LEED NOTEBOOK N°.22

THE "SCHOOLS WORKSHOP AND APPRENTICESHIP CENTRES" PROGRAMME AND DEVELOPMENT PROMOTION UNITS:

A new tool for local development policy in Spain

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Paris 1996
FOREWORD

This report was prepared by Professor Xavier Greffe in collaboration with the Secretariat of the LEED Programme.

For all the assistance they received in the preparation of this study, the authors would like to kindly thank Mr. Julio Martin Casas, Director of FEPMA and of l’Escuela Cero of the Workshops School Programme, as well as Mr. Felipe Gismena Burna, Co-ordinator of the Workshops Schools and the Special Programmes of INEM, and Mr. Valeriano Baillo Ruiz, Assistant Director General, Resource Management of INEM.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD ............................................................................................................................................. 3

CHAPTER 1 ............................................................................................................................................. 6

CHAPTER 2. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAMME ........................... 8
   The Ministerial Order of 1988 ............................................................................................................... 8
   Development Promotion Modules and Development Promotion Units (D.P.U.) ................................ 10
   Enterprise Initiative Centres (E.I.C.) ................................................................................................... 11
   The Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme within the general framework of the
   policy to promote training, retraining and occupational mobility .................................................. 12

CHAPTER 3. HAS THE PROGRAMME ACHIEVED ITS OBJECTIVES? .............................. 13
   Internal efficiency ............................................................................................................................... 13
   How actors assess the programme .................................................................................................. 16
   What lessons can be drawn from this analysis? ............................................................................. 16
   Schools workshops and entrepreneurship ..................................................................................... 17
   Employment opportunities ............................................................................................................ 18

CHAPTER 4. THE MOST INNOVATIVE FEATURES OF THE PROGRAMME, IN A EUROPEAN
   CONTEXT ........................................................................................................................................... 21
   Active youth employment policies at national level ....................................................................... 21
   Youth employment policies at local level ....................................................................................... 22
   Gearing programmes to jobs in the national heritage sector ......................................................... 23
   Correcting the shortcomings of basic education and vocational training ..................................... 25
   No distortion of the labour market ............................................................................................... 26
   Jobs for development .................................................................................................................. 26

CHAPTER 5. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT LIMITATIONS OF THE
   "SCHOOLS WORKSHOP, APPRENTICESHIP CENTRES, DPU AND EIC" PROGRAMME? 30
   The current scope of activities is too narrowly defined ............................................................... 30
   Instruction that does not always lead to lasting employment ..................................................... 31
   A costly programme? .................................................................................................................... 33
   The limited effectiveness of the research and analysis function ............................................... 34
   Difficulties in human resource management ............................................................................. 36
   An unsatisfactory relationship with government and private partners ..................................... 36

CHAPTER 6. ADAPTING THE PROGRAMME TO INCREASE ITS EFFECTIVENESS 38
   Adapting its objectives .................................................................................................................. 38
   Adapting the mechanisms of the programme ............................................................................. 39
   Adapting financing .......................................................................................................................... 40
   Adapting of the programme’s organisation .................................................................................. 41
Launched in 1985, the Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme is one of the most innovative active employment and local development schemes in Spain or anywhere else in Europe. Since its introduction, more or less on a trial basis, the programme has been extended and developed. To this day, however, it remains faithful to its primary objective of helping to solve youth training and employment problems by involving young people in specific heritage restoration and conservation projects and more recently, but still on a small scale, in projects geared towards new services.

The Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme has thus become one of the main pillars of local employment strategies. It is based on the following two principles:

- "real" local development or heritage restoration projects are used to provide skills training opportunities for young people;
- job training courses are organised and shaped according to the different projects that can be set up at local level.

The programme has led to the creation of two further bodies alongside the schools workshops and apprenticeship centres:

- Development Promotion Units (DPU), which identify and carry out the various local projects and help students find a job on leaving the workshops;
- Enterprise Initiative Centres (EIC), which aim to help students leaving the schools workshops and apprenticeship centres set up their own business.

With these additional structures, the Schools Workshop Programme can be regarded as a development programme with training and work experience as its core elements. As such, it is highly original and, as this report will attempt to show, provides a model for the rest of Europe. Thanks to its distinctive mix of development, training, and work experience it has managed to survive periods of severe budgetary constraint and outlive a number of other active employment measures in Europe.

Now that ten years have elapsed since the programme was first launched, it is only natural to reflect on its contribution to meeting the challenges in Spanish society. Although its impact may be only marginal in terms of the number of young people taking part (40 000), the cost of running the programme is relatively high, given that most of the trainees are paid on the basis of the minimum wage (70 to 80 per cent, depending on how long they have been in training). Consequently, it is important to build on the programme's strong points while limiting its cost.

This report therefore deliberately adopts a forward-looking stance when assessing the programme. The aim is not simply to take stock of the past ten years and see how the three components of
the programme have developed, but also to identify where, and how, the programme could do more to combat youth unemployment and develop new business.

It is not possible to provide an answer to every question about the programme. For example, the report makes no attempt to judge the cultural value of the restoration and conservation work. Instead, it focuses on the innovative way in which the programme combines an active employment policy at national level with local measures to develop new business.
CHAPTER 2. BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAMME

The first schools workshops were set up in late 1985. The idea came from an architect José María González "Peridis", who thought it would be a good way of restoring Spain's outstanding heritage of historic monuments while at the same time helping to solve the problem of providing young people with skills training and work experience. The idea received strong support from a growing movement in favour of restoring the country's damaged monuments and protecting the environment, but it was not until it was taken up then by the Employment Minister, S.D. Almunia, that the programme could be worked out in detail and implemented.

The principle underlying the programme is very straightforward, namely that the most valuable opportunities society can offer its young people -- and by extension itself -- are education and training, employment, and the chance to take part in the production of original or innovative works. Schools workshops are able to offer young people all three opportunities, by training them over meaningful periods, by granting them employee rather than trainee status (which is very rare in the context of European active employment policies), and by paying them in such a way that they can concentrate on their particular specialisation. In so doing, schools workshops:

− equip young people with specialised vocational skills;

− allow young people to participate in restoration projects guaranteed to reach completion and presenting economic and social benefits;

− give young people a defined role in the local economic fabric, given that such skills or activities are required.3

Following a decision by INEM (National Institute for Employment) 16 schools workshops were set up. Initially, at least, INEM was to bear the main costs of the programme, although backing later became available from the European Social Fund.

Not surprisingly, schools workshops owe their popularity and, in many respects, their success to the effective combination of training with decentralised development managed by actors in the public or quasi-public sector. The development component was particularly significant in that the main fields of work were not exposed to competition from established firms and, initially at least, allowed young people to acquire skills which are widely used in the local economic fabric, particularly in the building trade.

The Ministerial Order of 1988

1988 marked the beginning of the second stage. By then, demand for schools workshops was steadily growing, as shown by the number of applications received from municipalities wishing to taking part in the programme, by the extremely favourable stance adopted by the Federation of Local Elected Representatives, and by media coverage of the programme's success. In addition, recognition by the
European Social Fund meant that the workshops received substantial budgetary support. The Ministerial Order of 29 March 1988 was very important in this context, inasmuch as it:

- established a clearer legal framework;
- released large-scale budget resources from INEM and from EU programmes within the framework of the European Social Fund, which ultimately covered approximately 45 per cent of the total cost of the schools workshops.

Schools workshops are defined in the Ministerial Order as government job training programmes aimed at providing the unemployed, and in particular the under-25s, with formal skills training in conjunction with practical work experience, while promoting job opportunities in areas connected with restoration of the artistic, historical, cultural and natural heritage, rehabilitation of urban centres, environmental protection, and enhancement of the urban environment.

The Order provides a more detailed definition of the schools workshops and apprenticeship centres than when the programme was first set up in 1985:

- the schools workshop scheme is defined as “a government job training programme geared towards the restoration, rehabilitation, renewal and preservation of the artistic, historical and cultural heritage and the urban environment as a means of combining formal training with work experience”;
- the apprenticeship centres scheme, on the other hand, is defined as “a job training programme aimed at training the unemployed in skills needed to rehabilitate the urban environment, protect the natural environment, improving living conditions in towns and cities through the provision of social and community services, and bring craft industries up to date through the use of new technology.”

In both cases, the Ministerial Order stipulates that priority must be given to projects which involve young people in activities relevant to their own social environment. Consequently, INEM, in consultation with the promotion entity and/or the Autonomous Community concerned, examines project proposals on the basis of two main eligibility and selection criteria:

- the kind of operation to be conducted;
- the local job market situation.

The Order also defines other aspects of the programme.

i. The first aspect concerns the time frames for the training programmes. Training in schools workshops is divided into two phases:

- During the first phase, students receive basic training which enables them to master elementary skills and fill in some, though usually not all, of the gaps left after their initial training. This first phase lasts at least four months, but preferably longer (around six months).
- During the second phase, young people receive alternating classroom/workplace training by taking up continuous employment interspersed with extra educational and training activities. No limit is been set for the duration of the second phase, but the two phases together must last between one and three years.
To some extent the same applies to the apprenticeship centres, where once again training is divided into two phases. In this case, however, the total duration of the two phases is between six months and a year. Another difference in relation to the schools workshops is that the employment contracts of trainees enrolled at the centres can be somewhat more flexible.

ii. The second aspect defined in the Ministerial Order concerns pay conditions.

- During the first phase, trainees are entitled to "general" financial support, i.e., funding for which they qualify under the FIP employment training programme, in the form of various means-tested grants and travel and housing allowances.

- During the second phase, they are paid according to the usual conditions applicable on the labour market, i.e., the statutory minimum wage.

iii. The third aspect concerns the definition of selection procedures with respect to both teachers and trainees. Selection is carried out jointly by the regional branch of INEM and the organisation responsible for setting up and managing the individual school workshops or apprenticeship centre. With respect to trainees, it is clearly stated in the Ministerial Order that schools workshops are intended for young people with employment difficulties. The age limit laid down in the Order has since been adjusted.

Development Promotion Modules and Development Promotion Units (D.P.U.)

A development in the early 1990s strengthened the impact of the schools workshops still further.

Initially, the aim was to extend the programme to a number of qualified young people -- mainly graduates -- who were out of work. The idea was that they would take part in development modules where they would conduct studies to support the work of the schools workshops. The development modules would centre their activity on:

- studying local development possibilities and trainees' employment opportunities;

- analysing areas of activity that could serve as a basis for a new schools workshop project, etc..

However, qualified staff were needed to run the modules, and wherever they were set up two groups were to be found working side by side:

- staff, comprising tutors and technicians;

- students, whose qualifications were not very different to those of the staff.

Because the qualifications and, to some extent, the tasks of the staff members and students were so similar, the organisation of the study and analysis function reviewed and the model concept replaced by Development Promotion Units, which retained the study and analysis function but managed it in a more appropriate way. The distinction between students and members of staff disappeared, although unit leaders obviously still had to be appointed.

The innovative nature of the DPUs is enhanced by their back-up role in relation to the schools workshops. As a result of these new structures, the overall programme saw its scope enlarged:
– for individual students: skills training was backed up by a practical assessment of employment opportunities;

– for schools workshops: ideas for training courses had related to genuine prospects for local development;

– at territorial level: the geographical scope of the programme was generally extended to an entire province.

A total of 44 DPUs have been set up. They perform six functions:

– They identify and analyse local development opportunities in terms of potential resources, notably with respect to the national heritage. (The main instruments used to perform this function include studies and analyses, inventories, databanks, and administrative partnerships.)

– They identify and prepare new projects for schools workshops or apprenticeship centres, in terms of project selection and feasibility and even pre-feasibility studies. (This function is important given the need for significant development projects with corresponding budgets.)

– They help students trained at the schools workshops to find employment, where necessary acting as the driving force behind the creation of Enterprise Initiative Centres.

– They organise training activities for the unemployed and people interested in setting up their own business, in conjunction with INEM initiatives.

– They serve as European centres for the local environment, by helping prepare applications for project funding under EU programmes and by carrying out part or all of the work, depending on the project.

– They assess ongoing programmes and help to monitor them, with respect to training, employment prospects, and the knock-on effects of the various projects for the local environment.

**Enterprise Initiative Centres (E.I.C.)**

Promotion entities can now set up Enterprise Initiative Centres (EIC) to assist young students in establishing their own business and in doing so promote the creation of new firms. The aims of these centres, which are governed by the Ministerial Order of 3 August 1994 and the INEM Resolution adopted on 7 July 1995, are to:

– encourage young people to set up their own business and assist them during the launch phase;

– provide the necessary premises and manage the on-site services made available to the young people setting up in business there;

– arrange suitable financial support; and

– offer employment assistance to young people who decide against setting up their own business or abandon the process.
Enterprise Initiative Centres are usually set up by the promotion entity, but the DPUs can assume more or less direct organisational and operational responsibility. Staff working at the centres tend to be recruited by the DPUs on a contract basis, but managerial responsibility rests with the individual centres. In this way, and local differences apart, the Enterprise Initiative Centres, the DPU and the schools workshops therefore form a single unit. They are expected to work together and in some cases it is virtually impossible to separate them.

Given their very recent legal status, hardly any CIEs have been set up to date.

The Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme within the general framework of the policy to promote training, retraining and occupational mobility

It is important to define the role of the Schools Workshop Programme within the broader context of all the other comparable programmes. Spanish legislation currently recognises three main programmes concerned with training, retraining and occupational mobility:

– the Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme;

– a programme (not directly relevant to this report) to promote the continuing vocational training of dependent workers;

– the national employment training programme, known as the FIP Programme.

Since comparisons will systematically be drawn between the FIP Programme and the Schools Workshop Programme (some presentations even consider the Schools Workshop Programme to be part of the FIP Programme), it is important to have a good understanding of the principles on which the FIP Programme is based. It can be summed up as combining school-based and "hands-on" vocational training, with a view to:

– equipping trainees with skills geared to existing labour market requirements;

– establishing partnerships between firms and training institutions;

– improving the transition from initial training to the workplace.

In practical terms, the programme consists in organising training courses and modules for the unemployed. Young people under 25 have access to the programme only if they become unemployed on losing a job that has lasted at least six months or if they are experiencing special difficulties. New entrants on the labour market are therefore not entitled to benefit from the programme unless a specific request is submitted by firms wishing to employ them afterwards. Under certain conditions, participants may qualify for grants, as well as travel and housing allowances.

It should be pointed out that efforts have been under way since 1994 to arrive at more detailed definitions of training programme syllabuses, with a view to introducing a system of certificates based on the system used by the Ministry for Education and Science.4
CHAPTER 3. HAS THE PROGRAMME ACHIEVED ITS OBJECTIVES?

It is not, in theory, easy to draw distinctions between the efficiency of the schools workshops and apprenticeship centres on their own and the efficiency of the DPUs and even the CIEs, given that they now form a single unit and are becoming increasingly intermeshed.

However, the criteria for assessing the schools workshops are not the same as the criteria for assessing the DPUs, for the following reasons:

− schools workshops have been in existence longer than the DPUs;
− statistics are available for the schools workshops (in some cases quite refined data), but not for the DPUs;
− the aims of the schools workshops have been defined much more clearly than those of the DPUs, which are based on a more empirical, step-by-step approach.

This report will first attempt to analyse the results of the schools workshops. It will then assess the results of the DPUs and endeavour to pinpoint their strengths and weaknesses in relation to similar schemes in other European countries.

Now that the Schools Workshop Programme has been running for ten years, it is possible, within the limits of the data to hand and the explanatory power of the variables, to assess to what extent it is achieving its stated objectives. Naturally, its employment record is crucial to any assessment, but, before reflecting on its external efficiency, it is important to consider its internal efficiency: how far does it meet the needs of its target groups?

Two other topics must also be included in the assessment. The first concerns the attitudes of the actors in the programme (managers, teachers, tutors, and students); a number of surveys have been conducted on this score. The second concerns the programme's other objective, i.e., the restoration and conservation of Spain's heritage in its many forms. Unfortunately, very few data are available here. What can be said, however, is that the principle underlying the programme is such that, except in exceptional cases, projects are guaranteed to reach completion. Failures have been few and far between. But only a case-by-case study of each province by cultural and heritage agencies would yield clear conclusions about how far this second objective has been met.

Internal efficiency

To what extent has the programme succeeded in attracting the students for whom it was intended and in gathering together the necessary resources for preparing them for the workplace?

The rate at which the programme has grown is a rough indication that it has been well received and correctly implemented. It is worth pointing out at this stage that the programme boasts a
longer lifespan and broader scope than the majority of similar programmes in other EU Member States. The success of the Spanish programme is obvious from the following examples:

- 3 000 students took part in the programme in 1985. By 1988 when the programme was granted official recognition, the number had risen to over 30 000. After peaking in 1990, enrolments then fell slightly to stabilise at 50 000. Staffing (teachers and tutors) has followed suit, in a proportion of roughly one to five.  

- By the same token, the programme budget rose from Ptas 2 billion in 1985 to Ptas 20 billion in 1988. It then peaked in 1990-91 at 50 billion before stabilising at around 44 billion. 

- 1 795 schools workshops and 837 apprenticeship centres were set up between 1985 and 1995, catering to a total of 136 385 students and 22 673 members of staff (managers, teachers, assistants).

With respect to the breakdown by sex, 59 per cent of students are male and 41 per cent female. If teachers and training staff are included in the statistics, the percentages are 69 and 31 per cent respectively. This breakdown is fairly typical for programmes shaped from the outset by the construction industry, where employers are generally not looking to employ young women, who are consequently marginalised at the training stage. However, the imbalance between the two sexes is not as acute as in the past (cf. Table 1), the reason being that the apprenticeship centres have developed jobs which have closer links with the service sector, which tends to employ more women. Nonetheless, although an even better balance might be expected in the future as a result of this development, statistics show that the proportion of women rose at the beginning of the period under review only to fall again later. In other words, there is still cause for concern. Whereas the effects of the new apprenticeship centres were apparent at the beginning of the 1990s, it would seem that their impact was short-lived.

Table 1. Breakdown of students at the Schools Workshops, by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>34.91</td>
<td>65.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>56.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>33.63</td>
<td>66.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>31.89</td>
<td>68.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If staff are included, the imbalance is even greater (69 per cent are men, and with only 31 per cent women), but given the nature of the work and the other factors involved above this is not surprising.

Concerning the breakdown by age, 32 per cent of students are between 16 and 17, 23 per cent between 18 and 19, and 45 per cent between 20 and 25. The breakdown would seem to reflect a certain bias in favour of young people in the top age group, but it is difficult to find a reason for this other than that it seems only natural that a programme which was aimed at the outset at young people suffering extreme financial hardship and which offers very attractive pay conditions should give priority to those experiencing great difficulty finding a job and in dire straits.

Moreover, the share of the lowest age group has gone up since the programme was launched, from 24.5 per cent in 1985 to 32 per cent in 1995, although, admittedly, this increase was to the detriment of the middle age group (18 to 19-year-olds) which fell from 31.62 per cent in 1985 to 23.03 per cent in
1995. The percentage of young people over 20 remained stable, so the programme has become polarised between the top and bottom age groups (cf. Table 2). The data also show that there have been considerable fluctuations in the trends over the period under review. The gradual ageing of the programme participants was followed by a return to younger students, probably as other measures were introduced.

Table 2. Breakdown of students at Schools Workshops, by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>16-17</th>
<th>18-19</th>
<th>20-24</th>
<th>over 25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>20.96</td>
<td>25.29</td>
<td>43.29</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>18.19</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>43.28</td>
<td>15.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>17.91</td>
<td>21.24</td>
<td>42.16</td>
<td>18.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>32.43</td>
<td>23.03</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Management and teaching staff tend to be fairly young, particularly managers, who are often in their first job: 70 per cent are aged between 25 and 45, 17 per cent are over 45, and 13 per cent under 25.

The following findings concern the educational background of participants in the Schools Workshop Programme:

- 79.47 per cent of trainees hold the lower secondary leaving certificate (EGB). This means that the majority of participants in the programme have attained only a limited level of general education and have not continued their schooling beyond the age of 15.

- 7.03 per cent have completed the first level of vocational training (FP I), the standard of which is generally considered to be low and to offer little guarantee of employment. This impression is confirmed by the debates on the new Education and Training Act.

- Only 2.82 per cent of trainees have completed the second level of vocational training (FP II), which is considered to be more satisfactory and to equip young people for the labour market.

- The remainder have a range of schooling experience, mostly marginal.

The vast majority of trainees in the Schools Workshop Programme thus appear to be young people whom the educational system has failed to bring on; they have either left school quite early on or continued in unsatisfactory streams. As we shall see, there is currently some debate about whether this feature of the intake is constant or whether recruitment has recently become more selective.

With respect to the work experience of young people enrolling at the schools workshops, the results of an extensive survey conducted by the Education Ministry and a firm of consultants show the average age of trainees to be 21.5. In other words, 4.8 years have elapsed between their leaving school and joining the Schools Workshop Programme, during which time 54 per cent were employed (44.7 per cent in the case of 16 to 19-year-olds, 55.3 per cent for 20 to 25-year-olds, and 74.3 per cent for the over-25s).

Lastly, it is interesting to see how the trainees view their employment difficulties when they start at a schools workshop. They consider their major personal handicap to be their lack of training and vocational skills, followed in second place by the shortage of jobs. For the managers, however, the main
handicap is external. They rank the factors in reverse order, placing the shortage of available jobs first, followed by the trainees' lack of training and vocational skills.\textsuperscript{12}

To sum up, it can be said that the Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme has offered training to the young people for whom it was intended, who are generally poorly educated and have already tried to enter the labour market. However, two remarks serve to qualify this statement:

− the trades concerned by the programme attract predominantly male workers, introducing bias of various kinds, ranging from the selection of trainees to their chances of finding employment;

− the imbalance is not as acute as it was, probably because of a diversification of skills in favour of services which tend to attract more female workers.

How actors assess the programme

Among assessments of the Schools Workshop Programme, the SAIET study conducted by the Faculty of Psychology at the Autonomous University of Madrid deserves a special mention. It defines a mean opinion profile against which actors' replies, drawn from a large number of interviews from the different actors, can be analysed.\textsuperscript{13}

For each question concerning how the system operates, a general response profile, a specific profile for each group of actors, and a mean profile are put together from a weighted list of criteria of particular interest to the actors. It is then possible to determine the specific position of each actor and to analyse it in relation to the position of other actors. Conclusions can then be drawn and proposals developed for future government policy.

Who are the actors involved? Obviously, they include the managers of the schools workshops, the promotion entities, tutors and trainees. However, one interview concerns a more varied group, the actors who make up a schools workshop's environment and who, in some ways, can be considered to be more objective in their replies than the other actors.

What lessons can be drawn from this analysis?

1) The actors making up a schools workshop's environment were asked for their opinions on points including access to the school, the standard of facilities and their surroundings, safety, the workshop's premises, the extent to which it is integrated into the local community, the quality of the teaching. The average rating here is the lowest of all the actor ratings, but is still over 50 per cent. Access is felt to be good (69.6/100), as is the quality of the teaching (65.5/100). However, the integration of the schools workshops within the community is considered no more than average. This is disappointing given the importance of integration for local development. The worst rating is for safety (37.9/100).\textsuperscript{14}

2) The schools workshop managers were asked about management efficiency, the definition and achievement of the workshop's objectives, the objectives of the trainees, and the extent to which the demands of the promotion entity are met. Opinions concerning the way the schools workshops operate, particularly from an educational point of view, are very favourable.

3) The opinions of the promotion entities are favourable, but might be rather biased, since they are unlikely to criticise their own initiatives. Their main assessment criteria are how far the schools
workshops meet the objectives set by the entities and the needs of the local population, how far the programme is integrated into the local context, and how far it meets the trainees' objectives.

The breakdown of their opinions, which are generally favourable, is interesting:

− they give a very high rating to the ability of the schools workshops to meet the needs of the local population (75.82/100);

− they give a much lower rating, however, when asked whether the trainees' objectives are properly met (57.62/100), indicating their disappointment with the way the workshops are run. 15

4) The teachers and tutors also assess the programme in a positive way. The criteria on which their assessment is based include the programme's response to the needs of the local population, how far the different needs are met, the quality of the teaching and the teaching materials, the objective results of the workshop, and the working atmosphere within the workshop.

Particular emphasis is placed on the high quality of the trainee assessment methods (93.69/100) and on the programme objectives. But, teachers and tutors have reservations concerning the quality of the training programmes to which they themselves have access (60.37/100). It would be interesting to analyse this criterion in much greater detail, to discover whether the rating they give is purely impressionistic or more firmly based.

5) The trainees are also satisfied with the programme, although there are significant differences in the ratings given for the various criteria, which include the organisation of the schools workshops and the trainees' own status as part of the programme, their links with the actors involved, and their quality of life. Their links with firms and the world of work receive a very high rating, but the trainees have strong reservations concerning their own position in the life of the workshop.

The results of the survey can be summed up as follows:

− the schools workshops are clearly thought to meet their objectives;

− opinions are more divided over the way the programme structures are run and the status of the trainees in these structures; 16

− assessment of the links between the schools workshops and their local surroundings varies from group to group.

Schools workshops and entrepreneurship

Another user survey was conducted for a more specific purpose, to assess to what extent teaching in the schools workshops corresponds to the workshops' stated aims. The survey focused on business training, which aims to complement young people's vocational training by providing them with the skills needed to run a business. 17 1669 trainees, 189 teachers and 63 managers were consulted during the survey.

The first question, to both trainees and managers, concerned the availability of management training. Only 25.7 per cent of trainees said it was provided, implying some deficiency or dissatisfaction. 84.7 per cent of managers, on the other hand, replied that such courses were available. The difference may
be partly due to managers' objective knowledge and the more subjective views of the trainees, but there is probably no easy explanation. The inference must be, however, that, in part at least, the teaching fails to come up to expectations.

Differences in opinion are just as acute concerning the organisation of resources rather than their perceived results. There is general dissatisfaction with the shortage of both posts and resources assigned to the training courses, but the trainees are especially critical of the teaching methods used in classes on business management and how to find a job. Teachers are relatively aware of the problems they have with such classes and the benefits they would stand to gain from suitable continuing training. More generally, the survey participants identify a need for more practical training and case studies while abstract course components and non-co-operative learning are felt to be less appropriate.

**Employment opportunities**

This is the most important assessment criterion. As in other countries, however, any attempt to analyse the employment opportunities afforded by a training scheme comes up against many methodological and statistical problems.

Methodological problems occur because it is very difficult to attribute either labour market entries or continuing high unemployment to the Schools Workshop Programme alone. Depending on the circumstances, changes in the local economic situation can either maximise the benefits to be gained from the extra skills learnt in the schools workshops or prevent them from bearing fruit, through no fault of the workshops. The absence of a formal validation procedure at the end of the training course deprives the programme of an important yardstick which could have been used to dispel at least some of the uncertainty surrounding the role played by the schools workshops. The question of a validation procedure is developed in greater detail below.

There are statistical problems insofar as it would have been helpful to have access to the results of cohort studies providing a regular update of trainees' career developments, instead of merely a breakdown of data concerning local employment opportunities. However, cohort studies are rare, although some managers do try to keep their files on trainees up to date. Student mobility is a further problem in this context.

It is not surprising therefore that studies tend to pay more attention to the profiles of young people who have actually found employment than to those unable to find a job and the reasons for their unemployment. A number of important findings emerge from data supplied by the Ministry and INEM and from a few other studies, but priority is given here to INEM's analysis (1992) of surveys conducted among the 28 Development Promotion Modules, representing 943 schools workshops and apprenticeship centres and 42,711 trainees. The sample covered trainees who had completed the programme in 1989 (16.66 per cent), 1990 (24.81 per cent), and 1991 (58.53 per cent). Reference is also made to the results of the employment and management survey mentioned earlier.

However, rather than comment straight away on the results of the surveys and the lessons that can be drawn from them, it is important to bear in mind that the category of trainees who have successfully entered the labour market includes some who left the schools workshop before completing their course. In one respect this is a positive finding, but it reflects much less satisfactorily on the way the workshops are run, their role in providing skills, and their cost-effectiveness -- especially when trainees leave a schools workshop to take up employment with the institution responsible for setting up the school in the first place! This is what seems to have happened with the Villa de Parla schools workshop in the Community
of Madrid. Between 1988 and 1991, as many as 123 of the 175 trainees at the school left before completing the course, some of them to be employed by the municipality. Nor is the trend confined to schools workshop. It also affects apprenticeship centres, although to a lesser degree (43 out of 312 trainees), given that the courses at apprenticeship centres lasted only a year instead of three years.

1) On average, 58.03 per cent of trainees completing the programme between 1989 and 1991 found employment, but the rate fell as the lifetime and geographical coverage of the programme increased, from 60.26 per cent in 1989 to 55.58 per cent in 1991. It is interesting to compare these figures with INEM statistics concerning young people trained under the FIP programme. The employment rate for FIP trainees was:

- 30.0 per cent in 1990;
- 37.3 per cent in 1991;
- 32.2 per cent in 1992;
- 38.7 per cent in 1993;
- 38.8 per cent in 1994.

Although the rate shows an encouraging upward trend, it is still below the percentage of trainees who find employment on leaving the schools workshops.

2) The average employment rate is much higher for males than for females (66.36 per cent and 46.29 per cent respectively). 68.36 per cent of the jobs are filled by male students compared with only 31.64 per cent by female students. There seems to have been no improvement in the rate of female employment over the period under review. Part of the explanation may be that the trades involved in the programme tend to be predominantly male-oriented, as this report has already shown, but the fact remains that where male and female candidates are competing for the same job, preference will usually be given to the male candidate.

3) 44.43 per cent of the students in employment found their job before completing the course, 43.74 per cent within six months of completing it and 11.86 per cent later on.

As already mentioned, this employment rate is relatively high and similar to the success rate of employment training schemes in a number of other European countries. Young people on sandwich training courses find employment more quickly than students in other kinds of training. However, their head start only lasts a few years (five on average).

4) 61.37 per cent of students who find a job take up employment corresponding to their specialised training. This is a positive finding insofar as it attests to the quality and/or occupational relevance of the training, whereas in other countries and with other training programmes there are significant differences depending on the occupation. Furthermore, the percentage of young people who find a job corresponding to their specialisation is increasing. It rose from 54.27 per cent in 1989 to 62.28 per cent in 1991.

5) It is important to qualify these positive findings, however, since way over half (63.46 per cent) of the jobs corresponding to the students’ specialised training are only temporary. This high rate of temporary employment would be very acceptable in the case of young people taking up
employment for the first time, but is less so in this particular instance, where trainees are taking up employment for the second time, having already worked during the second stage of the course. However, this assessment must be weighted to take account of the fact that the vast majority of people entering the Spanish labour market do so within the framework of temporary contracts.

6) These employment rates vary from one schools workshop to the next, depending on the local employment situation and the considerable efforts devoted by some workshops to helping their students find a job. Some organise extra activities towards the end of the course which are designed to help students find employment. At the Can Marginas workshop in San Feliu de Llobregat these activities include:

- classes aimed at increasing trainees' motivation;
- help with preparing curriculum vitae;
- practice in analysing job offers and preparing applications;
- compiling a personal training file, with a breakdown of the different course components;
- contacts with trade associations (376 firms contacted, 46 visited);
- presentation of a more general employment strategy with the local branch of INEM; and, of course,
- special assistance for six students wishing to set up their own business.

Some workshops record an excellent employment rate. One example is the schools workshop in Morella where, out of the cohort of students trained between 1986 and 1989, 23 found jobs within a year of completing the course, including 16 who found a job in one of the trades for which the four modules had prepared them. A further three set up their own business. This course was one of the first of its kind, but it is also significant that the cohort had spent three months in work experience abroad under EU programmes.

The results of the schools workshop linked to the Historical State Archives are even more remarkable. Out of the first cohort of trainees, all 15 found employment, and with the second cohort, 22 of the 40 students were guaranteed a job as soon as they started the course.
To highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the Schools Workshop Programme, it may be instructive to view it against other active employment policy measures in Europe.

**Active youth employment policies at national level**

The approaches and issues underlying these policies can be summed up as follows.

1. In response to rising youth unemployment in many countries (linked to the general rise in underemployment), most countries adopted special programmes. The four main approaches were:
   - programmes creating special "socially useful" jobs;
   - job training programmes combining remedial classes and work experience;
   - various forms of temporary subsidy for such jobs;
   - training, generally sandwich courses, leading to qualifications.

2. These early measures soon came up against obstacles which substantially reduced their scope:
   - socially useful jobs could, indirectly, compete with the private sector and did not have the expected training component;
   - often they were too short to enable trainees to achieve the required standard or obtain the required qualifications;
   - such programmes were regarded as a substitute for public service job creation, which was becoming increasingly difficult, and many of the social partners viewed government funding of such programmes as a threat to existing and future public sector jobs.

3. Another problem often encountered by employment programmes is the fact that a few months is not enough time for trainees who have failed at an earlier stage of education to catch up, and that job entry mechanisms work against these limitations.

4. Measures to reduce labour costs, besides placing a heavier burden on government finances, often tend to distort the workings of the labour market and simply shift employment problems from one group to another, rather than solving them.
This does not mean that such measures were not effective or did not make a positive contribution to solving the problems. It means simply that there are five obstacles that any youth employment training programme has to overcome:

– a lack of clarity as to exactly which occupational areas training and employment programmes should be geared;

– the difficulty in providing real qualifications in a short period of time with staff who were responsible for problems at an earlier stage of training;

– the problems that can arise from placing young people with firms which have no proper job for them;

– the perverse effects of distorting price mechanisms;

– the lack of any strategy identifying the business and job opportunities likely to be available at the end of such programmes.

Youth employment policies at local level

Of the attitudes prevalent at local level, four warrant mention:

– The first attitude encountered is that youth unemployment is best tackled through further training, or even by trying to supply the education that the young unemployed have missed out on: this attitude is one of the most costly in the end and risks cutting young people off even more from the labour market, unless combined with more entrepreneurial approaches.

– The second favours sharing existing jobs between the main target groups: badly thought out, this policy is more of an "unemployment-sharing" than a job-sharing policy and, in the long run, will only increase tensions between the various groups on the job market.

– The third favours job creation, generally temporary jobs, in protected markets or occupations: this strategy has its uses but may founder on the type of job offered and on the lack of opportunity for gaining further qualifications.

– The fourth, unlike the preceding attitudes, is that unemployment can be an enriching experience, provided that there are the social structures to give young people access to education and leisure activities. This attitude usually prevails when no-one knows what to do any more and is a symptom of total resignation.

From these strategies it can be seen that the main pitfalls to be avoided are:

– putting those currently in employment out of work;

– not setting training standards high enough by failing to gear programmes to an entrepreneurial-type approach;

– the temptation to provide aid only, which is no guarantee of a job in the future.
What makes the "Schools Workshop-DPU-EIC" Programme particularly relevant is, in our view, the way in which it has been able to resolve exactly these dilemmas.

**Gearing programmes to jobs in the national heritage sector**

By gearing schools workshops to opportunities in the national heritage sector the programme has been able to avoid the difficulties usually encountered by active employment policies:

- relatively marginal or dead-end jobs;
- the risk of competing with the private sector, with the inevitable political consequences;
- failure to stimulate economic development.

By gearing itself to jobs in heritage conservation and restoration, the Schools Workshop Programme reverses the normal state of affairs.

1) The heritage sector only attracts private enterprises when the government puts work out to tender, not a frequent occurrence. By concentrating on this area, the schools workshops have protected themselves from accusations that they are distorting competition, thereby ensuring the continued existence of the programme. At any rate, it seems to have no private sector critics on that score.

2) Jobs in the heritage sector are not perceived as unskilled jobs or as an easy option in times of crisis: on the contrary, they are perceived as real craftsmen's jobs requiring a range of professional skills that are transferable to other fields including building and civil engineering and a number of other trades (repair, maintenance).

3) The programme invests in training in an area which one might reasonably expect to produce economic and social benefits: heritage conservation is not an end in itself but a necessary springboard for the development of a tourist industry from which a community can hope to gain considerable advantages in the future.

4) Another advantage is the very positive image projected by heritage-related activities: because of its association with this field, the programme itself and the trades and occupations it trains people for are perceived as identifying with a region and its history. Besides receiving valuable practical training, young people feel that they are working for their community, and this can heighten their motivation.

The following examples illustrate the different forms the programme can take.

- The Albarracín schools workshop, Teruel province (Aragon). In a depressed rural environment, which nonetheless had the potential to attract tourists, a strategic plan was set up in 1993. It provided for a local information campaign, a house improvement programme to provide accommodation for tourists, a tourist information office, training courses for the local community, organising tourist activities (museums, signposted walking trails, archaeological sites, etc.). Once the programme had been approved by the group of local councils, the process of securing funding could begin: local and national authorities and European institutions were approached. Based on the programme of activities, appropriate training modules were arranged for young people and the schools workshop provided the support needed to get the infrastructure projects off the ground.
− The Antequera schools workshop (Andalusia). In order to make better use of the skills it had developed, the municipal authority set up a Development Promotion Unit as part of a much broader local agency (Organismo autónomo local) comprising a training centre, a tourist office, workshop facilities, a job centre, etc. The agency, which owes much to the schools workshop and to the Development Promotion Unit, plans and co-ordinates projects. In four years, six limited companies and seven co-operatives were formed and 71 people set up as self-employed.

As is clear from the above examples, the heritage dimension is at the centre of many local development projects. Our next example, in Gran Canaria, shows that it can also be central to regional development.

A look at the south coast of Gran Canaria shows that the current brand of tourism is destroying the environment on the island. The same is happening inland, although the damage is less immediately apparent: the proliferation of billboards, the imported crafts on display, small hotels and restaurants springing up everywhere in total disregard of the planning regulations, damage to the rare laurel forest (Laurisilva) at between 800 and 1,200 metres.

Of course tourism has also meant jobs for local people living in the centre of the island, but often these are low-skilled or unskilled jobs which have brought only limited benefits. Worse still, fluctuations in the tourist industry mean that the low skilled, who cannot easily find other jobs, are forced to emigrate. Added to all this, in the wake of the culture shock the island is experiencing, its customs, music, dress, cuisine, etc. are gradually disappearing. If developed, this rich heritage could open other ways of approaching the culture of the Canaries.

Forgoing the major input from tourism would be perverse, and would certainly not be understood by the local population, so another strategy was envisaged: the idea was to provide an alternative to mainstream tourism in order to steer some of the tourists who are beginning to explore the island's interior towards a more cultural type of tourism that was to be based on heritage development. In so doing, means of redeveloping certain villages, restoring monuments, protecting rare flora and adopting different farming methods -- for example organic farming, whose main outlet would be the coastal tourist resorts -- were found.

The next step was to define a number of projects, or step up the next stages of trial projects already under way.

− The first such project involved drafting a general inventory of cultural assets and traditional skills in order to establish exactly what the minimum investment and training requirements were: the Aguimes DPU played a major role in this stage.

− The second project involved renovating urban and rural properties, starting with those that had some ethnographic or architectural value and with those owned by the provincial government of the Canaries.

The schools workshops were responsible for undertaking the renovation work that the government requested, but the renovation of private property was undertaken by private firms.

− The third project covered initiatives ranging from Laurisilva research and conservation, mainly through LEADER programmes, to setting up a co-operative to improve mountain rambling and walking trails. As well as improving trail layout to prevent environmental deterioration, the project involves renovating a number of man-made features of the countryside: stone paths, walls, hedges,
outbuildings, traditional barns, etc.. Lastly, it aims to develop the skills of those involved in the project so that, later on, they will be able to undertake other work of this type or act as guides. With this end in view, a schools workshop was set up in consultation with the mountain path restoration co-operative (RESCAN).

- The aim of the fourth project is to revive the handicrafts industry, which has been badly hit both by the emigration of local people and by the introduction of cheap, poor quality goods in the main tourist resorts: nowadays a fair proportion of "genuine" Canary Islands handicrafts are imported from Asia and Latin America! To counteract this trend, there are plans to open pottery and lace-making handicraft centres along the lines of the traditional schools workshops.

Apprenticeship centres cover a wider range of occupations. Their programmes now offer training in services, for example. But, basically, the programme's image and content are still true to its roots in heritage conservation and restoration, although the term is now understood in an increasingly broader sense, which includes the natural and physical environment.

Correcting the shortcomings of basic education and vocational training

Although Spain has now, after long debate, instituted a new vocational training programme for young people, the schools workshops, and the contribution that they have made, have their origins in the old system, which was generally considered to be unsatisfactory. Basically, that system operated as follows:

- After eight years' education, pupils who obtained a lower secondary certificate (EGB) could then go on to vocational training level I (FP I), for two years, or level II (FP II), for three years. But the entry criteria for these courses (underachievement) and their teaching methods (almost no links with business) eventually rendered them totally ineffectual and so negated any social value that such a system might have had.26

- There were a number of different types of sandwich courses geared to the labour market, run by INEM and the Autonomous Communities. These courses were set year by year to match the training needs that INEM's employment observatory had identified. The problem, in this case, was that the courses themselves were generally quite short (although some lasted up to two years) and that not all co-ordination centres operated equally efficiently.

The training offered by the schools workshops has improved on this situation in a number of respects.

- Courses are longer (up to three years in some cases in the past) and modular, i.e. follow-on courses start off with or review the basics.

- Training is geared to obtaining a proper professional qualification: although job openings and recognition of qualifications sometimes pose problems (we will come back to this later), the system is both clear and consistent.

- Practical training is provided by professionals, often skilled craftsmen or technicians who have retired or are about to retire: practical experience is therefore given high priority, indeed it is the main priority in such programmes.
The training environment closely resembles a real working environment, centring as it does on site work, producing a product or delivering a service. It does not cover all the constraints that one would find in a real working environment, but it does much more than just introduce trainees to the work environment or stimulate work situations. Trainees are required to produce the required quality within the deadlines given, just as they would have to in a firm.

This is a hybrid environment: not quite a business operation, but more than just a simulation exercise, it enables trainees to learn the appropriate social skills and behaviour as well as the required practical skills. Moreover, it is the best way for young people to learn organisational skills through experiencing project and team work. Acquiring the business skills that will stimulate them to set up new businesses may be more problematic, although this type of environment may also encourage them.

To our knowledge, no other employment training programme has managed to integrate all of these elements from the outset. While these elements may also have a more negative side, which we will go into below, they go to make up a comprehensive programme leading to occupational qualifications.

No distortion of the labour market

There are at least two reasons why employment training programmes can conflict with the workings of the labour market.

The first is that the new "jobs" created can threaten existing jobs, for example if the schools workshops were to operate in areas already catered for by private firms (or even by local authorities). As has already been pointed out, one of the advantages of the schools workshops is that they cater for the heritage conservation sector, so minimising this danger.

The second is that wages for training programme jobs can be very low, undermining the wage policies of local businesses, generally to the detriment of their employees. This is a real problem and while there may be grounds for making the labour market more flexible, given the present macroeconomic constraints, there is nothing to indicate that what amounts to social dumping -- with its predictably negative consequences and questionable economic benefits -- is the best way to do so.

Schools workshop regulations specify that, after the initial six-month period, i.e. once most of the trainees time is spent serving their apprenticeship, they should be paid just under the minimum market wage (on an increasing scale: 70 per cent of the minimum wage in the first year, 80 per cent in the second year). This is an important point, even though the other side of the coin is the high cost to government and severe union criticism of pay and working conditions for young people on the programme.

Ensuring that pay is comparable to the minimum wage enables trainees to concentrate fully on their work, whereas programmes that do not provide a decent wage place trainees in a very difficult position.

Jobs for development

The features discussed above -- for example, using heritage conservation as an engine for development -- make this a highly innovative programme that stands out from other youth employment programmes in Europe. But another feature that makes it more than just a way of obtaining qualifications and integrates it into a wider approach to development problems is the Development Promotion Units that have been set up alongside and within the schools workshops.
Firstly, it should be pointed out that the strictly administrative division of the functions of DPUs (whose origins are explained above) into analysis, lead and support functions, was relaxed in order to highlight all the areas in which they could play a part. The breakdown currently used by INEM and FEPMA for information gathering and reporting on activities differentiates between:

- **regional surveys and analyses**: producing maps, setting up information systems and databases so that as much as possible is known about the region, sectoral analyses of towns, regional development plans, strategic development plans for regions and towns, etc.;

- **studies, proposals and co-operative ventures to safeguard and maximise the potential of local resources**: evaluating the natural heritage and related educational and information functions, socio-cultural studies and analysis of the effects of social and educational measures, analysis of socio-economic resources, tourism development and information projects;

- **training and employment initiatives**: optimisation of the Schools Workshop Programme, organisation of training for other programmes, promotion and support for job creation initiatives;

- **involvement in European programmes**: from the concept and planning stage through to the implementation stages.

The functions concerned are therefore: analysis, information, auditing, technical support and consultation, instigating and acting as a catalyst.

However, a presentation along more functional lines gives a clearer idea of the exact role of the DPUs and of the impact they have on economic development, through the schools workshops.

First, they can identify the areas in which job opportunities are likely to arise locally, in the short term. Many of their studies highlight business opportunities arising from gaps in the market (increasingly in the personal services sector) or in connection with heritage-related projects. One of the advantages of the DPUs is that they look at the heritage sector and beyond, knowing that the skills obtained in this field can and should be transferred to or encouraged in other sectors (e.g. public works or environmental protection). This is the right approach to take to the labour market at the local level, and this is what the DPUs do.

Second, analyses conducted by the DPUs can identify long-term opportunities for sustainable development programmes. A number of presentations on projects of this type were given at a course for schools workshop directors held in Cordoba in October 1995. Most were working towards the same end. Bringing together the restoration of the built, natural and ethnic heritage in a way that would improve living conditions and encourage new industries, including tourism. Some may consider this approach a little abstract or unrealistic: what the DPUs can do is fuel the debate and turn the spotlight on problems that no-one else is dealing with at local level.

The analytical function is more important still in rural environments where needs analyses are urgently required and there are few bodies or institutions capable of undertaking them. One of the strong points of the “Schools Workshop/Development Promotion Unit/Enterprise Initiative Centre” mix is that it can provide guidance for such analyses, and conduct them in some cases. Almost every rural area in Europe is now wondering what kind of local industries can fill the gap left by the relative decline in agriculture (green tourism, biomass, crop-to-energy conversion, etc.) but farming organisations are not always able to undertake this type of analysis and local authorities generally do not have the resources or the ability to do so. The DPUs are an innovative response to this challenge.
Lastly, analyses enable the launch of new schools workshop and apprenticeship centre projects, through feasibility studies and financial packages that provide funding for other studies, thereby strengthening the most innovative feature of its ability to run training operations -- for which there will always be a need -- that are relevant and achieve a precise economic objective.

Of course, circumstances vary from one DPU to the next. The second function (giving a lead) is more relevant to those units (the majority) based in rural areas whereas the first (analysis) is equally relevant to both rural and urban units. The three functions are not always evenly balanced, and the greatest danger would be if the DPUs concentrated only on the last one (service provision).

In some cases, the main achievement of the DPUs has been to initiate a dialogue with government, and within government, on economic issues (in Cadiz, the DPU was behind a genuine local debate on creating real jobs in conjunction with environment restoration projects which gradually won the commitment of the local authorities). The DPUs do a job which no other agency does, especially in rural areas. In other cases, DPUs do not seem to raise the issues or mediate with government to the same extent.

But the most important thing is that training is always viewed in a development context. Development is an area in which the DPUs are as much actors as observers or reporters. The development/training link has been strengthened by the establishment of Enterprise Initiative Centres. These centres are just being set up and in some cases are quite close to schools workshops and Promotion Development Units. They will lead to organisational and management problems, some of which are nowhere near being resolved today:

- Who will really be responsible for the centres, which will often be set up at the end of a partnership between institutions which may not be equally in favour of them?
- Will we have the resources and qualified personnel to manage them?
- How do we ensure that the service they give to young people who are trying to set up as self-employed does not end up by making them dependent upon assistance -- which is costly for the organisers and takes away all responsibility from the recipient?

Although these are major problems, the role of the Enterprise Initiative Centres will strengthen the employment training system since it will enable trainees (or at least some of them) to become self-employed or set up in business when they finish the course by providing consultancy services, technical and legal support, premises, communications and computer services, for a limited period only but at reasonable rates.

This type of approach has raised problems in every European country, and many such initiatives have been abandoned. But in Spain one positive point is that the EICs are not being presented as a panacea or, worse still, as an open invitation to all young people to set up in business. This seems to be a wise approach.

The Estepa DPU illustrates the overall contribution that the DPUs have made to the economic development of regions in difficulty. Estepa, in Seville province in the Autonomous Community of Andalusia, is the principal town in a district comprising a dozen small towns in all. Its population is some 10 972 (1991) out of a total of some 45 000 (1986) for the district. The scope of the local development study does not quite correspond to the Estepa district since some communes in neighbouring districts also
come under the Estepa Employment Unit and were included in the study, which covers 16 communes in all and close on 70,000 inhabitants.

While by no means the poorest commune in Andalusia, Estepa shares the major problems of all areas heavily dependent on agriculture (mainly olive oil and olives) slightly alleviated here by the existence of a traditional confectionery industry. Although the town itself is less affected than the surrounding district because it has secondary and tertiary industries, the other communes have been badly hit by unemployment and are in serious difficulties:

− erratic population movements;

− poverty higher and standard of living lower than in the rest of Andalusia.

In 1987, this state of affairs prompted the Andalusia Council to set up an Employment Unit in Estepa with the aim of mobilising all possible resources to back business and employment development projects in the district. The official role of the Employment Unit was to help with:

− securing government subsidies for investors;

− setting up self-employment programmes.

In addition, it set up:

− an industrial zone with a quality centre, a seed-bed for new businesses, and ultimately a vocational training centre; a workshops school;

− a new technology centre, under the STAR programme;

− a management consultancy, under the LEADER programme.

The Employment Unit thus acted as a sort of mediator in all development projects, although it managed to avoid too interventionist an approach, as we explain below.

Five years on, it is difficult to evaluate the action the Employment Unit has taken as so many different variables are involved. But, analysing it gives us a picture both of the problems in the Estepa area and of the way in which an implicit development strategy is built up. We will then be able to see what lessons other local development strategies can draw from Estepa's experience.

Before moving on from the positive aspects of the programme, the major role played by the "workshop start-up" service should be pointed out. This was provided by FEPMA to help the parties involved in getting the workshops off the ground, recruiting managers and in liaising with partner organisations. This decentralised, non-government approach was sufficiently innovative to warrant comment although the results it produced varied from case to case.
CHAPTER 5. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT LIMITATIONS OF THE "SCHOOLS WORKSHOP, APPRENTICESHIP CENTRES, DPU AND EIC" PROGRAMME?

The difficulties and limitations encountered by the schools workshops, the apprenticeship centres and the Development Promotion Units are, in a sense, a direct reflection of some of the strengths mentioned earlier. This is no coincidence inasmuch as the system is highly regulated and some measures may have negative side-effects in addition to their expected positive effects.

The current scope of activities is too narrowly defined

Although the fact that the programme was initially based on heritage-related activities had the advantages mentioned earlier, this choice also led to certain limitations.

1) Given the goal of opening up the system to a greater number of young people and since a range of skills that were lacking in local areas are now available, is it not time to consider extending the programme to other areas of activity?

The programme has already been expanded successfully by including the protection of the natural heritage, and this has led to the development of new occupations, which in many cases had to be tested, defined or even regulated. In 1993, the Jalon Plan (Aragon) provided a remarkable example of how it was possible to develop a wide range of environment-related activities and skills based on three fundamental resources, i.e. human resources, water and other natural resources. This plan was unusually coherent since it was divided into successive stages:

− first, the initiatives to restore the environment were defined;
− next, the various projects were integrated into a coherent whole;
− then the resources necessary for their implementation were specified;
− finally, the roles of the various actors in implementing these projects were defined.

The Schools Workshop Programme is currently being extended to the following two areas, although perhaps not as rapidly as would be desirable:

− renovation and preservation of the urban heritage, i.e. improvement and maintenance of public areas, parks, roads, street lighting, etc., and manufacturing and maintenance of street furniture;
− services for the elderly, in which needs are often far greater than supply; for example, there is a considerable demand for such services on the part of elderly people in tourist residences, but the supply of these services has yet to be organised.
In both these cases, the schools workshops, training centres and DPUs were in advance of the recommendations of the EU summit held at Essen in 1994, which called on employment policymakers to focus on new services as a sector with high employment potential.

From a legal standpoint, there are no obstacles to the expansion of the programme's activities, provided that they are in the community interest. However, in these innovative fields financing cannot be organised in the same way as for the national heritage. It is far more difficult to plan the supply of services distributed on an individual basis to people who are not accustomed to paying for them (even though they may become willing to do so later), than it is to carry out a renovation project which only involves a single contract. Although the basic obstacles now appear to have been overcome, the workshops are not always in a position to work out the details of financing arrangements.

2) Heritage-related trades are as subject to change as jobs in any other sector. However, they change relatively slowly over time, as do many craft trades. If the goal is to provide training in crafts or skills that are likely to be transferred outside the field of heritage-related activities, then work and training must be designed so as to place much greater emphasis on future developments. This process is, in fact, already under way in the workshops or Development Promotion Units, which are undertaking a far-ranging analysis of the tasks they perform and are broadening the scope of INEM's recommendations or protocols, while still recognising their value. It must be said, however, that it is by no means easy to foresee the skills that will be needed in the future. Be this as it may, it should be borne in mind that vocational training alone does not always enable individuals to meet the challenges created by technical change. It is for this reason that there should be greater stress on general education, since, beyond a certain point, individuals will only be able to improve their technical skills if they have a certain level of general knowledge. The best way to achieve this goal would not be to extend the first phase or to reinforce this component alone, but to ensure that during the second phase qualified teachers continue to provide students with a minimum of appropriate academic education.

3) As regards the Development Promotion Units, the fact that (until now) they have almost exclusively worked on national heritage using available local resources has encouraged a vision of development that is not always desirable, for the following reasons:

- stress is placed on potential supply rather than on potential demand;
- there is an over-reliance on public financing, which prevents DPUs from considering and implementing on their own accord initiatives that are more fully integrated into market processes;
- there is an over-emphasis on the possibilities provided by tourism; although this activity has great potential, particularly in rural areas, it is not the only sector in which development can be promoted.

**Instruction that does not always lead to lasting employment**

The characteristic feature of alternating classroom/workplace training is that it strikes a balance between academic education and technical training. All alternating training must find an appropriate balance between these two poles, which will depend on the type of skills sought, their level, etc..

In schools workshops, emphasis is almost exclusively on the acquisition of skills, while more general or theoretical education is often kept to a minimum.
This is true in terms of the time devoted to these respective activities, since general education is limited to the initial months, and this is remedial instruction aimed at enabling pupils to make up for past insufficiencies, rather than providing them with the basic knowledge the jobs of the future will require.

This is also true of the training system itself, since the tutors and teachers, although they generally have a sound knowledge of the practical aspects of the trade they teach, have not always mastered the theoretical or general knowledge on which it is based that would enable them better to prepare their students to cope with future change. Whatever these staff members' qualities, it is difficult for them to impart these aspects of training that they have not mastered themselves. Continuing training programmes have been arranged for them, but some staff members did not participate while others were relatively unreceptive. It must also be mentioned that some of them have had little opportunity to experience a variety of professional environments, to work as part of a team or to receive pedagogical training, and these shortcomings may make them less able to meet pupils' changing educational needs.

These teachers train pupils as though the skills they are learning will be stable over time, which is an idea that is encouraged by the relatively unchanging nature of heritage-related crafts, or more precisely, by the fact that some activities may take on an artistic dimension that is not subject to change. However, given that these skills will have to change because of technical or technological innovations, the teachers must update certain basic knowledge that will enable them to understand the challenge of occupational change.

Lastly, the lack of a proper procedure for certifying skills means that trainees' qualifications are not fully recognised; only Catalonia has established a certification procedure as part of its training policy. At the end of their training in schools workshops, students do receive a certificate for the programme they have completed, which provides them with a skill assessment of sorts. However, they do not have the certification that the "official" vocational training system gives its graduates. This is a fundamental problem, not unique to Spain, which diminishes the value of the training received.

In fact, the problem is two-fold:

− the certification of trainees' skills should take place within a system recognised on the job market and not based solely on personal information, which it is difficult for firms to interpret;

− the certification system should involve units that can be consolidated with others; for example, the skills mastered in schools workshops may not cover all the skills necessary for a given job qualification, but, based on this first stage, a student will then be able to acquire the missing skills by working in another job.

This lack of official certification also prevents pupils from taking a range of stable (or even temporary) government jobs managed by local and regional authorities, since they require candidates to have certified qualifications recognised by the Ministry of Education and Science. This is unfortunate, since pupils trained on projects that are often implemented by local or regional authorities, and who have useful qualifications for a number of public-sector markets, are unable to find stable employment in this sector.

A joint working group from the Central Unit of the Schools Workshop Programme and the Ministry of Education and Science is currently defining training curricula in schools workshops so that official certificates can be issued.
To overcome these difficulties, some recruitment teams seem to be adopting a different approach. The educational level or occupational experience required of pupils is apparently higher, which is obviously a way of solving problems at the outset that it would be difficult to solve later! In some schools workshops that teach vocational skills in the most traditional sense of the term, trainees occasionally include some who have been through university, which seems somewhat questionable even if they are unemployed. The table showing the breakdown of students by their initial level of training (Table 2) illustrates this trend, except for the year in which the programme was launched (1985), which remains something of an exception since it was the starting point and the enrolment was small. We see that the relative share of diploma-holders or of the most highly qualified school-leavers (EGB or FP II) is increasing in comparison with the less qualified diploma-holders or school-leavers (BUPCOU and FP I). Though real, however, these trends are relatively marginal.

Obviously there can be no question of denying access to more qualified students. But it is a matter to be watched carefully, both here and elsewhere in the European Union.

A costly programme?

The cost of the Schools Workshop Programme is generally considered to be high, a fact that some of the actors involved -- such as the central government departments responsible for budgetary decisions -- have not failed to mention.

There are two approaches to this issue, bearing in mind that the cost must be assessed against that of comparable programmes.

1) The cost can be considered in and of itself: in this case, the cost per pupil is higher in the Schools Workshop Programme than in other FIP schemes.
   - The remuneration of pupils in schools workshops is equal to or higher than that paid in other schemes (contratos de formación in which remuneration is proportional to the number of hours worked; contratos de prácticas). Except during the first six months during which pupils receive a limited daily allowance, their later remuneration amounts to 70 per cent of the statutory minimum wage during the first year and 80 per cent during the second year, when the average monthly remuneration comes to 50,000 pesetas. Young people participating in other FIP schemes receive a grant of 725 pesetas per day of attendance, together with possible assistance with transport and housing expenses. Thus, monthly remuneration in these programmes is in the range of 10,000 pesetas -- as opposed to 50,000 -- which is of course much less costly.
   - The staffing ratios (administrative and technical staff) are higher in schools workshops (approximately 1 to 6) than in other schemes (at least 1 to 8).
   - Teachers' salaries are probably higher in schools workshops than in other schemes, but the only comparative data available are on face-to-face teaching and distance teaching, which are not entirely comparable. On average, face-to-face teaching is five times more costly than distance teaching.

2) The cost can be envisaged in terms of the programme's effectiveness, i.e. the rate of labour market entry. As we mentioned earlier, this rate was 58 per cent, which is a relatively satisfactory rate for these schemes, and which is fairly comparable to what is found in alternating training programmes in other European countries (in France, in particular). However, the real question is whether the rate of labour market entry is higher than for the other FIP schemes; in fact, the Schools Workshop Programme’s rate is...
twice as high as in FIP programmes. We should stress, however, as we mentioned earlier, that the FIP can cover a broad range of different schemes.

An even more relevant approach would be to compare the Schools Workshop Programme to initial training schemes (especially initial vocational training programmes that were unsuccessful) rather than to other job training schemes. In this case, the cost per student in a schools workshop would no longer be higher, at least from an educational standpoint, since remuneration is no longer a factor of comparison. However, from the standpoint of effectiveness, there can be no doubt that the rates of labour market entry of schools workshop trainees are higher than those of students in vocational training programmes.

Lastly, we should mention that the main difference between private-sector apprenticeship programmes and schools workshops is their pedagogical approach, since the remuneration is roughly the same, and schools workshop pupils could be considered as having the status of public-sector apprentices. However, schools workshops' educational costs are higher. In terms of effectiveness, there seems to be little difference between the two systems, other than based on the arguments traditionally used in this type of debate (although both programmes have roughly equivalent labour market entry rates, there might be a considerably difference in terms of job stability, since pupils with the highest level of training would have a better chance of keeping their job than others).

Thus, one fact is beyond dispute. Although this programme certainly costs the government more than other programmes, it is at least as effective as other schemes, if not more so. Consequently, the real question should be how to control or even reduce costs in order to make it possible to include more young people, so that its positive effects might be more widely felt throughout Spanish society.

The limited effectiveness of the research and analysis function

The fact that schools workshops have a research and analysis function carried out by the DPUs significantly increases the programme's potential effectiveness. However, these functions can only be effective if performed satisfactorily, which does not always seem to be the case. Schools workshops can come up against a number of difficulties here, and some have yet to be overcome.

1) The size of the geographical areas covered by the Promotion and Development Units does not always allow them to tackle problems. At present, there is approximately one unit per province, and this is unlikely to change since it is the official target set by INEM.

This geographical coverage, generally following the pattern of Spain's provinces, seems very broad, and it would perhaps be better if it were based on the comarca or país, former Spanish administrative subdivisions which encompass more manageable local employment markets than an entire province. This would require some 200 units, or nearly four times as many as at present. Those who accept this argument rightly point out that a province is far too vast an area in which to promote local co-operation and create synergies in support of activities. From this standpoint, it would be preferable to take a more flexible position regarding the number of units.

However, this approach to the problem reflects certain presuppositions. The challenge facing the Development Promotion Units is not to define coherent local strategies or at all costs to promote co-operation or synergies that are dying out in certain areas. Rather, it is to mobilise local resources in support of development projects that will of necessity fit into a larger whole. Consequently, one may well ask whether the real problem is to define more relevant territorial coverage, or to focus the efforts of
development units, not on pre-defined territories, but simply on mobilising resources in support of broader goals.

This problem raises another related issue, which is the hypothesis regarding labour mobility. There is no reason to believe that trainees will find work within a unit's geographical territory, desirable as this may be, especially in rural areas. Therefore, the "territorial" outlook of Development Promotion Units must be as broad as possible. In our view, the real issue is not so much to determine whether the units should encompass comarcas or provinces as to ensure that their working methods take the fullest possible account of the constraints and opportunities created by the globalisation of markets.

Obviously, one may ask the precise purpose of such an objective, which can be interpreted in two ways:

− firstly, as a means of controlling the system's cost;

− secondly, as a means of ensuring that DPUs have the same level of decentralisation as INEM; this would mean that the DPUs would increasingly play the role of a research department for INEM, which would loosen their links with schools workshops correspondingly.

However, based on the information currently available, it would not be advisable to pursue the latter course too systematically, since it would tend to weaken the entire "schools workshop-DPU-EIC" system.

2) A second difficulty concerns the way in which development projects are designed. An examination of the studies and projects developed by the DPUs suggests that greater emphasis is placed on the potential outcome of a development project than on the way it is actually carried out. Feasibility studies or market-oriented approaches are uncommon. It is not necessarily the DPUs' role to guarantee the implementation of projects, which will depend on a broad range of private or public actors. Nevertheless, the way the problems are defined at the outset will largely determine how easy it will be to create the necessary synergies. Moreover, one may wonder whether the specialisation in heritage-related projects that often rely on government subsidies has not tended to encourage this approach to project design. Lastly, projects are not always in step with the changes in needs and jobs brought about by new technologies.

3) In addition to this aspect of projects that makes them difficult to implement, it must also be mentioned that, given their current circumstances and resources, DPUs currently find it difficult to obtain the assistance of European programmes, although they do not lack either determination or effectiveness. This is one of the fields holding out the greatest scope for DPUs, since some European funds (under the LEADER programme, for example) could support numerous projects, particularly in national heritage. However, the changes in EU procedures have not made this task any easier; it is difficult for DPUs to obtain Community funds since their applications must now be sponsored by their regional and national authorities; as for the funds for which they can have apply directly, in the future these will be subject to increasingly stringent conditions regarding the cost of projects, the amount of national funds contributed and the partnerships required.

No doubt the emergence of new activities and jobs in the near future will give the DPUs an opportunity to improve their methods in this field. In any event, they cannot be held responsible for the difficulties of co-ordination.
**Difficulties in human resource management**

Human resource management within schools workshops faces a number of problems because of the variety of actors involved and the difficulty some managers have in co-ordinating the overall process.

There are three groups of actors within a workshop:

- the managers and psychologists;
- the tutors and other teaching staff;
- the trainees.

There are a number of groups within the student body because of the phenomenon of *cuadrilla* system, i.e. groups or teams of trainees based on the kind of production or services to which they have been assigned. Furthermore, trainees' motivation can vary greatly: some are primarily interested in receiving training, while others wish to earn wages or simply to be involved in an activity.

These various actors can be difficult to handle, especially for young managers with limited experience. A manager devotes much of his time to establishing links between actors, but the main problem is that no one is willing to take over this very demanding task when he is absent or simply has to leave the school for some reason.

**An unsatisfactory relationship with government and private partners**

To carry out their tasks, the workshops and the Development Promotion Units must be able to maintain continuous contacts with their other partners, whether they are private enterprises, chambers of commerce or various government departments. Circumstances vary from one case to the next, and in many places productive relationships are slowly being established. However, as we mentioned earlier in our discussion of the study by the Autonomous University of Madrid, the relations of workshops and DPUs with various government institutions are not the most successful aspects of this programme. Let us look at several examples of this problem:

- in the case of provincial governments, which work together with these workshops and units in implementing public policies, it is unfortunate that this co-operation, which should be natural, is not stronger;
- in the case of municipalities, we observe that they consider DPUs as services at their own disposal rather than as agencies for promoting development.

**Let us consider the example of relations with the Ministry of Culture.** Although the programme was based on a very relevant analysis of the contribution that cultural work could make to the economy, there are almost no ties between the Ministry of Culture and workshops. This state of affairs is, of course, relatively easy to explain, since it was precisely in 1985 that the Autonomous Communities assumed basic responsibility for culture, particularly as regards the protection and preservation of cultural monuments, which has meant that the workshops' real partners have been communes and the Autonomous Communities. Moreover, the latter have provided the budget for restoring monuments. Consequently, only very few workshops work directly with the Ministry of Culture, in archives (*Escuela de Archivo*),
painting (Escuela del Prado), the national library and the national film archive (in the planning stage in 1994).28

It nevertheless, seems reasonable to ask whether the Ministry of Culture should not take a more important role, in the field of advice and expertise, for example, since renovation operations are no longer confined to technical diagnosis but also require an in-depth analysis of a variety of factors that explain why a monument or item of furniture has deteriorated. The Ministry has a tool devoted to precisely this task, i.e. the Institute for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Goods. However, little seems to have been done to tap this institute’s resources, and the training grants that would enable tutors or teachers better to understand these problems have not been systematically used. Since workshop managers sometimes complain about the lack of access to experts or tools of expertise, they should establish much closer ties with this Ministry and its institute, since the mere fact that a system exists does not in itself guarantee that often overburdened staff members will use its resources.

The fact is that the workshops are making a significant cultural contribution and, although this function is decentralised, the country as a whole benefits from the schools workshop and DPU programmes.
CHAPTER 6. ADAPTING THE PROGRAMME TO INCREASE ITS EFFECTIVENESS

The programme has considerable strengths and has been able to overcome some of the obstacles encountered by schemes for the young unemployed in other European countries. However, a number of problems have also arisen, and it is natural to review its future. The best way to do this is by asking how the programme's impact on Spanish society can be increased, whilst keeping within budgets which will most probably remain static or be reduced? Impact can be measured on the basis of four convergent criteria:

− creating an increasing number of development projects;
− diversifying the skills needed for these projects;
− reaching a greater number of young people;
− improving their employment rate.

Adapting its objectives

The programme's most general objectives probably do not need modification. However, certain adaptations or adjustments should be planned in the light of past and present developments.

1) The programme should include a broader range of activities and crafts, both because these can provide desirable areas of expansion and also to guard against a glut of skills in certain local areas. Although there is no legal obstacle to extending its activities, the traditions and mechanisms of the programme are not always conducive to this. In particular:

− it must take on a more urban dimension to reflect the strong concentration of unemployed young people in urban areas;
− it must be based systematically on new activities in the services sector, particularly family service jobs.

The development of national heritage and urban environment activities is a good illustration of this, but is not the only one. The growth of services to the elderly will generate substantial employment in Spain as in other European countries.

2) The acquisition of new skills must have stronger bases: training should not be confined to essentially repetitive activities and should provide stronger foundations in analysis than the basic training offers in the first six months.

3) The DPUs must bear in mind that the execution of projects is at least as important as their formulation: even at the drawing-board stage projects must be realistic and workable.
Adapting the mechanisms of the programme

A distinction may be drawn between statutory measures and financial instruments.

1) Why not extend the range of project-promoting agencies? Would it not be possible for certain private companies to set up schools workshops? These companies would probably need to be large and to operate in sectors which are not highly competitive, for example companies with public service functions (the postal service, telecommunications, banking, insurance). The financing rules would have to be altered significantly in that case, with total payments to trainees being chargeable to the firm but certain specific training expenses chargeable to the central government or the Autonomous Communities. This might lead to a broader apprenticeship system with new challenges in terms of economic and social effectiveness.

2) To consolidate the attainment and recognition of skills:

- In-service training of tutors warrants greater resources than those currently allocated, regardless of the fact that some may be reluctant to take part.

- Courses for managers and those working with them must be continued and extended: for many of them, who are young and for the most part have had an arts or science education not usually including management, these courses are a living and accessible resource which can also be an opportunity to examine and assess a lot of the written material that they receive as managers.

- Recognition of the skills learnt by students at schools workshops on completion of the programme is a matter of some urgency. If we discard the rather outmoded idea that young people should as a matter of course remain on the local labour market, it follows that they will need something more than a certificate of attendance to turn their training to good account and become properly mobile. Work by the ministries of employment and education seems to be progressing in this area. The index of occupations is being updated and efforts are under way to define the particular skills needed for each one. In addition, tests are being set so that these skills can be recognised by the certificado de ocupaciones.

However, if that process takes too long it would be better to set up cross-crediting systems quickly and then incorporate a system of continuous assessment as outlined above.

3) Amongst the different mechanisms which could be set up or improved upon, financial structures are particularly important since they have been severely neglected to date, which might explain why the programme has to a certain extent lacked effectiveness. Here are three specific examples:

- Project preparation warrants a substantial budget. Human resources already available in the DPUs could probably enable them to take on some of the work involved in preparing the projects and the corresponding studies. However, by definition these resources are not sufficiently versatile to deal with projects on vastly different topics. If this situation continues, two risks emerge. Firstly, a DPU may concern itself with projects which are all in the same field or involve the same procedures because that is what it knows best; secondly, projects may be defined so generally that their economic and financial viability is hard to assess. A specific budget should therefore be determined for such studies and/or a system of seed capital to ensure that projects reach the execution stage.
Unlike the national heritage sector where financial channels are simple and traditional, in other sectors new types of project have to be set up and new financial mechanisms have also to be determined, for which traditional financial networks may not be suitable. Let us take family service jobs and environmental improvement services as an example. Needs may exist which can be met profitably but as these are new services potential consumers are not used to paying for them and pilot schemes have to be run first of all on a traded and then on a non-traded basis. DPUs are not in a position to do this unless they are allowed to carry out full-scale pilot schemes, with appropriate funding. They should be able to use pilot scheme funds, although this does not mean that they should administer them themselves.

One of the major difficulties in executing these projects is the lack of financial links; the managers of schools workshops and DPUs have no direct contact with financial networks, for example savings banks. This causes particular problems in view of the schools workshops' current role involving new markets and employment.

Should specialist financial institutions be set up? Perhaps not, particularly since specialist networks can cause serious problems in the allocation of funds and increase the system's operating costs. But it would be useful to support activities with specific financial incentives available to all financial institutions if they assist the execution of projects drawn up by the DPUs.

Adapting financing

The problem of cost is particularly important at present, in Spain as in other European countries. It would be difficult to increase the budget for active policy programmes and if anything the trend seems to be in the opposite direction.

1) An initial question should be raised: why is a large proportion of the cost payable by INEM (and the European Social Fund) whilst a very considerable proportion of the results are to the benefit of the promoting agencies? Current data show that INEM finances on average around 75 per cent of costs, a huge proportion. The promoting agency's share (25 per cent) is something of a token contribution. In this respect the analysis on which the distribution of costs is based -- the school's operating costs are financed by INEM and materials by the promoting agency -- seems unsound.

The benefits for the local area are threefold: the bases for new activities are created, young people have better job prospects, and an economic activity comes into existence. Accordingly, almost all the costs of the study, design, management and supervision phases at least should be chargeable to the promoting agencies, with INEM's share focusing more on the educational function itself and the payment of trainees. If the programme were to be extended to other types of promoting agency, the distribution of costs would obviously have to be changed, and that would not be difficult. Opening the programme up to public or private companies would naturally mean them bearing a substantial proportion of the cost of paying students, or even the whole cost in certain cases, which would allow the state to go much further in its policy to help the jobless find employment than has been possible so far.

At any rate, a charge should be made where possible for any services rendered to agents other than INEM or the promoting agencies.

2) A second, even trickier, question should be considered: should students be paid wages similar to labour market rates, depending on age and how long they have been on the programme? This is doubtful since the trainees acquire a skill and benefit from a service provided by the community.
Moreover, the profile of young people attending the schools workshop is perhaps no longer quite the same as at the outset, some students having more in common with young people undergoing vocational or general training than the young unemployed with increasing difficulty in finding work. Others even put forward a more radical hypothesis: why should trainees be paid at all, given the increasing emphasis on solidarity?

However, by taking this path we might run the risk of altering the whole character of the programme:

− Some at least of the most disadvantaged young people would be excluded; and

− the element of working for pay, a link with working life, would no longer exist. It is therefore best to tread carefully here.

Adapting of the programme's organisation

Several measures should be provided for here.

1) Since the number of schools workshops is increasing, it would be more efficient to manage some of their functions jointly to reduce operating costs (including DPUs where appropriate). In this way managers would be relieved of certain duties, and would be able to become more directly involved in the supervision and setting up of projects in schools workshops which only they can really take on. One of the most important of these functions is building an overall view of the development of the local area and for employment opportunities.

2) For the role of the DPUs to be enhanced, they must have stronger links with their local environment or, more precisely, this must not merely be left to the efforts of the managers. Turning them into provincial development agencies should now be considered, provided that this does not deprive schools workshops of the support of the DPUs.

This means first of all that their role must be re-defined, in particular within the local administration. If their role is to extend beyond formulating development projects and to include project execution, they should be accorded a greater place in local structures. In particular, they should be consulted on arrangements for the use of financing, for example, the European funds, and should also be able to take part in local discussions between those responsible for vocational training and employment. Once again, whilst this may already be true in certain cases, it is the result of individual efforts by DPUs rather than a more carefully thought out administrative structure.

This would probably require greater resources. Whilst their analysis and study roles are properly resourced, DPUs do require support for their potential function of project supervision and co-ordination with other partners in economic development.

However, if this were the path followed it would probably become logical to decentralise the DPUs. Unless the same system were also planned for the schools workshops a potentially beneficial unit would be broken up. There is nothing to say that we have to go that far, and it would be better to improve the partnership between the central level -- through INEM -- and the decentralised levels -- through the promoting agencies. Even if INEM funds could be transferred to local level it is difficult to see why the Institute should release funds via which it can tackle employment problems relating to national objectives.
3) Liaison with banking institutions must also be established or improved, as shown above.

4) Finally **the role of DPUs vis-à-vis schools workshops and EICs should be redefined.** Initially the relationships were fairly clear, but it is uncertain whether the pivot should now be the DPU instead of the schools workshop. Between DPU and EIC there are many possible types of interaction, the DPUs most often hesitating to play their role owing to lack of funds. However, the three institutions, which strengthen each other and benefit from the synergy produced, would become more cohesive if they operated in the context of local development projects, formulated and clarified by the DPU. Given that the scope of the DPUs is broader than that of the schools workshops, should more formal co-ordination of schools workshops and EICs as a whole be planned around the DPUs, through a **co-ordinating council** for example? This might be possible but it would be dangerous here to lay down a theoretical structure, possibly to the detriment of other institutions which, in certain circumstances, could co-operate in the same tasks.

It would therefore be better to leave this responsibility to the Autonomous Communities, while insisting that any body of this type should be genuinely operational.

**Assessment**

An on-going system of assessment would be highly desirable. Without questioning the decentralised aspects of the programme and its management, the amount of public funds allocated to it warrants a more stringent monitoring system. An assessment system might have two purposes, which are not mutually exclusive:

− to monitor execution of the programme and take any corrective or supplementary action necessary while work is in progress;

− to measure the programme's results with a view to comparison with other programmes, or even with the status quo.

Just because this second objective is extremely difficult does not mean that we should give up on the idea, or indeed the first one!

The assessment system must be based on a number of principles stemming from the nature of the programme:

− **It must take into account the educational background of the trainees** so that they are not tacitly selected on that basis without the situation of the most disadvantaged being taken into consideration.

− **It must take into account not just the employment rates for trainees but also skills actually recognised as acquired** at the end of the training: the results could then be weighted more fairly in respect of young people who give up their training to take up employment, as the primary objective should be both to obtain a recognised skill and find employment.

− **It must consider not only the employment rates for trainees but also the schools workshops' final products.** It is a pity that as far as cultural organisations are concerned no assessment of the results of the programme is available from either the technical or the economic point of view, as national heritage and restoration or conservation projects can now be fairly closely assessed.
− It must consider the three components of the programme together even if they are not equally important, to allow the range of products and effects to be seen: trainees finding employment on one hand, and new activities and new employment created on the other.

− It must be on-going in the sense that it monitors trainees in and after the workshop.

− It must include links with new partners, which are difficult to measure in practice.

A further step would be to define certain indicators with the actors. Whilst some of them hardly pose a problem -- the number of vocational qualifications, employment rate, projects defined, trainees establishing businesses, etc. -- others are likely to be more difficult -- the quality of the employment created, the permanence of the employment and the number of projects actually carried out. To avoid any distortion these indicators must be understood and interpreted in the same way by all actors.

The analysis should relate to at least 5 per cent of the workshops and trainees. The sample should obviously be taken from all the Autonomous Communities and provinces. It should also consider an appropriate proportion of schools workshops alone and schools workshops associated with DPUs.

The assessment would be carried out annually and should be published and forwarded to all workshops and DPUs and to their promoting agencies.

At any rate, the future direction of the programme must be in line with the dominant trends of the nineties: increasing economic globalisation, European integration of markets and qualifications, the shift to services in terms of employment and business activity, increasing job insecurity, and new sources of employment created by new services.

The programme has been able to anticipate some of these changes, for example, as regards new sources of business activity and employment. These must be consolidated, probably in conjunction with greater efforts as regards the attainment of recognised skills in an increasingly European context.
NOTES

1 Instituto Nacional de Empleo (INEM) (1995), Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios.


4 CACHON RODRIGUEZ, Lorenzo (May 1995), La Política de Empleo en España: Informe de base sobre instituciones, procedimientos y medidas de política de empleo, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

5 INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, p. 220.

6 INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, p. 221.

7 INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, p. 223.

8 INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, p. 220.

9 INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, p. 220.

10 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial, Estudio de Necesidades de Formación para el Empleo y la Gestión de Empresas en las Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios.

11 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial, p. 18.

12 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial, p. 31.


14 SAIET, p. 19.

15 SAIET, p. 25.

16 SAIET, p. 30.
17 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial.

18 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial, p. 34.

19 INEM (1994), Informe Escuelas-Taller y Casas de Oficios.

20 INEM, Técnicas de Formación Empresarial.


22 GREFFE, p. 19.

23 GREFFE, p. 18.


26 GREFFE, pp. 91-4.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

Studies regarding the employment situation in Spain

CACHON RODRIGUEZ, Lorenzo (May 1995), *La politica de Empleo en Espana : Informe de base sobre instituciones, procedimientos y medidas de politica de empleo*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Ministerio de Trabajo, Instituto Nacional de Empleo (INEM) y Fundo Social Europeo, Documentacion de las *Jornadas de empleo y Formacion, 3 -- 7 de Abril 1995, Madrid*.


Studies regarding local development in Spain


Divers articles de la revue *Estudios Territoriales*.


INFORMEST (1989), *Iniciativas locales de empleo y decline industrial : el case de la cuenca del Nervion*.

IRMASA, *Quadernos de desarollo local, Communidad de Madrid*.

IRMASA, *Initiativas de desarollo local, Communidad de Madrid* (information letter).

LEDA, various documents concerning LEDA zones in Spain (Alcoi, Barcelona, Estepa, Granada, Gran Canarias).


Universidad Internacional Menendez y Poelayo, “Ponencias del V. Seminario sobre ‘Desarrollo Local y Medio Ambiente’”, *La innovania en el mundo rural*, 26-29 octubre de 1994, CUENCA.


General documents regarding the Schools Workshop and Apprenticeship Centres Programme and Development Promotion Units


FEPMA, *Evalucion del Programa de Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios del INEM como instrumento de la politica de desarrollo local España, Reunion con los representantes de la OCDE y Directores de UPD, 25 de Octubre 1995*, mimeo.

FEPMA (199?), *La iniciativa comunitaria de desarrollo rural (LEADER) y los modulos de promocion y desarrollo*, mimeo.

FEPMA et Red Electrica de España, S.A. (REDESA) (Septiembre 1995), *Actualizacion de Actividades y Proyectos Realizados por F.E.P.M.A*.

FEPMA/Programa Escuelas Taller, Fondo Social Europeo et Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social/INEM (199?), *Unidades de Promocion y Desarrollo*.

INEM, *Técnicas de Formación Empresarial, Estudio de Necesidades de Formación para el Empleo y la Gestión de Empresas en las Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios*.

INEM et Casas de Oficios (October 1992), *Escuelas Taller, Analisis y Evaluacion de la Insercion Laboral de Sus Alumnos-Trabajadores*.


-- *Textos de Apoyos, 4 volumes* ;  
-- *Conferencias, 8 volumes*.

INEM, Programa de Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios (1994), *Formación de Formadores*.

INEM et Institute Nacional de Seguridad e Higiene en el Trabajo (1995), *Prevencion de Riesgos en Escuelas-Taller y Casas de Oficios*.


INEM et Fundacion General, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid (UAM) (1995), *Actas del Congreso, Las Escuelas Taller ante el reto del desarrollo y el empleo, Palacio de Congresos, Madrid, 21 -- 22 de junio de 1994*.

INEM (1995), *Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios*.

INEM, Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios, Modulos Formativos :  
-- Familia Professional de Construction, 5 volumes ;  
-- Familia Professional de Medio ambiente ;  
-- Familia Professional de Madera.

INEM, Curso de Creacion de pequeñas empresas e insercion laboral :  
-- Manual del Professor, 2 volumes ;  
-- Manual del Alumno, 3 volumes ;  
-- Cadernos del Alumno, 3 volumes.

SENADO, Boletin oficial de las Cortes Generales (18 November 1992), Acuerdo del Pleno del Senado por el que se aprobó el dictamen de la Comisión de Trabajo sobre el informe de la ponencia constituida en su seno para el estudio del Programa de las Escuelas-Taller y Casas de Oficios, Boletín General, No. 381.

Unidad de Escuelas Taller y Casas de Oficios (199?), *Guia Didactica para formacion de formadores*.


**Monographs concerning certain Schools Workshops and the work of certain DPUs**

Agencia de Desarrollo (199?), *Antequiera, Invertir en el Sur Decision Oportuna*.

Ajuntament de Girona, Escola Taller (14 January 1992), *Preparacio del Pla Estrategic de Girona*.

Ajuntament de Sant Feliu de Llobregat (31 October 1993), *Actualizacion Datos Sobre la Insercion Escuela-Taller “Can Maginas”*.  

48
Ajuntament de Sant Feliu de Llobregat, Departament de Promoció Econòmica, Fons Social Europeu, INEM Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya/Departament de Treball, Diputació de Barcelona, Consell Comarcal del Baix Llobregat, Can Maginàs, Centre Municipal, Formació Ocupacional.

Ajuntament de Vilafranca del Penedès, Departament de Promoció Econòmica I Treball (Noviembre 1992) Layret, Revista de Formació Ocupacional I Treball, Núm. 5.

Ajuntament de Vilafranca del Penedès, Departament de Promoció Econòmica I Treball (Mai 1994) Layret, Revista de Formació Ocupacional I Treball, Núm. 6.

Ayuntamiento de la Villa de Parla, Comunidad de Madrid (Enero 1992), Plan de Formacion Municipal, Balance de la Insercion Laboral de las Escuelas-Taller y Casas de Oficios.


Inventario de recursos del Baixo Miño (1992), Coleccion Patrimonio Medioambiental y Humano, Fundacion Cultural Banesto.


La Serania de Ronda (1994), Coleccion Patrimonio Medioambiental y Humano, Fundacion Cultural Banesto.


ORTÍ BOIX, Antonio, Director de la Escuela-Taller de Morella (1990), *Informe Sobre la Situación Laboral del Alumnado de la Escuela-Taller de Morella Que Ha Terminado el Ciclo de Formación.*