Governmental Measures Promoting Part Time Work for Young Persons: case studies from Belgium, France, Great Britain, FR Germany and Sweden

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Summary

This study follows up an earlier piece of research conducted for the European Commission which looked at initiatives promoting part time working for young persons in traditional employing organizations. Here the programmes of various national labour market authorities are considered. Attempts have been made to organize job creation schemes on part time basis, on the one hand to allow limited resources to be distributed more widely, on the other to emphasize more firmly the temporary nature of such work and to reduce young persons’ reservation wages. In addition, part time working has been combined with efforts to provide part time schooling, both of an occupation-ally specific and a more general nature. Whilst the availability of corresponding part time educational structures is a precondition of such programmes’ success, they can provide a better means of integrating young persons into working life and of countering the problem of “school tiredness”. Measures seeking to encourage “job splitting”, via the offer of a subsidy to employers, are not very effective, despite the fact that it is often young persons who take on part time jobs which result. Combining gradual retirement for older workers with a gradual introduction to working life for young persons, although attractive in theory, has proved difficult to realize in practice.

Zusammenfassung

1. INTRODUCTION

This study forms the second of two which are concerned to examine recent experiences with, and thus the potential for, strategies for worksharing for young persons. In the first study we tried to explain some of the reasoning behind the advocacy of such a strategy and to establish some of the criteria by which its desirability or efficacy might be measured. We then went on to look in some detail at a number of experiments that had been conducted both within the private sector and in public authorities whereby, either as a result of collective bargaining or management initiative, attempts had been made to increase the incidence of part time work for young persons and thus to share available employment amongst a greater number.  

Here we seek to complement this study by turning our attention from efforts involving traditional employing organizations to these forming part of special employment programmes authorized by governments and organized and administered by the labour market authorities. Such programmes, although not always important in terms of scope, have in the last year or so been developed in a considerable number of countries, and we look at examples from Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and Sweden. Rather, however, than structuring our presentation on a country by country basis, as the nature of the experiments described in the first study suggested, we found in this instance that three particular types of intervention could be distinguished. These are first simple measures involving only a part time working component; secondly measures where part time working is combined with some sort of part time education or training; and thirdly measures that, although not having the

promotion of part time working for young persons as their
direct objective, could be considered as likely to contribute
to this outcome. We shall approach them in this order.

2. SIMPLE MEASURES

To commence this study, we shall examine governmental programmes
which involve the simplest form of efforts to promote part time
working for young persons, namely part time direkt job creation
schemes, especially targeted upon this category of the unem-
ployed.

2.1 Part time: public sector job creation in Germany

The possibility to make available positions within the Federal
government's job creation programme (ABM) on a part time
basis was first opened up in the course of 1978. Of the some 56,000
persons currently (4th quarter 1983) supported by the ABM
scheme, nearly 6,000 or over 10% are working on a part time
basis. The relative importance of part timers amongst all
ABM participants differs considerably between the various
States (Länder), with the largest number of part timers,
over one quarter of the total, being employed in projects
operating within West Berlin. In this section we shall describe
the part time job creation schemes to be found there.¹

In Berlin part timers make up over a quarter of all ABM
employees. The overwhelming majority of these, 88%, are
categorized as young persons - i.e. under the age of 25. Most
of the remainder are women, often with family or household
responsibilities, who have been seeking only part time work.
Nearly 60% of all ABM positions for young persons are part
time, and the large majority of these part time jobs are
occupied by teenagers - i.e. persons under 20 years of age.

¹) The information presented in this sector is based upon an interview
conducted with officials of the State Employment Office of Berlin
and on statistical data made available by them.
The decision to make ABM positions available on a part time rather than full time basis was not the product of a wish to spread available financial resources over a large number of persons, the principle reason for the introduction of a major part time component in the current British job creation programme. Rather it was influenced by the special nature of the group whom it is thereby sought to help. Since many of the young participants have come directly from school, albeit with an intervening and sometimes long spell of unemployment, they are not accustomed to receiving a full time wage, and equally, because many are still living at home, they have relatively low financial responsibilities. More importantly, however, the labour market authorities consider it undesirable that they should, through participation in an ABM measure, become used to or expect relatively high earnings. Since ABM wages are paid at collectively agreed rates, the experience of such earnings is likely to push up the "reservation wage" of the young persons, and might well inhibit their chances of finding suitable work once their period of subsidized employment has come to an end. Furthermore, to the extent that the most desirable outcome is not that they pass into an unskilled job but rather into an apprenticeship, this is even more critical. Apprentices in Germany are not paid a wage but a "training allowance", whose level, especially in the first year, is very low indeed, constituting of but a fraction of earnings attainable from full time employment.

As far as the nature of the work performed by part time ABM employees is concerned, there is a heavy concentration of such positions within the social services sector (particularly hospitals), these making up over 90% of the total. Almost all of the remainder involve work in the area of nature conservation and the maintenances of public parks and gardens. A breakdown

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1) This programme is described in a second study for the Manpower Directorate of the European Commission undertaken by P. Auer, Reintegration of the Long-term Unemployed: an overview of public programmes in eight countries. Discussion paper series of the International Institute of Management, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, IIM/IMP 84-20a, p. 52.
between sexes is not available, although amongst all young
ABM employees, men and women are more or less equally represented,
whereas within the total ABM programme within Berlin (full and
part time) the ratio of men to women is nearly 7:3. Most of the
jobs are provided by the Berlin state government, to a lesser
extent by community organisations.

The normal working week of the part timers is 20 hours, and
daily work time is 4 hours. One day per week, during paid time,
the young persons attend a "social pedagogical welfare" session,
participation in which was previously voluntary but is now
compulsory. This facility is organized by the Education Promotion
Service of the German Federation of Trade Unions. Activities
involved include general counselling cases of personal and
family problems; - not infrequent, given the milieu from which
many participants are drawn; - advice upon job search and career
opportunities, practice in presentation and interviews, an
introduction to further training opportunities, and trips to
enterprises to gain acquaintance with the world of work and
with potential future employers.

Whilst participation in an ABM programme can last for up to
one year, only about half of all participants remain that long.
It is to be noted that of those that leave early, because they
have found alternative employment, most pass into full time,
unskilled work rather than into an apprenticeship.

2.2 "Youth Pools" in Sweden

Whilst part time job creation for young persons has a quite
long tradition in Germany, in Sweden it is a much more recent
phenomenon. However, a number of similar reasons for its
utilization in Germany were advanced to justify its intro-
duction there. In addition, and unlike in Germany, the
opportunity to spread available resources over a greater
number of positions appears to have also been of some significance.
Despite the very low overall rate of unemployment, youth unemployment is still, in relative terms, a considerable problem in Sweden. In 1983 6.6% of under 25 year olds (and 9.2% of under 20 year olds) were registered as without work compared to 3.5% of the total labour force. Furthermore, in the same way that the overall rate of unemployment is substantially reduced by large scale special employment programmes (in 1983 these occupied a further 2.3% of the labour force), so too the "real" rate of youth unemployment is substantially higher. In this respect the contribution of job creation schemes has been particularly important. Since the middle of the 1970s the share of young persons within these has been almost continually increasing, so that by 1979 under 25 year olds constituted nearly 63% of all participants. Whilst the public/non-profit sector continued to be the principal provider of such employment, job creation projects within private enterprise became increasingly important, accounting for 16% of all time worked in 1979. It was young persons in particular who were occupied in this way.

The fact that work in job creation projects had become one of the principle means of entry into working life for young persons did not pass uncriticized. Some observers pointed to the potentially low status of such employment compared to "normal" work. More importantly, however, others argued that since such jobs were paid at collectively agreed rates, their preponderance contributed to the maintenance of the too high wage levels for young persons which, it was thought, was itself one of the causes of the problem of youth unemployment. Lastly, it was suggested that many enterprises were increasingly coming to use job creation projects as an extended and subsidized period of "trial employment". It was for this amongst other reasons that in 1980 it was decided to exclude under 18 year olds from participation in job creation schemes and to develop other
programmes of schooling, training or work experience for them).

Whilst this had the effect of lowering somewhat the proportion of young persons amongst participants in job creation programmes, their share still remained high, some 58% in 1983. One reason for this is that 16 and 17 year olds form rather a small proportion of the youth labour force. The minimum school leaving age is 16, but 85% of 16 year olds stay on at school beyond this, so that the "normal" school leaving age, or age of entry into the labour market, is closer to 18. Much of the problems of youth unemployment is concentrated on the age group of 18 and 19 year olds, and in 1983 such persons alone made up well over one quarter (27.4%) of all job creation programme participants. The earlier criticisms of the suitability of job creation schemes thus retained their validity.

In autumn 1983 the government announced a major restructuring of the totality of its labour market programmes to take better account of the process of upturn that was then becoming apparent.

One element of this restructuring was the intention to place more weight upon promoting employment in the private sector via wage subsidies, and less upon more defensive strategies such as public sector job creation programmes. Within the area of job creation programmes itself, it was decided to exclude completely 18-19 year olds from participation. All young persons registered as unemployed more than three months were given a guarantee of a job in the public sector or a training place. Where this could not be offered, a place in a so-called "youth pool" was to be ensured. Those unreasonably refusing such an offer would have their rights to unemployment compensation withdrawn. Budgetary constraints meant that there could be no


expansion, indeed only contraction, of normal public sector employment. Thus it was the second component of the offer, a place in a "youth pool", that was of particular significance, all the more so because it also involved a part time element.

Already in the summer 1982 the establishment of "youth pools" had been proposed as part of a package of special measures for young persons). The plan foresaw these as being organized by local authorities and offering at least part time activities for unemployed or irregularly employed young persons in order to keep them in contact with the world of work. The sort of tasks envisaged to be undertaken included study visits to potential employers, study groups investigating opportunities for starting small enterprises and more traditional work in the area of environmental conservation, personal social services etc., such as might be found in more conventional job creation schemes. The programme revealed in late 1983 and starting operation at the beginning of 1984 was a concretisation of this proposal.

Young persons are expected to attend the "pools" for four hours per day and are paid the collectively agreed rate most appropriate to the actual work undertaken. This will normally be in the order of SKr. 30 per hour so that total earnings somewhat exceed the daily rate of "unemployment help" (SKr 100) to which most are entitled. Only those young persons with rights to "unemployment insurance" payments, the level of which is substantially higher, will be offered full time positions. Tasks performed must be deemed as being "socially useful". As with normal job creation programmes, the participants remain available for placement on the open labour market. The employer receives a reimbursement of wage (and any material) costs and whilst the "pools" are administered by the relevant level public authority, they are also intended to be partly self-managed.

Projects can take place in the private sector in arrangement with the public authority who still remains the legal employer. Some provision is made for an additional education component insofar as a grant of SKr 20 per participant per day is available, either to be paid as a training allowance or to help cover costs of providing the teaching. The education can be general, vocational or social-pedagogical. Given a potential 40,000 participants, gross programme costs were estimated as some SKr 5 mrd per year, net costs, however, only SKr 300 m.

Only very incomplete information is available at the moment with respect to programme outcomes, although an accompanying evaluation study is being undertaken. Most remarkable is the rapid growth of the programme. In December 1983, before the "youth pools" had become operative, there were just under 11,000 18-19 year olds in job creation programmes, and by March 1984 still some 7,000. Within the same time the number of participants in "youth pools" had, however, reached nearly 29,000. Thus, expressed in terms of "full time equivalents" the total volume of job creation activities had increased very substantially. Furthermore, the number of unemployed young persons not catered for by special employment programmes had fallen dramatically, numbering at end February only just over 5,000 compared to 17,000 a year previously.

As was anticipated, it is the local level authorities which are the principal organizers of the projects concerned. Some 70% of all participants are in such "pools", with the remainder being shared approximately equally between the provincial and national authorities. Of those engaged in activities under the responsibility of local authorities, some 4% are in projects taking place in private concerns.

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1) The information in this and the following paragraph is based upon an overview of numerous newspaper (Dagens Nyheter, Arbetet) articles etc. appearing in the course of the first four months of 1984 put together for the author by Annika Hjern.
Although originally some doubts were expressed about whether local authorities would be able to find sufficient meaningful employment opportunities to occupy the "youth pools", this does not appear to have been a problem. Indeed if anything the reverse has been the case. A number of activities which it would have been difficult, impracticable or unjustifiable to organize on a full time basis could be allocated to the "youth pools". The part time character of the young persons' positions also made them much more acceptable to regular employees and the trade unions in the local authorities. These had become increasingly suspicious of traditional job creation efforts which, they feared, at a time of retrenchment were threatening to displace their own positions. They are, however, much more willing to cooperate with and help organize activities for "youth pool" schemes which, because of the more "marginal" nature of the employment relationships involved, appear also to be more "additional". In short the programme is widely regarded as a major success, it has generated considerable enthusiasm from all parts involved, not the least the young persons themselves, who as well as having a meaningful occupation and an income, still enjoy a considerable amount of free time.

3. MEASURES WITH A SCHOOLING OR TRAINING COMPONENT

Part time employment for young persons has frequently argued for as not only an end in itself. One reason for its being seen as particularly suitable for this group is that it allows the introduction to working life to be complemented by training. Time which would otherwise be free is thus put to a more "productive" use. Here, then, we shall concern ourselves with measures whereby part time working is combined with some form of part time learning or technical education.
3.1 Part time "Traineeships" in Belgium

An important component of the labour market strategy the Belgian government has been pursuing since 1977, the so-called "plan for the absorption of unemployment", has been the scheme for "youth traineeships". Its objective was to smooth the transition between school and work. According to its provisions, organizations employing at least 50 persons were required to hire the equivalent of an additional 2% of their labour force young persons (under 30), as yet without work experience. These young persons must be retained for 6 months (renewable one time), have to be paid 90% of the normal wage of the persons doing equivalent work and are supposed, as well as gaining work experience, to benefit from some form of job training. Until spring 1982, a small subsidy was paid for each "trainee" so employed.

The actual efficiency of the scheme has been open to some question. Not all organizations could or did fully comply with the requirements in terms of numbers hired. Even where they did, it was by no means certain that the principle of "additionality" was met. Obligatory "trainees" were thought to displace other categories of young workers or their near substitutes. The amount of training given was often rather low. Finally, only in about one third of cases were the young persons offered permanent contracts with their employing organizations at the end of their "traineeships".

In March 1982 amendments were made to the "traineeship scheme". Alongside the dropping of the subsidy to employers, the number of trainees to be hired was increased to 3% of the labour force. One percentage point of this 3% is to be made up of "part time trainees", with two part timers counting as equivalent of one member of the organization's normal labour force. "Part time traineeships" last for a period of one year (again renewable one time), and the young persons are paid half of the rate paid

to full time "trainees". Places are to be given the priority to 16 - 18 year olds, and within their "free" time these young persons should benefit from a part time training.

The introduction of "part-time traineeships" was probably the most difficult aspect of the amended regulations that employers had to cope with. According to the terms of the "traineeship" system, if employers were meeting their statutory requirement, the total number of part time trainees should be equivalent to the total number of full time trainees. At the end of 1982, however, former category made up only 19% of the total. By the end of 1983 the situation had improved somewhat, but part timers still made up only 31% of all trainees. The principle explanation for this is that the new system demanded an infrastructure that in reality was not yet there. First enterprises in most sectors were not used to employing persons on a part time basis. The incidence of part time employment in Belgium is rather low compared to the EEC average - 6.4% of all employees in 1981 as opposed to 9.8%. This, no doubt, explains why the individual sector that comes nearest to meeting the target of an equivalent number of full and part time trainees was "distribution", the one in which part time working is already most highly developed. It also explains why females, the traditional part time workers, are overrepresented amongst part time trainees; they make up 50% of all trainees but 62% of part timers.

More importantly, however, the necessary part time training opportunities within the schooling and further education system (or within enterprises themselves) largely did not exist. Consequently many organizations were simply unable to fulfill their obligations, and had of necessity to wait upon external developments. This waiting strategy was encouraged by plans to raise the minimum school leaving age and introduce a part time education requirement on 16 - 18 year olds, and moves

1) Unpublished data made available by the National Employment Office.
to establish a system of industrial apprenticeships. This latter would also involve an "alternating training" component and according to its terms, apprentices would be counted as part time trainees. The legislation governing industrial apprenticeships was finally passed in summer 1983\(^1\) whilst in summer 1984 the Education Ministry gave its approval to a network of "Centres for part time secondary education" that would be operative at the start of the next school year. Hence, it might be anticipated that the number of part time trainees will increase in the future. However, it must also be recognized that, at least in the first instance, the government imposed on employing organizations an obligation which it itself was unable to meet. The proportion of part time traineeships in the public sector had reached only 21% by end 1983, whilst in the first year of the schemes life it was even considerably lower (13% of all "trainees").

This having been said, there are instances of efforts being made to develop practicable systems of "alternating training" that satisfy the requirements of the system of "part time traineeship". Here we shall report briefly upon two of these, an experimental programme in the West-Flanders textile industry\(^2\) and more general initiative within the province of Limburg\(^3\).

The recession in the textile industry in the early 1970s, and the decline in employment opportunities that came with this, discouraged many young persons from undertaking a technical education in the skills of this sector. The number of schools offering such training sunk from eleven to four. Subsequently, however, and as a consequence of a major rationalization and

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2) Information on this experiment is drawn from "Kortrijks textiel op zoek naar geschoolde arbeiders", in: De Standaard, 27.5.83 and F. Schotte, Alterneren Leren (manuscript provided by Vocational Training Department of the Federation of Belgium Industries) n.d.

3) Information on this initiative is drawn from "Leren in de Fabriek" in De Standaard, 29.8.83.
modernization process, competitiveness has been restored, but many enterprises now find themselves facing a shortage of skilled labour. It was this last that motivated the industry, together with the trade unions, the local labour market authorities and technical schools, to conceive of a so-called "accelerated training scheme", training young persons within one year rather than the three normally required by the technical school system. This "accelerated training scheme" itself is based upon the principle of "alternating training", and when it commenced in late 1982 it was involving nearly 80 young persons and 33 enterprises.

Most participants were between the ages of 16 and 19 and were previously unemployed. Most had completed an initial technical schooling, in woodworking, mechanical or electrical engineering, and in this respect the programme has a "retraining" component to it. This last, indeed, was one reason why the training period could be so accelerated, and it also meant that the enterprises were assuring themselves a supply of "polyvalent" and not just single skill employees. The first six months of the programme are spent in school, in a course which is very much firm-oriented, with training staff from enterprises themselves participating as "guest" teachers. After this period the young persons transfer to the individual enterprises for a further six months "on-the-job" training, but also receive within this time a total of 77 hours of "social education". Such a schedule was chosen in preference to one involving continuous part time working, since the enterprises felt it would be impossible to employ persons on other than a full time basis in the rotating shift systems they operate.

During the period of in-school-training the young persons are in the financial charge of the labour market authorities and are treated as "persons following a training course". Insofar as they are entitled to them, they can draw unemployment benefits, and these are supplemented by a flat rate payment
of BE 40 for each hour spent in school. During the subsequent period of "on-the-job"-training the same allowance as applied to full time "trainees" is paid. The participating enterprises guarantee permanent employment contracts to those taken onto the course, subject to them having satisfactorily concluded their training. It should, however, be noted that a considerable preselection takes place; some 300 young persons originally applied for a place. For them it was the guarantee of a job which was the single greatest incentive to take part.

The initiative in Limburg is even more recent; it started to operate only in autumn 1983. The provincial authorities considered alternating training to be particularly suitable for young persons who were "tired of school" and who were looking for a good job. A number of different local instances are responsible for the organization of the scheme. The "Regional Development Association" is responsible for winning enterprises involvement, the local labour market authorities for helping in a preselection of participants and for providing certain training personnel, whilst enterprises and schools themselves make the final selection and arrange the details of the courses. In the first year four enterprises from the metal, mechanical and electrical-engineering sectors agreed to participate.

Depending on the firms concerned, the age and qualifications of the young persons varied. At one extreme 16-18 year olds without any formal technical school certificate were recruited, at the other only 18 year olds with an intermediate technical qualification. In this case the enterprise's interest was as much as anything else, to use the public experiment to gain experience for establishing its own internal "alternating training" system. Rather than separating the schooling period from "on-the-job"-training period, as in the scheme run by the Flanders' textile industry, the Limburg scheme involves alternating two week periods of learning and working. In each case the young persons are split into two groups. Thus the training capacity of both the schools and the enterprises
is continuously in use, and it is possible to talk of a sort of "job sharing" taking place.

Essentially the same arrangements exist with respect to the remuneration of the young persons as in the previously described experiment. A "trainees" wage is paid for time spent in the firm, unemployment benefit plus a "course allowance" for time in school. Unlike the scheme in the textile industry, however, there is apparently not any formal guarantee of subsequent employment for those who successful conclude the course.

To date, and with respect to both efforts, all parties involved have expressed satisfaction with the system of "alternating training". Already in the West-Flanders other enterprises, in other sectors, have shown an interest in trying to emulate the textile industry scheme. The only reservations voiced so far have, in both cases, been directed to the relationship of "alternating training" to traditional full time technical education in schools. The fact that a relatively high allowance is paid to participants in the former has been suggested as likely to threaten the attractiveness for young persons of the latter.

3.2 "Working and Learning" in Germany

The learning element of the Belgian programme just described was concerned primarily with the provision of an occupational training, tied very specifically to the particular job that the young part time worker was performing. In the German programme that will now be presented, its objective is the provision of a general education. Its target group is those young persons who have so far failed to attain their basic secondary school certificate, possession of which is almost a "sine qua non" for access to the normal "port of entry" to working life, an apprenticeship, and is becoming increasingly necessary to obtain even an unskilled job.

It is recognized that an important reason for such young persons' refusal to remain within or return to the formal school system
to try and remedy their labour market deficiencies is "tiredness of the classroom" and a desire for an own source of income and the "more adult status" of being at work. Accordingly, a number of experiments have been undertaken to graft the opportunity of finish basic secondary schooling onto traditional job creation programmes for young persons. It is, however, the case that the labour market problems of many potential participants are of a more extensive nature than simply a lack of educational qualifications. Many of the young persons have serious personal difficulties (alcohol or drug abuse) or familiar problems (single parent families, long-term unemployment of the "bread-winner"). Often they lack the motivation either to work or to learn. Thus, an important element of the programmes has been the provision of accompanying social pedagogical care and advice.

The experiments with "working and learning" were in the first instance conducted at the level of single states (Länder); more recently (spring 1983), the conditions of the federal job creation programme were amended to enable such efforts to be federally sponsored and at present some 2,300 young persons are participating in such schemes. In this sector we shall concentrate primarily on the efforts of one of the states, North-Rhine Westphalia, and subsequently make brief reference to the terms of the newer, Federal programme.

The job creation component of the North-Rhine Westphalia experiment involved relatively traditional pattern and was financed under Federal job creation provisions. Working hours were 20 per week, scheduled over half days and in the mornings. In 1981 the part time jobs concerned yielded a net income of between 45.4 and 64.4 DM per month. School attendance, in special classes arranged by local colleges of further education

1) Information on this programme was obtained via an interview with officials of the State Employment Office of North-Rhine Westphalia who also provided a series of background papers prepared by coordinators of individual projects carried out in the state.
(Volkshochschule), took place in the afternoons and occupied an approximately similar number of hours. To compensate for transport costs and for "loss of potential earnings" as a consequence of participation in schooling, the State government paid participants a grant of further 130 DM per month, this coming from specially allocated funds. Finally, the young persons were also entitled to claim the means tested, Federal study allowance (BAFOEG), which for those coming from households with the lowest income would have yielded a further 130 DM per month (half the maximum payable in the case of full time education). Participants were thus assured a not insubstantial level of financial security, and one that was at least, if not more than, comparable with that accorded to a young person following an apprenticeship.

Individual projects were always very small, rarely exceeding 20 participants. Their duration varied considerably, some lasting as little as 8, others as long as 19 months, and depended upon the average pre-entry educational attainment of participants and the particular organizers' perceptions about how long such an intensive exercise could be sustained by the young persons concerned. In nearly all cases it seems as if participants did not respond spontaneously to general publicity for the scheme, but rather, as a result of personal interventions by social workers and careers advisers, were individually persuaded to register. Drop-out rates were rather high, some 31%. Inability to cope with demands of the programme or exacerbation of personal problems, not the finding of alternative or unsubsidized employment, was the prime reason for premature finishes. According to at least one accompanying study, for the organizations providing the job creation positions, the employment of the young persons was often more of a burden than a relief. There were, however, also some surprises, with work behaviour contrasting radically and positively to school behaviour. As we noted originally, an important component of the schemes was the social pedagogical welfare provision,
the very intensity of which is perhaps the most striking impression a reading of the background reports gives. Each individual programme involved its own full time social worker.

A brief overview of "success rates" for the period between the experiment's commencement in early 1980 and spring 1982 is available. By this last date 24 projects had been concluded in which a total 392 young persons had been involved. Of these 269 (or 69%) had participated until the end, and 187 had successfully gained a basic secondary school certificate. This represents 70% of those completing the scheme and 48% of those starting. The immediately subsequent labour market behaviour of completers (successful and unsuccessful) was also monitored:

- 67 started an apprenticeship or other vocational training programme;
- 56 started regular work;
- 16 returned to further education;
- 68 became unemployed;
- 62 were no longer in contact with the employment service. In some cases this was the result of their starting military service or getting married and thus withdrawing from the labour force, in other cases the result of their moving away or of unknown factors. At least in some cases, it can be assumed that failure to make contact with the employment offices was a consequence of starting a job or apprenticeship which had been found independently.

Thus just under a third (31%) of those young persons who started, and just under a half (46%) of those who had completed the programme entered either formal employment or occupational training, an outcome which the State Employment Office considered as very positive.

As had been said, it was only in the spring of 1983 that schemes such as that operated by North-Rhine Westphalia were instituted on a Federal level under the terms of the Labour Promotion Act. Whilst until that time training schemes and job creation schemes
involving a training element could be supported; this was only possible if the training was of an occupational not a general nature. Schooling with the objective of attaining the basic secondary certificate fell into the latter category. "Working and learning" schemes can, however, now be fully financed by the Federal Employment Office, with the "learning" element paid for either through conventional training grants according to the Labour Promotion Act or special training grants for young persons according to the Employment Promotion Act.

Furthermore, according to a yet more recent (late 1983) administrative order of the Federal Employment Office, it is now possible to use traditional job creation funds to finance the employment of personnel recruited to staff recognized additional training activities. This new provision covers "working and learning" schemes and substantially increases opportunities for the programmes' future expansion.

4. INDIRECT MEASURES.

The measures so far discussed have all had the creation of part-time opportunities for young persons as their direct objective. In the following section we shall be examining programmes where the principle objective of the programme was the expansion of part-time working either in general or for older workers within the framework of the promotion of gradual retirement, but where, as in indirect consequence, more part-time positions for young persons could or might be expected to ensue.

4.1 The British "Job Splitting Scheme"

The British "Job Splitting Scheme" was announced in summer 1982 and became operative at the start of 1983. It offered a flat rate subsidy (£750) to employers splitting existing full-time jobs in two and filling the vacancies so created by unemployed or potentially unemployed persons. It was anticipated that within two years 100,000 new part-time positions would thereby be created. However, not only had previous experiments in the
FR Germany and the Netherlands suggested that such "employer subsidies" were very ineffective, the British scheme was also criticized as having its own particular deficiencies. It restricted recruitments to recipients of unemployment compensation, thus excluding the largest single category of part time job seekers, married women, who according to the particular workings of the British social insurance system are often not entitled to such benefits. Furthermore, because redundancy compensation is linked to last earnings, many persons fearing future dismissal would be discouraged from contemplating cutting their hours of work. Most importantly, both for those under notice of dismissal and the unemployed, the level of earnings attainable from part time work was probably less than the level of income assured by the unemployment compensation system.1

For all of these reasons it is not surprising that within the first year of the scheme's existence only 774 subsidies, involving a total of 1,548 part time jobs, had been granted. Reflecting the traditional concentration of part time working amongst females, the overwhelming majority (some 76%) of persons concerned were women, whilst the sector in which the jobs were located were also those where part time working is most usually found (food and drink, distribution and miscellaneous services) 2.

Returning to the point that for many (potentially) unemployed persons the level of social security benefits to which they were entitled was likely to exceed part time earnings, it was recognized that one group was an exception to this, young persons and particularly new entrants to the labour market.

1) For further details of points raised in this paragraph see B. Casey, Governmental Measures Promoting Part Time Working: experiences in Belgium, France, the Netherlands and the FR Germany. Discussion paper series of the International Institute of Management, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, ITM/IMP 83-26, pp. 12-16.

2) Statistics cited here are calculated from unpublished data made available by the Department of Employment.
For those who have no previous employment history, or who have not worked long enough to acquire rights to unemployment insurance, the only benefit claimable is a means tested allowance, the rates of which are age related and thus for young persons particularly low. The expectation that young persons might be overrepresented amongst part timers covered by the job splitting scheme is confirmed by the data; under 25 year olds make up 48% of these, whilst under 18 year olds alone account for some 10%.

In announcing the "Job Splitting Scheme", the government suggested that the opportunity to switch part time working might be particularly attractive to older workers in the last years of their working life who thereby might be able to retire gradually. It was, however, pointed out by observers at the time that, since the vast majority of occupational pension systems fix the benefits they pay as a proportion of last earnings, the scheme might well fail in this objective. To take a part time job immediately before retirement would have serious prejudicial consequences for the level of the post-retirement income. This shortcoming too has been confirmed, only 30 of the part timers, 2% of the total, were aged 60 or over.

4.2 The British "Part Time Job Release Scheme"

Efforts to promote gradual retirement were taken one step further in Great Britain in a programme first revealed in 1983 and taking effect from October that year. Since 1977, under the so-called "Job Release Scheme", persons in the last few years of their working lives have been able to retire early on a special "bridging allowance", provided that their employer recruits a registered unemployed person as a (direct or indirect) replacement. Currently there are some 90,000 persons in receipt of this allowance. The new "Part Time Job Release Scheme" allowed for partial early retirement, with half the normal bridging allowance payable, subject to the employer refilling
the part time vacancies so created\(^1\)). It should be noted, in this respect, that two part time vacancies cannot be combined to create one full time one; recruitments have to be on a part time basis. For the same reasons as applied to the "Job Splitting Scheme", it might well be anticipated that young persons would be featured heavily amongst those persons applying for and being taken on into the part time vacancies.

Whilst the "Part Time Job Release Scheme" was potentially more attractive to older workers than the "Job Splitting Scheme" insofar as the reduced income from part time work was topped up, the other disadvantages with respect to possible redundancy payments and, more particularly, future occupational pensions remained. Furthermore, the scheme was also cumbersome from the employers' point of view, he was obliged both to guarantee replacement and to reorganize previously full time work on a part time basis. Taken together, these factors might well explain the singular lack of success the scheme has had. In the five months to the start of March 1984, only 37 persons (32 men and 5 women) had taken the opportunity to participate in the scheme. This is to compare to the 54,000 by March 1985 that the Labour Ministry had originally hoped for\(^2\).

4.3 The French "Solidarity Contracts for Progressive Retirement"

An in many ways similar programme to that which had just been described has also been operating in France since autumn 1981. The system of so-called "Solidarity Contracts" provided support for additional hirings consequent upon accelerated reductions in weekly working time and for full early retirement from as little as 55 years subject to compensatory recruitments being made. In addition, it sought to encourage "progressive retirement" i.e. the opportunity for older workers to transfer to part time

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1) see Internationale Chronik zur Arbeitsmarktpolitik (des Wissenschaftszentrums Berlin) No. 12, April 1983, p. 11.

2) unpublished data made available by the Department of Employment.
work - so long as the enterprise agreed to maintain the same volume of employment, expressed in full time equivalents, as previously. Partial retirees received a "topping-up payment" as well as a wage/salary for hours actually worked. The recruitments that the employing enterprise had to make to satisfy the conditions of the "Solidarity Contract" were to be drawn from particular groups of job seekers with particular emphasis being given to young new entrants to the labour market and under 26 year olds, single heads of families, the compensated unemployed and the long-term unemployed who had exhausted their rights to benefits.\(^1\)

Unlike under the British "Part Time Job Release Scheme", the vacancies created by older workers transferring to part time work needed not be filled on a part time basis; it was also possible for two such part time vacancies to be combined into one full time position. Insofar as the vacancies were part time, then for reasons very similar to those applying to the British programme, it could well be that it was young persons who would have the greatest incentive to accept such positions. It was also, however, the case that part time working might be attractive to single heads of families who were trying to combine work and family life and to the long-term unemployed with low levels of social welfare benefits, two of the other preferred categories of recruits. In fact, no data is available on how far the vacancies created were filled on a part time basis, nor on how far particular categories of persons were represented amongst those taken on.

What is, however, known is that the "Solidarity Contracts for Progressive Retirement", like those for an accelerated reduction of working time, proved remarkably unsuccessful. Whilst, in 1982, over 98% of the nearly 30,000 "Solidarity Contracts" signed by enterprises employing a total of nearly 4.5 m persons

\(^1\) see "Internationale Chronik zur Arbeitsmarktpolitik" (des Wissenschaftszentrums Berlin), No. 7, January 1982, Focus.
contained provisions for full early retirement, only 4.1% contained provisions for progressive retirement. These progressive retirement arrangements themselves concerned only 8,200 persons compared to 310,600 effected by full retirement. As in the case of the British "Job Splitting Scheme", the gradual retirees seem to have been concentrated in those sectors where incidence of part time working is already average, notably the service sector. This picture did not substantially change in the course of the first quarter of 1983, by the end of which it is estimated that the large majority of potential "Solidarity Contracts" had already been concluded.\textsuperscript{1)}

The single most important reason for the failure of this scheme for progressive retirement was probably the simultaneous availability of the provision for full early retirement.\textsuperscript{2)}

Whilst the circular setting out procedure for putting the principle of "Solidarity Contracts" into effect suggested that "the local labour market authorities should advise enterprises contemplating concluding contracts for full retirement to consider equally possibilities for progressive retirement which facilitates the passage to retirement and allows the enterprise to progressively assimilate the new recruits who can be trained by a more experienced worker"\textsuperscript{3)}, neither employers nor employees had much incentive to adopt this solution. For enterprises, the


2) Unlike in Britain, pension rights were not prejudiced by taking up the opportunity to transfer to part time working. The French "complimentary" (as well as "basic") pension schemes pay benefits as a proportion of earnings obtainable from continued full time working were credited to retirees under the "Solidarity Contracts".

3) Quoted in Liaisons Sociales Legislation Sociale V No. 5146, 22 février 82.
progressive retirement scheme imposed the need to try to reorganize work to take account of part time workers, whilst the full early retirement scheme provided the opportunity for an immediate rejuvenation of the labour force (i.e. the replacement of older, more expensive, less productive/adaptable employees) \(^1\). For the older persons themselves, the financial benefits of partial retirement compared to those of full time retirement were negligible and sometimes non-existent or even negative. Full early retirees were granted 70% of last gross income, partial retirees 80% (50% as the wage for part time work, 30% as the "topping-up allowance"). The difference in net income was, however, much smaller: 80% of last net income as opposed to 85%. Furthermore, the fact that many enterprises concluded supplementary agreements whereby the state allowance paid to full early retirees was itself topped up, meant that this difference was often cancelled out altogether \(^2\).

5. CONCLUSIONS

Concentrating in the first instance upon measures which have the promotion of part time working for young persons as their direct objective, we can identify four principle reasons for their introduction. These we shall now list, the order of our presentation not being intended as giving ranking of importance. Firstly, offering part time rather than full time job slots enables not only work but also potentially limited resources

\(^1\) Furthermore, because of the formulation of the conditions of the "solidarity contracts", it was not even the case that all early retirees had to be replaced. The requirement for the firm as a whole to maintain employment meant that the early retirement could take place in plants or sections which were, in any case, being run down, and the new recruitment made in plants and sectors that were in any case being expanded. Thus the "real" replacement rate of the early retirement solidarity contracts had been officially estimated as only about 50%.

for labour market programmes to be distributed across a greater number of beneficiaries. Secondly, the earnings from part time work are, by definition, rather low, and thus the expectations of young persons are not so raised as to aggravate the difficulty of subsequently placing them in unsubsidized employment - the "reservation wage" argument. Thirdly, part time employment enables working to be combined with some form of complementary education or training and thus helps further to improve labour market chances. Fourthly, and almost the reverse of this, the offer of some form of employment might be the only way to induce particular categories of young persons to complete even basic schooling.

We shall briefly consider each of these points. Insofar as resource redistribution is a mechanical process, it is clear that programmes with a "simple" part time component can enable a considerably greater proportion of the potential client group to be reached. Given the size of this client group, a function of very high rates of youth unemployment in most European countries and the fact that current special employment programmes cater for only a function of those affected, such a strategy is, ceteris paribus, to be welcomed. It should be admitted that it entails the disadvantage that, should programmes be measured not in resources but in numbers served, a switch to predominantly part time programmes might facilitate a covert diminution of effort. To set against this, however, is the observation, induced by experiences in Sweden, that the more "marginal" nature of part time working might serve to diminish resistance to an extension of job creation programmes amongst permanent employees and their trade unions who might otherwise fear displacement.

Technically there seem few problems in organizing work on a part time rather than full time basis, at least so far as public sector job creation projects are concerned. This might reflect the fact that many of these are in the social service sector where part time working is already a well established phenomenon. Even if it might create some difficulties, these
might well be counterbalanced by the fact that, as experience from Sweden suggests, new opportunities are also opened up. Certain tasks which did not justify full time positions can be incorporated into projects where part time jobs are the norm. On the other hand, where labour market programmes involve private sector participation, the ability to absorb placements is determined by the enterprises' own familiarity with part time working schedules. As the case of Belgium shows, this could be an important limiting factor. Nevertheless, the very existence of such programmes might serve to stimulate experiments with new working time arrangements.

Whether special labour market programmes should or can be made to contribute to loosening wage rigidity and facilitating a reduction in youth wage rates that might price more persons into jobs, is a more difficult question to answer. Whilst simple analysis suggests that wage cutting might improve market clearing, empirical investigations on the influence of youth wage rates upon youth employment often produce ambiguous or agnostic conclusions or indicate only marginal benefits to be obtained.

Furthermore, since most jobs in special employment creation schemes are rather low skilled and thus low paying, it is unlikely that experience in such projects will actually push up the reservation wage beyond the level prevailing on the open market. In Germany, however, rather different circumstances hold which might well justify such a strategy. Here an "apprenticeship" is the traditional means of entry into the labour market and apprentice pay is well below the pay of an unskilled worker. Were the German "Dual System", which has been highly successful at mitigating the incidence of school leaver unemployment, to be established in other European

countries, the reservation wage argument with respect to part time job creation programmes would substantially increase in validity.

The notion of making more productive use of non-working hours by combining part time employment with part time training coincides with a model of labour market policy for young persons that has been strongly advocated by the European Commission. Its successful realization, however, is not only dependent upon the public and particularly the private sectors' ability to create sufficient part time job slots, or to reorganize working practices such that these became available. As the experience of Belgium shows, its success is also crucially dependent upon the presence of a complementary part time schooling or training infrastructure. Without the development of the latter, itself a substantial challenge, "alternating training" must remain a wish rather than a reality.

Because it offers an income to trainees, "alternating training" might be considered as threatening to displace traditional full time vocational schooling. However, this needs not be interpreted in an entirely negative manner. We have argued elsewhere that an initial skill training based upon a "working" and a "learning" component is a superior means of integrating young persons into working life than one relying entirely upon the latter. Not only is there a greater likelihood that the skill training be more relevant to the needs of industry, but also an important supplementary training is provided, notably a socialization into the norms of work.

As a means of combatting the problem of "school tiredness" the combining of part time work in job creation schemes with opportunities to complete basic education seems a strategy

whose potential deserves consideration. A considered expansion of "working and learning" schemes might well serve relieve traditional educational establishments of trying to cope with a category of persons with whom they are not properly equipped to handle. Although the fact that they involve low pupil teacher ratios and a labour intensive complementary social pedagogical welfare provision means that such schemes appear highly resource consuming, given current labour market slack their opportunity costs are small. Where job creation funds can be used to hire otherwise unemployed teachers and social workers, gross programme costs can be substantially reduced. Furthermore, it might be asked whether, even if the rate of fully successful programme completions is not high, the likely social costs (present and future) ensuing from the unemployment of particularly disadvantaged young persons might not in any case mean that such schemes are self-financing.

Turning our attention now to measures which, although not explicitly seeking to do so, might be anticipated indirectly to increase part time working opportunities for young persons, we can be rather briefer in our comments. With respect to job splitting subsidies, we can only repeat that any part time positions thereby created are most likely to be filled by young persons or married women, because their earning demands and/or unemployment compensation payments are frequently lower. Nevertheless, such measures are very inefficient. Whilst targeted job splitting subsidies – i.e. aimed at encouraging job splits that would directly and only benefit young persons – have been advocated, on the basis of previous experience we fail to be convinced that this would substantially enhance such a policy’s efficiency 1).

The idea of trying to link gradual retirement for older workers to a gradual introduction to working life for younger persons had undoubtedly a certain attractiveness to it. On the other

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1) see B. Casey, Governmental Measures to Promote Part Time Working..., op.cit.
hand, those programmes which have sought to give effect to it have been most notable in their comparative or absolute failure. Whilst in the case of France the problem was compounded by the simultaneous existence of close, and often more attractive substitutes to gradual retirement, notably a generous early retirement scheme, this was by no means the sole reason for the French programme's conspicuous lack of success. Both components of the gradual retirement/gradual introduction strategy are novel, and both are relatively complicated in enterprise organizational terms. Furthermore, older and younger workers are by no means interchangeable elements of labour supply. For these reasons, it is probably wiser to keep the two sorts of programme apart from one another, allowing any overlap to be accidental, at least until a much greater familiarity with both concepts has been achieved.

By way of a more general conclusion, we can suggest that by experimenting with programmes promoting part-time work for young persons, governments can play an important role in testing the validity, the limits and possibilities of such an employment form and such a labour market strategy. The existence of such experiments, and the experiences thereby gained, can provide an important stimulus to practices elsewhere. To the extent that such experiments are successful, they can help break down resistance that might otherwise be encountered from the side of enterprises, trade unions and, last but not least, from young persons themselves.
### Appendix: Overview of Programmes

#### Governmental Measures Promoting Part Time Work for Young Persons

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<th>Introduction</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Target Group</th>
<th>Scope</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>part time job creation under 25, mainly under 20</td>
<td></td>
<td>end 1983 c 6,000 of c 56,000 ABM positions part time (all ages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Jan. 1984</td>
<td>part time job creation 18-19 year olds</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1984 28,000 part time positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measures With A Training Component</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>March 1982</td>
<td>obligatory (quota) part time traineeship in enterprise + part time technical schooling 16-18 year olds</td>
<td></td>
<td>end 1983 c 13,000 part time trainees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>experiments since 1980, federal programme since March 1983</td>
<td>part time job creation + part time secondary education mainly under 20 years old school dropouts</td>
<td></td>
<td>currently c 2,300 in &quot;working and learning&quot; programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect Measures</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>Jan. 1983</td>
<td>job splitting subsidy to employers all employees + unemployment benefit recipients</td>
<td></td>
<td>by Jan. 1984 c 800 subsidies = c 1,800 pt jobs, 48% under 25, 10% under 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 1983</td>
<td>part time early retirement + part time replacement men 62+ women 59+</td>
<td></td>
<td>by March 1984 c 40 participants no data on age structure of replacements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Jan. 1982</td>
<td>part time early retirement; replacement part or full (2 pt = 1 ft) time men and women 55 - 60</td>
<td></td>
<td>by April 1983 c 8,300 participants, no data on work time or age structure of participants</td>
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