-for-all view of the transition has particular applicability in Japan where the new entrant's connection with a particular firm may be a lifetime commitment.

The foregoing perceptions of the stresses and significance of the transition for young school-leavers were not entirely in accord with the opinions of young people about school and work. Studies in several countries established that many youngsters disliked school more than employment and moved easily from classroom to workplace. Of course, some adjusted poorly to work, but many also were maladjusted or unsuccessful at school. Large numbers of pupils actively welcomed welcomed their departure from school and introduction to work, especially if they were bored or unhappy or had low-grades at school. Even when

initial enthusiasm for work turned to boredom and dissatisfaction in time, few had regrets about no longer being at school.

A national survey in Great Britain in 1966 found that three-fourths of those who planned to leave school at 15 felt that being at work definitely was preferable to being at school, with only one-tenth saying that school was clearly favored over work. Work was considered better than school because it would offer increased freedom and independence, one's own spending money, less discipline, treatment as an adult, and freedom from teachers (a species more disliked by adolescent girls than by boys). Endorsing these points, teenagers already at work, even more of whom preferred work to school, added further reasons: a greater variety of tasks at work, action instead of talk, an opportunity to meet different kinds of people (chiefly stated by girls), and going things within one's capacities instead of struggling unsuccessfully with academic subjects (321, 138-10, 150). More recent studies confirm these attitudes toward school and work (576 s).

In another national survey of British boy school-leavers in 1968-69, half were actively looking forward to starting their first jobs. They particularly valued: the money they would earn, the chance to start something new, the opportunity to make new friends, and getting away from school. Almost two-thirds anticipated that they would find nothing to dislike in their first jobs; only 9 percent thought that they would not like work. Anticipating that the actuality of work might have changed their views, the longitudinal study followed the boys after they had been on their jobs for a while. At that time 55 percent reported that the conditions of their jobs were much as they had expected and almost half of the remainder reported, for each explored aspect of the job, that their experience was better than they had anticipated (844, ch. 5).

Bazalgette discovered the same sort of reaction recently among young workers, who, he claimed, had been filled with inaccurate and disturbing ideas about work while they were at school. Moreover, studying the organization and functioning of both schools and workplaces in a British Midlands industrial city, Bazalgette concluded that schools were less satisfactory than work-settings as regards social stability, personal relationships with adults, learning environment, and personal development of young people (50; 51; 52). This was substantially the position taken by the Panel on Youth in the United States, chaired by Coleman, although it made no direct comparison of environments (894). Reflecting this view, American experiments in Experience-Based Career Education have been offering education away from the classroom (867). And a Dutch program of "participatory education" is an experimental alternative to the extension of full-time compulsory education. The strong support for apprenticeship in some countries also is related to distrust of additional education for all youth.

Some comparisons of young people who enter work with similar youth who remain at school find that the young workers are more socially mature, satisfied, and successful, effecting an easier transition to adulthood as well as to work (49, 146a, 18n.). The Inner London

Education Authority discovers stress in many pupils because "extended education has meant that youngsters are still subject to school discipline and school arrangements while many of their contemporaries enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of wage earners." (306). A study of British students in higher education also discerns greater strain than among their contemporaries at work (576a). Not only is the transition for young school-leavers of 15 or 16 perhaps less stressful than the theorists claim, but its importance also is challenged on the ground that the success of the transition, as such, is a relatively minor influence on future occupational success. Critics assert that the entering position in the occupational hierarchy is crucial to future accomplishment, and that the level and type of the first full-time job are determined to socioeconomic forces and educational attainment which antedate and are more basic than the transition process.

Phase two thinking about the transition has been undermined not only by disagreement between theory and observation but also by changes in the youth population and by the invasion of phase three ideas from countries like the United States. Fully visible only in a few countries, phase three is distinguished by deep interest in maturation and self-development, the learning and performance capabilities of the individual, the development of decision-making capacity, and an awareness of options. Prominent in the American literature, these ideas have taken hold elsewhere recently. Shifting the emphasis to the individual and away from the narrow movement between school and work, this approach is not limited to the young school-leaver but maintains an interest in young people until they are 25 or more.

In addition, phase three is concerned with all aspects of the preparatory process and the limitations of the socioeconomic structure. Phase three perceptions of the transition arise from changes in both educational patterns and the youth labor market, new interpretations of the situation of youth, the increasing complexity of society, the wider range of choices open to youth, the new goals and standards established for youth and society, and the altered values, beliefs, and expectations of youth themselves. In the widened focus, transition problems are redefined, and attention is centered on the problems of those, usually a minority, whose transition is impaired by inadequacies in the preparatory or faults in the employment structure. While neither a repudiation nor an about-face from phase two, phase three is based on the notion of variety and evolution in all of the institutions and attitudes which affect the transition.

An OECD report observes that there are problems of facilitating the transition because "older patterns are obsolete and newer ones are in the process of being developed" (621, 62). Among the changes in education which have most keenly affected the perception of the transition is the voluntary prolongation of formal studies. As a consequence of the educational explosion in the 1960s, a large proportion of young people in many industrialized countries now attend educational institutions for several years beyond the mandatory age. The line between the end of education and entry to the full-time labor market is becoming less distinct,

and the abruptness of the transition is less marked as large numbers of young people hold vacation or part-time jobs during the school year, take work-study or sandwich courses, attend school part-time, arrange time off from education officially or unofficially, return to education after a few years at work, or elect other alternations of schooling, training, nonwork, and work (946; 572; 601; 599; 14; 934). The pattern of prolonged education with vacation and part-time work has produced the somewhat paradoxical complaint that youth are entirely shielded from the work world. In countries where most youths enter the full-time labor force at 15 or 16, such views are less prominent.

A new sense in which the transition from school to work may be called abrupt or unexpected is suggested by a national survey of American boys who recently graduated from high school. Of the small proportion who went directly to work, some 70 percent had not expected this outcome, having planned as late as their final high school year to enter higher education (35, V, 26-7). However, a follow-up might well reveal that many of these boys later returned to education. The Project Talent national survey of 12th year American high school students of the 1960 class found that, while those proceeding directly to college from high school constituted 40 percent of the group, yet 11 years later about half of the original group had had some college experience. Moreover, by 1972 half of the men and a third of the women reported some noncollege education and training since high school (226, 31; 944, A-6, A-5; 847, 141). The assumption that school-leaving is a final and irrevocable decision, a pervasive idea in phase two discussions of the transition, has been altered by the new options which permit a resumption of full-time or part-time education, encourage recurrent education, and create elongated completion patterns for upper secondary and tertiary education.

Another aspect of prolonged education influences attitudes toward the transition problem in several countries. Recent experience undermines the belief, so strongly held in the 1960s, that more years of education automatically will ease the transition, open high status and income occupations to educated young people, and advance the economic growth of nations. Currently, difficulty is discerned among those affected by recent extensions of compulsory education (usually to 16), as well as among those who flock into the various forms of higher education. Because a substantial degree of voluntary prolongation of education already occurred in countries prior to their raising the legal school-leaving age, the statutory change affects relatively few of the age group, and these are young people who dislike school, resent the extension, and have exhibited "school-weariness." Preferring work to school, many who are compelled to stay another year find that later entry gives them no advantage in the job market and causes loss of income during the extra school years.

The countries concerned have a variety of reactions to the disappointing experience--doubt about the wisdom of actions already taken; admonitions against further raising of the minimum leaving age; recommendations that the compulsory age be reduced; proposals for escape routes for the most disaffected; new approaches to the curriculum; concern about

preparation for work in its broadest sense; attempts to establish systems of recurrent or lifelong education opportunities; and interest in beginning schooling a year or two earlier. Reversing previous positions that compulsory schooling should be entirely devoted to general education, with occupational skills coming afterward either through employers or special schools, some countries now contemplate using the added compulsory school time to begin occupational skills training for those whose departure from school seems final.

One effect of educational changes is a new attention to the transition problems of subgroups of young school-leavers. Those who fail to complete the normal course, do not take examinations, or fail to earn diplomas are marked as potential transition problems, as are some who complete upper secondary school in the U.S. and France. Influenced by the American war on poverty, the concept of disadvantaged youth has taken hold elsewhere. Besides those who do not achieve the minimum academic credentials, the disadvantaged commonly include the physically and mentally handicapped, those with social or psychological inadequacies, members of ethnic, racial or cultural minorities, immigrants with lanaguage and cultural difficulties, and residents of rural, isolated, or depressed areas. Their transition needs assume a new urgency in several countries.

Another discovery is that added years of education can intensify rather than ease transition problems, especially when the number of graduates is excessive in terms of the supply of jobs traditionally held by graduates. Many of those who endure higher education without strong academic interests or firm occupational goals emerge reluctantly and are unprepared to make decisions and settle into adult roles. Prolonged education is attacked, especially in the United States and France, as an unwarranted and unhealthy extension of adolescence and a form of deprivation of rights, particularly unsuitable in light of the earlier physical maturation of today's young people. Fostering alienation, radicalization, postponement of decisions, uncertainty about work values, and reluctance to make commitments to the work world, education, once seen as the saviour of youth, now appears as something of a villain. Dissenters are quick to point out that these effects are most visible among those whose suitability for higher education is most debatable.

Other aspects of education, apart from its increased length, weaken the phase two view of the transition as involving movement between two basically fixed or given worlds in which youth themselves are chiefly responsible for the tasks of development and adjustment. Now, there are drives to postpone or end selective education, to delay or eliminate divisions into separate classes or schools, to innovate in the curriculum and school settings, to encourage continued education among early leavers instead of a direct departure to work, to make teaching less directive and authoritative, to accept greater pupil and student participation in decisionmaking, to secure equality of education outcomes for groups, to reject the gatekeeping role of the educational system in the work world--all of these change the definition and scope of the transition problem.

Increasing concern about the educational system's ability to teach basic subjects, impart occupational skills, develop personal and social qualities which foster maturity and employer acceptance, and even to maintain discipline and crime-free environments in schools also affects the conception of the transition. Similarly, the radical analysis of education and the antischool movement, however limited their actual appeal, create doubts about the meaning of the transition. Finally, youth's diminished acceptance or outright resistance to adult authority throws new light on the purposes and functions of education and the transition services.

Just as changes in education affect the concept of the transition, so do changes in the work world. Several employment trends influence the amount, type, and quality of entry jobs and, in turn, the scope and content of transition studies. Usually observed first in the United States, these employment trends increasingly are reported elsewhere. For example, some of the countries which had low and stable youth unemployment rates during most of the postwar period find, since the late 1960s, that youth unemployment rates have been rising relative to adult rates and have failed to return to the earlier ratios after each cyclical downturn. Great Britain, Sweden, France, Belgium, Austria, Australia, and the Netherlands are among the nations which have observed this development. True, the time period involved is too short to draw firm conclusions, the data base is shaky in several cases, and none of these countries has yet experienced persistent, high, noncyclical youth unemployment. Nevertheless, several countries are abandoning the comfortable postwar assumption that entry jobs will be plentiful most of the time (685; 601; 563; 23; 796).

Changes in the structure of employment first seen in the United States are now evident elsewhere. The share of employment in the services has been increasing as agriculture and manufacturing have declined absolutely or relatively (a slight rise in the share of manufacturing has occurred in Germany, Japan, and France, among others, but it may not last through the next decade). The result in most countries is to eliminate specific "youth" jobs as well as to reduce general employment opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing where youth previously had found entry jobs fairly easily.

British surveys confirm that youth jobs such as tea-boy, messenger boy, and office boy and such practices as having a boy accompany and assist a truck or van driver also have been disappearing as firms cut costs. In some entry jobs which provided advancement to adult employment, the position of "mate" has been eliminated and "junior operatives" no longer exist as the minimum hiring age rises to 18, especially in industries where continuous processes and heavy capital investment are the mode. Apprenticeships in some industries leading to skilled worker status have also decreased as a result of the decline of manufacturing employment and changes in production methods. Some substitution of adult for youth labor, especially women for boys, has been fostered by the narrowing differential between youth and adult wage rates and the avowed preference of some employers for adults. Of course, many new youth jobs have been

created, especially in the service sector. But they are not always a direct substitute for low level entry jobs which absorb the early school-leavers who have taken no formal examinations in academic subjects and have received no training on the job. In many cases, recruitment standards have been raised to match high levels of academic attainment without regard to the demands of the job (300; 309).

A concern for the future of this segment of the youth population has appeared in several European countries, matching the American focus in the 1960s on school dropouts. At the same time theories of segmented labor markets have labeled the kinds of jobs these young people tend to take as secondary and inferior, leading in some cases to lifelong exclusion from the "good" jobs. The goal of the transition has shifted from finding a place for each new labor market entrant to providing enough jobs in the "primary" labor market for all new entrants, either immediately or after a short time. In some European countries the growth of protective legislation and practices which guarantee employment security to workers already employed has adversely affected the position of new entrants, especially the disadvantaged segment. Employers in these countries now hesitate before hiring young workers because it will be extremely difficult to discharge unsatisfactory youth (685; 687a).

The labor market for those leaving various forms of higher education also has changed. Overall the numbers of new entrants tend to be greater than can easily be absorbed in the types of jobs deemed appropriate for this level of education. Even at full employment, the supply tends to outrun the demand, and the situation is aggravated in time of recession. Moreover, many students choose specializations in the humanities, arts, foreign languages, sociology, and history which cannot lead to education-related jobs. This aspect of the expansion of higher education is most deplored in countries where unfilled vacancies exist in technological jobs, some kind of national planning prevails, higher education costs are exclusively or largely paid by the government, and society sets narrow limits on the jobs that can be offered or accepted by those who have completed higher education (384; 931; 908; 295b; 292; 249; 250; 634). In this last respect, American employers and college graduates show greater adaptability than European.

Another ongoing change concerns the growing similarity of male and female work patterns. In phase two thinking, the transition nominally concerned both sexes equally. But, in fact, with few exceptions, girls were expected to work briefly before they married and then retired from the labor force, while boys were designated for lifetime attachment to employment. Although many young girls still believe and hope that they will not have to work for more than a few years, lifetime profiles indicate that large numbers will return to the labor market sooner or later, full-time or part-time, intermittently or permanently. At the same time, younger women increasingly seek jobs, especially at the higher occupational levels, which previously have been held mainly by men.

The unemployment situation of new labor market entrants also differs from country to country according to sex. In some nations, girls leaving

In some nations, girls leaving junior and senior secondary schools have an easier transition to work than boys at the same level. Finding openings in white collar, sales, and factory jobs, teenage girls in Canada, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Norway, among others, generally are less troubled by unemployment than teenage boys; Belgium, France, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States report the reverse situation. In Japan, girl junior high school graduates have the advantage, but for girl senior high school graduates, there are relatively fewer job vacancies than for boys (610; 428; 791; 129; 630; 300; 895). It is difficult to know how much additional female unemployment is masked by withdrawal from the labor market, since families are usually more indulgent when girls do not work, even if they are not primary homemakers.

In phase two thinking, a successful transition required that entrants take jobs which they kept for some time; job-changing, especially within the first year, was regarded as unhealthy and the mark of an unsuccessful transition. This doctrine, almost gospel in Japan where lifetime attachment to the firm is the ideal, has less status in countries where phase three concepts prevail. That youth job-changing rates will exceed adult rates is now accepted more readily on a number of grounds--as a rational reaction by young people to the unsatisfactory entry jobs they may be forced to accept, as part of the slow process of becoming established at work, as a result of entering work before sufficient occupational maturity has been achieved, as a reflection of the fact that many young people have jobs rather than careers, as a sensible reaction to the opportunities offered by full and overfull employment, and as a normal part of the lifelong necessity of changing jobs and occupations in a fast-changing world.

It is not clear whether young job-changers fare better than their more stable contemporaries. An American longitudinal study which began in 1966 with a sample aged 14 to 24 indicates that as compared to those who remained with the same employer through 1971, job changers made more progress in wage rates but not in occupational status (644, IV, 54-75; 645). British follow-up studies of 15 to 16-year olds show a mixed picture for the changers (844, ch. 6). Given the greater tolerance toward and approval of deliberate job-changing in recent thinking, a continuing concern persists about the vulnerability of young workers to involuntary terminations, unemployment between jobs, and excessive job-changing among some who often also have personal and social difficulties (48a; 114a).

The opinion also is growing that many young people have different attitudes than their elders or than previous generations of youth toward the role of work in life, acceptable types of work, the responsibilities and rewards of work, and income from nonconventional sources. Some youth attitudes are more widespread than others. For example, the rejection of dirty or menial jobs, and dislike of night shifts or weekend work in factories has become fairly general in most developed countries; but the antipathy to certain kinds of factory work is a particular public issue in countries where such employment has not been declining--Japan or France are cases in point--or where official policy opposes

further importation of foreign workers. A West German survey among teenagers (16 to 20) arouses concern elsewhere with its suggestion that the image of the hard-working German might no longer apply. It depicts present-day German youth as avoiding effort and risk, seeking immediate gratification, expressing doubts about the fairness of rewards, and feeling fatalistic about their ability to alter their social status (916, 9). It is more debatable whether an "allergy to work" or "marginalism of youth" affects a majority of youth, even in countries such as France which offer evidence of such phenomena (713; 716; 719; 39). Taking the longer view, some analysts discount the overt views and behavior of young people, asserting that most will settle down to more traditional patterns as a result of marriage, family responsibilities, and increasing maturity.

Nevertheless, the new patterns are sufficiently marked to affect thinking about the transition. Drawing on his studies of French youth, Rousselet finds a new need to check the psychological suitability of jobs for young entrants, much as the earlier laws provided for medical examinations of youth and approval of the work environment (717). Others, discerning a large voluntary element in youth unemployment, propose changed approaches toward the transition to cope with this situation. Another reaction is acknowledgment of the diverse patterns among youth, indeed subcultures, which make reference to a common transition experience obsolete. Suggesting an approach to transition problems which "welcomes, rather than denies, the presence of multiple value systems," Hoyt conveys the essential spirit of the third phase (403, 7). It is quite in contrast with the British tendency, noted as late as 1972 by a well-informed official of the Department of Education and Science, "to perceive those from alien working class subcultures as intruders whose value systems need transforming" (200, 17).

The United States, definitely in phase three, seems largely to have skipped phase two. American concern about the transition process has arisen chiefly in periods of economic crisis or in relation to prolonged high youth unemployment. The early adoption of longer schooling, the diversity of American school-leaving and job-entry patterns, the characteristic emphasis on democratic conduct in the schools and on individualism and self-help, and a belief in the existence of an open, mobile society may have reduced some of the transition pressures which other countries felt. Evans maintains that the focus of American education on preparing only for subsequent schooling has led to a neglect of the problems of transition for the large number who do not proceed to higher education (204, 208). A list of the transition problems of American youth in 1969 indicates how little emphasis has been placed on phase two concepts (266). American research, theorizing, and policy have been channeled away from the specific problems of the transition into wider considerations of personal development, on the one hand, and social and economic structures, on the other. Of course, some Americans have also perceived the transition in phase two dimensions, exemplified in a list of the ingredients of a successful transition compiled in 1968 by Hoyt (403, 5). The speech at Ohio State University of then President Ford in 1974 on the need to bring education and work closer together generated

a new list of transition difficulties in which the isolation of youth at school from adult pursuits and environments figured prominently (87a). Reflecting the influential Coleman report on youth, this view of alienated youth and a changed world from the past (125, 570) has been challenged by some investigators (848a). Despite a rhetoric which sounds as though all youth are in trouble, most of the analysts actually are concentrating on certain disadvantaged groups of youth and their transition problems. On this point there is agreement.

A final aspect of the third phase is its suggestion that a successful transition is important not only for the individual concerned but for the whole economy and society. Emphasizing nondirective approaches, this view should not be confused with the distortion of second phase activities which converted the transition process in wartime Japan and Germany into service to the state (432, 30-1; 213, 10).

The three distinct phases identified above represent a somewhat idealized and unhistorical account of the development of actual attitudes toward the transition in the industrialized countries. In reality, no orderly progression from stage to stage is visible; at any time, overlapping, coexistence, skipping forward, and retrogression may be found in almost every country, in the assembled writings of the authorities, and in public officials' declarations. Apart from differences stemming from phase two or phase three orientation, a diverse subject matter is encompassed in analyses of "the transition." Transition studies may emphasize one of the following: individual development, economic and social problems, institutional relationships, or public programs. In turn, each of the above subjects is treated differently according to the discipline of the author. Psychologists, sociologists, educators, and labor market economists have their distinct professional perspectives. At the same time, there are important differences among nations in prevailing views, national style, the timing and rate of change in circumstances, and historical background. It also is possible that some countries will develop few of the phase three problems or attitudes and will either remain at phase two or jump to some as yet unknown phase four.

Recognition of the difficulties of the transition and the inadequacy of personal and informal sources of information and guidance aroused early interest in public measures to assist young people. As far back as the 18th century, according to a contemporary British writer, a tutor to Frederick the Great of Prussia criticized parents and persons in authority for thoughtlessly forcing young people "into something in which only they, the superiors, have pleasure" or into "the same trade as their parents" (97, Spr. 73, 21). Looking back longingly to a past which may have never been, other present-day writers suggest that the family no longer can help as it once did, and that the situation is more difficult than in earlier years, even though common elements may be present. Parallel to the belief that the family is less competent in the current complex world, with its rapid change and wider range of choices for the individual, is the assertion in many countries that formal and official assistance is needed; it is so stated by those concerned professionally with young people and by others, including parents and young people themselves.

Beyond the needs of the individual young person for assistance, society has an interest because inadequate or invalud transition services may lead to social and political disorder or to a waste or misdirection of "much social investment in human resources designed to bring about more effective participation in the econony" (491, 53).

Out of these views come the formal transition mechanisms which attempt to ease the movement from school to work. In the countries where they have been most developed, the transition services encompass information, guidance, and job placement for those in educational institutions, as well as induction and follow-up of young workers. Many authorities, especially those who foresee a future in which paid work occupies a diminishing share of the week and the lifetime and who are discouraged about the possibilities of improving or eliminating menial jobs, argue that the transition services must attempt more than the adjustment of young people to their future work roles; they must also smooth the passage into every phase of adult life. Whether and how far the various kinds of helping services can be integrated is debated. But in practice the most common approach is to distinguish the transition services which concern the movement from education to paid work from those which deal with personal and social development, although cooperative action is increasingly evident. The American career education movement treats paid and unpaid activities as "work" and regards everyone as having a "career." As discussed here, the transition services concentrate on the paid work role and view a career as a cumulative development along a given course.

Phase three thought generally accepts the transition services, but adds two important modifications. First, the need for the transition services is seen as uneven among various groups of young people, with the disadvantaged requiring more and differentiated attention. Second, the traditional transition services play an altered and somewhat diminished role as analysts charge both the major societal institutions which prepare young people for work and the labor market itself with creating and contributing to transition problems. Instead of adhering to the conviction common in phase two, that the primary need is to erect sturdy bridges to connect the solid shores of education and work, some phase three analysts complain that the preparation process is faulty and unfair and that many young people do not master the terrain or fall into quicksand before they enter the transition period. This is the main message of American career education. To others, the significant problem is that many young people find steep cliffs or fenced enclaves when they cross over to the shore of employment. The British Society of Education Officers, for example, criticizes the assumption made in other quarters that "all is well at work" and suggests that the problem might be "a work force with too ready an acceptance of the existing situation" (576, 11).

Increasingly, individual analysts, national commissions, and international organizations are extending their critical scope to encompass both the preparatory process and the youth labor market in discussions of the transition problem from school to work. How easily and swiftly

young people cross from one shore to the other thus becomes less important than improving the ground itself, damming up the river so that movement is easier back and forth, providing amphibious vehicles, and moving the youngest and least able from the difficult crossing points to higher ground where passage may be more rewarding. In these circumstances, the need or efficacy of the transition services may assume a less significant position than they had in phase two, although these services may be extended to all levels of education.

Unfortunately much of the analysis of the difficulties of the transition as well as many of the suggested remedies fail to distinguish clearly among the three areas--the preparatory process, the transition services as such, and the youth labor market. While the three subjects have obvious points of overlap, good reasons exist to distinguish and separate them analytically. Greater clarity in the statement of problems and solutions is possible. Moreover, a separation of the subjects, especially in cross-country analyses, permits a more detailed and adequate treatment within a manageable length. But the overriding reason for dividing the subjects into at least three compartments is to foster relevance in the policy recommendations. The failure to divide up the broad subject of the transition often results in proposals which are unbalanced or inappropriate to the identified problems.

As transition problems are discovered, some countries show a desire to compare their experience and practices with those of other nations. Policy makers hope that a critical examination of their own institutions in terms of other countries' transition procedures will provide leads to action. Persistent youth unemployment in the United States directs attention toward the programs and institutions for smoothing the crossing from school to work in countries which have lower youth unemployment (8495, 1968, 111-123; 895, 1972, 77-100; 853, ch. 6,7; 136, 7-12). It is important to obtain an in-depth and current view of what is being done in other countries because, too often, a superficial knowledge has led to the recommendation of a policy of another country just as that country is abandoning it, or to the commendation of a country's policies based on the legal or formal provisions without regard to the realities of daily experience. An intensive exploration of the transition services on a comparative basis can be useful as a guide to policy, provided that the underlying economic and social differences among countries are not slighted and an excessive reliance is not placed on transition mechanisms, since the effectivensss of the latter only incidentally explains international variations in the ease of entry into the labor market.

In an attempt to avoid the pitfalls which are encountered when the transition is studied in its broadest context, the present cross-national effort has consciously divided the subject into three separate parts, with the first volume devoted to a comparative examination of the transition services. These services are often identified and provided individually, as for example, guidance or information. But the intention of this study is to discuss a comprehensive system of transition services

which encompasses information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up of young workers on the job. However, the transition services are not concerned with teaching the cognitive skills, the socialization of youth, or imparting occupational skills. Later volumes are planned to provide cross-national examinations of the problems and policies in occupational preparation and in the structure and operations of youth labor markets.

The first study concentrates on the more narrowly defined transition process and uses a cross-country framework which draws on the experience of the developed nations--Western Europe, Canada, the United States, and Japan. Stressing the experience of a few countries whose size or programs command attention, the study alludes to others when they have distinctive experience or policies. Greatest emphasis is placed on the problems and services for the age group which enters work after lower or upper secondary education. Much of the discussion is equally applicable to the transition of youth to work from other settings, such as the armed forces, corrective institutions, residential health care facilities or other special environments. Similarly, transisions from one level or type of education to another are covered.

The title Bridges to Work has been chosen deliberately to indicate a concern with the formal and public transition services provided by official agencies at various levels of government in order to ease the transition process.

Four objectives are sought in this book. The first is to present a structured analysis of the official transition services in representative developed nations. The second is to examine the transition services and their personnel as a type of intermediary service and a part of the human services in modern society and as a form of employment in the whole service sector which has expanded rapidly. The third is to explore how the objective performance and results of the transition services can be and have been evaluated. Finally, some policy conclusions will be drawn about the transition services.

In keeping with these objectives, chapter 2 presents the basic discussion of the intermediary services of which the transition services are a part. In chapter 3, the organizational structure of the transision services is analyzed. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with educational an occupational guidance, chapter 6 reviews the issues and practices in guidance and counseling. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 are devoted to methods of finding jobs and official job placement efforts. Induction to work and follow-up of young people in their early jobs are the subjects of chapter 10, while chapter 11 summarizes and discusses policy implications.

CHAPTER 2. TRANSITION, INTERMEDIARY, AND HUMAN SERVICES

The transition services—information, guidance, placement, induction, and follow-up—may be understood better if they are seen as part of a broader system of intermediary services which, in turn, is part of a still larger system of human services. Human services have been defined by Chenault as a movement to assist "individuals to improve the quality of their lives in such areas as employment, health care, social security, education, welfare, and mental health." In her view, human services aid the entire community and include "government, law, business and industry, religion, law enforcement and corrections, communications, transportation, the arts, recreation, and political and social systems of all kinds" (110, 2, 8). This is not to say that all who are employed in these fields would hold human service jobs, although many would qualify. Only a fine line divides some of the human services within education, health, and social services from the intermediary services proper.

It would be difficult to cast back to a time when people in organized societies did not use the services of intermediaries in their daily lives. Respected individuals gave advice to those with problems found aid for those suffering hardships, acted as a buffer between individuals and institutions, and settled such disputes as could be resolved extra-legally. Often the local religious leader played this secular role, dealing with all age groups, types of problems, and institutions of society.

What distinguished contemporary from earlier times is the vast multiplication of the number of intermediaries, their secularization and institutionalization, their increasing specialization and professionalization, and the importance of governments in training personnel, as well as in financing and providing services. Intermediary services thrives as never before because the alternatives open to individuals are more complex, specialized, and rapidly changing than heretofore; because awesome bureaucracies have enveloped every aspect of modern life; and because the rights and benefits due ordinary citizens, and particularly those with special needs, require expert exploration, certification, and negotiation.

For present purposes, the transition and intermediary services are distinguished from social interventions, although the all-inclusive concepts of the human services may encompass interventions. Interventions attempt to change the objective circumstances which affect outcomes. For example, a social intervention might seek to change the demand for certain categories of workers (e.g., handicapped, minority, or older workers) by antidiscrimination legislation, incentives or penalties, and similar action. The transition and intermediary services

would rely primarily on interpersonal relationships to effect the same aims. Obviously, combinations of interventions and intermediary services are found in many programs. Moreover, the transition and intermediary services can be viewed as agents of social change even though they lack the powers vested in interventions.

Intermediary services have a wide range of outcomes. They can produce actions which seek to change or do change objective circumstances. But they also may accomplish their purpose by providing assistance which is internalized and may or may not eventually result in action. Such services may operate legitimately even when their only effect is the satisfaction of the client that the service was available, and the service makes no visible impact or is openly rejected. Compared to the standards for judging the production and use of goods and other types of services, those applied to the intermediary services are more variable, nonobjective, and nonmaterial.

EMPLOYMENT IN INTERMEDIARY SERVICES

In the modern world, intermediary services are provided by specialized persons or agencies which act as go-betweens, mediators, sources of information, advice, or action, and perhaps even as advocates or agents. Those who provide intermediary services are part of the economy's service sector, which has been the fastest growing source of employment in recent years. Jobs in the intermediary services are distinct from such business service jobs as computer programmer or data processor; from such personal service jobs as waiter or hairdresser; and from professional, technical, and managerial jobs such as research scientist, X-ray technician, or store manager.

Intermediary services may be public, nonprofit, or private. In some cases, the government elects not to perform certain intermediary services itself and pays private or nonprofit agencies to carry out the functions for referred clients. Most intermediary services are voluntarily sought, but they may be compulsory, as in the case of applicants for unemployment insurance or welfare payments, who are required to accept employment service or social work services. Private fee-charging agencies may compete with the free or low-cost public services, offering the same or similar services but under different conditions; private employment or educational placement agencies are examples. Those who provide intermediary services may operate through specialized agencies or within organizations which are pursuing other activities In the latter, the personnel with intermediary functions assist members of the organization who wish to transfer, deal with, or leave the organization or who have relevant dealings with the outside world; they also are concerned with those who desire to enter the organization

A wide variety of professionals and subprofessionals are engaged in intermediary services. Subprofessionals not only relieve professionals of certain tasks, but are able to relate to clients in ways that professionals may not be able to do. Counselors and advisers of every

variety, social workers, therapists, psychologists, lawyers, judges, clergymen, consumer advocates, placement officers, job developers, industrial relations arbitrators, and public officials are among the professionals. Along with traditional agencies such as social service organizations, there now are citizens' advice bureaus, poverty law agencies, and consumer protection and advocacy groups.

Those whose livelihood comes from providing intermediary services hold no monopoly since family, friends, community figures, and others operate informally as intermediaries. Some of the informal sources are uninformed and ineffective, while others are in a position to offer assistance beyond that furnished by the formal intermediaries, whether public or private. Well placed individuals who serve as informal intermediaries use their knowledge, power, influence, connections, or money to obtain "inside" information, to ease the task of making choices, to circumvent rules, or to gain special privileges, or to gain special privileges. It is the essence of the effective informal intermediaries that they should cater to a privileged minority, to those who may already have the best access to the formal intermediaries.

If these informal services were made available to all on an equal footing, they would either become institutionalized, losing their special value, or they might disappear. It is difficult to imagine a human society without such informal intermediaries, although their influence varies considerably according to the ethos and political system in force. In modern industrialized countries, the degree of dependence on the formal intermediary services differs among individuals according to their basic situation and needs and their access to knowledgeable or influential sources. The formal intermediaries may be important as a potential counterweight to the ill-informed or ineffective informal sources.

The social demand for formal channels constantly increase, supported by the affluence of industrial societies and democratic concepts of the right to such services. The growth of the intermediary services also is stimulated by the eagerness of young people to find jobs in such activities either because they have been satisfied customers or because they feel that they can reform and improve the services; the goal of doing useful work for society or helping people has eclipsed other career aims for many who are starting out in the owrk world. Another factor of no small importance is the power of existing employees and their organizations to obtain support for an expansion of their services by citing unmet or hidden needs, implicitly arguing that provision of more services automatically means fewer unsolved problems.

In light of the importance of the publicly-financed intermediary services in employment, some of the characteristics of this type of employment are noteworthy. Service employment tends to be highly labor intensive, and it is not easy to improve productivity (always difficult to measure in meaningful terms) by administrative changes or the substitution of capital for labor. Pressures for salary increases are not related to market demand or the profitability of an enterprise, and often there is no competing private sector enterprise for comparison.

Indeed, when services are offered free of cost or at below-market prices, neither the economic demand for the service nor the adequacy of the product can be tested. If the product is free, the demand may be ever-increasing or insatiable unless administrative and financial restrictions are imposed, as they usually are. While idle capacity may exist at times because people do not know about the services or do not wish to use them, more commonly services are rationed, clients wait on line, lists are made for future appointments, and interviews are briefer than are desired.

Employment in publicly-financed intermediary services also differs from privately-financed employment in the sharp impact of legislative and budgetary measures on the rate of growth or decline in the numbers of employees. There can be wide and unexpected fluctuations and sudden reductions of staff or eliminations of agencies, sometimes because of budgetary measures which are not directly related to the activities of the particular agency.

One authority predicts that the providers of these services will become an increasing proportion of the "general intellectual stratum of any industrial society; until the intellectual elite, and most of the leadership of the society, will be engaged in administering personal services" (337, 28). It is a fact that a large and rising proportion of all employment in industrial nations has been in the service sector, that much of the employment in the service sector has been publicly-financed employment, and that much of publicly-financed employment has been identifiable as intermediary or human services.

Forecasts of future developments point to this area as a major growth sector in employment. A Swedish forecast looks for relative decline in employment in almost every area except the production of services and anticipates that 80 percent of the additional job opportunities in the services will be connected with the activities of the several levels of government (795, 12-13). British projections of employment growth between 1971 and 1981 show public services rising from 17 percent to 21 percent of total employment, while other services increase by 1 percent, primary and manufacturing employment shrinks, and other production just maintains its share (295f). However, more recent British government decisions and budget cuts suggest that the anticipated increases in this type of employment may not be realized. Other countries also are having second thoughts about the continued expansion of this type of public employment and recession-induced financial stringency has imposed restraints on some subdivision of government. It is therefore premature to project a sustained growth of the transition, intermediary, and human services in all countries, but these services clearly have not reached their maximum strength.

GOVERNMENT PROVISION

Given these aspects of government-created transition, intermediary, and human services employment, it is surprising that there has been so

little discussion of whether government should be providing these services at all and whether they should be free to all. To one American observer, these public services seem doomed to be less satisfactory than those offered by private facilities because public services consist of "minimally motivated staffs providing services of dubious quality to a minimally appreciative clientele" (61, 64). However, in most of Western Europe it is accepted without question that government is either the only willing source of such services or else the only source which can provide adequate services free of the corrupting profit motive. Even an American who maintains that "government should stay away from any area in which there is some hope for private initiative" concedes that few of these services are "sufficiently profitable to interest the business community" (61, 64). Positive endorsement of government provision of labor market information, one type of intermediary service, is offered by American economists who liken such an information service to the social investment in human capital through education. Free public services are necessary for those who cannot afford to pay or who may not receive equal or adequate treatment at the hands of private sources (954, 8-9).

The opposition, rather than arguing that government should be entirely absent from this field, urges that competition should be provided by private agencies and that fees should be charged by public intermediary services (252, 101; 61, 64; 439, 199-205). These positions, taken most frequently in the English-speaking world, arise from the belief that the public and private intermediaries each has its own virtues and that each can be improved by open competition.

Deriving from the theory of public expenditures which separates collective public services, such as national defense, from those like water consumption where individual use can be measured, the idea of fees or prices to users of public services has also gained strength from the theory of human capital. In this theory the individual is seen as investing in himself through education and training, reaping private benefits in the labor market from services which may be partly or wholly financed by the public. Investigations have revealed that public institutions which are supposed to serve all equally and be paid for by all may in fact aid disproportionately, through differential utilization rates, the very segment of society which is better able to finance itself (346; 347). As a consequence, charges for education according to ability to pay might be more equitable than free education to all, especially beyond basic schooling.

In the intermediary services, the case has been made particularly that employers who make use of the public employment service should pay fees to it. Arguing the issue for Great Britain, Fulop maintains that reliance on government funds alone would leave the public employment service permanently undercapitalized and capable only of slow and piecemeal improvement. Fees not only would contribute needed funds but would reveal the types of services in demand by consumers. They also would indicate the services, such as aid to the disadvantaged, which require full subsidy because employers are not willing to pay.

Contrary to the usual effect of imposing prices on previously free goods, the imposition of employer fees, according to some authorities, would improve services and increase the total use of the employment service. It also is argued that employers should be as willing to pay the government as a privider of intermediary services as they are to pay other intermediaries when they perform services (252, 102-3; 439; 754).

Charges to employers have been introduced in Britain's Professional and Executive Recruitment Service (PER), a specialized branch of the public employment service which deals with middle-level management and professional personnel, as well as executive secretaries. Relying on governmental payment of capital costs and other public grants to cover the costs of services to applicants who are not attractive to employers, the PER is a mixed organization which claims in its first years of operations to have taken some business away from the private agencies and to be covering most of its operating costs for placements where fees are paid by employers (297; 295a, d, e). However, costs were high and at the end of 1976 a study was begun of the possibility of merging the PER with other employment service offices.

The example of the PER opens the door to fee-charging to other employers or even to jobseekers. One American authority declares that ideally a public provider of labor market information should charge all users, including jobseekers, according to the costs of supplying the information. Partial or full subsidies should prevail where need exists either on the part of the user or the institution supplying the information (954, 8-9). Another reason for charging the user, developed in psychiatry and other therapeutic services but cited also in connection with voactional guidance services, is the alleged connection between payment for a service and the client's active participation and appreciation of the service (465, 27; 97, no. 3, 1975, 20). The counter-argument is that some people, young persons in particular, who most need the services will not apply if they are required to pay a fee, even a modest one. Fees are also valued because they may improve the image of the service and confer more authority on agency operations. To date, however, most public intermediary services have not charged fees to users and those which do usually gear the fees to income, avoiding flat charges.

A firm position against fees in the public employment service has been taken by the International Labor Office. Its Convention 88 has ruled out the possibility of charging fees to either party. An OECD working party on the public employment service has considered financing in terms of general revenues versus payroll taxes without mentioning user fees. Its conclusion is that a country with an active manpower policy "linked to national goals of full employment, optimum development and utilization of manpower, and economic growth and stability" would naturally rely on general revenues and that a failure to obtain sufficient funds in this way would be "in effect an admission that economic and manpower policy and programme implementation have not yet taken roots" (491, 24).

The linchpin of the argument in favor of charging for heretofore free public services is the possibility of subsidizing those who cannot afford to pay for the service. A particularly favored form of subsidy is the issuance of vouchers to the potential customers. They may cover all or part of the cost of a service and they can be written for use in a single designated place or in a variety of unspecified places. Vouchers may be of varying value, according to the circumstances of the recipient, or can be a uniform amount to each person. As a limited-purpose nonconvertible subsidy, vouchers encourage the recipients to utilize services they might otherwise ignore and provide them with an opportunity to choose among the various dispensers of the service, including a choice between private and public vendors.

If there are several purveyors of the service, supporters of the voucher system claim, there will be healthful competition, freedom of choice, and improved services. But others believe that consumer sovereignty in the public services may lead to price and quality cuts, excessive advertising, and catering to consumer whims rather than provision of good services. For example, some private schools might offer a very short day and long vacations in order to gain the endorsement of the pupils, while others might promise to keep the children in school all day in order to attract the parents; neither type of school schedule is necessarily related to educational considerations.

Some who endorse pricing for public services but are uneasy about the voucher system would prefer that overhead subsidies and specific subsidies on behalf of those who are unable to pay in full should go directly to the institutions which provide the services. In part, this represents a desire to provide financial security to public institutions which may play a broader role in the society than the satisfaction of individual needs. Capricious changes in consumer preferences under the voucher system could undermine or destroy valued public institutions. There also is concern that an uneven distribution of demand for public services or an excess of demand over supply will develop if purchasing power is placed directly in the hands of consumers. Some people fear that the information and administrative problems inherent in such a program will reduce utilization by poorly educated people or minority groups will language difficulties, unless auxiliary support programs exist. In addition, since advance planning and a long construction period are required to develop facilities and personnel, the uncertainties of the voucher system may hamper the growth of institutions. Finally, under the voucher system, some competent private institutions may have to be declared ineligible because they discriminate against certain groups or offer them inadequate services.

Whether government should be the sole or main provider of intermediary services and whether fees should be charged for all or some of the services is discussed more in the United States and Great Britain than in most of the other industrial countires and there is no visible consensus, even within countries.

THE SERVICES AND SOCIETY

Because of the special character of the output produced by the intermediary services, issues arise about the social role of these services. The potential conflict between individual requirements and those of the economy, the divergent pressures on the bureaucracy, and the relationships between clients and officials have provoked discussion. In the intermediary services in general and in the transition services specifically, a basic question concerns the role of these services in the evolution of the broader society. Do or can these services function as agents of individual or social change and progress, however that is defined? Or, on the contrary, are they willing or unwilling upholders of the status quo; or even worse, reactionary forces which hold back change in the name of objective, impartial service? If these services claim simply to be nondirective efforts to make people aware of the full range of opportunities available in the society and to help "them to be more autonomous in choosing the alternatives suited to their needs and preference," as Watts and Herr say, they have the difficulty that they ignore the "question of whether society will be able to meet the individual expectations" and pay little attention to "the dysfunctional consequences both for the individual and society if it does not" (925).

The official intermediary services have a tendency to be passive rather than active, to accept existing institutional arrangements rather than to advocate change, and by their nature to have little opportunity to influence basic conditions. Yet, there are some exceptions among the official services and many among the unofficial services, some of which may receive partial or total financial support from public sources. The British Schools Council warns that schools, in their provision of transition services, "must avoid the danger of becoming little more than advance agents of the economy." (319, 30). Urging the career guidance profession to increase its autonomy because professionals can criticize while employees cannot, Ginzberg declares that the transition services must assume the responsibility of altering "those in a position to alter and change institutions to the fact that some institutions operate to the serious disadvantage of various groups" (264, 268-70, 320).

Sweden officially urges personnel engaged in providing transition services to implant critical attitudes in youth toward the information they are being given and the social relations they observe at school and at work. Far from making young people feel they must fit themselves into a rigid job, training, or labor market system, personnel should discuss how these institutions can be altered to meet the needs of individuals. Aware of the power of home, peers, and media in shaping educational and occupational aspirations, the Swedish educational system and its guidance component aim to oppose and offset these influences. Specifically, the information counseling service attempts to "promote a choice of profession that is free from the traditional views of the sex roles," stimulate young people" who receive little support from home ... towards the choice of a longer or more theoretical path of study," and assist those "from homes with a strong educational tradition ... to consider other alternatives than theoretical studies and to make—in

view of their social background—an unconventioanl choice of profession" (805, 2, 6; 146b; 147).

In most countries the transition services accept as facts of life the social selection factors inherent in educational attainment along with its impact on job aspirations and choices, as well as the job structure and its selection processes. These attitudes partially explain the apparent paradox that a rigidly segregated educational system with early selection, limited opportunities for transfer, and restricted higher education, as in some European countries, may be more active and effective in its transition services, especially for those destined for the lowest rungs of the economic ladder, than a system like the American or Canadian which offers more comprehensive schools and relatively easy access to higher education.

Indeed, the belief that everyone should have wide educational and employment opportunities may weaken the incentive to provide adequate transition services for those who cannot or do not take advantage; only those who are upwardly mobile command attention. MacMichael suggests that the American school system has been so committed to middle class values and occupations that it has not been able to implant a working class ethic of obedience, conformity, and docility in young Americans. Lacking the European "definable working class with its own traditions and political organization" (509, 285), the United States directs youngsters toward middle class occupations and conveys the message that those entering other jobs are failures.

A small but active opposition thinks of the transition services as essentially conservative and harmful. Like the schools, the transition services may be manipulative, enforcing conformity on young people, concealing the real issues, and defusing anger. They can keep minorities in their place, influence females along traditional occupational paths, and reinforce the social selection process of the schools. An international team of educators, reviewing West Germany's educational policy, has observed that in practice "testing-guidance-orientation-selection mechanisms have appeared to serve to put children down; to dub them as 'inferior'; to justify spending less tax money on them; and to get the world's dirtier jobs done" (602, 54-5). A book review of The School Counsellor rebukes its British author because he did not "confront the morality of how far pupils should be counselled to make them fit into poor courses in inferior schools, which lead to inferior jobs" (576d). Maizels claims that "the pattern of demand for young labour undermines any attempt" of the transition services "to fulfill their stated aims" (510, 315), leads them to prepare and advise large numbers of children to accept unrewarding jobs, and even causes them to conceal the true nature of these jobs and their prospects from the school leavers likely to enter such jobs. Society reduces the vocational guidance service "to the level of an agent whose purpose is to facilitate the transactions of the juvenile labour market" (510, 316).

In the rhetoric of the neo-Marxist educational analysts, the transition services impart a false air of voluntarism to student choices

which are in fact determined by the needs of capitalist production. To such analysts it appears that the function of the schools and the intermediary services, reflecting their role "as integral links in the larger institutional allocation of unequal power and income," is to reproduce "the economic relations of the larger society" (263, 72, 84). Another criticism of providers of intermediary services berates them for 'carrying out piecemeal acts of betterment, but making no difference whatsoever to the general condition of man" which can only be improved through political action (337, 28). While the majority of those providing transition services do not urge radical changes in employment opportunities or in other institutions, some British personnel who question the existing social and economic system are becoming unwilling to provide the transition services in traditional forms, though they are unsure about the proper substitutes. (576f).

A related issue faced by some intermediary and transition services is the assertion that a conflict exists between two goals: that of fostering self-development and individual choice, on the one hand, and the social objective of meeting labor market demand, on the other. As the more detailed discussion in chapter 6 indicates, the two sides in this debate show little inclination to reconcile their differences.

Debate over policy issues in the intermediary and transition s services has a special sharpness because of the feeling in some places that the bureaucracy does not agree on goals and lacks good faith. Gaps between official pronouncements and behind-the-scenes attitudes and activities arise from conflict among the divergent objectives of agencies, the power of lobbies of professionals to determine needs and programs, the displacement of goals by bureaucratic aims, and a failure or inability of conservative or specialized personnel to respond to changed directions and methods. There may be a tendency for organizations and professionals to equate their own expansion with the provision of a better service to their clients, an identity of interests which may not be visible to the outside observer.

In the intermediary services a key issue is the nature of the relationship between the dispenser of services and the client. Although there is widespread agreement that a paternalistic or directive attitude is inappropriate or harmful, few services have reached the point where the clients, individually and in groups, participate actively in the planning, implementation, and control of these services. Nor are many programs able to claim that they treat the whole individual through related, coordinated services. A disputed matter involves the deliverate restriction of the intermediary and transition services to those who voluntarily seek them, on the ground that only such persons can benefit. A strong body of opinion maintains that many who most need the services would be neglected if this principle were observed.

The needs of clients often take second place to internal events and pressures within agencies A cynical British observer, noting that "the people whose real needs are being satisfied in most youth organizations, are the adult organizers," even faults personnel with radical learnings for neglecting the desires of young people in favor of a

"response to self-perpetuating adult structures that pretend to be there primarily for young people" (576i). Finally, the intermediary and transition services are frequently the scene of private games played by unwilling or incompetent personnel and unreceptive or hostile clients.

OPERATIONAL PHASES

Intermediary and transition services tend to follow a certain pattern as they progress from new innovations to established institutions. Five stages are discernible. At the outset, especially in the planning stage, the greatest emphasis is placed on the inputs—the number and type of personnel to be hired, the number and location of offices, the staff training courses, the organizational structure, the sources of occupational information, etc. As the programs develop, quantitative outputs take center stage—in the transition services it is the number of young people interviewed, the number of courses given or meetings held, the number of pamphlets released, the number of placements made, the ratio of personnel to clients.

A more advanced stage is reached when searching questions are raised about the qualifacations and performance of the practitioners and disseminators. Are the services operating as they were intended? How do schools use the occupational materials provided to them? Do teachers know enough about the work world to inform their pupils? Are the guidance counselors giving directive or nondirective advice and which is preferable? Do the placement offices have good access to the community's job vacancies for youth? Have all the potential sources been drawn into active participation?

At the next level of awareness, the reactions of the consumers of the various services and the public assume importance. What do pupils think of the career information they receive? Do they retain or use much of it in making educational or occupational decisions? Have the parents participated to the extent that was planned? What are the employers' opinions of the services offered and of the young people they interview? From the feedback, changes can be made in programs. Differences among individuals and groups may emerge as critical factors in the design and execution of the intermediary services. It may become important to differentiate services, offer remedial services, and give extra time and resources to certain age, sex, educational, and social groups whose needs are greater than average or whose other sources of assistance are inadequate.

The final sophistication is achieved when the question is asked: what difference do these services make in the actual outcomes to individuals? What would happen if they did not exist? Are the options open to individuals wider than they ohtherwise would be? Are the expenditures justified by the results for individuals and society?

Hoyt has suggested a set of criteria for evaluating the effectiv-

eness of transition services, based on a comparison of those who received services and those who did not. The rest would be applied soon after the first job was taken and would concentrate on various aspects of adjustment to work life. Recognizing that his criteria are "based on a set of values which are held by only a part of our society," Hoyt has accompanied his list with suggestion that the criteria acceptable to various subcultures should be researched so that the list could be modified or made into multiple lists (403, 6-7).

Hoyt's assumption that behavior and performance after leaving school can be entirely or largely attributed to the transition services is questionable. Such a judgment is difficult to make, in part because the transition services are not a single force but a group of separate services dispensed by different individuals and groups. Moreover, in contrasting those who have received services with those who have not, the test sets the difficult task of holding constant all other factors about the young people. Perhaps the most serious objection to Hoyt's approach is its failure to include the cost aspect.

MONITORING AND EVALUATING SERVICES

Public expenditures on intermediary and transition services have been rising rapidly. A British calculation shows a 500 percent growth at constant prices from 1953 to 1973 in public spending on personal social services, a category which does not entirely coincide with out concept of intermediary and transition services, but is largely the same. This rate of increase exceeds that for any other public expenditure sector (576h, j, k).

The problem for public policy is to decide how much to allocate to these activities, given the competing claims of other public programs. Unmet needs are constantly being discovered and infinite room exists to increase the quantity and improve the quality of intermediary services. Citing their potential for good, the services clamor for more funds, personnel, and activities. Hence the need to develop methods to judge programs, a movement initiated in the United States. Other countries are now following suit, since both the financial realities and the temper of the times call for more than an accounting of how public funds are spent; they require evidence that programs actually are structured and operate as they were intended, are efficiently managed, produce the anticipated results at the least possible cost, and yield benefits, broadly conceived, which exceed costs, comprehensively calculated. Although many social programs still are initiated and expanded as acts of faith, one can expect increasing attention to the methods of social experimentation, monitoring, and evaluation.

Social experimentation in the intermediary and transition services has severe limitations because of difficulties in developing service delivery models before the experiment begins and conducting unchanged programs over the life of the experiment. There also are ethical and legal issues affecting the participants and problems in drawing infer-

ences from results. Yet social experiments are attractive because they are less costly than ineffective social policies launched on a large scale and may yield data unavailable through traditional research methods (695; 692). The usual method in social experimentation is to provide services to one group, while denying them to a control group. A more interesting model, used in Sweden, introduces a third group which thinks it is receiving services but in fact obtains no positive assistance (684, 60).

Both monitoring and evaluation can be applied to social experiments, but more frequently they are associated with social programs, including the intermediary and transition services. The difference between monitoring and evaluation is not absolute, but monitoring always involves current observation as the program proceeds. Evaluation can begin before or after the program has ended, but always should continue long enough to enable judgments to be made about the impact on participants as well as the broader social and economic effects. Monitoring may suggest immediate changes in program practices or aims, either because of a failure to implement the original intentions of a program or unforseen circumstances. As the longer-run, more basic instrument, an evaluation usually strives not to influence a program's objectives or procedures, but unintended effects may result from the mere fact that an evaluation is in process.

While both monitoring and evaluation are important instruments, most of the discussions of the technical, procedural, and policy problems have concerned evaluation. It is suggested that evaluation studies which yield counterintuitive findings should be questioned, and some analysts urge the establishment of competing hypotheses and multiple evaluation teams. A number of analysts and policymakers, especially outside the United States, have reservations about the evaluation process as it is practiced, the validity of conclusions drawn from evaluations, and the method's usefulness for policy which ultimately is formed in the political arena (119; 445; 462; 462; 466; 24, 25).

The intermediary and transition services are particularly affected by these caveats, since program objectives and activities are apt to be multiple, uncertain, difficult to measure, subject to change, variable from place to place and even diverse among individual practitioners. It is difficult to discover which part of the outcome is attributable to the particular service and which part is due to other influences. In the nature of the case, these services are "lumpy" investments, applied heavily at particular times, but intended to act on the continuum of an individual's lifetime experience. Moreover, even a service which produces no visible results may be useful because individuals benefit from being able to consult someone. People who report that a particular service has made no appreciable difference in their lives nevertheless praise the particular service and urge that it should be expanded or that others should be exposed to it. Even services which are rejected or opposed by clients may be socially valued. In any case, a service should not be judged solely by results, but also should be rated on whether it treats its clients humanely and

shows respect for the individual. However, the quality of services is less measurable than their quantity, and quality tends to be neglected in evaluations which reckon costs. Finally, objections are raised to the whole process of checking up on the results of these services. In Denmark this position has been tied to guarding the "liberty of the individual, even the liberty to make a mess of one's life." (608, 49).

The role of the research and evaluation function varies greatly, not only among countries, but within countries where several agencies exercise responsibility for different programs or parts of a program. It is possible to operate a fairly effective program without much research and evaluation, and some countries which are prone to research and evaluation efforts seem to make little progress in generalizing and standardizing their programs. Despite the major problems which plague evaluation of the intermediary and transition services, it is important to improve the evaluation process rather than return to the earlier haphazard methods of initiating, expanding changing, and judging social programs. A high priority must be given to the advancement of evaluation concepts and techniques in view of the sizeable social resources committed to the intermediary and transition services and the urgency of the problems which have led to the expansion of the services.

The general observations in this chapter about human, intermediary, and transition services are introductory to a detailed consideration of the transition services which aid young people to move from school to work. To begin with, chapter 3 presents a comparative analysis of how various countries organize these services.

CHAPTER 3. ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS AND FORMS

In an ideal, comprehensive system the transition services would encompass a wide range of coordinated activities offered more or less sequentially to all types of youth and, in many cases, to their parents as well. As defined here, the transition services exclude both the usual subject matter of education and the direct creation of occupational skills. The full range of transition services includes: broad orientation and information about educational choices and their occupational implications and a wide introduction to the world of work and its requirements; individual and group counseling to assist educational and occupational choices; job placement; assistance to young people in the induction to work; and follow-up services to young workers which aid them in work adjustment and job changing and which provide information about further training and education opportunities. As chapter 1 explains, the present study is confined to the transitions between various forms and levels of education and between school and work. The importance of the transition to adulthood and the preparation for non-work roles is not denied, but the complexity of these subjects requires specialization in both analysis and the provision of services.

In practice, countries vary in their commitment to a comprehensive range of transition services; the intensity, scope, and continuity of their activities; the degree of attention given to various types of youth; and their specific approaches. The state of the economy also strongly influences the type and amount of transition services. A period of rapid economic growth and a shortage of young workers, such as western Europe and Japan experienced in the 1960's, encourages expansion of the transition services, enhances day-to-day operations, and fosters more ambitious goals than can be urged when the labor market is gluttered. In less prosperous periods some of the advances of the full employment period may be retained, with adaptation to the increased youth unemployment, but it is rare that a country which has lagged behind in good times will introduce an advanced program during a recession.

Countries in which parents, community, employers, and trade unions take an active independent role in aiding young people in the transition process usually also tend to have a wider range and greater quantity of public transition services than other countries. Moreover, as has been noted earlier, countries which have sharp class divisions and limited numbers in education beyond the compulsory level have a greater tendency to establish comprehensive transition services, first for early school-leavers and then at all levels, than countries which stress access to education and upward mobility. The goals and organizational patterns of the transition services in various countries are

also influenced by the power and philosophy of the nation's educational establishment, the strength of an independent, psychologically-oriented guidance movement, the vitality of the manpower institutions, and the nation's political institutions and style.

The range of transition services in each country influences the organizational forms adopted, and in turn the organizational structure affects the amount and kind of services and the effectiveness of the delivery system. Discussing this relationship, a French expert emphasizes the need for "compatibility between the targets set and the means employed for achieving them" (605,41). While the organizational forms are not an automatic predictor of the quality of the transition services, the chances of effectively establishing the full range of services are increased when organizational structures and procedures are sound in practice as well as theory. In cross-national comparisons of transition programs it is important to evaluate actual practices as well as official declarations of policy and intention.

It is inherently difficult to devise a comprehensive administrative structure which provides all of the transition services and satisfies the needs and interests of all concerned parties. While most countries state that the transition services must bridge the worlds of education and work, they do not agree that a distinctive and independent intermediary agency is required nor are they united on how the tasks of the transition should be shared among various agencies. Everyone concedes that the schools and other educational institutions must be deeply involved in the implementation of the initial stages of the transition services. But it does not follow that all or even the chief responsibility for information and guidance should be vested in the educational system, especially in individual schools, colleges, universities, or teachers and professors. The case against exclusive educational activity is even stronger for placement, induction, and follow-up services.

The arguments in favor of the educational institutions center on their proximity to and knowledge of pupils' interests and problems, the essentially educational nature of the information-guidance function, the continuous and personalized assistance needed by young people from an early age, the interrelation of educational and occupational guidance, the need to influence educational policy, and the possibility of easy cooperation with other specialists on the educational team, such as school psychologists, health officers, welfare or social workers, and probation officers. In some countries it is argued that no agency apart from the schools could or would supply the necessary services. But in practice it is far from clear that the schools are willing or able to act as the principal agents in furthering a smooth transition. Despite the belief of many parents and children that the transition services are among the most important functions of the schools, some educational theroists and teachers tolerate transition activities as an inferior intruder in the schools, akin to the lesser nonacademic subjects. Others hold that the transition services are alien, conflicting with, or irrelevant to education's purposes.

A recurrent complaint in France has been that the educational system does not concern itself with what happens to young people when their schooling is finished. Sauvy, the distinguished French social scientist, has observed that "education pays no attention to jobs, and as the inheritor of the Middle Ages, it scorns technology" (486a). Echoing these sentiments the 1970 basic report of the Commissariat général du plan asserted that the structure and content of the educational system make youth unfit for the work world (238). Recent efforts to combat these views have been vigorous but only partially successful. Not only France perceives such attitudes in the educational establishment attitudes which are slow to yield to the pressures from outside. Discerning a bias against industry in Britain's universities, a director of the Industrial Society complains that the only occupations respected by the universities are "teaching, the law, the medical profession or the government service" (97, summer 1973, 41).

Apart from its alleged adverse attitudes toward certain sectors of the economy, the educational system has been criticized as being "teacher-oriented and not student-oriented, and subject-oriented because teachers are masters of certain subjects" (930, 23). In its sweeping condemnation of American schools as socialization agencies, the report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee raises additional objections to the predominance of educational institutions in the transition (894). Many who believe that young people need assistance in the transition are skeptical that teachers or school-based counselors, even with specialized training, can provide the whole range of transition services. Teachers are widely seen as knowing little about diverse occupations or the world of work and as being competent to speak only about teaching. In Canadian high school guidance classes "complaints were registered among the students from homes of fathers in manual occupations that teaching was overemphasized" (333, 70-1).

Moreover, young people who question or distrust teachers and parents who have unpleasant memories of school may respond poorly to transition services which emanate from the educational institutions. In particular, it is argued that disadvantaged young people may only be helped by an outside agency.

Watts and Herr raise broader issues about the role of schools. They ask whether it is possible for "students to engage in honest, deep and comprehensive exploration of self in institutions which they perceive to be largely concerned with controlling them and assessing them in relation to a rather limited set of intellectual skills" (925). Further questions involve the possibility of developing decisionmaking skills in institutions which give young people little control over their day-to-day lives and the likelihood of preparing for the transition to adulthood in institutions largely closed off from the community. If the structure of schools actually thwarts the maturation and development process which would occur in the absence of schools, as the deschoolers maintain, then the transition services are merely a structured replacement for natural processes (925).

Further reasons to disqualify educational institutions from bearing chief responsibility for the transition services are their understandable focus on first jobs, their orientation in some countries toward only the next level of education, their inadequate relations with employers, their limited coverage of the labor market, their conflict or overlapping in some functions with nearby schools or manpower agencies, and their weaknesses in induction, follow-up, further placements, and aid to unemployed youth.

Despite the deficiencies of the educational institutions many countries continue to rely on them as the principal agency for transition services, to the extent that these are offered. These countries, among them the United States, Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy, have difficulty in providing a balanced, comprehensive, and integrated transition program and are particularly weak in aspects which involve the labor market or relations with labor market institutions. Usually unable or unwilling to deliver the full range of services themselves, the educational institutions are rarely able to arrange a satisfactory liaison with other agencies which might fill the gaps. In the liaison effort, countries in which the educational system is decentralized and under local control, as in the United States, are more handicapped than those where education is centrally directed, as in France. The brief country profiles which follow concern nations that rely heavily on their educational institutions for the transition services.

The United States stands out for the degree of its reliance on individual schools and colleges; its weak provision of all the transition services; its spotty history of cooperation with the employment service, employers, and trade unions; and the great diversity of standards and practices from one place to another. Uniformity cannot be found even within a local school district and does not exist within a state, let alone a region (584; 586; 840, 254-5; 941, 48-9). Surveying only those American schools with an active interest in transition services, the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education discovered a wide variety of practices and effectiveness in 1973 (567). Two American authorities discerned "inadequate linkages ... between counseling and education, training, placement, job adjustment and follow-up" (345, 181). An experienced British visitor who made an extensive tour of American schools in 1972 found American provision inferior to British, noting many weaknesses and disparities in the transition services offered directly by American schools or in cooperation with other agencies (922, 31). Yet official and unofficial opinion in the United States, reinforced by the Career Education movement, is strongly oriented towards school-centered, decentralized, ad hoc arrangements for the transition services, although acknowledging the need for cooperation with the employment service, employers, and the community (946; 400; 521; 567).

Belgium's inadequate transition services stem from the language, ethnic, and political divisions in a small nation, the current movement to regionalize national authorities, and, above all, the dominance of the Ministry of Education in matters concerning young people. Distrust of the schools' ability to offer adequate personal and educational

guidance has led to the creation of an independent system outside the schools, the Psycho-Medical Social Service, but it pays little attention to the labor market (612, 69-73, 92-3; 624a, Belgium, 6). An expert British study reported that it took no more than the first 10 minutes of discussion in Belgium to reveal that "a Belgian vocational guidance system as such did not exist" for those in educational institutions (97, summer 71, 44). The Ministry of Labor's National Employment Office (ONEM) which operates programs for unemployed youth, experimentally approached individual schools in 1974 offering to aid new school-leavers who were entering the labor market. But a report on the nation's labor market agencies by the Belgian Christian trade union federation (CSC) at about the same time complained of poor integration and delivery by ONEM itself (55: 54).

Long deficient in transition services, France operates under a highly centralized educational system, a legacy of the Revolution and its declared aim of eradicating regional and class differences in educational opportunities. France now maintains a parallel structure of three separate, national agencies for information, counseling, and placement. The National Office for Educational and Occupational Information (ONISEP), under the Ministry of Education, has its own regional offices which adapt national information materials to local requirements and distribute them, but ONISEP does not function within the schools. Counselors have been organized for some time in the CIO (Centres d' information et d'orientation), also under the Ministry of Education The CLIO maintains local offices outside schools, separate from ONISEP offices, and conducts some activities within schools. The National Employment Service (ANPE), an all-age service which offers some specialized placement service for youth in its local offices, does not function within the schools, although some liaison is maintained with schools.

At the national level the coordination of the separate French agencies is accomplished by interministerial committees which have representation from relevant segments of the public and rotate their directors so that individuals with labor market interests and experience may serve in the Ministry of Education agencies. Within the Ministry of Education, a Bureau of Orientation attempts to improve the elementary and secondary schools' use of educational and occupational information and fosters contacts among pupils, parents, and teachers.

Apart from trying to gain acceptance of the transition services by the directors of schools, the French method lacks a concept of a system of transition services. France still must train its psychologically-oriented counselors to use and disseminate educational-occupational information and greater cooperation between ONISEP and CIO activities, that is, between information and guidance, is needed. And France has yet to bring placement, induction, and follow-up services directly to new school-leavers. Similar difficulties exist in several other countries that do not entrust transition services outside of the educational system. For example, a recent reorganization of manpoower services in Ireland debated the question of the proper division of tasks between the educational and manpower agencies (517, 42-3).

Switzerland may be a special case. Effective transition services by the schools are attributed to the survival of small communities where a strong and representative cross section of citizens is actively interested in the schools and in the young people about to enter the work world and where teachers meet frequently and informally with employers who serve on the boards of local schools (604, 14-33).

BRIDGING AGENCIES

Several other countries—Great Britain, Japan, Sweden, Norway, and West Germany—reject the idea that their individual schools should be largely responsible for the transition services as part of their normal operations and have developed organizations outside the schools for dispensing transition services. A British analyst has said that a permanent bridging agency, directly tied neither to individual schools nor to employers, is required to link the two separate worlds "so long as schools will not think beyond education and industry beyond production" (899, 4). A bridging agency also may help schools to keep abreast of changes in occupational and industrial information and aid employers to understand the new developments in education and to utilize young people effectively. While the full sweep of transition services is not monopolized by a single administrative body in any of these countries, all of them offer more integrated and comprehensive services than the countries previously described. Denmark, Finland, and Austria in principle also are in this group, but the weakness of their labor market agencies in fact has left transition activities largely to the schools.

Whether a bridging agency always is superior to independent operations by schools depends on its legal status and on the degree of acceptance such an agency enjoys, both from the schools and from employers. The British Careers Service (formerly Youth Employment Service), a bridging agency which is related to the educational system but is not directly a part of individual schools, has been faulted both on its ability to penetrate the schools and its relations with employers, although the latter have been even less responsible in the past to the adult employment service (701; 700; 699; 105; 101-6; 295g). The history of the British bridging agency reveals fully the potential competition between education and labor market agencies.

GREAT BRITAIN: PIONEER

The present British arrangements for transition services are the direct outcome of a long and continuous history originating before World War I when two landmark laws were enacted in a spate of social legislation. Extending the efforts of voluntary organizations and school teachers who traditionally accepted a pastoral role, Britain pioneered a public, nation-wide transition program for young school-leavers in the Labour Exchanges Act of 1909, which created special juvenile employment bureaus in the public labor exchanges. However, the 1909 act was opposed both by local education authorities, some of whom already had established similar bureaus, and the national Board of Education, which

felt that the preparation for work had a strong educational element and should be at least partially the task of the schools. Exerting legislative pressure, the education interests obtained passage of the Education (Choice of Employment) Act in 1910. This law permitted each local education authority (LEA) in England and Wales to operate its own juvenile employment bureau for young people under 17, raised to 18 in 1918. By 1919, 20 percent of the LEAs had chosen to operate such bureaus.

While the simultaneous existence of the 1909 and 1910 acts created a considerable potential for conflict and duplication between the LEAs and the new employment service, several significant principles were established very early. First, a national policy was established that every local area must offer transition services, through the employment service of the LEA; there was no local option to decline to provide services. Second, the schools did not conduct transition services as an ordinary part or extension of education, and where the LEA-based service was chosen, it became a bridgingagency. Third, the conceptual framework, even if not the actual practice, encompassed the full range of transition services. Fourth, a separate service was established for youth, leaving to other agencies those in postsecondary or higher education as well as adults. Fifth, a disparity in the quantity and quality of services was permitted from area to area.

At the outset, the reconciliation of the 1909 and 1910 acts was the issue. A working compromise was soon arranged whereby the participating LEAs, through designated teachers or special officers, concentrated on occupational guidance, while the employment exchange officers serving juveniles handled job placements, either through their own youth bureaus or the LEA juvenile employment bureaus (699, 16-8; 362). This was generally unsatisfactory to both parties, and in Manchester there was "open discord and the threat of physical violence between members of the staff" (664, 27). A decision was made in 1923 that those LEAs which chose to exercise their permissive powers should provide all services, including the issuance of unemployment insurance cards and payment of unemployment benefits, while in the remaining localities, the Ministry of Labour would offer all services, one under the Board of Education and one under the Ministry of Labour. As a response to ensuing criticism, the 1927 reorganization brought those LEAs operating their own juvenile employment bureaus under minor supervision by the Ministry of Labour which paid 50 percent of the service's cost, raised to 75 percent in 1935. Scotland had a different, simpler legal provision, but only Edinburgh used it (699, 18-20; 301e, app. 2).

Before World War II ended, discussions were initiated by the Ince Committee to improve the organization and functions of the Juvenile Employment Service. There were new issues; the 1944 Education Act provided that the school-leaving age should be raised to 15, a policy to maintain full employment had been declared, local education authorities were being reorganized, and most social services were being reexamined. But the Ince Committee could not agree either to designate the

Ministry of Labour to serve all local areas or to comple each LEA to establish a service, so once more a compromise on the dual system was recommended.

Embodying the Ince Committee proposals, the Employment and Training Act of 1948 required all local education authorities to decide once and for all whether they wished to operate a Youth Employment Service which would serve all young people under 18 at school and work in theri area. A great majority of the LEAs (by 1970, 132 of 163 in England and Wales and 11 of 35 in Scotland) opened to provide the service themselves, thus covering 80 to 85 percent of the school population. Rural countries, small country boroughs, and Scotland were the main area where Ministry of Labour offices (later called the Department of Employment) persisted. Thus, the dual system remained, but LEA services dominated the scene (699, 20-2; 298, 21; 301d, 2; 301e, app. 2).

The 1948 act, reaffirming and strengthening the earlier principles on which the transition services were founded, also made some tentative gestures toward centralization and uniformity of standards. A new executive body was established within the Ministry of Labour. Called the Central Youth Employment Executive (CYEE), it included representatives of education and had the tasks of coordinating the interests of the education and manpower authorities, controlling expenditures under the 75 percent grant, setting minimum or approved standards for local offices, and generally supervising operations through the CYEE inspectors. The CYEE allowed LEAs considerable local autonomy. This was especially true of the Principal Careers Officer who largely controlled day-to-day administration and innovations. Possessing the ultimate power to recommended withdrawal of the national 75 percent subsidy, a power never actually used, the CYEE could have exerted an advisory influence beyond its legal mandate. While the backing of the CYEE at times made a local Youth Employment Service somewhat more independent of its LEA than might otherwise have been possible, the CYEE deliberately maintained a low profile. Through a small staff, the CYEE organized training courses for careers officers, published and distributed careers literature, conducted some research, offered advice on administration and operations, and in other ways raised standards and created elements of uniformity among the separate LEA and Ministry of Labour units.

The 1948 act also created an advisory body to the Youth Employment Service at the national level, the National Youth Employment Council (NYEC), as well as separate advisory committees for Scotland and Wales. Composed of educators, employers, trade union officials, and knowledgeable individuals, the NYEC reviewed the work of the Youth Employment Service throughout the country, conducted special inquiries, and published triennial reports including advice for the improvement of the Service. At the local level, the advisory committees appointed by the LEAs or the Department of Employment assisted in the contacts with employers, supported the Principal Youth Employment Officer in negotiations with the LEA, and circulated information to the public, (699, 22-9, 904, 1-12; 622, 172). Finally, the Institute of Careers Officers, a voluntary national organization of personnel who were employed by the

LEAs, created a forum for the exchange of experience and views, as well as a pressure group in public policy.

In the postwar period the Youth Employment Service was subjected to a considerable amount of analysis, although other British social services may have received more attention. Compared with the meager analysis of the transition programs of other countries, the Y E S , as a completely separate entity, was well researched. Studies based on local areas or particular views tended to be critical (104; 421; 422; 699; 510; 481; 734). But nationwide surveys, undertaken for government agencies rendered more favourable judgments (321; 501; 843; 844). The influential Albermarle report of 1965, while suggesting improvements, was generally favorable (312), Careers Officers, as Youth Employment Officers preferred to be known, frequently complained in their journal, Careers Quarterly, that their service was unknown and unappreciated. Their view was in sharp contrast to the National Youth Employment Council's judgment that the Y.E.S. was "widely acknowledged as a professional, sophisticated and essential public service" (301e, 54). Objectively, the Y.E.S. could show growth and progress in the 1960s, as evidenced in an expansion of staff; higher professional standards in recruitment, promotion, and training; a reduction in the ratio of clients to staff; development of specialist officers; increased information and guidance activities on behalf of pupils, parents, and employers; and better relations with schools.

Yet several issues made the future of the Y.E.S. uncertain. One was the dual system, officially characterized as "peculiar to this country" and one which no other country starting a similar service "would actually have devised" (302, app. 1). While no one favored dualism, opinion was divided on whether the service should be education or employment-based; in the British governmental system this also raised the issue of local or national control. Moreover, as attempts were begun in 1970 to restructure all the public employment and training services, a serious challenge arose to the continuation of the Y.E.S. in independence and isolation from the adult placement and guidance services. The British debate over youth's need for a separate transition agency was fuller and more heated than elsewhere. Supporting the view that it was perfectly possible to reconcile the idea of a national careers service for adults with a local authority-based careers service for young people, a president of the Institute of Careers Officers maintained that "the needs of young people soon to enter first employment are very different from those of adults changing their occupations in later life" (97, autumn 1973, 18). Another argument cited the desirability of retaining the status of pupil for young workers, serving them through the education authority and the related local social services (97, spring 1972, 13).

To those who questioned this perception, the possible advantages of a separate service for youth were far outweighed by the losses incurred through a chronological division. The OECD reviewers of British manpower policy stressed the value of introducing the young to a single agency, the public employment service, "from the beginning of their

search for the most suitable combination of education, training, work practice, experiments with income-earning and settling for an occupation with longer prospects....Otherwise they may never learn to use the PES" (622, 172). An employer representative reported that girl school-leavers often went to private employment agencies to seek jobs because these signified adulthood, while the youth service seemed a link with childhood. The representatives also said that employers were confused by the large number and variety of agencies and individuals offering transition services and the differences in the type and standards of service they offered. A "more united framework" was recommended (734, #20-4).

It was argued that a labor market agency would cover all age groups, deal with the national labor market, study trends, and coordinate educational with occupational information and guidance. Integration of the youth services with all manpower services would give youth access to the latter's specialist services. For member countries of the European Economic Community, a labor market agency's knowledge of employment opportunities abroad could also be an important service to young people. Because so many adults were receiving retaining or continuing education through the educational system, the case was even stronger for a single institutional link between the schools and the work world.

Even if age distinctions and separate agencies were retained, the Y.E.S. upper age limit required adjustment in light of the proposed raising of the compulsory school-leaving age to 16 and the increasing tendency of young people to remain in school until 18. A further development which affected the Y.E.S. was the growth within the schools of educational, occupational, and personal guidance services. Part-time and full-time careers teachers, in particular, increased markedly during the 1960s and appeared to have an important future as well as a potential for reducing the careers officer's function and power. As some authorities saw it, no clear method had been devised to combine all of these personnel. At a minimum, working relationships between school-based careers teachers and other school personnel and Y.E.S. officers needed to be formalized. In addition, despite the existence of Y.E.S., schools and individual teachers had long been competitive in placing school-leavers in jobs. Finally, an occasion for reconsidering the structure of Y.E.S. was presented by the reduction in the number of local authorities, the redrawing of their boundaries, and the creation of intermediary level bodies (132, 2-13; 608, 24-32; 699, 120-40; 294; 164, 18-20; 317).

The decisions reached in the Employment and Training Act of 1973, effective in 1974, supported the educational rather than the manpower agencies. If removed the old dual system, making the renamed Careers Service a mandatory obligation for each L.E.A. Replacing the Central Youth Employment Executive in the Department of Employment was a nominally less powerful interagency liaison committee and the Careers Service Branch with a corps of inspectors, which may, in fact, play much the same role as the inspectorate of the former CYEE. A Careers, Service Advisory Council began to function at the end of 1976, replacing

the defunct NYEC.

The law also removed the previous age limit of 18, giving the Careers Service responsibility for leavers from all public educational institutions up to higher education level. (The latter long have had their own Careers Advisory and Appointments Board and university students also consult the Occupational Guidance Units and the Professional and Executive Register of the adult Employment Services Agency.) Under t..e new law, the general understanding is that young people below university level will use the Careers Service before their first jobs. Thereafter, they will be free to choose either to return to the Careers Service or go to the adult guidance and employment service However, there is nothing in the statue to prevent a young person from consulting the Occupational Guidance Units or Job-centre placement officers of the adult employment service on leaving school, and, in fact, these dault services have already aided some youngsters in their first jobs. On the other side, there is nothing in the statute to stop an LEA from establishing a guidance placement service for its entire population, and some LEAs have already done so. It is even reported that some young people have registered with both the Careers Service and Jobcentres.

These are the extremes of possible duplication, overlapping, and competition. But the basic law raises problems which could have been avoided if British tradition and accumulated history had not dictated a compromise solution. The prior existence of a specialized youth agency with local roots and LEA connections has carried a heavy weight, especially since many LEA Careers Officers have not wished to transfer to a national government agency, with its frequent changes of location and job rotation. Some authorities now fear that, even if the various agencies establish cooperative working arrangements, some young people may be confused and will consult neither of the official services. Others are concerned that the Careers Service may be diminished and deprived of functions because of the growth of careers teachers and counselors in the schools, on the one side, and the employment service's revitalized and relatively well-financed Jobcentres, on the other. In addition, the financial squeeze has thus far prevented some LEAs from extending career services beyond compulsory schooling, as the law provides. Much discussion among Careers Officers concerns their future role, with some emphasizing "complete immersion in the employment situation" as the best solution (232, 21).

How have other countries coped with the difficult organizational question of providing comprehensive transition services? While the concept of a bridging agency is accepted by a number of other countries they reject a distinct youth agency such as Britain has and they draw heavily on the national labor market agencies. In fact, Ireland has considered and explicitly rejected the British system, and Finalnd has merged its separate Youth Employment Exchange with the rest of the employment service since March 1973 (624a, Ireland, 6-7; 624a, Finland). The repeated recommendation by Martin Feldstein that the United States should adopt the British model is highly questionable

(220; 221). It is based on outdated and inaccurate data, an exaggerated statement of the accomplishments of the British Y.E.S., neglect of internal criticism, and an inadequate acquaintance with the alternative systems of other countries.

Three models-West Germany, Sweden, and Japan-convey the scope of arrangements among countries which give greater weight to the main labor market agency in the provision of the transition services.

WEST GERMANY

Farthest from the British pattern is West Germany's highly centralized program which is directed by the chief labor market agency, the Federal Employment Institute. Unlike many public functions in the Federal Republic, including education, the manpower agency is not an activity of the states (Länder), but is national in authority and organization. However, the Federal Employment Institute is not a central government department, but rather a self-governing body incorporated under public law with a tripartite directorate representing employers, workers, and the several levels of government. Subject to legal supervision by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Employment Institute is financially and operationally independent, raising its funds through a payroll tax on employers and workers. The institute has over 30,000 staff members in almost 700 state, local branch, and special offices, as well as liaison offices in the countries of southern Europe from which foreign workers have been recruited (213, 6-17, 26-38).

Possessing monopoly powers over occupational guidance and placement, the Federal Employment Institute takes the leading role in the transition services, although educational information and guidance and occupational orientation are increasingly being developed within the schools. In order to integrate educational and occupational information and guidance, an agreement on this subject was concluded first among the ministers of education of the separate states and then, February 1971, between the Standing Conference of State Ministers and the Federal Employment Institute. A Permanent Contact Commission was established to facilitate cooperative action (24a, b, c; 176). Placement is a Federal Employment Institute monopoly, since private emplcyment agencies are banned and schools are forbidden to make job placements. Under the Act of 1969(Arbeitsforderungsgesetz), transition services of the institute are offered to all pupils and students whether they complete programs, change courses, or drop out of any level of education through the university. The institute's personnel can enter schools, obtain pupil records, interview pupils, and conduct activities in classrooms. Within the institute and its branches, personnel are somewhat specialized by the clients' age and educational level. The easy acceptance of the Federal Employment Institute personnel by the German schools has impressed a visiting British careers officer who found his own experience less satisfactory, even though British teachers and careers officers are part of the same local education authority (42, 43).

As more German youth undertake prolonged education, the need to offer a greater quantity of and more sophisticated educational information and guidance may detract from the central position of the Federal Employment Institute whose orientation has been primarily toward those leaving the school for jobs or formal training programs offered by employers, such as apprenticeship. The present arrangement has the virtue, in a federal system of education, that if offers a national service with reasonable uniformity of standards throughout the country.

SWEDEN

Before 1973, the transition services were directed by the National Labor Market Board whose operating divisions in the countries and localities had full access to the schools. Semi-independent and constituted much as the German Employment Institute, the Labor Market Board's country and local offices are called the Labor Market Administration, of which the employment service is a prominent part. Besides the efforts of the personnel of the Labor Market Administration, the transition services were carried out in the compulsory school by teacher-counselors whose training was supervised by the Labor Market Administration and half of whose salaries were paid by the manpower agency at one time. In the upper secondary schools, joint efforts of the Labor Market Administration and the schools were utilized. The inadequacy of these arrangements became clear when the educational system was reorganized, compulsory education was prolonged to 16, a majority of young people remained in school until 18 or 19, municipalities were consolidated, and the Labor Market Administration's scarce occupational guidance personnel began to concentrate on adults.

In 1973 a new transition system which gives joint responsibility to the education and manpower agencies was introduced experimentally and gradually; in 1979 the entire system will be reviewed and evaluated. The SYO system (Education and Work Orientation) operates in the compulsory nine-year school and the upper secondary school. Within universities, a separate information-guidance organization exists, also in close contact with the Labor Market Administration. In addition to its active participation in information, guidance, induction, and follow-up services for schools, the Labor Market Administration, through the employment service, has sold public responsibility for job placement of all age groups.

Centrally, the guidelines for the SYO system provide for coordination and cooperation between the education and labor market authorities, as well as participation in planning by the organizations of labor, employers, students, parents, countries, and local authorities. The Board of Education, the Labor Market Administration, and the Vocational Guidance Board are involved at the national level. The Board of Education conducts overall planning, informs the schools about available information sources, and instructs them about the various forms of participation expected of school personnel. Also engaged in central planning, the Labor Market Board provides for the distribution of its informational materials in all media and informs

its country and district offices. The Vocational Guidance Board, a national coordinating group which includes representatives of the Labor Market Board, Board of Education, Office of the Chancellor of the Universities, Federation of Local Authorities, and Federation of Country Councils, considers matters requiring joint action, the basic and in-service training of SYO officers, and relationships with other authorities and organizations.

Assistaing the Vocational Guidance Board is an Advisory Group consisting of representatives of organized employers, employees, students, and parents, as well as representatives of the Vocational Guidance Board. The Advisory Group discusses the goals and organization of transition activities and stimulates the production of information by both private and public agencies. For special purposes the Advisory Group can be augmented by representatives of teachers of other personnel, pupil groups, and trade organizations. The Hearing Groups discuss specific issues. Working parties can also be established to tackle particular subjects which require some preparatory work before open discussion is begun. Finally, an Editorial Committee, appointed by the Vocational Guidance Board on the suggestion of the Advisory Group, gives technical and other advice to the producers of educational-occupational materials.

At the regional level the pattern is repeated. Descending to the next level, the individual school plans and coordinates all local transition activities, holding a conference at the start of each school year attended by all relevant school and Labor Market Administration personnel. Under the supervision of the school headmaster, the SYO consultant is in charge of all local and school transition services, cooperating with personnel of the local Labor Market Administration who also have their designated duties. This local coordination among agencies and individuals has several aims: to make SYO an integral part of total school activities; to facilitate cooperation between sending and receiving schools; to foster contacts between school and home; and to establish links between school and the workplace. Central government subsidies for SYO personnel are based on the number of pupils in the various schools.

The new and key figure, the specialized SYO consultant, is not a teacher or a school employee, although certain parts of the SYO program are to be taught in class by regular teachers whose training will include these matters. The SYO consultant is hired by the local authority and may serve more than one school. In many respects, the SYO consultant sounds rather like a Careers Officer in the British system. But there are several important differences. The SYO consultant replaces rather than supplements schoolbased careers teachers in the compulsory school; the latter category will gradually disappear. Moreover, the SYO consultant has direct links with the local labor market agency (804; 805; 806; 830).

Thus far, the training and performance of the SYO consultants has not been entirely satisfactory to all concerned parties. It is felt that the decisions which pupils make about their specialized

courses in the upper secondary school require the SYO consultants to have more knowledge about the labor market in general and the specific occupations which will be followed by pupils who enter the two-year vocationally oriented course. The feeling persists in Sweden, as elsewhere, that those who operate the transition services in the schools are oriented more toward professional occupations than toward the types of jobs most pupils will obtain. Moreover, young people are seen as isolated and ignorant about conditions in the community; the broader society, and the work world, in spite of the new efforts. Ways of drawing the organizations which represent the outside world into the life of the school are seen as a necessary supplement to the transition services. For this purpose, a program called SSA (Society, Schools, and Work Life) has been launched experimentally by the National Board of Education (SÖ) and will become permanent and nationwide.

One of the distinctive features of the guidelines for Swedish SYO activities is the emphasis on the needs of disadvantaged youth and special provision for follow-up of such individuals. However, the basic premise of SYO provision is that everyone will complete the compulsory school and that virtually all leaving school at 16 will proceed to the new, unified upper secondary school. After a few years of experience it has become clear that 30 to 35 percent of the 16-year-olds are not entering upper secondary school and another 15 percent drop out soon after starting. A wide variety of measures has been proposed to attract these young people to further study or to some other useful activity which will better prepare them for the labor market. To aid this group further, another experimental program called extended SYO has been introduced in about 50 selected communities where a large assortment of local social and welfare agencies cooperate with the schools and local Labor Market Administration. An interesting feature of the extended SYO program is its provision for active follow-up of the individual youngsters, whether or not they seek aid, to insure that they either have a job or are receiving education.

Following on studies by various official working parties, the government introduced a bill in February 1976 which provides, in part, that there should be compulsory follow-up in all communities of all young people for two years after they leave the compulsory school, or up to 18, starting with those who do not continue to upper secondary school and are not at work. Based on a close cooperation among the schools, social services, and the Labor Market Administration, the follow-up services are supposed to offer every youth alternatives involving education, training, or work. The government bill suggests that the SSA group, mentioned above, should be established nationwide as local and regional planning councils and from the academic year 1977-78 should, among their other tasks, be responsible for the planning and operation of the outreach follow-up activities among youth who do not continue on to upper secondary school. Another service, called intensified employment services for youth, has been launched experimentally in five municipalities by the Labor Market Administration on the suggestion of the Royal

Commission on Long-Term Employment. Aimed primarily at those under 20 who are not employed, the activities are directed by reinforced staffs at the employment service and special youth divisions which have been created in some employment service offices. The commission has recommended to the government that these intensified activities should be prolonged and extended to additional communities and that the SSA groups which have been monitoring the local activities should be established in all municipalities. In the government's bill, the Labor Market Administration's responsibilities in the two year outreach follow-up program of intensified employment services for youth (794, 53-7; 790, 243-6; 834, 278-86).

Although Sweden's SYO system already represents a more advanced approach to the transition services than most countries exhibit, it is noteworthy that, very soon after the new system became operative, it appeared necessary to reinforce the SYO system with the various measures just described. Reflecting the inherent difficulties of the transition and services to ease it, the additional measures are intended to strengthen the ordinary transition services, give special aid to those who do not follow the standard course or who have particular problems, and provide assistance to young workers who are unemployed or unsatisfactorily employed.

Sweden's present system achieves a reasonable balance among labor market and education interests in the organizational structure, and in practice there is a higher degree of cooperation among the various interested parties than most countries can claim. The establishment of a system like the Swedish is predicated on good relations between a strong central government and competent local education authorities who accept direction on some subjects; are responsive to suggestions on other issues, and depart only slightly from a national norm. Moreover, Sweden has the advantage of an established tradition of cooperative participation by all public bodies and the various elements of society, all of which are well-organized and relatively free of power struggles. Other countries may profit from the Swedish example, but they should not be surprised if imitation of the organizational structure is insufficient to produce the expected results.

JAPAN

Japan provides transition services in a variety of ways, but its labor market agency is outstanding in its supervision of the youth labor market and its cooperative arrangements with the educational system and individual schools. An OECD review rated this system "exceptional by comparative country experience" (618, 134). Japanese schools, organized and controlled nationally, are required to provide three distinct kinds of guidance to pupils-personal (including social and moral guidance), health, and starting in the lower secondary schools, educational and vocational orientation and guidance. These tasks are entrusted to teachers who are partially freed of other tasks. This portion is still one of the weak links in the transition services. By law, the public employment service (PESO) also has well defined

responsibilities for transition services to young people leaving educational institutions. In the lower secondary schools, PESO usually takes chief responsibility; about 90 percent of lower secondary and 4 percent of upper secondary schools operate in this way. A second arrangement places school principals, in cooperation with PESO, in charge of transition services; over 60 percent of upper secondary schools use this system. Finally, in a third of the upper secondary schools the heads of the schools are in complete charge, after notification of their transition programs to PESO; this also is the procedure in almost all junior colleges, technical institutes, and universities (432, 37). However, PESO provides occupational information at all educational levels.

PESO maintains an annual program of tasks, starting in April when the new term begins. Separate liaison conferences with the lower and upper secondary schools decide on the work plan for the year and sharing of tasks. In connection with these conferences, PESO carries out educational programs for the teacher-counselors to familiarize them with labor market conditions. A major function is the provision of occupational information to the schools and individual pupils, as well as releases to the media. Individual and group guidance and tests are offered by PESO in lower secondary schools.

For pupils leaving school in March, PESO makes estimates by the end of the preceding May of the numbers who will seek jobs. Based on these reports from schools, PESO informs employers of the numbers from various educational levels likely to apply for jobs and plans its placement service operations. PESO also collects job offers from employers, having acquired an unusual degree of control over this area because of the chronic shortage of young workers, the high value placed on new entrants by employers, and a tradition of conformity among employers. Most leavers have jobs prearranged before school ends, having been escorted in groups by PESO to recruiting employers. After the initial job has been selected, PESO offers induction advice to the new entrants. Finally, there is an extensive post-employment guidance and vocational adjustment system (432, 38-9, 93-8). Especially for the lower secondary schools, the Japanese system is comprehensive and strongly based on participation by PESO. Individual schools and business firms often have close relationships with schools serving as feeders.

NATIONAL VERSUS LOCAL PROGRAMS

In addition to decisions on the respective roles of schools, education authorities, and labor market agencies, countries which offer some or all of the transition services also must choose between national and local programs. The choice in the countries with well-developed programs has been either that the basic transition services should be provided by national government agencies through their regional and local subdivisions, as in France and Germany, or that national legislations should make such services mandatory for local governments or education authorities, with some flexibility to allow for local

differences and options. Great Britain, by national legislation requiring local education authorities to establish a Careers Service, exemplifies the latter course in regard to all of the services. Japan combines national government activity through the public employment service, some compulsory school services, nationally mandated but locally organized, and some voluntary school placement. Sweden, more centralized than either, combines local and national activities in information, guidance, and follow-up, but leaves placement and induction to a national employment service. In fact, placement is most likely of all the services to be offered by a national agency, even in countries organized in a federal system. Paradoxically, the Federal Republic of Germany has a highly centrally transition program, while the national government of Great Britain is content to require each local education authority to establish its own program, with few requirements as to content or performance.

What is rare is that the decision on whether to have transition services at all should be left to government or education authorities below the national level or even to individual schools, as is the case in such federal countries as the United States, Switzerland, and Australia. There is little support outside of such countries for local authority in this sense. Rather, discussion centers on the proper division of responsibility within a national framework. Advocates of local jurisdiction argue that local government officers can operate as individuals, developing their work and expressing their ideas in a personnel manner and can behave in a nonauthoritarian fashion, in contrast to a more rigid pattern imposed on civil servants of the national government. Experimentation and innovation in programs are more likely to occur in small areas and in the atmosphere of creative rivalry which exists among local governments. Direct services to persons should have a local orientation and sensitivity to local opinion, possible only through local government. A sound knowledge of local employment opportunities is best acquired by a local government body which also is best equipped to press for local needs and to minimize the imbalance which many feel between local and central government.

In rebuttal, the opponents of local control have pointed to faculty which seem to arise from local responsibility, especially a lack of uniformity, reliability, and minimum standards in policy, funding, services, and staff. The positive advantages of national control are a wider outlook and more uniform standards, without sacrificing local links and loyalties, as well as a more flexible professional careers structure providing for diversity and for specialization so that each branch would reinforce the others' expertise. For young people who seek jobs outside the local area or even abroad, a national service clearly has advantages.

AGE SPECIFICATION

Countries which thoroughly involve their labor market agencies in some of the transition services reject a separate youth agency, yet

yet they make age distinctions. In fact, it is common to have youth sections or divisions in public placement services; and countries which claim to offer an all-age placement service may in fact show a strong youth bias in their operations. Even Sweden, which has been committed to an all-age placement service since it abolished its youth division in 1966, has found recently that some localities are now operating, or wish to institute, a youth division. Transition services for those leaving higher education tend to be more concentrated within the educational institutions and more independent of or loosely related to the labor market agency than at lower educational levels.

STAFFING

Although countries agree closely on the tasks which must be carried out in a comprehensive transition program, they vary considerably in the type of personnel, the allocation of functions, and the degree of specialization of personnel, as well as status and pay. Within the schools, part-time or full-time work for counselors and careers teac teachers is a debated point. It is a matter of opinion whether and how many psychiatrists, psychologists, and medical doctors should be available and whether they should be hired directly or serve as consultants. New jobs have been created for information officers, college consultants, work experience coordinators, librarians, training officers, industrial liaison officers, unemployment specialists, social workers, and placement assistants in some countries. Especially in the United States, the possibilities of employing paraprofessionals have been explored. Peer group services also are a new direction, more prominent in some countries than others.

Another issue is specialization in a particular type of client within a functional specialty. For example, placement of women by female officers is dying out, but specialized personnel for the disabled, veterans, particular occupations, or various educational levels is fairly common. Some manpower agencies believe in rotating individuals among jobs, but job rotation of this type may result in the assignment of individuals who are indifferent or even hostile to their jobs, although these career ladders may be longer and more rewarding. Without job rotation, problems arise of demarcating jurisdiction, hierarchical ranking, pay, promotion, and transferability, with persistent tensions observed among psychologists, guidance officers, and placement officers, or between teachers and counselors. Even the most highly integrated transition system, the West German, must rely to some extent on the employees of more than one organization. Questions therefore arise as to parity of functions, status, pay, fringe benefits, and working conditions for people doing the same job in different settings (608; 606; 607).

Variations among countries also persist in the ratio of personnel to clients, both desired and actual. It is difficult to compare countries in this respect with regard to the transition services as a whole because of the differences in the types of personnel employed, their multiple functions, and the use of part-time personnel.

QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING

Some countries recently have raised their standards for staff recruitment, demanding a higher level of education, not only to ensure better and more up-to-date preparation for the mob, but also to enable personnel to deal with the rising educational levels of young people and to narrow the generation gap through a younger staff. While there is a trend toward recruiting university graduates for transition services, alternate backgrounds in industry or the armed forces with additional training for specific jobs, are sought in some countries, either on principle or because of trade union or political pressures. In some jobs a psychology degree is desired. Teacher training is a familiar background for many who serve in transition services, but it is not mandatory in most countries for a nonteaching post, even one located within the schools. As an exception, in most of the United States guidance counselors in schools are required to qualify, or even to have served, as teachers. Sweden is interesting in that propsective SYO consultants are specifically required to show a period of nonteaching employment before entering the nationally run training course, completion of which is prerequisite to employment by a local education authority.

Many countries have an initial or preparatory training period for new employees, usually a combination of on-the-job and classroom work. But some send new recruits off to a course for several months. Others expect them to be fully prepared and commence work at once. On the issue of further or inservice training of personnel, countries display a range of opinion on the utility of classroom studies versus practical experience. Some countries have highly developed inservice programs with paid leave, while others leave it to the individual to find and finance his own further training.

RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

The transition services of necessity come into contact with related youth services, especially if they take a broad view of their functions and give special attention to disadvantaged youth. Formalization of these relationships, whether within the school or the community, fosters more effective transition services. Such a planned effort is exemplified by the Swedish modified SYO program as developed in the city of Gothenburg and by the rear approach in British careers education.

The prevailing approach in the transition services has been to direct the services to the young people concerned, individually or in groups. Based on recent research in Britain, Bazalgette maintains that more effective services would be offered to youth and better results would be obtained if the emphasis was shifted to creating personal and organizational relationships among the adults concerned with the transition of youth-parents, teachers, information and guidance personnel, placement officers, employers, trade unions, government officials, and any others who influence or control the

lives of young people (50; 52; 543). Also recognizing that services to youth may be insufficient by themselves, the U.S. National Manpower Advisory Commission declared in 1972 that "improved institutional linkages among schools, manpower institutions, and employers are a critical way of reducing wastes which occur when young people prepare for and enter upon work" (886). In 1976 the U.S. Department of Labor, acting on a report from the National Ma power Institute, authorized a Work-Education Consortium project which would establish community organizations of all the relevant parties in an effort to improve the transition (946). Swedish reports also stress the need to involve these groups more actively (790, 244-6; 480, 88).

A variety of public agencies provide a number of discrete services to youth but the essential unity of the individual suggests the desirability of coordination among the different agencies. The involvement of several ministries or departments complicates the efforts to achieve coordination among the official activities in the several areas—education, training, work, sports, leisure-recreation, citizenship-social service, health, rehabilitation, and corrective or supportive services. More broadly, the transition services are still struggling with the concept that the transition from school to work is part of the larger transition to adulthood and therefore must undertake some common approaches and programs (206, 6-8; 850, 3; 105, 132-3).

Formal, organized participation by trade unions, employers, and local government in the planning administrative, and advisory structure of the transition services appears to be a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for an effective and responsive service. Locally, the active participation of employers and trade unions can have a beneficial impact on many aspects of the transition services, beyond providing information about job vacancies. Countries which give a large role to the labor market agency have been more successful than those with education-based programs in drawing these groups into actual participation as opposed to an advisory relationship.

In the transition services, a particular issue is the relation between adults in positions of authority and the young people they are attempting to assist. Young people often are treated as passive agents who are malleable, perfectible, and receptive to the advice of adults in professional posts. It also is assumed that these adults are capable of offering better assistance than other significant figures. Many countries now recognize that young people want to make their own decisions and resent being told what to do, that they are frequently suspicious of adult authority figures, that these figures often have problems in relating to youth, that young people value peer assistance, that minority or disadvantaged youth benefit from the presence of personnel drawn from their own group, and that active participation by young people in these services is important. Direct participation of young people in actual operations or at least in the advisory councils of the services which directly affect them has become a high priority issue. Sweden, for one, has placed student representatives on the advisory bodies concerned with the

transition services (624c, 64; 145, para. 29-37; 510, 313; 942, 1).

Whether parents should be represented on policy and advisory bodies depends on the age of the young people and the existence of recognized organizations of parents, a rarity nationwide. Some fears have been expressed that middle class parents may exert undue influence, directing the focus of programs toward additional education, rather than occupations. In any case, a parental advisory role is not a substitute for direct involvement of parents in the transition services for their own children. Despite strong efforts to draw parents individually into the transition services in such countries as Great Britain, an investigation in depth in a deprived area of a Midlands city in 1971-72 revealed a discouraging situation.

> When we interviewed the parents...we found a universal sense of being unconsulted and impotent, even when they wanted to be of assistance to their sons and daughters. Their children talked to them and demanded advice of them, but again and again they did not know how to help nor to whom they could turn for advice. For them the Careers Service was solely about actual placement in a job, not about taking decisions over time: this view was in fact not accurate, but because they never consulted the careers officers, the picture was never corrected... What we found was that immigrant parents-with their lack of familiarity with the services available, the range of possibilities, and social and industrial institutions in general-showed up the pattern most clearly; but it is important to stress that the problem was widely present among indigenous parents, even those of considerable standing in the social system (52, 21-2).

Reports from official agencies about the number of parents attending arranged meetings and other activities may be misleading about the actual situation. Clearly, the first priority as regards parents is to find approaches and mechanisms to increase their understanding of how education prepares for work, to encourage their direct participation in the services which affect their own children, and to give them a sense of confidence in the authorities and themselves.

All efforts to improve organizational structures and relationships will not advance transition programs greatly unless a comprehensive system of transition services is offered and each activity is fully developed. The first of the transiton services, educational and occupational information, is reviewed in chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 4. ORIENTATION AND INFORMATION: NEEDS AND SERVICES

No country is satisfied that its youth know enough about the work world, and young people frequently concur in this judgment, acknowledging that they make important educational and occupational decisions on impulse or by chance. As significant as the gaps in knowledge are the false and overglamorized images implanted by the media and the erroneous or limited ideas conveyed by peers, parents and relatives. While no segment of the youth population is free of these distortions, it is generally agreed that young people from low socioeconomic or disadvantaged background and minority populations have the greatest deficienceis of information and the least opportunity to obtain reliable information through informal sources. To say this does not refute the related finding that these groups also may have the most meager opportunities and the least inclination to seek and use objective, broad, long-range information.

The negative consequences of faulty or incomplete information are repeatedly cited. During the preparatory education-training period excessive enrollments in certain courses, changes of courses, and dropping out reflect poor or insufficient information. Later on, difficulty in making decisions, unemployment, failure to enter the labor force, geographical immobility, employment below capacity, frequent job changing, loss of income, and other adverse experiences are attributed to inadequate information. Anxiety, fear, indifference, uncertainty, poor performance, irresponsibility, and dissatisfaction before and after entering work and additional dimensions. Berating the attitudinal and informational deficiences of youth, employers compound the problem by a reluctance to hire or train young workers and a readiness to dismiss them.

Society also loses if educational and occupational information is unsound. Shortages of labor, overcrowding of declining fields, or costly job changing are some of the ways in which the economy may suffer from a misallocation of labor. In the act on information and guidance passed by the Swedish Riksdag in 1971, lack of information is charged with causing a less rational utilization of the resources of society than would be desirable, although it is conceded that the correction of mistaken ideas also can temporarily upset the labor market as people change jobs in respons to new information about vacancies, renumeration, and potential job satisfaction. However, the longer-run adjustments are said to be worthwhile and advantageous to all. A German research proposal on career decisions observes that the taxpayer ultimately pays the bill for the deficiencies of educational information which cause "interrupted studies, changed study subject, belated change of career and catching up with lacking school-leaving certificates via the alternative educational path" (214a, 15; 214d).

The attribution of so many evils to inadequate information over-

looks the claims, often by the identical people, that these same undesirable consequences are produced by inferior education or training or by deficiencies in home, community, and material conditions. Also entitled to consideration as explanatory factors are adverse local or regional employment conditions and the unrewarding character of many entry jobs for youth. Despite the lack of an agreed theory on how information operates and divergence on the significant aspects among economists, sociologists, educationalists, and psychologists, there is a widespread belief that complete, accurate, objective, relevant, and current information about the work world can increase the changes that young people achieve a smooth transition from school to work world can increase the chances that young people will achieve a smooth transition from school to work, make decisions more easily and competently, and have a satisfactory employment history. Moreover, the Swedish information program explicitly aims to minimize differences in the living conditions of various groups in society, collaborating with many other programs operating concurrently toward this end.

So pressing are the information needs of youth that some authorities and many young people believe that firm distinctions should not be drawn between informing youth about their future as workers and their future as adults, consumers, marriage partners, parents, citizens, and taxpayers. The declining share of work in the total lifetime span reinforces the position. Only half in jest, a young American recently asserted that he and his college classmates would have profited from an undergraduate course in "Life: Fundamentals of Reality," covering such subjects as sex, love, work, wealth, leisure, ideology, taxes, insurance, automotive legal problems, subleases, contracts, credit, birth control, veneral disease, zoning, local government, divorce, social behavior, job seeking, and unemployment (476). This view of the scope of information is held both by those who, like Coleman, consider the American schools unqualified and unable to carry out this function, and those who, like Daws, say that the British schools can and must compensate for the diminished competence of parents and other institutions (124; 166). In response to these sentiments several countries have officially established youth centers, libraries, publications, and services which undertake to provide information on the entire range of subjects of concern to young people.

As a practical matter, most countries choose to separate orientation and information about the world of work from information about other adult roles. Without discounting the importance of the latter, this study concentrates on public information services directly related to the work role. Somewhat outside the direct scope of information programs, but nevertheless important, is the production and dissemination of comprehensive lists or bibliographies which present all the sources of information about education and jobs, all the services which assist youth in the transition, and all the special programs for particular groups or difficult situations. One example of such a list is the Inventory of Employment and Employment-Related Programs Serving Youth, Ages 16 to 21 issued in Cleveland, Ohio. Another example is the dissemination through computers of bibliographies of educational and training programs and occupations. Young people about to leave school at any

level face one of the major transitions of their lives, even if they face one of the major transitions of their lives, even if they have worked during vacations or partime. They need somewhat different information than adults who no longer are free or willing to consider a wide range of occupational alternatives or life styles. The young need basic, general, and comprehensive information about education and occupations, in contrast to most adult job seekers who require operational, short-run, and specific information about the labor market. Nor is occupational information in its broad form crucial only at the end of initial education. Many young people experience several transitions as they complete additional units of education, perform military service, or temporarily leave the labor market for other reasons. In addition, young workers who fail to benefit from information services while they are in school, who regret earlier educational or occupational decisions, or who wish to reconsider their opinions are candidates for information of a broad character, as are others in later life, notably women reentering the labor market.

In the language of the human capital theorists, the accumulation of occupational information during the education process is part of an investment by young people in themselves which yields private and social return (775; 786; 4; 954; 52-4; 641, 176-8). Just as the cognitive skills learned in school have a value in the marketplace, so information about the world of work should contribute to labor market success. Those who lack information, especially about "the status or income increments associated with various amouts and types of human capital investment...will be severely limited in their ability to make decisions that optimize the returns on whatever investment they decide to make in further education" (161, 128). Such information can be acquired to foregone earnings on a job, one of the chief private costs of education, need not be charged again to the simultaneous acquisition of occupational information during the school years. This situation contrasts with the income foregone by workers who remain unemployed while searching for information about available jobs.

Statements about the value of occupational information and the inadequacy of young people's stock of such information are based neither on firm data or on clear ideas about how much they should know. Moreover, the disciplines concerned with the subject-economics, psychology, sociology education-do not agree on what constitutes occupational information or how to test it. A number of questions may be raised about the proper design of tests of knowledge of the work world. How broadly should the subject be defined? Should it include tests of occupational maturity or only information about the work world? in regard to the latter, should the test deal only with the direct economic issues of occupations or should questions be asked also about the work ethic, personal relationships on the job, labor market institutions such as trade unions and the employment service, and education and training opportunities? Should the questions deal only with the levels and types of occupations the test group is likely to enter or should questions cover all the jobs typical of the economy, including occupations which are far above or below the probable level of achievement of the test group? Should the same test be given to a wide cross-section of students with different academic abilities, achieve-

ment, and socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds? Should the test be extensive or intensive in coverage? Should boys and girls answer identical questions? At what ages are tests of this sort meaningful? Finally, should there be a standard expected level of achievement, and how should that standard be set? Or should the results resemble those in an advanced academic subject where a wide range of grads and some failures are accepted as normal?

Formal tests of occupational information among school populations appear to be largely an American activity. In keeping with the American belief in comprehensive education and the drive for upward mobility, the general strategy is to give the same test to an academic and socioeconomic cross-section and ask questions about the entire range of occupations. The formal and informal evaluations of youths' knowledge of the world of work yield rather mixed results on the adequacy of their stock of information. However, the questions asked and the standards applied are so varied that it is difficult to compare appraisals within one country, much less from one country to another. Results rarely are given in ways that permit a calculation of the proportion whose knowledge is considered adequate or satisfactory. In general no consistent differences in results appear between the sexes, but superiority in performance is associated with greater age and work experience, higher educational attainment, academic ability scores, and socioeconomic status, as well as with a socially preferred racial or ethnic background and with urban, but not ghetto or central city, residence (665 paras. 168, 176, 178; 86, ch. 6; 515, 13).

One of the most complete surveys was that of the American College Testing Program (ACTP) which in 1973 administered a world of work information test to a representative national sample of eighth, ninth, and 11th-grade students. Only 31 percent of the 11th grades answered more than three-fourths of the 40 career planning questions correctly. Among the most interesting results were the following: 61 percent of the testees believed that "the earlier one choose his life's work the better;" 36 percent of the boys and 23 percent of the girls thought that "few women work outside of the home after marriage," 53 percent supposed that more than one-third of all job openings required a college degree; and 43 percent thought that youth unemployment rates are lower than those of adults. Assessing knowledge of specific occupational characteristics, the ACTP study found that less than 50 percent of the 11th grades answered more than three-fourths of the 54 items correctly. Results for the 18 questions on occupational preparation were even less satisfactory (670, 21-54; 8; 9).

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in its 1973-74 study of career and occupational development found that 17-year-olds had less specific knowledge of occupations than adults and that out-of-school 17-year-olds performed worse than those in school. Males in all categories had slightly higher scores than females; white performed better than blacks or others; scores were related to parental education for all groups; and those living in the southeast had the lowest mean percentage correct responses. Seventeen-year-olds knew more about the types of occupations featured in the media than about the work of machinists or other technical positions, and the youth

were deficient in job-seeking skills (865, Table 5.1). Tyler reached the conclusion that "neither their study in school nor their experience in chores and part-time jobs have given them a realistic and comprehensive understanding of the world of work" (858, 101).

In another national survey, University of Michigan social scientists made a longitudinal study of 2,000 boys in 10th grade in American public high schools, in the course of which an occupational information test was administered consisting of 25 items about income, status, hours of work, and educational requirements in various occupations. Beginning in 1966, four tests were given in successive years to the same boys. Scores improved with each passing year, but widening differentials appeared among the three groups designated by academic progress (35, 1, 64-66, 69-71; II, 48-9, 85-8; III, 125-7).

The National Longitudinal Survey of Ohio State University's Center for Human Resource Research gave males and females 14 to 24 years old limited and fairly simple tests of occupational information in 1966. Through multiple choice questions, the young males were asked to identify the duties and choose the amount of schooling associated with each of 10 occupations, and, for eight pairs of occupations, to select the one which provided the higher average annual earnings; the test results for the boys aged 14 to 17 showed fairly poor performance (644, I, 119-31; III, 59- 65-6; 645, 172-3). An evaluation of this occupational information test by two researchers associated with the project found the test satisfactory in terms of internal consistency, reliability, discrimminatory power, and level of difficulty (469). The female contingent was asked only to identify the duties of 10 occupations, all of which employed some females. Over one-fourth of in-school white girls 15 to 17 years old, made high scores (defined as six to 10 points out of a possible 10), against 9 percent for black girsl. Among girls of the same age not enrolled in school, only 8 percent of white and 7 percent of black girls had high scores (704, II, 52).

A small study in three Ohio junior high schools in 1967-68 indicated that young people who had received no special formal instruction about the world of work increased their mean score on an information test by 6 percent in one semester, apparently as a general consequence of maturation. Four years later the same group showed another large gain, although the pupils still answer fewer than 60 percent of the items correctly on the average, missing several questions deemed significant for career planning (160, 35-57).

Surveys of American college and graduate students yielded somewhat contradictory results. On the one hand, students seemed to be quite well-informed about the conditions in the relevant labor markets, but some contrary evidence came from student views of the adequacy of information, conversations with knowledgeable university administrative officers, and the results of a survey almost two thousand members of the 1972 graduating class of five Pennsylvania institutions of higher education. These sources make one less sanguine that the gaps, ignorance, and confusion identified at the secondary level are absent in American colleges and universities (248, XXV, 194-226; 277, 7, 95-104, 491-3, 495; 279, 144-6, 225-6, 228).

Studies in other countries have usually been concerned with knowledge about the jobs actually chosen rather than with general information. Young Germans about to enter apprenticeship were found to be remarkably well infomred on how much could be earned on completion of training (204b, 2). A national sample of 15-to-16-year-old British boys who were planning to leave school were questionaed on their knowledge about the jobs they had arranged or were likely to enter. Without checking the accuracy of the boys' statements, the study reported that 90 percent of the boys said that they knew how much they would be paid in the prospective job, whether they would have a special status such as apprentice, and whether they would be assigned to further education classes as part of their jobs, but fewer knew about their job duties (843, 220-2).

In another British study, Veness found excellent knowledge of the training needed for the first job planned among fifth-year pupils of all academic streams and types of schools (899, 65-7). But other British studies have arrived at somewhat less favorable judgements about the occupational information of British youth (104, 110-2; 373, 46-50, 55, 75; 698, 182). By comparison with even the least favorable British studies, almost all French pronouncements have sounded dismal. They have bemoaned youth's lack of knowledge of the work world which is compounded by a lack of interest in learning about the subject (699; 269).

A West German inquity uncovered a deficiency in a specific aspect of occupational information. Responding to a question about the need to change occupations over one's working life, a 1970 sample of 15-year-old school-leavers from the least selective school, the Hauptschule, stated overwhelmingly (92.4 percent) that they foresaw little or no change once they had settled on an occupation. Moreover, the chief reason for making a change would be to achieve higher social status, not to respond to the pressures of technological or business changes. These responses of the school-leavers were taken as evidence of ignorance of the "working world which awaits them" (204b, 3).

One area of information about the world of work, rarely tested, concerns knowledge about the social and economic institutions which surround and influence the work role. The answers of 16-year-old British pupils of above average intelligence to the social studies examination for the Certificate of Secondary Education showed a large majority to be uninformed about such subjects as the meaning of the closed shop; jurisdictinal disputes among trade unions, the definition of a monopoly, and the purpose of the Stock Exchange (one of the more imaginative answers was "a betting shop for horses"). Even more disturbing were the answers to the optional questions about the differences in the employment conditions of factory workers, clerical workers, and senior managers. Apart from the fact that some pupils though that clerical workers cleaned offices, other confusions abounded. Pupils who had no difficulty in distinguishing between good and bad working conditions thought that managers and clerical workers were entitled to better conditions because they were middle class (576m; 576n). A British training manager for a large company observed that "a knowledge of telationships at the workplace, or in the community, was

lacking in most young people. Their information about trade unions, about industrial relations and similar areas has been slanted to an imponderable degree by the media" (36, Jan. 1976, 12).

These adverse findings may not be significant, however, unless it can also be shown that those with more occupational knowledge, other things being equal, have better outcomes in the relevant areas of life.

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORK WORLD MAKE?

The assumption that those who have more occupational knowledge will be at an advantage both in the short and long run in making decisions and in the labor market rarely has been tested empirically. Not only are there difficulties in devising suitable tests of knowledge, as indicated in the previous section, but also it is necessary to control carefully for other factors which may explain outcomes as well or better than scores on tests of occupational information. There also are issues about the number of times and the ages at which the tests should be given or the outcomes would be examined. Finally, the definition of the desired outcomes is subject to debate. Are there independent differences according to the abilities and options of individuals? Should decisionmaking ability as such be separated from making "good" choices? And what standards should be applied to the latter? Is the world to be accepted exactly as it is and all nonconformity rated low? How are youth's own values, which may not place earnings in first place, to be reconciled with the economic's criteria? How are the constraints of the labor market to be related to assumptions about individual control over outcomes? Questions are more plentiful than answers, but information tests continue to flourish (2; 933; 168; 557).

Using a narrow and brief test of information, the reports of the National Longitudinal Surveys of young men, controlling for other factors, found a relationship between information scores and educational aspirations a year later, with diverse reactions from white and black youth. Among the former, those who scored low on information were "more likely than those whose scores were medium or high to have revised their educational aspirations downward" (644, II, 69). Along other lines, Biggers concluded from a small cross-sectional study of fourth to 12th-graders that "increased age and school experience do not appear to improve materially the student's use of occupational information in decision-making. The ability to use information when deciding between two or more occupations might well be different from the ability to recite information about the occupation separately" (66, 176).

Of the available studies relating occupational information to labor market outcomes, only one was clearly positive, and its findings were weakened by its own follow-up studies. Using 1966 scores on the information test and 1968 average hourly earnings and occupational levels, researchers of the National Longitudinal Surveys conducted a

multivariate analysis of young males no longer in school. Controlled for other relevant variables, the results supported the hypothesis for both blacks and whites "that the extent of a youth's knowledge about the world of work has an independent effect upon how wage and his occupational assignment" (646, 18, 20; 641, 174-6). A similar study for females, however, found that "only for black women is the knowledge of work score even marginally significant in predicting hourly earnings" and that "an awareness of the world of work appears to have no effect on the occupational status of young women" (561, 17-20). In a further analysis, a statistically significant relationship between the 1966 information test score and 1971 earnings was found only for white females, and it was attributed to the joint influence of general cognitive ability and the extent of labor market information. Knowledge of the world of work was found more closely linked to occupational status than to earnings, especially for white males (645, 70, 72).

While the various analyses of the National Longitudinal Surveys data yield somewhat mixed conclusions, Darcy's inquiry into the relationship between information scores and labor market outcomes eight months after high school graduation produced negative findings (160, 106-9). Parnes, head of the N.L.S. at Ohio State University, discounts Darcy's results because of the excessive homogeneity of Darcy's results because of the excessive homogeneity of Darcy's sample, the irrelevance to occupational knowledge of eight (out of 17) items on the test, and the brief period the sample had spent in the labor market (641, 181-2).

The N.L.S. reports also suggested an inverse relationship between information scores and the frequency and duration of unemployment among some segments of youth, although conceding that the study did not sufficiently allow for the strong association between information scores and IQ scores (644, III, 59-60, 65; 704, II, 55-8). Another research group, however, showed that students with higher scores on the Crites Career Maturity Inventory had higher unemployment rates and lower hourly wages than students with lower scores (161, 133).

Despite the paucity of studies, especially outside of the United States, the inconclusiveness and even contradictory nature of their results, and the even greater ignorance about the effects of deliberate efforts to instill information, examined in chapter 5, most developed countries have launched public programs, of varying efficacy, to impart occupational information to young people. Like the other intermediary services, educational-occupational information has been championed as a democratic right whether or not it is used or does good.

NATURE OF OFFICIAL PROGRAMS

Unlike the other transition services, the official information services may have a multipurpose character, serving not only young people, their parents, and the intermediaries who provide services to young people, but also many others who have diverse functions in planning

and administering education, training, employment, and other programs. Some types of information may be more relevant and useful to educators, employers, the employment service, and other public private groups than to young people. Even when information is developed specifically for young people. Even when information is developed specifically for young people in educational institutions it does not constitute a completely separate domain. Certain aspects of information may seem indistinguishable from education per se in subject matter, place, and style of presentation. Another part of information comprises an extension of the formal and informal socialization process which occurs in schools. Some occupational information may be imparted during direct occupational preparation or skill training; yet teaching young people to do work is distinct from teaching about work, and the person who is best qualified to teach the one is not necessarily best qualified to teach the other.

Above all, information overlaps with guidance and guidance is rooted in information. Conceptually, the two may be separated, as they are in these chapters. But operationally, it is desirable that the two subjects should be integrated, as they are in Sweden's SYO program, British Careers Education, and American Career Education and guidance programs. Clearly, the most effective orientation and information activities are those which also have a guidance function, helping young people to increase self-awareness and decisionmaking skills. Information usually is not an end in itself. Indeed, some authorities assert that it is counterproductive to provide information without a "translation potential" which enables the individual to relate personal characteristics to occupational alternatives (590).

Still there is room for an independent information function and a distinction between information and guidance in their timing, subject matter, methods, and personnel. Specifically, some information can be initiated before direct guidance begins, can be dispensed to very large audiences, and can be entrusted to specialists who are not necessarily trained or competent to offer individual or group counseling. Information services have a great potential for economizing resources. Moreover, some experts believe that an extensive and effective information and orientation program with guidance elements can serve the majority of young people, leaving only a small number of difficult cases for personal counseling by specialists (382, 8-10). Support for this position comes from a national survey of American high school students in 1973. Asked to choose one of five types of assistance which would be most useful in making occupational choices or decisions, 48 percent selected "factual information"; 23 percent designated "point out the consequences of my choices"; 12 and 11 percent, respectively, picked "suggest new alternatives" and "just listen to me"; and 5 percent chose "tell me what to do" (673, 7a).

The case for governmental provision of information to young people rests not only on the general arguments for intermediary services, but also on the specific grounds that only government has the resources and competence to amass and distribute the necessary data and that the spread of misleading or inaccurate information by other channels necessitates a corrective influence (149; 170; 171). The degree of

responsibility for information assumed by the public authorities, especially the schools, varies considerably from country to country; and the amount and kind of unofficial activity which is encouraged or tolerated also differs. Implicit in all official information programs is the assumption that usable and relevant information can be produced easily and relatively inexpensively; that young people will be receptive to that provided by other, competing sources; and that induced information will make a discernible difference in decisionmaking and in occupational outcomes.

The approach to be taken in orientation and information programs is debated, and many of the issues are pertinent for guidance and placement activities as well. One of the most common aims is to give young people and their parents a realistic, complete and accurate view of the current and future job world and its requirements. To some this implies more than a straightforward factual account, neutrally reporting on all types of jobs. A realistic view might include negative information, criticism of the existing economic order, adverse reports about certain types of jobs or firms, or warnings about the barriers to high level achievement in education or employment. On the other hand, realism might consist of positive support for the work ethic in general for manual labor, or for any activity which suffers from a negative stereotype. So long as the individual's freedom of choice is not impaired, realism need not exclude value judgments.

Opening a national Careers Exhibition in Dublin, in 1970, an Irish Minister of Labor declared that enterprises which employ young people in jobs without prospects of advancement or even of permanence were not worth encouragement. The Swedish information-guidance program specifically tries to imbute pupils with a critical attitude toward the facts selected for presentation and the underlying values which have shaped the educational system and the labor market, urging discussion of reforms of these institutions(865). Most countries, however, present information about the most unrewarding jobs without any suggestion that they are less desirable than others, and may even propagandize for occupations or jobs which are particularly short of labor or are highly valued for economic growth. French employers have criticized public vocational education recruiters for exaggerating the level of jobs which follow courses, thus producing disillusionment among the students (624b). American information developers report that proprietary vocational schools object to dissemination of information about an oversupply in certain occupations because enrollment in their schools might be discouraged (765, 234; 161, 137-9).

Another issue is whether information should be given only in formal, official terms or whether room should be made for the inside, behind-the-scenes approach. An example of the former is trite advice, such as. "Be polite at your job interview," while the latter type of information might hint that pupils should dissemble a bit, saying only what the interviewer would like to hear. Inevitably, official information sources will transmit "official" data, neglecting some of the shortcuts, ploys, or deceptions actually used by successful applicants (578e). To achieve credibility, the dispenser of information should candidly acknowledge the existence of alternative methods

and moral standards. A more delicate question for the official sources is the attitude to be taken toward the pursuit of illegal income, which American inner-city youth are aware of as profitable alternative to regular work, or toward the various combinations of occasional work, travel, and leisure which youth in many countries have worked out as temporary or longer-run life patterns. Still another question for the official service is how to deal with sources of information, such as the media, which are considered misleading or dishonest. One approach is to concentrate on a straightforward presentation of the "facts," ignoring the other influences. Another is to rival the opposition by using the same techniques, media, and style; usually this is too costly, even if it is approved. Finally, a detailed criticism of the opposition or a side-by-side presentation which points out the inaccuracies is a possible but little used method.

In another area, the informal approach would describe unusual or unorthodox methods of qualifying for and attaining jobs, such as rarely appear in official educational-occupational information. Comprehensive guides or occupational dictionaries can create the impression that access to each occupation is strictly controlled by completion of a certain level and type of education or training. In fact, the incumbents in some skilled occupations display such a variety of educational and training backgrounds that it can be misleading to stipulate fixed educational routes. Recent analysis of actual careers reveals how difficult it is to translate job requirements into educational qualifications, how much substitutability of labor is possible, and how little utilization of specific education may occur on the job (254; 505; 541; 542; 442; 108; 109; 379; 380; 295h).

Moreover, if the official information relies primarily on prevailing employer practice which often exaggerates the educational requirements for jobs, official sanction will be conferred on employer practices which should be discouraged. Employers need feedback on this issue along with detailed information about the content of educational courses and the nature and meaning of examinations and credentials. Finally, consideration should be given to the position taken by the Swedish information-guidance program (SYO). Since the choices of individuals are limited by societal values, the socioeconomic background of the individual, and personal factors, the function of the official program must be to increase the individual's freedom of choice, in part by suggesting and presenting information which has not been directly requested. If this is not done, the official program will not offer the desired counterweight to the environment, the media, peer influence, and other limiting forces.

COMPONENTS OF INFORMATION PROGRAMS

Although the academic experts may disagree about the content of occupational information, national programs are not so far apart. Orientation and information activities, as they are carried on by the countries which take their transition services seriously, encompass a wide variety of subjects. Without implying priorities or sequential order, a composite list would include:

work ethics and values
social and personal competences
occupational implications of educational choices
job characteristics and requirements
occupational outlook
psychosocial aspects of the work role
social and economic institutions

Few countries have, in fact, conceptualized the tasks of the information program as broadly as in the list above, although several try to conduct activities addressed to each subdivision. Sweden's SYO program and German Arveitslehre proposals come very close to such a presentation (805, 6, 11; 176; 214a, 4-6). In every country, the elements of the program vary in accordance with the educational level, age aspirations, and circumstances of the young people. A recent review of the deficiencies of British materials indicates activity in most of these fields (920a).

WORK ETHIC

Turning to the seven components identified above, one finds that some countries regard "the work ethic and work values" as part of the moral education or socialization function of the schools and not as a separate aspect of the orientation and information activity. However, American advocates of career education have emphasized the need for an explicit information activity which, exploring the personal and societal consequences of accepting more than one work ethic, seeks to instill in youth a belief in the moral and material values of hard work and good performance and to counter youth's diminished interest in manual or menial jobs (369, 32-4; 404, 69; 400, 125-7). It has been said that the educational system tolerates or even actively fosters a "crisis of competence" which undermines the Protestant work ethic and denigrates manual work (61, 65).

Other question the old standards and wonder whether only the young people are at fault. They propose that the society, schools, and employers should alter their views and practices to adjust to the new values and expectations of youth (214e, 2-3). An American survey of recent college graduates identifies "an emerging work ethic" which demands "that work can and should be of greater value to the society" (885, 5). In an address to Britain's Institute of Career Officers, a recent president called for recognition that youth was searching for authenticity in feeling and behavior and urged careers officers who gave information to reexamine their "sometimes inflexible approach to the values and attitudes of school-leavers" (97, winner 71/72, 21). A British management consultant firm, investigating companies which complain of labor shortages, has reported to the Department of Employment that some personnel officers and foremen hold an "unreasonable attitude toward younger workers" and fail "to use the people that exist" because they expect "the social pendulum to swing back" (295i).

The Swedish National Labor Market Board, taking a positive

position on this issue, declares that the difficulties experienced by industry in recruiting young workers must be tackled in the long run through adjustments of the working environment to the new level of expectations which technology makes realizable (818, 1973-4, 24). As this brief exploration suggests, the issue is not merely whether a particular work ethic should be a part of a comprehensive information program, but how far the official position should accommodate the changing views of youth.

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL COMPETENCES

A second aim of orientation and information is to instruct young people about the personal and social behavior required to seek, obtain, and hold jobs (164, 5; 321, 122; 522). A Canadian educator reports that many graduates of community colleges in Ontario at age 19 or 20 "simply do not know, and must be taught, how to complete an application form or how to conduct themselves in an interview" (597, 11). British school-leavers who qualify academically for office or sales jobs may be denied them because of such factors as unfamiliarity with the use of a telephone, lack of the social graces, or unintelligible regional or class speech (26). In a list of the 10 most important reasons for a poor transition from school to work by disadvantaged young people cited by American Youth Opportunity Center counselors, seven factors involve social and personal competences (189, 30-1). A nationwide survey of American 11th-grade high school pupils in 1973 found that 55 percent had never taken part in an actual or practice job interview (670, 17).

In regard to instruction in the different methods of searching for jobs, some countries provide an impartial guide to all of the channels. An example is CRAC's "Bulls Eye" Series in Britain, especially the illustrated work book for 14-to 16 year olds called "Finding a Job," which has such chapter headings as looking for an opening, replying to advertisements, filling in forms, entrance tests, and going for interviews. Courses are now offered in many American colleges in job search techniques along with other elements of career development (578f). But Sweden, finding a trend toward a declining use of the public employment service on the part of youth, in 1975 introduced guided visits to the local employment service as part of the SYO career information activity in the ninth grade. In this approach, all methods of seeking jobs are not treated equally and the public channels get most attention (832).

Beyond information of this sort transition programs, implicitly accepting employer standards, may seek to influence pupils' behavior, habits, appearance, social manners, and speech patterns. However, the efficacy of instruction about employers' expectations as regards appearance, punctuality, attendance and responsibility is likely to be limited if the school's own performance on these matters is weak. How, one wonders, can the large urban American high school, where attendance is low, order is minimal, and crime is rife, be expected to prepare young people for a stricter work world?

If often is assumed that simple ignorance is the trouble and that properly delivered information can clear up matters. But some young people are unwilling or unable to master the skills which can ease their entrance to work. Their attitudes, deportment, or the "unkept hair and beards and unusual forms of dress" of community college graduates, described ay a Canadian educator as "a liability in their securing attractive placements" (597, 11), represent more than ignorance of employers' desires. They are a statement, symptomatic of more profound feelings, which should be taken seriously by the schools and employers. As has been mentioned in connection with the work ethic, this effort should perhaps be less one-sided. Those who interview and hire young people also should receive information about the attitudes of the young on such issues as appearance, work relationships, and unwillingness to work overtime, weekends, or nights.

EDUCATIONAL-OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

A third component, information about the occupational implications of educational choices, is not identical with the separate provision of educational and occupational information or information about the educational requirements for jobs. Most American computer information systems separate the two kinds of information with the disadvantage that a competition develops between them for development funds. More serious has been the American neglect of information on the occupational significance of different educational paths. Although it is an integral part of the aims of American career education that all school subjects should be related to further educational and occupational possibilities, the curricula of thousands of schools have not yet incorporated this principle (765; 766; 534). A survey of representative California schools reveal that many young people aspire to occupations which require different types and levels of educational preparation than they are currently undertaking (181, 2). Whether such maladjustments are solely a matter of inadequate information is, however, questionable. Another survey finds that students in twelve New York high schools select their courses with little regard for the relation between the curriculum and occupational requirements (726, 7).

A demonstration activity of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) is called Educational Information for Student Choice and several of the 27 projects, funded federally at $1.3 million in 1976, are developing information which is essentially concerned with the occupational consequences of educational choices (766 (766). The American lag in this field compared with other countries is attributable to the more open character of the American educational system, the later age for educational specialization, and the relative lack of articulation between specific educational courses and job requirements, such as is commonly found elsewhere. Although the educational situation in Great Britain has been changing, this 1965 comparison is still valid:

> Crucial decisions affecting the whole of a person's working life are, therefore, made for the majority of young Britons, between the age of thirteen and sixteen when their American contemporaries are still

> enjoying a glorious cafeteria of educational courses, few of which bear any direct relationship to the ultimate choice of occupation (33, 98).

Many European countries offer centralized and comprehensive educational guides which detail the next levels of education available, as well as the training and work possibilities open to those who leave education at the particular stopping points recognized in each country. In the printed materials of its national information office (ONISEP), France has developed this type of information to a high degree. The West German federal government also has been pressed to act because the disparate educational systems of the individual states must be coordinated and the limited admissions policy (numerus clausus) to higher education creates new needs for information. In addition to the federal output, individual states also offer educational information and counseling services. Students in German higher education now received added attention, following on a recommendation by the Permanent Conference of Federal-States' Education Ministers that central advisory centers should be established on a regional basis to augment and assist the individual centers at universities (214f, 282-5; 214e, 9-10; 214d, 7, 14). However, much remains to be done in this area. Sweden's SYO program also has a strong emphasis on the occupational implications of educational choices (805, 11).

The British survey of secondary schools in 1971-72 indicates that 82 percent of schools claim to have discussed the career implications of curricular choices in the third year with both pupils and parents, and 86 percent maintain that in the fifth year (age 16) they involve pupils and parents in discussions of the educational-occupational choices open at that time (288, 11-12). Nonetheless, other experts feel that information continues to elude many pupils until after they have left school and regretfully look back on missed opportunities (104, 70-1; 924, 8; 373).

A greatly increased demand for information has been generated by the postwar educational explosion, the arrival of mass upper secondary education (much of it terminal), the creation of a sizeable-publicly-financed tertiary level with restricted entrance in some fields, frequent alterations in the structure of education, and changing labor market. Also many families lack prior experience with prolonged education and are unaware of the selection of occupations which can be entered. Together these circumstances create a new demand, not only for educational-occupational information, but also for information about the financial costs and aid available, later opportunities to return to school, and alternate educational paths. So complex are the choices in regard to higher education, even in a centralized system such as Great Britain's, that a curriculum course has been proposed which would teach upper secondary students about the educational alternatives and guide them through the plethora of information already in print (29, 21). Although deficiencies persist, the official provision of educational-occupational information in European higher education is more highly developed than in the United States. A study of 1972 graduates of American colleges reports:

> College personnel seem to assume that someone somewhere has in fact provided the student with the information needed to make reasonable career-related decisions....It also appears that many faculty members of both secondary schools and colleges believe that matters of career choice, career information and career training are neither the legitimate nor the appropriate responsibility of our educational institutions (885, 28).

In several European countries some young people, selecting upper secondary or tertiary courses, which in fact lead to specific occupations, make their choices carelessly or for irrelevant reasons, such as ease of entry into a particular course. The result may be discontent, dropping-out, prolonged education through course changing, and delays in seeking work. Educational-occupational information, no matter how good, is no substitute for a flexible educational system. Nor is an orientation year which sorts young people into educational tracks a substitute for comprehensive education. Educational informatinn should not be confused with educational reform. However, in restrictive educational systems, a full informational program is all the more important. Young people in all types of educational systems also can benefit from full information about later opportunities for recurrent or lifetime education, including the occupational implications of such choices.

JOB CHARACTERISTICS AND REQUIREMENTS

The heart of occupatinnal information often is seen as documentation about the characteristics and requirements of jobs. Comprehensive information includes the following: job duties, the economic returns at given skill levels (starting pay, increases, peak and lifetime earnings), overtime possibilities, fringe benefits, pensions, hours, vacations, working conditions, safety, opportunities for training and promotion, hiring channels, related jobs, special tools or equipment, and costs to worker (tools, union membership). In countries like Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland, where employers regularly recruit young people directly from school, the specification of the training and further education opportunities associated with various jobs is a critical part of the job description. In this connection, it has been reported that some British employers have resorted to offers of training as a lure to young people, although the employers do not believe the job requires such training an they may in fact not provide what they have earlier promised (576o). In addition, some youth seek guides to temporary, voluntary, or offbeat activities and occupations, useful to those taking time off from education or rejecting conventional employment. These directories have appeared in several countries under official and unofficial auspices.

Informatinn about the conventional or preferred requirements for entrance to various jobs specifies basic educational preparation, previous experience or training, licensing, legal restrictions, hiring practices, and preparation for promotion, especially within the firm.

Another relevant kind of information about the requirements of jobs may be obtained from an analysis of the traits of present workers or identification of the aptitudes, interests, abilities, physical qualities, and health which may be helpful in specific jobs. Such information is directed particularly toward making young people evaluate themselves while they are absorbing the more impersonal occupational information. A policy decision must be made by the information producers. Should they accept uncritically the current education, training, experience, and other characteristics stipulated by employers or should they list the actual qualities demanded by jobs, as determined by impartial analysts?

A central issue in information on job characteristics and requirements is the classification system. The dictionary approach, on outgrowth of reliance on the basic work of statisticians and labor market analysts, is not well-suited to information dissemination and is being superseded in most countries by other approaches, more in keeping with the needs of young people and their counselors. However, some of the alternative ways of classifying occupations, which develop out of the needs of training and placement officials, are not always consonant with youth's information requirements.

A widely used American source, the Occupational Outlook Handbook, starting with the 1974-75 edition groups jobs into 13 occupational clusters, renouncing its prior adherence to the census occupational classification system. France's ONISEP plans to classify its fact sheets on individual occupations issued to teachers and counselors by a system which permits multiple listings of each occupation. Some examples of proposed categories are: (1) out-of-doors or sedentary, (2) rapid promotion possibilities, but very risky, (3) may experience rapid technological change, (4) permits independent activity. Canada's newly-developed classification of about 7,000 occupations, oriented toward information needs, is being incorporated into a computerized system called CHOICES. Britain's occupational information for youth having developed separately from other occupational information and in conjunction with a guidance service, is probably farthest along in the day-to-day use of occupational classifications by level and type. It is not surprising that Rodger, one of the British pioneers in this field, should have been disappointed by Swedish adherence to the occupational dictionary approach (608, 8).

The need for further classifications along other lines, stressing occupational level, is suggested by reports that rejected male applicants to U.S. medical schools turn to law and business schools as their next alternatives, not to training for other health occupations. Likewise, French university students who enter the medical course but fail after the first year turn to law and business economics.

Psychologists and sociologists have devised many occupational typologies based on factors which may be omitted or neglected in the official information sources whose orientation is toward labor market analysis (707; 121; 383;/535). The lack of communication among the various academic disciplines contributes to less satisfactory models than are possible given the present state of the art (545; 839; 224.

780; 365; 109). In the same way, greater conformity among countries is possible and desirable in both classification systems and information models.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK

In countries where the main output of occupational information for youth is produced by a statistical division of a government department which is concerned with labor and employment and where such data have been developed with many other users in mind apart from youth, considerable weight is placed on giving concrete national estimates of the annual number of openings and the future prospects in individual occupations. However, it can be argued that, whatever specific need there may be in various quarters for hard estimates of current job vacancies and future occupational trends, most young people do not require such detail, especially on a national basis. This is fortunate given the poor track record of the forecasting profession and the recognized obstacles to making notable improvements (3; 456; 505; 246). Further, since no information is available for individual occupations about the other part of the equation-the number of young people who will select a given occupation, transfers within the existing work force in the occupation, and the possibilities of substitution from other occupations- precise estimates of openings offer only part of the necessary information and might be misleading about the competition to be encountered.

There are additional reasons to oppose the practice of listing each occupation with a precise number of expected job openings, or worse, with the percentage change expected, often without giving the vase figure. Some experts point out that there is actually less occupational change over time than forecasters predict, that substitutability is wider than occupational definitions suggest, and that job ladders in internal labor markets modify and invalidate the occupation-by-occupation approach. In the draft bill for Sweden's SYO program, a particular point was made that the unreliability of employment forecasts and other categorical statements about labor market developments should be conveyed to young people. Along different lines, an emphasis on job forecasts is opposed by those who prefer that young people should make their occupational choices unaffected by information which seems to direct them according to labor market needs. Official vocational guidance services in many countries devate this issue, and som pay little attention to employment forecasts. This issue is discussed further in chapter 6.

If precise national forecasts are not necessary, it does not follow that future trends should be ignored or that young people should not be referred to all of the sources, if they are interested. In contrast to the official information sources, a recent issue of Le Point, a French news magazine, used official data and offered young people a similar occupations list, but refreshingly designated expanding occupations wi with a drawing of a smiling face, declining ones with a downcast face, and the rest with a drawing of a neutral expression. Regional profiles supplemented the national picture. Both the form of the information

and its location in a general news magazine seem superior to the official version of the same data.

One of the important functions of an information service is to issue sharp warnings about impending surpluses of applicants or declines in certain occupations so that education, training, and job plans can be shaped accordingly. In 1974 the British Department of Employment issued a pamphlet, Higher Education and Jobs, based on a technical study; it includes suggestions about nontraditional jobs for those university graduates who could not find the graduate's expectated occupations. In 1968-69, the Swedish Labor Market Board and the Board of Education resorted to a joint information campaign in the newspapers when it seemed that young people were choosing majors in upper secondary and higher education, which would lead them to overcrowded occupations, and were ignoring occupations with shortages.

Even with adverse information, many young people operate on a lottery principle, hoping that they will be the fortunate ones to gain a foothold. A case in point in some countries is the slow change of goals among intending teachers, in spite of clear messages about shrinking opportunities for new graduates. In countries where the public authorities have not acted promptly to contract teacher training facilities or had no means to do so, as in the United States, students have not heeded the warnings soon enough A certain justification can be found for ignoring official admonitions about a pending lack of jobs because these warnings sometimes are excessive or are so effective that declining industries or occupations have been unable to attract even the number of young people required for the replacement of retiring workers. However, the time perspective of the information-givers is longer than that of the employers, and advice to avoid certain occupations may be sound even if some jobs remain unfilled in the short run. It also is useful to publicize occupations in which a sharp increase of jobs is anticipated, again without attaching exact numbers to each occupation.

A somewhat different case can be made for developing and disseminating local occupational information and projections, since young people generally which to remain in their home communities. American critics fault career education and information efforts which are not solidly based on high quality local labor market information. Stern of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Education told an American national forum on career education about a "preposterous situation where career education exists in most places without career information (but rather misinformation))." He goes on to say that even when accurate national labor market information is disseminated it is often two years out-of-date and is deceptive about local conditions, leaving youth and their advisers to rely on subjective local information derived from personal experience or company advertising. He concludes that "career education without localized, up-to-date, and accurate career information, then, would appear to be a dubious activity at best" (766, 2.5-6).

In other countries where the transition services are more highly