Further Training and Labour Market Policy
A Study on the Situation in the Federal Republic of Germany*

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SUMMARY

Further training of adults has recently attracted an increasing amount of attention in both public educational policy and labour market policy. Changes in job structures and work content are placing new demands on the vocational qualifications of the work force. Prolonged mass unemployment increases the risks confronting underqualified workers on the labour market and entails the danger of dequalification for well-qualified unemployed workers as well. Against this background, further training is intended to help stabilize employment relationships and to offer unemployed persons the opportunity to acquire or expand on their vocational skills. Within this framework, further training that is publicly funded and organized focuses on unemployed persons or on workers threatened by unemployment, whereas further training that is organized and/or funded by companies is confined to a few more highly qualified groups of workers. However, within the companies there are normally no programmes of further training designed especially for the labour market's high-risk groups.

The development of policy on further training in the Federal Republic of Germany is used to illustrate how, in times of persistent mass unemployment, activities for further training have become polarized. The integration of publicly organized further training into the employment system has not progressed very far, and the range of training being offered is based on vague assumptions about future qualification needs. There is little, if any, coordination between public and private further training. To end this polarization, there is a need for greater public assistance for in-company further training, for a further development of instruments with which to promote further training for all groups of the workforce, for a broader range of training to choose from, and for improved individual access to the system of further training. Such reforms in the system of further training are essential if it is to make a meaningful contribution to dealing with technological change and to protecting and improving of the opportunities for all working people to participate actively in the work process.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Thema "berufliche Weiterbildung von Erwachsenen" wird in jüngster Zeit verstärkt von der öffentlichen Bildungs- und Arbeitsmarktpolitik aufgegriffen. Veränderungen in den Arbeitsplatzstrukturen und Arbeitsinhalt en bringen neue Anforderungen an die berufliche Qualifikation der Erwerbspersonen mit sich. Lang andauernde Massenarbeitslosigkeit verschärft die Arbeitsmarktrisiken gering qualifizierter Arbeitnehmer und birgt auch bei gut qualifizierten Arbeitslosen die Gefahr der Dequalifizierung in sich. Vor diesem Hintergrund soll berufliche Weiterbildung präventiv zur Stabilisierung von Beschäftigungsverhältnissen beitragen und zugleich Arbeitslosen die Chance einer Erhaltung oder Erweiterung beruflicher Kenntnisse bieten. Öffentlich finanzierte und organisierte Weiterbildungspolitik konzentriert sich dabei auf Arbeitslose oder von der Arbeitslosigkeit bedrohte Arbeitnehmer,
betrieblich organisierte und/oder finanzierte Weiterbildung ist dagegen auf wenige höher qualifizierte Arbeitnehmergruppen beschränkt. Für die Beschäftigungsgruppen mit hohem Arbeitsmarktrisiko existieren dagegen kaum gezielte Weiterbildungsangebote.

1. The Vocational Education and Training System

To understand the development of the further training system in the Federal Republic of Germany it is necessary to give a short description of the vocational education and training system as a whole.

The Federal Republic of Germany's vocational training system is generally divided into three central sub-systems:

- the on-the-job vocational training firm
- the part-time vocational school
- the full-time vocational school.

The combination of on-the-job training with part-time vocational school is known as the so called "dual system". Nearly 60 percent of all school-leavers are educated under the "dual system". This is the term used to describe a combination of theory and practice in vocational education and training in two separate places of learning with differing legal and organizational systems. Practical training takes place in in-company training under the guidance of an instructor, and the theoretical part in a part-time vocational school, generally attended once a week.

Training within the firm is standardized and controlled for the whole of the Federal Republic by the law for vocational training (BBiG). On the other hand, vocational schools are governed by regulations of the individual federal states (Bundesländer). The basis of the training relationship is governed by contract between the trainee and the firm doing the training for one of the occupations officially recognized under the law. The number of recognized occupations can vary as the list is revised from time to time. There are currently over 450 recognized "training occupations" under this law.

For every "training occupation" regulations for training exist. These regulations provide a general training plan as well as criteria for the examinations which control minimum acceptable standards. The
expression "recognized occupation" requiring formal training suggests a large amount of uniformity, which in reality is not the case. The quality and length of vocational training varies greatly among the individual occupations, most occupations require vocational training for 3 to 3 1/2 years. However, there are a large number of occupations requiring only 2 years of vocational training.

Companies which train are bound to uphold the general training plan. The high level of standardization is for establishing an overall standard for what a trained skilled worker should know and be able to do. The skilled worker's, craftsman's, or assistant's certificate therefore has a significant meaning in the system of employment. Any employer offering jobs cannot only be sure of a minimum of qualification, but also that the new employee will have gained some work-experience during a longish period, and can for this reason be immediately employed on productive work.

Whereas the dual system leads to an overall recognized certificate, the continuing vocational education and training, i.e. the continuation or resumption of organized learning after completion of an initial phase of training or/and after a vocational activity, is largely unregulated. The vocational continuing training nevertheless is based on the dual system and in certain occupations further training is offered that leads to master certificates or other certificates which allow to start your own business. Traditionally continuing training was a training period for job-advancement.

Actually, the simultaneous appearance of increasing unemployment, decreasing number of firms capable offering on-the-job training within the dual system and the entrance of the high birth rate years into the labour market in the mid 70's did uncover some of the dual system's internal problems and shortcomings (see Braun 1986; Casey 1986). An analysis of the distribution of occupations among newly completed training (apprenticeship) contract shows clearly that at least a part of the basic training now being carried out will not lead to employment in the occupations studied.
Continuing education and training will gain importance during the next ten years. This is necessary because of the unequal distribution of training mentioned before and because the need to intensify continuing training in companies to adapt to new technologies is increased. This new type of continuing education and training is not necessarily the same as the further training leading to master certificates or other certificates as it was traditionally.

2. The System of Further Training in the Federal Republic of Germany

Unlike the system for initial vocational training, which for sixty percent of a single age-group in the Federal Republic of Germany still takes place in what is known as the dual system, continued vocational training is recognized as the fourth, though not formalized, step in the system of education and training. Whereas the competencies and responsibilities for the types and content of training in the dual system are regulated in detail and although the intensive cooperation between employers, chambers, unions, and the federal and state governments permits general certification of completed training in the occupational fields, the types and content of training, the completion of training, and certification in the area of further training are largely unregulated.

The Legal Framework

The Employment Promotion Act (AFG) and the Vocational Training Act (BBiG) outline various categories of further training that are tied to differing standardized courses of training.

- The term further training (berufliche Fortbildung) is understood to mean courses of further training that serve professional advancement (such as that from skilled worker to qualified foreman) and that aim to prepare the participant for an examination. Passing this examination is normally linked with a certificate that also signifies general acknowledgement of the qualification in recognized advanced
vocations (such as that of engineer, master, and clerk). In most courses of training leading to advancement, however, the participant acquires qualifications for a specific sector or firm. Such training usually builds upon a completed course of vocational training and upon several years of work experience in the relevant field. It often continues over an extended period of time (up to two years).

- **Adaptive training** is counted as further training, too. This type of training primarily involves expanding on the existing expertise of the participants so that they can deal with new types of demands that have developed in their job. Most of the courses are relatively brief (three to four months) and do not lead to certified completion of continued training. Such adaptive further training usually builds upon vocational training that has been completed or upon appropriate experience in the relevant field.

Preparation to complete vocational training is also considered to be further training if it expands on appropriate experience in the field.

- **Vocational retraining** (Umschulung) is understood to be a vocational training measure whose objective is to facilitate the transition to a new vocational activity. Retraining can serve the learning specific activities (in which case it is differentiated from further training by the fact that a new field is involved) or, after a two or three-year course of training, it can lead to completion of training in a trade or occupation recognized in the dual system. Only in the latter case does it conclude with a generally recognized certificate.

- The third large group of measures recognized by the labour authorities as further training consists of **on-the-job adaptation** (innerbetriebliche Einarbeitung). On-the-job adaptation involves measures to qualify employees who, after assuming a new job, are unable to
perform at their peak levels right from the start. The training, which is often only brief, is conducted by firms and is tailored to the specific requirements of the firm and the job.

For regulatory purposes, there are two reasons for legal definitions of further training. One is to describe the types of further training for which the individual worker is entitled public support under the Employment Promotion Act if the personal criteria are also met. The other is to facilitate the standardization of further training, anchoring the types of further training in the Vocational Training Act. This can be initiated either by the chambers, which can establish criteria and procedures for the examinations administered in further training for individual occupational fields, or by the Federal Ministry for Education and Science, which can issue legal directives affecting courses and certifications of further training. The intended goal of standardization is to unify the content and quality of further training across firms and to achieve general recognition of certification as proof of qualification. Within the field of education and training, the controversy over greater standardization of further training has been sparked by two different viewpoints. Business is pressing to minimize the number of rigid, unitary regulations so as not to threaten the flexibility of further training. The unions, on the other hand, are of the opinion that only generally recognized training certificates ensure the independence and mobility of workers and provide them access to broad, generally useful opportunities for qualification.

Thus far, however, nationally standardized certificates of further training exist in only few fields. As part of further training to facilitate professional advancement, almost all courses of study leading to the qualification of certified foremen or masters were regulated nationally. The area having to do with the training of master craftsmen is largely standardized by statutes of the Chamber of Crafts and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Other courses of further training that do not lead to the master's certificate still exist only in six occupational fields (see Sauter 1980; Berufsbil-
dungsbericht 1984). By contrast, adaptive courses and retraining not leading to a recognized training certificate are not standardized. The only courses of further training in which the design of the curriculum, the instructional methods, and the training and occupational experience of the instructors are subject to a rather formal review by the labour authorities are those whose participants are to be financed by the labour authorities. The authorities base their decisions primarily on criteria provided by the chambers and the providers of further training.

Variety of Training Programmes and Institutions

The entire sphere of further training is marked by a variety of facilities and institutions offering and conducting further training. The bodies providing such training are companies, chambers, employers' associations, churches, unions, and commercial enterprises specializing in further training. Just as there is a variety of bodies providing further training, there is also a broad range of objectives, methods, programmes, and instructional styles. Because the structure of further training has never been standardized, this pluralism has resulted on its own over the years from the initiative of social groups and institutions (like individual firms). As a reflection of the country's pluralistic society, this pluralism in the realm of education and training is regarded positively on the whole, but it also entails serious problems, both regionally and in terms of subject matter, for the overview and combination of various training components and for the worker's access to further training.

The most important bodies providing further training are the firms. Of the approximately 4 million West German citizens who took part in further training in 1982 (about 12 percent of the population between 19 and 64 years of age), almost half (47 percent) were trained in a firm. Trade associations and other organizations were distant a second place with 11 percent, trailed by academies and scientific institutions (8 percent), private institutes and schools (7 percent), and chambers (5 percent). The rest of the participants are trained by
schools for adult education, churches, guilds, or unions. Just under 50 percent of the participants attended courses or underwent on-the-job training for at least one month. Only about 10 percent participated in programmes of further training lasting longer than one year (see Berufsbildungsbericht 1984, pp. 98-99).

The amount of further training provided directly in the company increases as the level of standardization decreases (see Figure 1). The vast majority of activities involved with further training are thus not subject to public regulation and are not organized by public organizations or organs such as the chambers.

**Professional Qualification of the Participants in Further Training**

Comparing the involvement of various groups in further training over time, one notices a polarization. Whereas participation in further training has increased in general (3.2 million persons in 1979 and 4.0 million in 1982), the increase has not been equally distributed across all groups in the population. Participation among those groups that were already highly involved in further training has risen at an above-average rate. In 1982, 36 percent of all West German citizens holding a university degree participated in further training; among West German citizens who have not completed vocational training, the rate was 2 percent (Berufsbildungsbericht 1984, p. 100). As the level of qualification rises, so does participation in further training. Basic vocational training and a specific, highly valued function in the company are still a decisive prerequisite for participation in further training, but there are also other factors - of a socio-economic and sector-specific nature - that influence it. In an analysis of the period from 1974 through 1979, Hofbauer (1981) showed the underrepresented groups to be

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1 The question of whether public programmes and support benefits succeed in integrating these people better is explored in a later section of this paper.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inside the company</th>
<th>Outside the company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 1**

PROVIDERS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF FURTHER TRAINING IN 1979

- **Retraining** (4% of the participants)
- **Further Training for professional advancement** (11% of all participants)
- **Other courses in the trade** (62% of all participants)
- **On-the-Job training** (24% of all participants)

*Source: Infratest Sozialforschung 1980a*
- women,
- working people over 55 years of age,
- working people without a general secondary-school education,
- semiskilled and unskilled workers, farmers, and self-employed persons without vocational training,
- persons employed in certain sectors of the national economy (agriculture, forestry, the crafts, retail trade, and the restaurant business),
- persons working in businesses with fewer than nine employees,
- part-time employees, and
- working people with low incomes.

Because there are not comprehensive data on the participant structure of further training conducted within the firm, one must rely on individual case studies or nonrepresentative investigations, all of which, however, come to similar results. One survey, which was conducted from 1979 through 1983 and which covered 1.8 million employees in three-hundred companies (a sample in which large firms were overrepresented), revealed that although 47 percent of the labour force were white-collar workers and 53 percent blue-collar, the former accounted for two-thirds of the hours spent in further training. Mathematically, the extent of further training came to 7.7 hours per white-collar worker and only 3.5 hours per blue-collar worker. In firms with fewer than five-hundred employees, the number of hours spent in further training for each white-collar worker was four times higher than that for each blue-collar worker (see Winter & Tholen 1983).

A different investigation dating from 1975 based on a representative selection of manufacturing and extractive industries and the tertiary sector (agriculture and the public sector were not included) came to the conclusion that further training activities were concentrated on large firms and support for further training within the company was concentrated primarily on executives and engineers and clerks.
Specialists, not to mention semiskilled and unskilled labour, scarcely come into question for further training within the company (Maase et al. 1978).

West-German firms 1984 spent 10 billions DM for the further training of their employees, but only 2 percent of this expenditure were invested in the further training of un- or semiskilled workers, whereas 16 percent were spent for executives and 43 percent for technical engineers (Handelsblatt, August 8/9, 1986).

Up-to-date information about the qualification structure of employees who participated in further training within the company is provided in the "Evaluation research on the Federal Government's Labour Market Programme for Regions with Special Employment Problems". Through wage subsidies paid for the duration of the further training (but covering no more than 90 percent of gross wages), support was provided for certified occupational retraining, further training leading to recognized completion and other types of on-the-job adaptation whose completion is not prescribed. Over 85 percent of all participants supported enrolled in a course for "other types of on-the-job adaptation." Most of them were conducted to address the needs of the particular company (89 percent of the participants being trained at the workplace). Over half of all the courses lasted less than six months. Within the framework of this programme, which attracted a great deal of public attention because of its experimental character, unskilled and semiskilled employees were integrated to a far greater degree. They accounted for over half of the persons taking part in "measures for other types of on-the-job adaptation". The programme was less successful at bringing in women, employees over 45 years of age, and employees of foreign nationality. Support of further training provided within the firm focused on employees who had been with the firm for a relatively long time. Over 66 percent of the persons

2 The results of this programme, through which the federal government provided one-time, large-scale public funding for in-company further training, are extensively documented in Scharpf et al. (1982; Infratest Sozialforschung (1980b), Sauter (1982), Mendius et al. (1983), Bosch et al. (1984), and other publications.
subsidized had been employed with the company longer than five years (see Mendius et al., 1983, p. 206). Public funding of further training provided within the firm was thus used primarily for the company's regular work force.

This programme is an exception because, under the Employment Promotion Act, strict limits are put on the public funding of further training conducted within a company. The publicly financed further training conducted in accordance with the act thus constitutes only a small part of all the activities associated with further training. In 1982, for example, 200,000 persons participated in further training funded by the labour authorities. In other words, only 5 percent of all persons taking part in further training are supported through the Employment Promotion Act.

Support for Further Training under the Employment Promotion Act

Since the Employment Promotion Act was passed in 1969, support for further training has been an integral part of government labour market policy. The revenues from contributions (employer and employee each pay one-half of the premiums for unemployment insurance) are redirected by the labour authorities to support persons participating in vocational training measures designed to help ensure "that neither unemployment and underqualified work nor a labour shortage occurs or continues, that the occupational mobility of working people is secured and improved, and that disadvantageous consequences that could arise for working people as a result of technological developments or changes in the configuration of industries are prevented, offset, or eliminated" (paragraph 2 of the Employment Promotion Act).

Workers who wish to participate in retraining, adaptive courses, or training that promotes professional advancement and who meet the personal criteria are supported by the labour authorities with a maintenance allowance and the reimbursement of instructional fees. On-the-job adaptation can be financed by a wage subsidy paid to the employer. The labour authorities do not fund further training that is
primarily in the interest of the firm in which the worker is employed, for under labour market policy aspects the support may not be tied closely to a specific qualification tailored to an individual company.

Public funding of further training has changed considerably since 1969, a fact that is due primarily to fiscal constraints and to changing goals. Until 1974 the main emphasis of funding was on training that promoted professional advancement and on occupational mobility. Workers without vocational training and unemployed persons accounted for only a small part of the budget.

Almost 80 percent of all further training involved training to promote professional advancement and was concentrated primarily in the training as master craftsman and engineering. The personal criteria that had to be met by a person who wanted to have the training costs reimbursed or who was to draw a maintenance allowance for full-time training were correspondingly generous (see Table 1).

In response to rising unemployment, the main focus has shifted since 1974 from funding vocational advancement to the guarding against and ending unemployment. Budgetary consolidation since 1975, which has affected labour market policy, has led both to a reduction of maintenance allowances and to ever more restrictive regulations governing the personal criteria for qualifying for support. The first decisive changes came in 1975 and 1976 and resulted in a 50 percent cutback in the number of participants. The concentration of funding on the unemployed came to mean that employed persons taking part in further education or retraining had to pay more of the costs themselves. Until 1984, an increasing number of unemployed persons participated in measures of further training despite lower maintenance allowances (which are only slightly higher than unemployment benefits). In 1984, 66 percent of the 350,000 participants who entered further training had been registered as unemployed before beginning. Initially, it was possible to increase the number of participants who had not completed
### Overview of Regulations Governing Further Training in the Employment Promotion Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Basis in Force Since</th>
<th>Persons Entitled to Support ($42)</th>
<th>Prerequisites for Maintenance Allowance ($44, $46)</th>
<th>Amount of Maintenance Allowance ($44)</th>
<th>Duration of Wage Subsidy</th>
<th>Amount of Wage Subsidy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment Promotion Act of 1969</td>
<td>All persons who have had or who desire employment subject to social security tax</td>
<td>Maintenance allowance for full-time and part-time measures (if 1/3 of the work hours are affected). Personal criteria for eligibility: All persons who qualify for support</td>
<td>Approx. 95% of net wages</td>
<td>1 year (recommended)</td>
<td>Max. 60% of net wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budgetary Act of 1976</td>
<td>Employee with completed vocational training if subsequently employed at least 3 years</td>
<td>- Employees with incomplete vocational training if employed at least 6 years</td>
<td>Maintenance allowance only for full-time measures, subdivided into: a) necessary measures if participant unemployed, about to lose his job, or with incomplete vocational training; b) suitable measures (all other participants). Personal criteria for eligibility: Employed at least 2 of last 3 years at a job subject to social security tax or obligation to work for 3 years after completion of measure if participant must work for personal reasons and if measure is &quot;necessary&quot;</td>
<td>a) 80% of net wages</td>
<td>Max. 1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Amendment of Employment Promotion Act, 1978</td>
<td>Recognized as occupations: - Housewife activity - Periods of incomplete vocational training - Participation in vocational preparation Unemployed with complete vocational training can also be supported if the person has worked less than 3 years. Unemployed with incomplete vocational training must have worked 3 years.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Amendment of Employment Promotion Act, 1979</td>
<td>Occupational activity no longer necessary if: - unemployed person is to be re-integrated into his field; - person about to lose his job can be employed; - applicant with incomplete vocational training can acquire professional qualification</td>
<td>Maintenance allowance increased for training for &quot;high-demand&quot; occupations. Personal criteria for eligibility: 3-year qualifying period extended for time spent: - caring for children (max. 3 years per child) - employment abroad (max. 2 years)</td>
<td>High-demand occupations: 80% net of wages</td>
<td>Max. 1 year</td>
<td>Max. 80% of wages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Basis in Force Since</th>
<th>Persons Entitled to Support (§ 42)</th>
<th>Prerequisites for Maintenance Allowance (§ 44, § 46)</th>
<th>Amount of Maintenance Allowance (§ 44)</th>
<th>Duration of Wage Subsidy</th>
<th>Amount of Wage Subsidy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Employment Promotion Consolidation Act of 1982 | | Reduction of maintenance allowance for:  
  a) necessary measures  
  b) suitable measures funded only as a loan  
  c) maintenance allowance for unemployed persons with complete vocational training is based on 75% of earnable income  
  Personal criteria for eligibility:  
  - Period for child care extended to 4 years  
  - Persons paying no contribution no longer receive maintenance allowance, only reimbursement of tuition fees | a) - 75% for participants with child  
  - 68% for participants without child  
  b) 58% as loan | | |
| Supplementary Budget Act, 1984 | | Reduction of maintenance allowance for:  
  a) necessary measures  
  b) loans for "suitable" measures become "nonobligatory payments" (no longer any legal claim)  
  c) Maintenance allowance after vocational training based only on 50% of earnable income | a) - 70% for participants with child  
  - 63% for participants without child | Max. 1 year; no support if on-the-job training conducted with same employer | Max. 70% |
| 7th Amendment of Employment Promotion Act, 1986 | | Increase in maintenance allowance for:  
  a) necessary measures  
  b) participant again eligible for loans for suitable  
  c) maintenance allowance after vocational training based on 75% of earnable income  
  Maintenance allowance paid through 31 December 1989 for part-time measures as well  
  if applicant - is under 25 years old and  
  if measure is necessary  
  (part-time employment must be between 12 and 25 hours)  
  - resumes gainful employment but cannot handle full-time measure.  
  Applicants who do not fulfill qualifying period but who are eligible for unemployment aid now receive maintenance allowance matching their unemployment aid. | a) - 73%  
  b) - 65% | Through 31 December 1989 | |

Condition:  
Person must be unemployed or about to lose job
vocational training to 33.5 percent of all participants in further training. In 1984, however, they again accounted for only 25.5 percent (see Table 2).

The orientation of public funding to unemployed persons or employed persons who are threatened with the loss of their jobs has changed the structure of measures for further training as well. If further training to promote professional advancement received most of the public funding until the mid-1970s, the focus of funding has now shifted to adaptive courses. (In 1984 only 35 percent of the participants took part in further training to promote professional advancement; in 1970 it was still 80 percent). The reorientation of funding had a number of consequences for the system of further training, specifically for the control and planning of the curriculum and the design of the courses involved.

**The Increasing Control of the Labour Authorities over the Varieties of Further Training**

The labour authorities do not usually organize or provide further training themselves. In the final analysis they are the source of funding for the participants and, within certain limits, for institutions that develop courses for further training. The vast majority of the persons receiving support for their further training are trained in the many institutions run by the chambers for industry and trade, the employers' associations, the unions, the churches, and commercial establishments that provide further training. The design, instructional methods, and other aspects of the courses offered are reviewed by the labour authorities; for measures that they recognize, the fees can be reimbursed or a maintenance allowance paid.

Essentially, this arrangement amounts to control based on the "voucher-system". Interested persons who are entitled to participate receive subsidy vouchers from the labour authorities and enter the further-training market as independent customers. They are free to select whichever offer they wish, as long as the courses are "recog-
TABLE 2
NEW PARTICIPANTS IN FURTHER TRAINING IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (SELECTED YEARS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Further Education</th>
<th>Retraining</th>
<th>On-the-Job Adaptation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Preciously Unemployed</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Vocational Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(1-3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>117,167</td>
<td>23,420</td>
<td>29,582</td>
<td>170,166</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>185,873</td>
<td>36,560</td>
<td>10,164</td>
<td>232,597</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>216,407</td>
<td>36,575</td>
<td>17,871</td>
<td>270,853</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>117,351</td>
<td>19,061</td>
<td>15,115</td>
<td>151,527</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100,509</td>
<td>20,048</td>
<td>15,369</td>
<td>135,926</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>176,467</td>
<td>37,927</td>
<td>32,581</td>
<td>246,975</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>211,928</td>
<td>42,103</td>
<td>11,469</td>
<td>265,527</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>33.5</td>
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<td>42,322</td>
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<td>1985</td>
<td>336,520</td>
<td>45,111</td>
<td>27,693</td>
<td>409,324</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Federal Employment Service, Funding of Vocational Training, various years.
nized" by the labour authorities. Like market failures, the problems and weaknesses of the voucher approach can have a number of reasons. It is difficult for the customers to gain an overview of the supply on the market and to judge the quality and the content of the courses. The supply depends on the regional distribution of the bodies providing further training, the main focus of the subject matter dealt with, and the expectations of the providers as to the demand and the amortization of their investments.

Until the mid-1970s the voucher-system seemed to be sufficiently consistent with the interests of the labour authorities and would-be participants. The financial support for people who were oriented to further training and accustomed to education and who could expect to advance professionally after successfully completing such training was based on the assumption that each individual was expected to examine the courses for himself or herself. Already at that time, however, regional problems with the availability of certain courses became evident, and there was a general lack of further-training courses for technical and industrial occupations (see Garlich & Maier 1982). Workers and unemployed persons who were not accustomed to education had the narrowest range of choice. When the task of the labour authorities changed in the mid-1970s, it started "contracting out" complete courses of study in individual occupations and for target groups. The labour authorities would "buy" an entire course of study, and the body providing the courses committed itself to conducting it at the expense and request of the labour authorities. Today such contracting is almost the rule rather than the exception (see Weitzel 1984; Sauter et al. 1984). Present studies show that 50 percent of all persons participating in further training are taking courses that have been contracted out, with the labour authorities counseling the participants to take a particular course and then "assigning" them to it. (To what degree one can speak of free choice in this regard is not at issue here.)
In principle, the labour authorities can contract out any type of further training. In reality, however, they play a role only for vocational retraining and adaptive training. In these areas, the labour authorities have developed many new courses:

- Information and motivation courses (lasting from four to six weeks)

- Training companies and workshops intended to allow vocational skills to be maintained and adapted in a setting that simulates actual conditions on the job (lasting an average of six months)

- In-company training intended to allow the participants to acquire practical experience in companies (without becoming company employees).

Most of the contracted courses deal with manufacturing and administrative occupations.

The planning, initiation, and content of the contracted courses are in the hands of the labour authorities, who face a number of new problems in the development and implementation of these courses:

- The very planning of the courses - including the quantitative aspects - is difficult because there is little useful statistical or official information about the regional labour or training market, the result being that planning is mainly based on the experience of the staff of the local employment office. They are generally oriented to the available training capacity of their local institutions, to the existing range of courses, and to the potential number of participants. Increases or reductions in the number of courses contracted out and the intensity or selectivity of the search for participants depends mainly on the financial situation. If the region lacks certain further-training courses for which there are people with an interest and local companies with a need, the labour authorities are often unable to offer more than medium-term assistance in setting up new providers.
Courses are difficult to design because curricula exist for only a small number of the training measures. As a result, the local providers of further training, which often compete with one another, offer courses with completely dissimilar subject matters and durations to achieve the same training objectives. The labour authorities have neither the staff nor the professional expertise to judge the costs and quality of the various courses offered. They are burdened with the difficult task of developing binding standards for the content of heretofore nonstandardized courses so that their usefulness for the labour market can be gauged to some extent.

Because the practical relevance of the courses offered by most institutions providing further training is not as central for them as low drop-out rates, the labour authorities are also tending to become responsible for adapting course content to the new qualifications either required or generally recognized by companies. In contracting out courses, the labour authorities must thus build up new curricular elements and/or they have to include phases of practical training in local companies. There is a problem to find institutions on the local level that fulfill different criteria at the same time: Institutions sponsored by employers' associations and chambers generally offer further training of a practical nature, but these courses are not designed for the unemployed or for unskilled and semiskilled workers. Other bodies providing further training are often less practically oriented, but do offer special courses for certain target groups.

The labour authorities receive relatively little support from local business when designing measures. Although the decision-making structure of every employment office involves employers, unions, and public bodies, employment office's policies on further training are not a subject of discussion. When the support for further training shifted to the unemployed, the interest of employers in this area decreased, the result being that their personnel management is not closely coordinated with public policy on further training.
- An additional problem, particularly in rural areas, is either the absence of bodies to provide further training or so few of them that many courses cannot be conducted for lack of capacity. The labour authorities must thus motivate responsible bodies to expand their capacity or must bring in new ones. As far as institutions providing further training are concerned, however, the consequences of conducting contracted courses are ambivalent. If a training institution schedules contracted courses to meet at the same time as courses that the participant can freely choose, it attracts a new circle of participants through the contracted courses. Because the labour authorities recruit the participants and assume the costs, the risk is lower than that for free-choice courses. At the same time, however, the institution becomes more dependent upon public subsidies, and the negative impact of cutbacks in this area is felt immediately (see Sauter et al. 1984).

Case studies in selected employment-office districts (see Maier, F., forthcoming) have revealed that the results of the increase in contracted courses are ambivalent. Because contracted courses are controlled and implemented by local employment offices (as provided for in legal regulations and guidelines for conducting the courses, of course), supraregional quality standards hardly have a chance to develop. The scope and nature of the courses evidently depend on other factors such as the existence of bodies providing further training in the region and the relationship between labour authorities and local businesses. Regional differences in the qualification structure of the unemployed and the demand for labour are reflected in different degrees of emphasis placed on individual occupational fields, but the implementation of "modern" and new curricular elements is rather ad hoc and undirected. Commercial bodies providing further training, which sometimes have branches throughout the Federal Republic of Germany, often offer their services to the labour authorities at reasonable prices and, although they are unfamiliar with the businesses in the particular region, some of them are awarded contracts solely on cost considerations. Costs also partly explain why many employment offices try to motivate companies to conduct contracted courses,
but the main reason is to mesh publicly conducted courses with actual practice within companies. Interest in further training organized as much as possible around the company, combined with the hope that participants would then be able to find a new job more quickly, often takes priority over quality control.³

3. Continued Development of Further Training

Over the last fifteen years, further training has changed in the Federal Republic of Germany. In quantitative terms, further training organized, initiated, and/or financed by the company is an important part of the training system. It is open mainly to highly qualified specialists and executives, it focuses on a company's regular work force, and it helps stabilize company hierarchies. Publicly financed further training conducted primarily outside the company has come to focus on the unemployed or on employees who stand to lose their jobs. This process of polarization seems to be a serious matter because the linkage between the development of company qualifications and further training courses outside the company has been weakened and because further training oriented to long-term development of qualification is tending to be neglected in favour of short-term measures to update and adapt skills.

The Growing Importance of Further Training

By the end of the 1960s, educational economists of national and international institutions were already stressing of growing need for further training. At that time the OECD developed the concept of "recurrent education". National institutions like the German labour authorities began to promote further training as a new part of their

³ This hope is supported by evaluations which show that the percentage of previously unemployed participants, who found a job after the training course, is higher for courses within companies than for courses conducted by training institutions (the figures for adaptive training show that 64 percent (in-company) and 51 percent (training institutions) found a job, the figures for retraining are 66 percent and 56 percent, see IAB, 1985).
responsibilities. While these concepts were still based on the notion that selective policies on further training help to stabilize conditions for employment and thus to counter unemployment, the accent shifted in the mid-1970s. Government policy on further training focused more and more on unemployed young people and adults, for whom it was necessary to develop an alternative to unemployment. The subject of further training of people who still had a job was temporarily eclipsed. Not until the mid-1980s did the significance of vocational qualification for a national economy re-emerge as a general topic of discussion. Concepts of qualifications, approaches to developing them, and the demands for flexible, modern further training are now being debated publicly as well. The discussion about the contribution that further training makes to the mastery of economic problems and difficulties with the labour market springs from several considerations.

New technological developments will affect the content and organization of work in the spheres of production and services. The changes in the demands on the labour force's vocational qualifications cannot yet be foreseen. Forecasts of increased polarization into unskilled and highly skilled activities are contradicted by other assumptions that semiskilled and unskilled activities will disappear in a trend toward higher qualification (see Sorge 1984; Kern & Schumann 1984). The general expectation expressed in all forecasts, however, is that the need for continued training will grow, that "acquiring training" and "applying training" will cease to be the separate phases of life that they have been up to now.

The necessity for "life-long learning" must also be seen in light of demographic development. Beginning in the 1990s, most employed persons will be those born in years with high birth rates and now being trained as well as the many young people who have little or no training because of the situation on the labour market. Most of them are either being trained in vocations in which skills for, say, dealing with the new information technologies are not systematically
taught, or they have entered occupations for which the medium-term outlook for employment is rather dim. As job structures change, qualification programmes will be required for even more people.

- The prolonged crisis on the labour market is threatening to destroy the qualification of the labour force at large, for dequalification is a danger even for well-qualified individuals if they are unemployed for long periods. With this in mind, one must regard further training for the unemployed as an alternative to unemployment, an alternative that not only enhances professional qualification but also cushions the negative psychosocial impact of unemployment, helps to eliminate shortages of qualified labour in individual sectors, firms, or regions, and can improve the overall qualification structure of the labour force.

- A highly qualified work force is also considered central to the "modernization" of the economy. In view of growing competition on the world markets, the capacity for flexible production with a wide use of technology and manufacturing know-how will become a central factor. Qualified employees who can be flexibly deployed and who can deal with complex work processes are essential to the further development of production. 4

- In view of changing demands on qualification and job structures, acquiring and developing qualifications through further training is a major element for employees and their unions in securing their material and social existence.

4 Lack of space prevents a detailed discussion of the degree to which occupational education can make its own contribution to economy growth. In general, there is scepticism about the contribution that further training makes to the reduction of mass unemployment, but it may well be effective in generating employment if it succeeds in eliminating those gaps in qualification in individual firms, sectors, or regions that have prevented jobs from being filled adequately, if cyclic downturns can be bridged by improving the qualifications of the labour force, and if courses of further training help mitigate the negative psychosocial impacts of unemployment.
This gives reason to pause if one considers the thesis that further training should contribute to coping successfully with technological change, including changes in economic structure, through new forms of life-long learning and to the preservation and improvement of opportunities for all workers to participate actively in the work process, including the reduction of unemployment.

**Market and Governmental Control over the Range of Measures**

As previously explained, there are a variety of bodies providing further training. The programmes thus vary in both quality and quantity, and it is assumed that the responsible, mature adult is able to inform himself or herself about the range of further training available and to select the courses that best serve his or her interests. The level of standardization is thus not high for courses of further training, and concerted government influence on the qualitative and quantitative range of courses offered is exerted on the relatively few contracted measures conducted on behalf of specific target groups on the labour market. Yet even to contract out courses is legally defined as an exception. If a sufficient number of "free-choice" courses of further training are being offered on the market, the labour authorities are supposed to refrain from arranging for contracted measures. Put differently: "The regulatory principle underlying further training is competition not only as an economic but as a basic social element of control." (DIHT 1983; p. 51). Public intervention, especially regarding company further training, is rejected by the federal government and the employers' association. An overall government programme for further training or more extensive government regulation of further training as a whole is presently not planned (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1984). The funding of further training is largely unregulated as well. Because further training is seen primarily as a private matter, funding is left up to the individual (or to the company). The only part of further training that is publicly financed is that which called for by labour market policy. In
view of the growing need to acquire new knowledge and skills in later phases of life as well, however, this restraint regarding public regulation is not unproblematic.

The wide latitude that companies have to shape their own qualification policy, which, unlike basic vocational training, does not require consensus with government offices and unions, leads to selective distribution of opportunities for vocational training and deprives many workers from chances to participate in further training. It is selective in terms of subject matter, is oriented to the specific demands of individual jobs or production processes, and is determined by the current needs of companies. But the needs of the individual company and the societal objectives of the economy as a whole are not always the same. The specialization, the lack of breadth and long-term perspective of qualification defined by the individual company are not a problem if such qualification builds on broad, basic occupational skills. If these basic occupational skills are lacking, or if structural change has made them obsolete, narrow qualifications tailored to the needs of a specific company increase the dependence on that company, not the employee's occupational mobility and flexibility in general.

Company policy on further training may well have contributed significantly to the emergence of internal labour markets. That process is not a problem either as long as there is full employment because internal labour markets can allow considerable adaptation to economic and technological change. But with prolonged mass unemployment, they create serious problems for the integration of people in the work and qualification process. If the state takes under these circumstances no regulative action on the processes of further training, it allows further polarization, public programmes then must deal with the qualification of those employees who have been excluded from the work process. Publicly financed further training is in danger to become a qualification service for those members of the labour force in whose human capital private companies have not invested or do not wish to invest. This service is provided with the uncertainty about whether
the workers whose qualification has been publicly funded will be able
to find some kind of job afterwards. If they do, it is still uncertain
whether a new group of workers with low-level qualifications will be
driven out of the market as a result.

The case for the more government involvement in further training
provided by companies is not oblivious to the fact that it is impos­
sible to achieve complete coordination between company personnel
management and the public labour market in view of the interests at
stake. Nevertheless, the fact that planning concepts of the 1960s
turned out to be unrealistic should not lead one to exclude the "how"
and "why" of public control.

Public Control Over Qualification Policy

Greater public control of qualification policy (exercised, that is,
through the government and/or collective bargaining) cannot completely
bridge the educational system and the employment system. The hope is,
that it can prevent mistakes and undesired effects on society and the
labour market more effectively than it has hitherto been the case. To
achieve better public control, there is less a need to devise new
instruments of coordination or harmonization than to orient existing
approaches to a concept of qualification that does not turn solely on
short-term expedience.

Such a concept of qualification would have to cover the following task
areas:

- Adaptation and updating. If it is correct that social welfare in
highly developed industrialized countries depends essentially on the
national economy's power of innovation and capacity to modernize,
the modernization of the qualification structure is a key factor.
However, government encouragement of innovation today is based
primarily on promoting the formation of real operating capital. The
problems of gaps in qualification that arise from the modernization
of production are solved less by increasing the qualifications of
the workers concerned than by making technical and organizational changes in the production process that allow some of the workers (semiskilled and unskilled above all) to be released and be given the chance to develop higher qualifications in the company for a few jobs. If the further training in the company could be publicly funded it could provide incentives for companies to improve the qualifications of their own labour force. The criteria for subsidizing in-company qualifications to adapt workers' skills would thereby have to be oriented to raising the general qualification level of the company's work force (and not just that of selected key groups) and to developing basic qualifications that considerably broaden the employees' occupational freedom of movement in both time and space. Bodies representing the interests of the employees (works councils) should be included in the development of further-training measures in order to restrict the use of further training as a screening instrument by cultivating greater support to groups of employees whose jobs are threatened, and by opening measures of further training to larger segments of the work force.

- Distribution policy. The task of publicly funded further training in this area is to reduce the inequality of opportunity on the labour market. This distributional task becomes even more important when one considers the vocational qualification of the gainfully employed person, the high percentage of unskilled and semiskilled workers, and the large number of young people, more of whom today are inadequately trained than was the case earlier and whose risks on the labour market will tend to increase rather than decrease. Privately organized further training must therefore offer these persons a greater range of further training than has been available to them thus far. Public funding of such qualification measures should be an incentive.

The "Federal Government's Labor Market Policy Program for Regions with Special Employment Problems" lent financial support to policy aimed in this direction. The positive experience with the inclusion of semiskilled and unskilled workers bears out the thesis that public inter-
vention in company policy on further training is possible and that it can have the desired results. It must be said, however, that the quality of the training fell far short on the standard hoped for. There is thus a need for further training beyond the continued development of existing curricula in further education. The intention cannot be to standardize the entire field of further training to be point that it would take years to revise subject matter and methods. But it is necessary:

- To develop curricula for standardizing the content of further training measures independent of the individual company (in the use of microelectronics, for example), so that it leads to generally recognized occupational certification;

- To develop training components that provide a basis on which the individual can build and that, taken separately, are also realizable;

- To develop a system that integrates the plant-level workshops and branch-level training centers and that overcomes the weakness of further training conducted only outside the company;

- To develop new instructional methods appropriate for adults.

The funding of such company policy on qualification and continued development in the field of further training in general could stem from two sources.

- The Federal Employment Service could use wage subsidies to support company-initiated measures of further training as well if components making the training independent of the company are included to relate the further training to employment policy. To qualify for such funding, a programme of further training would have to include elements relevant to the labour market, the selection criteria would have to be reviewed by the works councils as well, and specific target groups would have to be appropriately represented. The train-
ing measures could be planned around learning sites both inside and outside the company and thus contribute to a closer interrelation of the company's needs and the range of courses offered by the bodies that provide further training. The grants for further training could continue to be decided upon by the Federal Employment Service, which is self-governed by a body in which the labour authorities, employers, and trade unions are equally represented. That body would assume a genuine organizational responsibility in this field.

- Additionally, the in-company further training could be fed from a fund into which all enterprises (in a sector, in a region, or throughout the country) would pay a certain percentage of their profits. Through the fund (which for basic vocational training is already a reality in some sectors as a branch-level method of financing) one could help the building and supporting of a broadly based, decentralized, and high-quality network of training centers serving a number of firms, experimenting with new types of instructional methods geared to adults, offering compact phases of further training outside the company for members of its work force, and, for example, employing advanced training instructors who assist small and medium-sized firms by helping to develop measures for in-company further training (see Garlich & Maier, 1982). Information and guidance for the range of further training, which has heretofore been left up to the employee's or company's own initiative, could be provided more effectively through regional funds for further training. If government subsidies are paid, this fund could also be managed by a body in which either the labour authorities, employers, and trade unions, or employers and unions would be equally represented.

The opportunities of the individual to participate in further training must also be better regulated that it has been the case thus far. In only a few Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany and in a few sectors are all employees entitled to further training outside their company during work hours (with the arrangement that they continue to receive their wages and keep their jobs). Approximately 14 percent of
all gainfully employed persons are covered by such regulations (see Fink & Sauter, 1980). Many employees do not avail themselves of this right, though, because they are either unaware of the educational opportunities or find them confusing. The fear of losing one's job also led to a decline in interest in taking advantage of this right, which is anchored in law or in collective agreements (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1984, p. 49). An overall government provision for further training leave, if combined with the aforementioned changes, would not only directly affect the labour market but also take a step toward realizing the concept of "life-long" learning.

These changes in the system of further training are not undisputed in the Federal Republic of Germany, however. The employers in particular and their associations see no need for the government or collective agreements to exert greater influence to be exerted on further training. They, too, support the government's suggested "qualification offensive" that leaves the overall structure of further training largely untouched and represents at least a partial expansion of the criteria for funding individual measures of further training as provided for in the Employment Promotion Act. A more comprehensive reform is not foreseen for the near future, however, because there is stiff resistance to greater interference in the system of further training. Even the offer of public funding for in-company further training is turned down by the employers if it would entail stricter public control. Such interference in a key area of company personnel management is widely rejected. All that is accepted is government funding of joint training centers, which could be used by firms for basic vocational training and possibly for further training as they see fit. With only a few exceptions (like in the construction industry) employers' associations are opposed to financing through collective agreements or legally regulated funds.

Calculations show that the nation-wide introduction of paid training leave that shortens working hours would help relieve the labour market by 100,000 gainfully employed persons even if only 10 percent of all wage earners and salaried employees were to take advantage of the offer (Seifert, 1976).
The labour authorities themselves have proposed to change the system of further training along the lines already outlined: funding of company training if it serves the labour market as a whole, support for further training of women, unskilled and semiskilled workers, elimination of cutbacks in support for individuals, and institutional support to provide further training outside the company. Existing opportunities like the payment of maintenance allowances when short-time work is used to allow for training purposes are addressed as well as the necessity of financing new kinds of links between work and learning through the labour authorities (see the Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1978, pp. 93ff). Budgetary retrenchment forced such considerations aside, however. In the 1986 reform of the Employment Promotion Act, it was decided to improve the accessibility of further training and to increase the financial resources devoted to it. Nevertheless, the funding possibilities of the labour authorities today are still more strictly defined than they were fifteen years ago. The understaffing of the labour authorities, the problems of control described earlier, and the maze of opportunities for further training are likely to prevent the system of publicly funded further training from developing in the direction outlined here.
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