

Against the backdrop of this strongly critical self-presentation the perception of the changes taking place in the system of participation in training emerges, even if this perception does not seem to us sufficiently widespread, informed, and up to the enormous size of these changes, which often emerge on the margins and the out-skirts of the system.

In general all point out the "growing importance of the consensus of the social partners both at legislative level where it becomes the requisite for procedural agility (for example CFL as per law n. 863) or the priority condition (for example CFL as per law 113) for the approval of work-training projects and at bargaining level (Intersind-Tradeunion agreement of January 1987) so as to favour the spread of the CFL.

But the principal change "is above all ideological and means ceasing to consider training as a social buffer against the employment crisis" (as in the 1977 industrial reconversion law). Also in connection with the scarce functionality of a number of other interventions in support of restructuring, training tends to act today as a productive investment and a factor of company development.

According to some, we are going through a phase "of restructuring of staff and structures" which should lead to a shift of participation in training from support "to the logic of assistance that of economic development", from a "social-welfare type recovery of school drop-outs" to the creation of new classes of technicians, managers and entrepreneurs.

The transition is naturally complex and barely at the initial stages: participation in the training system is still seen (or feared) as an instrument for strengthening the

productions system.

In this regard it is interesting to quote some of the answers to the question whether participation changes the balance of power between the social partners. We seem to note the prevalence of "neutrality", seen however as a "neutrality" with regard to implicitly presumed objectives of training as a strengthening mechanism. "In fact, the lack of assessment methodologies does not allow for making the most of the action of the partners suspending or modifying the most inadequate types of activities".

This judgement of inefficacy is strongly held even where the "experiment of Protocols of Agreement between Public enterprises and the Trade Unions has modified behaviour of the subjects involved", whereas it pointed out that "the discrepancy between bargaining power which the partners wield at national level and consolidated equilibrium at local level" tends to increase. Two indications of conditioned strengthening of the Social partners bargaining power prove interesting.

1) on the one hand "compared with the political nature of the Trades Unions' bargaining power that of the individual small firms seems to have weakened more and more..."

2) on the other hand, the strengthening of the Trade Unions is prevented when it limits itself to defending the privileges of the "teaching" categories, thus risking to play the role of "conserver" of the status quo in the long run".

These answers show how, on the one hand, participation in training is seen as an instrumental way of strengthening (besides the production system) the bargaining power of the partners and the industrial-relations system; on the other, how the inefficiency of the participation, in its various aspects, is seen as an impediment to the institutional innovation of industrial interaction and mechanisms

The positive conclusion drawn by one commentator is that participation "strengthens the bargaining power of the partners when real and effective training processes are involved".

Of great interest are, therefore, the changes revealed by the exceptions to the general rule of inefficacy of participation. For example, the experiences of a number of bi-lateral Bodies such as that of the national printing sector, are to be seen as positive. The Body, under co-management régime, has provided (in agreement with the Ministries and other public authorities interested) for the definition of a number of standardized professional profiles within the sector and, on the basis of these profiles for corresponding training programmes. Those "qualifying" from the courses (on the basis of the 1962 national contract) obtain recognition and relative career prospects corresponding with these professional profiles. This is an obvious exception compared to other sectors where the problem of standardizing profiles and training contents exists; some have complained, in this regard, about the failure to pass decrees giving statutory definitions of "professionalism" as foreseen by the 1978 "legge quadro".

The question of those bilaterally Bodies co-managed was put into the questionnaire, among others, to verify the possibilities of extending or generalizing the model in other sectors. An interest in the formula emerged clearly from the answers, as well as perplexity concerning the difficulties that mechanical transposi-

tion might create. On the one hand, at least in theory, the introduction of bilateral Bodies should lead to a greater and more efficacious participation "improving the role and the reliability of training and its strategic integration, beyond its correct collocation in the bargaining context, guiding its development and everyday application within the production process. Besides co-management is expected to improve the competences of the partners in the field of training and increase the number of people capable of tackling training problems. The inquiry reveals that it is deemed necessary to test through an initial experimental phase (which these formulae favour and encourage,) the practical functional difficulties and problems emerging from experience or foreseen for the future. The answers point out the following difficulties:

a) it is necessary to guarantee to the Bodies an efficient minimum dimension and at the same time a sufficient coverage of different sectors and regions, and an appropriate targetting to the demands of the enterprises; b) it is necessary to bridge the gap in industrial culture and behaviour which still makes our industrial system excessively conflictual and antagonistic; c) it is necessary to redefine the participation system, giving to the joint Bodies a direct-participation role on the Committees foreseen by the "legge quadro" and by the various Regional laws, which implies reform of the legge quadro itself; d) "it is necessary to avoid, in a concrete way, the worst features emerging in a number of public bodies set up recently", controlling the competence of those running them, avoiding excess legal and contractual impediments, favouring flexibility and efficiency; e) to this precise end, some suggest not giving these bodies any direct managerial responsibilities over the running of training.

The risk to be avoided is that of setting up what one commentator called "inappropriate" joint bodies, like a number already existing, "which guarantee no possibility of encounter to the social partners".

"Co - management often proves to become simple co-financing, with no possibility of control".

Other important changes for the better, which the survey identifies are, on the one hand, the tendency towards a greater personal involvement of the workers taking part in training activities; on the other hand, the spread of practices of "informal" interaction among the social partners. Above all it has been noted that alongside traditional formalized agreements, informal types of consultation/ negotiations concerning questions of professional training particularly at company level where participation is most wanting, and prevalently limited to "pathological" hypotheses of restructuring and absorption of excess labour occur. This is true in particular of the small firms and is extended to questions concerning the initial training of the newly hired and to "some key-figures more directly involved in process of technological and managerial innovation, and (generally, working figures of medium and medium-high levels)". The consistency of these informal agreements is calculated by one commentator to be round 30% of the total.

As far as the new trends and new institutional forms (re-evaluation of apprenticeship and in-firm training, CFL and continuing training) are concerned, attitudes are not very varied even if perception of the processes taking place is very much heterogeneous. On the question of apprenticeship, however, the disagreement remains between those who see it as an outdated mechanism and those who see the scarce consideration given to it as a sign of cultural backwardness. The attention of the partners towards, and their role in, the choice and the quality of training increases both with regard to

apprenticeship and CFL.

Cases of framework agreements and particular agreements with the single firms concerning CFL with a view to facilitating recourse to the institutions (and to facilitate the employment of the young) are reported; however there are also cases of participation in decisional and enforcement procedures aimed at negotiating operative modalities of training.

With regard to in firm training, we have already said that it regards training of adults in cases of reconversion, but forms of participation in initial training processes within the smaller and medium firms and in co-operatives also emerge. With regard to continuing training we must mention the expected reform of the C.I.G. (the bill of Jan. 1987) and the setting up of the labour agencies (law on the reform of the labour exchanges): the most interesting innovation trends in this direction regard the job-creation initiatives, enterprise creation or the setting up of co-operatives supported by the larger firms, the local authorities or the specialized agencies.

The prescriptive indications forwarded by the survey are numerous and various. The revision of the "legge quadro", on which point all are in agreement, regards two types of problems: the relationship with the school system and the redefinition of the areas of competence of the central, decentralized and local-autonomous authorities. With regard to the first problem, the answers point towards the need for greater interchange between schools, universities, research centres and professional-training centres, and the promotion of training "stages" and practical coaching during schooling. With regard to the second point the indications are conflicting. The Trade Unions ask for greater decentralization, while the firms ask for greater flexibility, special

lization, less bureaucratic and procedural differentiation and a more ample directive and co-ordinating role for the Labour Ministry. The priority of intervention and the recommendations concern: greater exchange of information and greater confrontation with other countries; the experimentation of pilot-centres, above all offering services to the firms and at the same time providing training; the opening up of the system to the market; the diversification and pluralism of the training supply; the reduction of the role and the increase of the mobility of the public trainers; the extension of participation to training in management and enterprise; the intensification of control, the assessment of results and of the ability to plan of the social partners, the control of the efficacy of (enormous) spending connected with training.

A final question concerns access to financing; a certain number of answers held that it would be opportune to make financial benefits available to the single firms, thus avoiding bureaucracy and the inefficacious mediation of the institutions. Not all agree on this point, however, and many would prefer to allow forms of direct and indirect financing of training to co-exist. In this latter case greater control and powers of sanction are requested. Some propose, instead, automatic mechanisms of (partial) "fiscalization" of training costs (that is procuring funds from the tax budget).

SURVEY OF ATTITUDES OF THE SOCIAL PARTNERS CONCERNING
PARTICIPATION IN TRAINING ACTIVITIES (1986 - 1987)

SYNOPTIC TABLE

	I1	I2	I3	HI	CI
Qs 1/2/3 The extent of participation in planning	Sufficient but with respect to projecting and contents the trade unions have little weight and the firms great powers of discretion	Sufficient, extensive, widespread	Not sufficient	=	not sufficient
Qs. 4/5 The efficacy of participation - analysis and planning of the training system	Scarce, harmful to administrative efficiency	Scarce	Scarce, absence of assessment of results obtained	=	scarce/inexistent
Q. 6 Specific aspects of participation: programmes and contents	Does not appear	It exists at general level and during formal evaluation of programmes and contents.	Not to be found in a generalized manner, but only on the basis of agreements drawn up by the partners.	=	scarce
Q. 7 Specific aspects of participation: running of training	Does not appear	It is to be seen in an indirect way and has little influence upon real needs	Rare cases of joint management, difficult to gear to needs.	=	It occurs in Organizations and in Consortia.
Q. 8 Specific aspects: control	It exists, but its efficacy is practically nil.	Not apparent.	Highly insufficient	=	Does not exist.
Q. 9 Joint evaluation of training processes by the social partners	It does not exist	Not considered sufficient, it takes place locally and sporadically	Does not exist	=	Does not exist generally, only in rare cases.

C2

01

02

Qs. 1/2/3
see p. 155

To be found in particular in cases of the setting up of co-operatives and in case of mobility. The institutional spaces are held to be sufficient, while some regional norms are narrow and participation depends upon the degree to which the regional-local administration works. It is to be found above all in connection with the definition of professional profiles, qualitative standards, intervention modalities.

Sufficient

Not
Sufficient

Qs. 4/5

see p. 155

Participation of co-operatives is important and useful, but within the CRI it is minimal and therefore has little influence upon the promotion of changes of a greater weight. It appears quite different from case to case.

Good

Scarce

Q. 6

see p. 155

Participation is considerable in that the institute's programmes are based upon the needs expressed at territorial level. Efficacy depends upon the ability to carry out training aimed at specific targets, and is penalized by the rigidity of the guidelines and the procedures, especially those of the European Social Fund.

Exists but
only formally

Not
apparent

Q. 7

see p. 155

To be found in the case of some firms and during practical training. Direct management by the social partners favours experimentation and didactic renewal; the rigidity of the assessment criteria, imposed by the procedures, is penalizing.

Exists at
regional level
but it manifests itself
only in the
form of preliminary
opinion

It exists
but is
scarcely
productive

Q. 8

see p. 155

Only in particular cases.

idem

Irrelevant

Q. 9

see p. 155

Generally yes.

It does not
exist at
central and
national
level

Exists in
positive
form only
for CFL

Qs. 1/2/3 The extent of participation in planning	not sufficient	not sufficient	Scarce, only informative; confrontation only for one specific project (training of managers)
Qs. 4/5 The efficacy of participation - analysis and planning of the training	in concrete not relevant, although the conditions for applying it exist.	scarce	=
Q. 6 Specific aspects of participation: programmes and contents	To be found in the CRI, but there are problems particularly when managed by third parties	not to be found	=
Q. 7 Specific aspects of participation: running of training	Occurs during choice and assessment of projects. The running is handled by others often chosen by the partners.	not to be seen	=
Q. 8 Specific aspects control	to be found in the way pointed out at Q. 7	does not exist	=
Q. 9 Joint evaluation of training processes by the social partners	exists in a positive way within the regional commission for vocational training	there is no institutional place for it	does not exist for training, in the strict sense; it exists in law 113/86 (CFL)

O 6

S 1

S 2

Qs 1/2/3
see
above

Reservations of a prevalently political type re-emerge on the occasions institutionally foreseen. Broad involvement of the social partners in the planning of regional projects should be verified during application and implementation of the regional norms.

Not sufficient

Not
sufficient

Qs. 4/5
see
above

As per point 2 and 3, one hopes in a more comprehensive planning by means of greater co-ordination with the regional market Observatories, the research centres and the school system and the CRI

Scarce. There are concrete examples with satisfactory results, though only in very limited and particular cases.

Scarce in the training system as a whole

Q. 6
see
above

the concrete application of the mechanism should be verified by the central and regional level

to be found only in particular cases (as point 4)

to be found in a concrete way only in relation to plant-level bargaining

Q. 7
see
above

idem

not generally to be found; when it is the results are positive. Not generally to be found but when it does the results for those cases are positive.

Q. 8
see
above

idem

It exists in a limited manner as already said at points 4 and 6

it is not developed; it is felt as a necessity.

Q. 9
see
above

it is held that it is to be found at institutional level*(ISFOL) or within the Technical Consulting Committees foreseen by law 113/86.
* (for example at ISFOL Ministry for Labour Research Institute)

when it does occur the result is considered positive.

It does not occur, except in a number of limited and particular cases:

S 3

E 1

E 2

Qs. 1/2/3 see above	Not sufficient	Sufficient, but it is hoped that in- volvement in the institutional area will grow.	Yes, at national level within the Labour Market and Professions Observatory; at regional level during the "Consultative Bodies" that approve participation at local level, the extent of partici- pation must be verified case by case.
Qs. 4/5 see above	very limited	good, but it could improve within a framework of greater institutional invol- vement	The positive trends at regio- nal level towards greater efficiency in the partici- pation of the social par- tners are not strong enough and may not be regarded as sufficient when compared to the dimensions and the complexity of training needs.
Q. 6 see above	not found at all	it occurs success- fully within the bilateral institu- tions	During preparation of the European Social Fund projects, and in C.F.L.
Q. 7 see above	to be found in training run directly by the trade- union bodies	it occurs as pointed out at question 6	Partially positive due to co-financing by the employers' organizations of initiatives promoted by the regions.
Q. 8 see above	does not exist	it exists and it is positive	Prevalently no, in fact the CRI's control mechanisms are weak. Within the firms the role of the trade unions does not concern for the most part real training processes
Q. 9 see above	normally it does not ha- ppen, an at- tempt is being made to asse- sses C.F.L. within CRI.	it occurs within bilateral organi- zations.	Prevalently no, in fact the Observatory works only in a number of regions (Piedmont, Lo- mbardy, Tuscany) and prevalently to evaluate the impact on employment.

S4

A1

Qs. 1/2/3

The institutional space is sufficient as far as the choice of territorial and sectorial priorities are concerned.

Sufficient as far as general action as qualifying standards are concerned. One hopes for greater agility and correspondence with the needs of the territory.

Qs. 4/5

Scarce and of little efficacy.

There have been no concrete cases.

Q. 6

The efficacy is low and is relieved only by ritual participation during formal phases.

Does not appear.

Q. 7

Only in the case of examination boards and/or in the case of particular experimentation.

As answer n. 6

Q. 8

As the foregoing point.

Only in specific cases and following specific bargaining.

Q. 9

Only in some forms of experimentation.

Only during processes regarding mobility backed by public funding.

I 1

I 2

I 3

- Q. 11
Changes in apprenticeship
- Increase of the number of apprentices trained, but ways of controlling the training activity are wanting
- There are no significant changes to be noted
- they should be achieved concretely by the bilateral bodies which do not yet function. Apprenticeship has seen only a few significant experiences, also in the service sector.
- Q. 12
Changes in C.F.L. (for young people and the newly hired)
- Greater institutional possibility and participation of the social partners within the CRI and at territorial level
- idem
- In general it is not possible to pass judgement on the C.F.L. as they are a recent institution. In general there is a fault in them in that they are carried out prevalently by means of side-by-side on-the-job coaching. In the case of the medium/large firms there have been instances of agreements between the social partners and the region for the running of the training process.
- Q. 13
Changes in adults training
- No changes seen
Attention towards the new proposals for renewal of C.I.G.
- idem
- the most significant agreement concerning C.I.G. is that of the GEPI on account of its size, but it has not found any real job openings. There are some examples of the creation of new enterprises, in particular of the co-operative type.
- Q. 14
Changes in-firm training
- As per point 13, the participation is greater and more influent in cases of reconversion and restructuring
- idem
- It is not extended to the whole vocational training system. It occurs substantially due to mobility and training of redundant staff (Protocols drawn up with the public firms).
- Q. 15
Continuous or episodic participation?
- It occurs for exceptional and contingent events
- =
- the contingent aspect prevails. It regards intervention due to mobility and firm restructuring/reconversion. There is no permanent training for adults, except in a few cases on the basis of bargained agreements
- Q. 16
Formal or informal participation?
- Participation occurs through informal consultations and applicative practices. During restructuring and/or reconversion if also occurs on the basis of formalized agreements.
- The trend is towards agreements.

Q. n. 17

How it effects
the bargaining
power of the
social partners

It strengthens the
power of the trades
unions allowing
them to enter into
questions concerning
the organization of
work, where as for
the firms in general
and with few except-
ions, the opposite
is true.

The power of the
social partners does
not appear weakened;
positive the results
obtained in the
Protocols between the
public Companies and
the T.U. Confedera-
tions.

	H 1	C 1	C 2
Q. 11 see above	=	There are institutional changes concerning the application of Law 863/84 and Decree 113/86 (CFL)	No significant changes are to be noticed
Q. 12 see above	=	Positive changes in employers' attitudes as per point 11	Some important CFL projects have been carried out especially in trade and service sectors.
Q. 13 see above	=	Not felt except in a few cases of job creation	Initiatives for the conversion of enterprises in a state of crisis into co-operatives, especially in the following sectors: manufacturing, agro-food-stuffs and services to firms on the increase.
Q. 14 see above	=	It occurs in the medium/large firms due to reconversion and restructuring processes.	This is more frequent for the newly-employed, for organizational restructuring and/or for new and strategic functions
Q. 15 see above	=	It is of a continuous nature in particular with regard to access to national/EEC funds.	Inter-firm and inter-regional agreements are the most recurring
Q. 16 see above	=	It is to be found following applicative practices.	There are no formalized agreements concerning the intervention of the institutes
Q. 17 see above	=	It neither influences nor modifies	It has been seen that the <u>real</u> participation of the social partners in the training process improves Vocational Training.

Q. 11

see
above

Changes are felt in that the C.F.L. represents the historical displacing of apprenticeship. Anyhow one hopes in a relaunching of the institution.

Significant changes can not as yet be felt. One hopes in the greater attention of the social partners to the problem of the quality of vocational training.

Q. 12

see
above

Positive changes in the role of the social partners can be felt especially in the direct agreements and in the positive common outlook regarding decisional and implementation practice.

One notes changes in the attitudes of the social partners towards matters concerning choices and the quality of vocational training.

Q. 13

see
above

There is no significant change in attitude except in the case of requests for funds for the training of those laid off.

Q. 14

see
above

It occurs in medium/large firms, in particular in cases of restructuring and reconversion.

The small/medium firms are not usually able to meet the direct costs of training within the firm.

Q. 15

see
above

When it occurs it becomes continuous.

One notices a tendency towards a constant use of consultations following changes in the labour market and due to technological innovation

Q. 16

see
above

The tendency is toward formalized agreements

In general it is to be found with regard to the application of practices

Q. 17

see
above

It is held that today the contracting power of the firms is weaker than the political weight of the trade unions.

Q. 11 see above	In practice there are no significant changes felt, in that the norms of law 25/55, are still applicable; there is considerable economic convenience.	=	there has been a strong internal institutional change which has opened up recruiting to the vocational schools.
Q. 12 see above	There are significant changes with regard to quality and the targeting of vocational training, with top-class results.	No significant changes can be felt, the CFL are stipulated with the institutional organizations.	The public body avails of the special norms. At the present a special project for the employment of the young (law 113/86) is in force.
Q. 13 see above	There are positive changes in carrying out training programmes thanks to the positive roles played by the trade unions.	It has come about in some cases of the reconversion of redundant workers but no significant changes have been felt.	The problem concerns the retraining of unskilled and, in perspective, mobility processes.
Q. 14 see above	Positive changes can be seen along the entire line.	They have been seen in some cases of the labour mobility of redundant workers. The Protocols undertake to supply ample information and to take suggestions into consideration.	It does not occur in an institutional manner but in perspective should concern the entire area
Q. 15 see above	It occurs in a continuous manner	For internal training it can not be found	As question 14
Q. 16 see above	It takes place after applicative practice	=	Formalized agreements are drawn up as per law 113/86

163 bis

Q. 17

see
above

It certainly strengthens
the role of the social
partners; the ambiguity
of the role of the trade
unions remains.

= If it existed it
would strengthen
the role of the
social partners.

- Q. 11
see
above
- There are no significant changes to be noticed in apprenticeship.
- Changes can not be felt, also due to a certain cultural backwardness in the trade unions.
- Q. 12
see
above
- The legislative and negotiations changes, within the ambit of CFL which favoured the spread of this type of employment, are considerable.
- In general there is no great change in substance. In a number of medium/large realities with a strong tradeunion tradition the operative modalities of training are included in bargaining.
- Q. 13
see
above
- There is a change in the ideological attitude tending to considering training as a productive investment for firm development.
- At present the situation has not changed. The trade union holds that the guidance role must be played within the "Labour Agencies".
- Q. 14
see
above
- .
- This does not exist for the newly-employed, in cases of mobility it is expressed principally in company controversy
- Is not to be found in the large firms (FIAT-ALFA) in general on account of processes of internal mobility. There are cases in the public area (GEPI) but almost nothing for the newly-employed.
- Q. 15
see
above
- Generally speaking it is continuous as information and is present in tradeunion claims.
- It occurs in a number of particular cases but not in a continuous way. The trade unions claim continuity in training especially for the newly-employed.
- Q. 16
see
above
- Generally formalized in the medium/large firms, see IRI and EFIM Protocols.
- Q. 17
see
above
- It strengthens when it regards real training processes.
- It strengthens the role of the trade union.

Q. 11

see above

In 1983 an agreement for the artisan sector was drawn up in which the social partners undertook to set up funds and institutions for the control of the training of apprentices.

Q. 12

see above

Changes are noted particularly in the action of the social partners in defining the general, national and regional agreements:

- the Confindustria/Trade Union (National)
- the Confapi/Trade Union (National)
- the Intersind/Trade Unions (National)
- Confcommercio/Trade Union (Regional)

Q. 13

see above

Participation is not a usual practice, it occurs in cases of mobility supported by CIG, there is no lack of exemplary cases of participation.

Q. 14

see above

idem

Q. 15

see above

idem

Q. 16

see above

idem

Q. 17

see above

It is necessary, in order to give an answer, to carry out a detailed survey in the Vocational Training centres.

Q. 11

see
above

No changes are felt,
there are negotia-
tions going on.

There are positive tendencies
due to the stipulation of na-
tional and territorial agre-
ements; lack of regional
intervention in matters of
information.

=

Q. 12

see
above

in general no great
changes are seen,
which would be
obtained by the
institutionalization
of the role of the
social partners.

One hopes for a greater parti-
cipation by means of formal-
ized agreements and an exten-
sion of institutional space
for the definition in parti-
cular of modalities and
employment outlets.

=

Q. 13

see
above

.No great changes
are felt

Still wanting. Requires a
reform of C.I.G.

=

Q. 14

see
above

It occurs within
the large groups,
in CFL and in cases
of internal mobi-
lity.

To be found only in a few
cases of newly-hired and in
application of a number of
Protocols with public concer-
ns.

Generally
yes with
regard to
printers

Q. 15

see
above

It appears in par-
ticular as a res-
ult of the intro-
duction of the new
technologies.

The contingent aspect
prevails.

It is
continuous,
different
according
to the sp-
ecific ca-
ses.

Q. 16

see
above

When it exists it
is due to formalized
agreements.

Both are to be found in
different ways according
to the various situations.

By means of
targetted
agreements
and appli-
cative
practices.

Q. 17

see
above

It strengthens the
role of the trade
union

Strengthening the power
of the social partners.

The contract
ing power
of the soci-
partners
remains
unchanged.

	S4	A1
Q.11	No significant changes can be seen.	No significant changes can be seen.
Q. 12	One notes greater attention to trade-union matters, but not to quality.	There have been no CFL in this sector.
Q. 13	Past experiences are considered unsuccessful; there is no longer the will to participate in initiatives having no clear outlet.	No significant changes can be seen.
Q. 14 .	To be seen in some cases of training of redundant staff.	Only in exceptional cases of bargaining concerning redundant staff under CIG and invalids.
Q. 15	It is generally connected with sporadic episodes and is in no way continuous.	Only as a result of exceptional contingent events.
Q. 16	In informal consultations and in implementation practices as an exception to what already said at point 12.	When it does occur it is as a result of formal bargaining and part of implementation practices in the case of public funding.
Q. 17	It does not, strictly speaking, modify bargaining power but allows for the analysis of new problems.	It has no influence.

Q. 18

Assessment of training in Italy today

Inadequate compared with present needs. One hopes for a greater extension to graduates (high-school and university), developing professional training towards a control of innovation

Inadequate as it is a closed system. Greater experimentation and models of alternation between work and training.

Q. 19

The reform of the "legge quadro" on vocational training (lines for reform, short/mid-term priorities and recommendations for the improvement of the institutions.

Upgrading of the quality level of staff and structures, organizational methods, relations with the firms and the social partners. Regional planning must become the centre of relations between schools, universities, and small and large firms.

Relation between professional training and compulsory school. Reformulation of the ambits of intervention.

Q. 20

The most urgent problems (scale of priority)

- reorganization of the planning and control offices for an effective estimate of the activities.
- increase in the level of financial resources.
- redefinition of the philosophy and practice of activities.
- inclusion with a market logic.

- rationalization of relations between professional training and the school
- P/T during schooling
- reduction of public trainers and increase in room given to external skills.
- monitoring function of labour market trends
- de-bureaucratization of the procedures.

Q. 21

Recommendations for improving the institutions

- observe the trends in innovation
- compare the adequacy of resources (human, technical financial) with the real aims
- know how to change continuously even if gradually
- dedicate 80% of the time to the activities, 20% to updating and innovation.

block the expansion of the full-time trainers.

Q. 18

see
above

One notes a phase of changes favouring active labour market policies and new tendencies in support of the on-joining innovation in technologies

in certain cases, not bad. Insufficient in relation to the requirements of the new professions.

Regional unbalance lack of a consistent normative framework.

Q. 19

see
above

It would be sufficient to interpret the law on the basis of present needs. However due to the changes taking place, revision with a view to what already said at Q. 18, would be useful.

Greater involvement in planning and contents

Greater flexibility and co-ordination

- emanation of decrees concerning the definition occupational and skill profiles.
- possibility of practical coaching in firms after the vocational courses held by the region.
- greater involvement in the firms through stages...

- training of trainers
- training executives who are experts in P/T
- revision of the places of training
- greater planning of the interventions

- enterprenuriäl ining for creation new firms and updating of management with a view to innovations
- professional updating for personal involved in technological innovation processes.

- analytical investigation into needs
- definition of clear criteria
- greater co-ordination between the centre and the outlying areas through a permanent technical organization
- restructuring of the ISFOL
- promotion of European Social Fund incentives
- more control by the social partners.

Q. 20
see
aboveQ. 21
see
above

- the need of passing from an essentially bureaucratic role to one of project-design and result assessment
- distinction between professional training and on the job coaching, so as to increment alternation.

Constant updating of stuff concerning methodologies and contents.

- a generally more critical redefinition of the system
- greater level of information to the workers
- inclusion of authorized instead of bureaucratic practices
- compare experience with other countries'

Q. 18
see above

dynamic, uncontrolled, wasteful, of medium/low level, not up to the requirements of the labour market, rigid, bureaucratic, prone to favoritism, unbalanced, over-influenced by EEC directives, excessively geared towards wage-earners and the lower skills. The alternation between school and work, between education and production is scarce. There is greater interest in the problem of training.

Diversified and not homogeneous.

Q. 19
see above

- strengthen of the guidance role of the Ministry for labour
- revise the aims of professional training
- reform apprenticeship-reformulate completely the modalities of the system-set up direct incentive mechanisms for firms and bodies promoting training activities

Debureaucratize and uniform criteria and procedures.

The territorial dispersion creates problems for the sector's programmes

Q. 20
see above

- greater flexibility in the procedures
- specialization of the structures, and new modalities of a more flexible and short-duration kind.
- planning trends should be more autonomous with regard to those of the EEC and the should be greater power of proposal within the European Community.
- greater control of merit at formal and informal level

idem

Q. 21
see above

- less rigidity in contracts and in agreements with Regions, introduction of new figures, updating of firms, utilization of external competences, certainty and rapidity of funds, greater administrative control

- constant updating of those involved
- career incentives
- professionalism and meritocracy.

Q. 18

see
above

Very confused, inadequate
compared to real needs

The complexity of the situation has escaped the control of the experts
Scarcity of financial resources to incentive training within the firms.

Q. 19

see
above

need for updating in connection with processes of technological innovation

Create greater markets for professional training putting an end to the present monopoly. The firms lack a significant role in running the system

Q. 20

see
above

- direct relations between regional authorities and firm representatives
- permanent commission for the planning of courses having the effective power of allocation resources
- maintenance of constant relations with the firms
- involvement of the schools
- convergence of various institutional sectors in the regional planning committee
- greater efficacy and control of public spending
- strong diversification of training offered
- new incentives for the firms investing in training (tax relief)

Q. 21

see
above

It can be achieved better by bodies and Institutions or by anyone. Q. 20 are taken into consideration.

Incentivate the mobility of teachers

- requalification of the training structures
- inclusion of elements of enterprising "culture"

- Q. 18 04 Only partially positive. Two negative aspects: the cost of bridging the gaps in the public training system are laid upon the shoulders of the firms; the times between supply and demand of training have become longer. No response is given to the need for flexibility and technological innovation.
- 05 Different, depending upon whether training is in the firm or in the public institutions. The intervention of the firms appears more efficacious. The public system besides being lacking is also scarcely productive.
- 06 It is prevalently orientated towards consolidated sectors. It is fragmentary and wanting as far as changes caused by innovation are concerned.
- Q. 19 Revision of the exclusive competence of the Regions in planning and running training. The need for greater coordination and the participation of the social partners in order to discover jointly effective needs.
- Needed: 1) Greater co-ordination between training processes and schools, 2) a clear distinction between training for youths and for adults, and also between central and regional competences, 3) a clear indication of where orientation and co-ordination are to be carried out.
- Q. 20 -Revision of the "Legge Quadro"
- Reconversion of structures and the role of teachers.
- Greater coherence of training to the needs of production.
- Vocational orientation
Reform of the Labour Exchanges.
- Q. 21 =
- A general plan for training is required from which emerge:
- the programmatic lines,
- systematic collaboration with research centres,
- adherence to the present and mid-term requests of the market.
- The Regions must become the centres of planning. Pluralism of training initiatives must be favoured.

Q. 18
see
above

Extremely defective, almost nothing works; in the north, in general courses for obsolete and old professions are held, in the south the situation is even worse

Extremely defective, the training are not addressed in correct terms.

Extremely confused ex-tempore and not targetted at labour policies. Little attention to the problem of new professional profiles, except in a few cases

Q. 19
see
above

closer link with the local economic and social structures, and with the schools, universities and research centres

Greater decentralization and flexibility. Greater role for the Regions.

Greater role of the regions in planning a greater coordination between the central and the local authorities. Greater flexibility and a greater role for the Social partners in projecting, planning; the need for control of results.

Q. 20
see
above

- requalification of public trainers
- investment in structures and instruments
- specialization and skilling for young people with a general schooling
- introduction of courses for the refresher training of the employed

- Observatory of the labour market
- a complete overhauling of the training process with great correspondence to real needs
- transformation of the regional training centres into service centres

- the creation of vocational guidance Committees
- training of the trainers
- elimination of automatic mechanism for payment of consolidated debts; funds of training structures.
- rationalization of the relationship with the schools
- setting up of pilot centres in collaboration with the schools
- greater role of the firms

Q. 21

see above

- the institutions must carry out a role of liaison and integration so as to utilize to the most professional capabilities existing on the market
- reduction of the importance of the public trainers

- improvement of the bureaucratic organization and competence of the subjects
- creation of experts competent in Professional training systems
- debureaucraticization and qualification of the structures.

- the realization of real control by the regions
- greater flexibility
- verification of the results obtained by training interventions

E 1

Q. 18
see
above

not satisfactory at all, at least for the printing sector

E 2

The training system is at a low ebb of

- unbalance between ambitious legislation and the scarce quality of the structures
- qualitative level of intervention is low
- lack of co-ordination with the productive system
- lack of training for adults

Q. 19
see
above

It is necessary to respond to specific needs some industrial sector with regard to types of courses and duration of training activities.

- review of the delegation system and revaluation of the role of the firms
- strengthens of training for adults
- retraining of the staff institutionally involved
- liaison with the school particularly in connection with orientation of the young and of adults

Q. 20
see
above

within the lines set down by the Ministry for Labour there is urgent need for a deep-rooted reform of the modalities for running the professional training centres

Q. 21
see
above

- training of regional personnel at all levels involved in planning and carrying out professional training
- training of the staff with the task of controlling training activities
- development of an Observatoring system
- opening up to the utilization of competences coming from the market.

S4

A1

Q. 18

The present state of things is not uniform. Training in the institutions is not connected with the working world while within the firms it is assuming greater and greater importance.

It is not in keeping with the needs of the labour market.

Q. 19

It is necessary, but not with a view to greater centralization. Rigidness must be eliminated and non-institutional skills recognised.

It is required in order to create greater collaboration between the State and the Region greater flexibility, more experimentation and greater collaboration between the institutions and enterprise achieved.

Q. 20

- Study of the labour market and its mechanisms
- Greater integration between vocational training and enterprise required
- Training of the trainers

- Multipurpose programmes and contents
- Training of the trainers with continuing refresher courses.

Q. 21

Greater attention to the services area and concrete assessment of the results.

It is necessary to intervene with regard to the quality of the organization of the vocational training system. Forms of collaboration between the parties directly involved must be set up with recourse to research and experimentation.

I 1

I 2

I 3

Q. 22

Modality for access to national and EEC funds

Indirect access but only for large-scale. For the firms probably direct access, with public control and adequate powers of sanction

The need for institutional mediation in connection with access to funds

Q. 23

Participation by the Social partners in the training of trainers.

Very limited

limited to general planning of intervention.

The training of trainers takes place following bargaining with the representative organizations. The role of the firms non-existent.

Q. 24

Impact of the joint and/or bilateral organizations upon improvement of the professional training system

Certainly, yes, as the permanent place for confrontation and choice of the interventions. The best method is that of the co-managed forms using common funds obtained even by means of pay increases.

Difficult to estimate at the present, need for verification of results in time.

The public and bilateral bodies seem useful for the raising of the qualitative and the "tailored" aspects of training.

H 1

C 1

C 2

Q. 22

see above

Preferibly direct
accessPreferibly direct
access with greater
control of the
implementation of
the activitiesMaintain both
forms, differentiating them
in the different
cases

Q. 23

see above

Very limited

Foreseeing new
professional
figures able to
design evaluate and
control projects.Non
existent

Q. 24

see above

Positive, as long
as training concerning
specifically
finalized projects
be carried outRedefinition
of the national
character and of
the aspects of the
joint bodiesPositive, on
condition that
they are not
involved in
actual running.

0 1

0 2

0 3

Q. 22

see above

There are problems of quality to be considered case by case. Institutional mediation is overly bureaucratic.

It might be achieved more easily by bodies and institutions or by anyone as set down at answer 20

Preferably through direct channels but within the small/medium firms it is better to favour cooperatives and associations between firms.

Q. 23

see above

=

Does not exist

It does not exist at the moment, but the need for it is felt

Q. 24

see above

Difficult to judge: it is a problem presently featuring in the bargaining agenda.

No, the only guarantee is represented by the actual working of the Commission as per Q. 20.

Only in some cases, because the idea of co-management is a distant cultural reality. Set up concrete common experimentation on specific problems concerning the involvement of the social partners.

0 4

0 5

0 6

Q. 22

see above

Preferably direct
access

Direct access is more
practicable except
in the cases of forms
of employment of the
young according to
the special laws

Maintain both
forms as com-
plementary the
one to the
other

Q. 23

see above

It does not exist
in the present state
of affairs

As question 22

Yes

Q. 24

see above

See answer to
question n. 19

In general it is
held that these
bodies have a posi-
tive effect.
It is a hypothesis
difficult to actuate
under present
industrial-relations
conditions

Yes, there is a
concrete case
being experimented
in connection with
school orienta-
tion. The acti-
ve participation
of the social
partners is the
answer to a pre-
cise demand for
integration in
the training
system, coming
from the young
themselves.

	S 1	S 2	S 3
Q. 22 see above	The educational and training level and skill qualification must be established by the institutions. Therefore direct access must be accompanied by precise guarantees over the single firms by the public authorities.	Both systems can coexist but greater collaboration between firms is to be hoped for.	=
Q. 23 see above	Does not exist in the present set - up	Probably yes in the direct relationship between the trade union organizations and the regions.	Only contractual interventions on skills exist. All the rest missing and this is a central problem in professional training.
Q. 24 see above	Theoretically it should be useful as it regards those directly involved. The present experience is limited and fragmentary and does not allow one to understand the reasons for its bad and insufficient functioning.	Useful for greater involvement of the social partners and for the setting up of a new phase based on joint - management models	Yes in that it acts as a buffer in case of conflict. It can also better the link between training supply and demand.

E 1

E2

Q. 22

see above

Direct access is preferable, also seen our own positive experience in the sector.

=

Q. 23

see above

Yes, directly through the intervention of the provincial bodies and committees for professional education of printers

The answer is prevalently negative

Q. 24

see above

Yes, very positive on the basis of experience being carried out since 1950

There are very few concrete cases in Italy that should be verified. In general;

- on a theoretical plain answer is yes
- the concrete relationship between training and production would improve
- the institutional competence of the social partners concerning the training problem would improve
- the bodies should be run on strictly managerial lines avoiding stasis and rigidity and resistances that characterize in the worst sense some of the public participations bodies of recent institution.

- Q. 22 S4 A1
It is preferable to maintain Direct access is advisable.
both direct and indirect
access.
- Q. 23 It is limited to planning of It is limited to the final
intervention and is almost assessment phase and only
non-existent as far as running to cases involving public
and control are concerned. funding.
- Q. 24 The effect should be positive They would be useful as
and should improve quality if mechanisms of control and
they are tailored as services to orinetation of activities.
the firms and to meet the
needs of the working world.

Chapter five

Summary and Conclusion

5.1 Awareness of the crisis as a premise to change.

Points of Crisis and new trends in participation in the training system: these are the focuses of the present report. The analysis and the attempt at explaining the deficiencies proceed hand in hand with the identification and the assessment of the innovations taking place in the role of social partners.

Both the empirical survey concerning the attitudes of the social partners and the case-studies offer important material in support the initial thesis of this study: that is, that the crisis of vocational training is closely connected with that in industrial relations, and that, therefore, an improvement in the quality of participations in the training process is required both for the efficacy of training and for the functioning of the dialogue between the social partners.

Awareness of the state of crisis in which vocational training and participation in training stand appears from the survey, to be widespread and critical. Two are the discriminating features of this state of crisis: on the one hand, the insufficiency and inadequacy of existing participation; on the other, the absence of the role and of the participation of the social partners in many fields crucial to the training experiences, particularly those offering more prospects for the future.

Existing participation is judged as being limited, generally inefficacious or even harmful at times, insofar as it takes the form of bureaucratic topheaviness, of impediment against-and rigidity in-reconversion of labour processes, inadequate in handling the new demand and in stimulating and

requaifying the supply. Of equal gravity are the problems posed by the participation that is non-existent, because the social partners are absent (in those sectors devoid of the Trade Unions), because participation is "submerged", in that the workers and employers are not represented by collective organizations belonging to the industrial-relations system, or, finally, because participation is "hidden", in that the workers and the firms act "informally" within their organizations and are unable to influence policy and/or make their experiences known.

Both the reasons for inefficacy and those for absense are linked with the "quality" of the industrial-relations system and with the "defects" caused by its failure to come up to date and meet the changes taking place in the industrial-economic conditions of the eighties. The most important factors which emerged from the survey are the following:

- 1) First of all, the "conflict-dependent" nature of participation, connected with contract deadlines or with the settlement of industrial disputes. Thus training appears more functional to the "pathology" than to the normal, consensual management of social relations. The conflict-solving or conflict-preventive function of training prevails over the physiological and regulating one and adapts itself with difficulty to a process such as training which takes place in a continuum following slow, gradual timing and pace, that is the timing and pace of learning. The clash between the continuous process involved in training and the episodic character of the attention of the partners leads to a low incidence of influence and above all, creates the impression that agreements, the contracts, the legislative achievement even the structures and institutions of participation have little effect upon the real process which goes along its own way.

2) The "politicization" of the role played by the partners.

This characteristic, which reflects an aspect of Italian industrial-relations system, is perceived, frequently as a limitation of efficacy. Of course, "politicalness" and political conflict in industrial relations are not in themselves symptoms of malfunctioning. They are seen as such, however, when they "exploit" the themes of training to fight more general battles of a political nature, when they do not take into account the specific aspects of the training question, and become the tools of ideological rigidity, of preconception, prejudice, of abstraction and superficiality. In recent years a return to and a trend towards the development of a less political and conflictual system of industrial relations, with greater attention towards real problems, including training, have been noticed. The importance in this context of the role of the Trade Unions' Research Institutions has been pointed out.

3) The "distance" between the subjects represented and institutionalized representation in the industrial-relations system.

The single workers and single employers who avail of the training processes often remain mere objects rather than the subjects of participation in training processes, and remain outside and without influence. The growing complexity and diversification of the industrial production structures, the demand for and instruments of flexibility pose with growing insistence and increasing frequency the question of the adequacy of the representation system, when they do not question the very legitimacy of representation itself. The lack of clarity as to whom the social partners represent, as to their mandate, as to its extent, as to what constraints of control and accountability they are subject to, and even more so as to whom they do not represent, does not facilitate the solution of the conflict of interests involved in training and leads to the belief that there is a broad rift between institu-

tional mediation and the grounds of encounter by the partners, that are often hidden or "submerged" by informal practice.

4) The inefficient "professionalism" and lack of specific competence of the Social partners involvement. Also due to the prevalence of the aims of political control, not always do the partners appear able to master and therefore condition the technicalities involved in the training process, pedagogical matters, organization and institutional questions, and aspects connected with the economic and technological workings of the labour market. Besides, the demand by the production system for specific training of a technological-technical, non-standard, tailor-made nature, closely targetted for professional profiles and job prospects, is on the increase. The growing gap in competence has often been transformed into an excessive and uncontrolled delegating, with regard to the concrete aspects of training, to the experts, to the "professional trainers", to the executives responsible for training, thus privileging measures "half way" between "basic education" or "the promotion of industrial culture" and strictly professional training, and thus inadequate at both of these levels.

5) And finally, the difficulties met by participation in understanding, following and favouring innovation and the experimentations emerging in the training process. This point deserves to be illustrated through some (though not exhaustive) examples which this study has pin-pointed.

5-1) It has been pointed out (see the ISFOL-CESOS research too) how the role of the social partners is particularly lacking with regard to in-firm training. Nonetheless, it assumes weight and

importance in bargaining within the larger enterprises or groups, above all in relation to the more serious production and de-industrialization crises, in connection with (and/or in alternative to) recourse to CIG and for workers having medium to low skills. It is widely accepted, however, that new training trends are taking the symmetrically opposite direction towards re-evaluation of in - firm training even within the smaller to medium size firms, in new and up-and-coming sectors and for workers with medium to high level skills. This contrast illustrates the "comparative disadvantage" which displaces and penalizes the traditional and consolidated role of the social partners.

5-2) The relationship between training processes and the internal labour market, that is the organization of work, qualification systems, pay scales, career structures and internal mobility etc. is becoming more important. On the one hand, the need to recognise and re-evaluate the role of the social partners is thus reinforced. In fact training involves the more proper and traditional terrains of industrial negotiations. On the other, this role meets greater difficulties on account of the quality of participation as illustrated above. In order that participation in training may condition the internal labour markets it must be less controversial and more procedural and continuous, be aimed more at skill specificity and be less vague, general and basic. Besides, the dialogue between the partners at firm level is the most critical area as far as the insufficiency of the industrial - relations system is concerned. In many firms, above all in the small and medium-sized sectors,

there are no industrial relations at firm level and therefore participation, if it exists at all, follows informal and sometimes extra-tradeunion practices. This explains the apparent contradictions that the case-study in the banking sector evidenced: that in those very internal markets where there is greater development, where training takes on an explicit industrial-relations significance, due to reasons of objective incidence, the role of the social partners often tends to be slight and marginal. There is, from this point of view, almost a trading off between the quantity and the quality of participation, between the quantity of negotiated or consensual regulation required to make the internal market work and the conditioning presence of the social partners formally changed with negotiation power.

5-3) The double significance of professional training: on the one hand, as investment in human capital and in the social and political advancement of workers, and on the other hand as an instrument of the firms' organization of production, is reflected in the counterpoising, used traditionally in trade-union argumentations, between "true training" and "mere coaching or updating". A more technical and less emotional way of expressing this difference refers to the different "marketability" on the external (MEL) and the internal labour (MIL) markets. The existing participation

mechanism, for the reasons already mentioned, allow for greater interaction in matters of training for the external market; that is training with a very high social-emancipation and civil content which the workers avail of as individual (Uti Singuli) i.e. independently from their specific skills. "Coaching" instead is considered largely beyond the scope of institutionalized industrial - relations mechanisms. This leads, however, to at least two further contradictions: on the one hand, the traditional "refusal" of training that does not go beyond a mere production investment is a necessary corollary to the limited involvement of the trade unions within the firms and in firm-specific questions, which has characterized the Italian industrial-relations mechanism (see Pizzorno) developed during the post-war period. This has implied a limited amount of rules governing in-firm activities, with the institutionalized presence of the social partners limited to the larger firms and connected with general and not firm-specific questions and with social protection objectives. On the other hand, the urge towards strengthening industrial relations has led to loading MEL training with structuring contents (proper to MIL) by conceiving MEL almost "as if it were" MIL on the basis of systematic and "organistic" visions borrowed from the prevailing ideologies (i.e. Catholicism and socialism). The outcome has been contextual excess of participation, given the fact that the consensual management procedures tend to manifest themselves

as ~~rigidness~~ and as an impediment to MEL, and at the same time as a lack of participation because the partners remain on the margins as far as the processes of restructuring of MIL are concerned. The contradiction lies in the fact that the partners end up playing a greater role in "deregulating" training processes (to meet the flexibilization requirements of the market) than the role they play in "re - regulating", that is, in establishing new rules to govern the internal labour market.

5.2 Innovations and trends

Parallely to the growth of awareness of the crisis and of the difficulties, indications of positive outlets and of innovating and experimental experiences are on the increase. In general a number of tendencies emerge, to a certain extent common to those emerging in other European countries, towards which research and the demand for greater efficacy of participation in the training system, are orientated.

1) First of all there is a tendency to overcome the "formal" level of participation, which limits itself to defining the normative framework of national and regional legislation or of collective bargaining and to arrive at company-level agreements. This trend moves, roughly speaking, in two main directions: on the one hand, participation tends to follow the practices of implementation of the norms and the agreements. These practices concern the phase of realization and control of training, the effective carrying out of projects, the operative targetting of training to meet the needs of restructuring in production, of access selection, of mobility etc.. On the other hand, participation becomes more continuous, less connected with controversy and conflict, and also more concerned with evaluation and control. Conspicuous examples of these trends are on the one hand the acceptance, within some recent agreements concerning CFL, of the "silence-consent" principle, as a condition for the automatic approval of training projects; and on the other, some firm-specific agreements (such as ITALTEL) which foresee a role for the social partners during the entire course of conception, planning implementation and evaluation of the training process.

2) A second qualifying innovation is the tendency to extend moments of participation to the effective running of the processes. This way the role of the social partners has to face handling the specific aspects of the training process; from outlining the contents to foreseeing outlets; from methods of financing, to the organization of courses; from the definition and control of curricula to the choice/assessment of teaching staff; from participation on the examination boards to establishing training standards. If the prevailing experience sees the role of the partners as limited to planning and direction on the one hand, and on the other to controlling and assessing, there are also a number of experiences carried out within traditional jointly managed training bodies such as the printing and building sectors. There are being looked at with growing interest in the hope of expending to other sectors or areas, the modalities of direct management by the social partners. In recent renewal of contracts, a number of forms of joint Committee or of Bilateral Bodies having observation and counselling powers also with regard to matters of training, have been adopted. These cases have been examined in chapter two.

3) A third tendency is that towards enrichment, towards sectorial, local and territorial diversification of participation in the training system. In this way the supply of labour tends to adjust to the demand which is radically changed by the modalities, the intensity and the pace of technological change. "The training supply tends to place itself closer and closer to the source of innovation... each time that the change in working conditions requires new types of know-how and new multi-discipline structure (Vita)". With the need of targetting training processes, the possibility of standardizing diminishes, reference-models lose their value. In this new context freedom of planning, the role of the single

worker and firm, participation at local level, public/private and institution/market interaction, are all exalted. One of the leit motifs running through proposals of reform of the "legge quadro" (framework law) is this: that of re-defining relations between the central and the local authorities in matters of training, and of providing for forms of direct support of " training promoted by firm initiatives" ("formazione di iniziativa aziendale"). The correspondence between the structure of training supply and the demand should be guaranteed by the labour market's decentralized institutions (Observatories, Agencies, Labour Exchanges) in which representatives of the social partners participate. However, this exigency is not devoid of countertendencies, of resistance, of contradictory thrusts, in the name of a quest for co-ordination and planning from above and in the face of risks of duplication, overlapping, dispersion of resources which multiplication and diversification of initiatives can lead to.

4) A parallel trend is that towards the extension and multiplication of the confrontation/negotiations/conflict terrain within the training system. This extension concerns new collective subjects (let us recall the cadres' organizations) new professional profiles (managerial and enterprise training) new institutional instruments (Data Banks, Observatories for the analysis and control of qualifications and technologies, Centres offering services to firms). In this latter case training is highly specialized and targetted, in that it becomes a part of a services packet aimed at specific objectives: youth employment, aid to small firms, technological support etc..

5) There is renewed emphasis upon in-firm training and upon participation in training within the firm. The reasons are of both a technological/organization and of an industrial-relations nature. On the one hand, there is greater demand for higher white collar and managerial (often firm-specific) qualifications. Other reasons are restructuring of the internal labour markets and of the careers system, the need for flexibility in organization, for multipurpose qualifications and for systems of informatics. Therefore on-the-job coaching is no longer sufficient but institutionalized training (also of a theoretical nature) at firm level is required. On the other hand, there is a demand for greater control by the firms over the training processes, in order to guarantee greater targetting and adaptability. There is also the need for the trade unions not to be excluded from the control of microeconomic processes and the need to strengthen and render more concrete its presence within the firms.

The form that this re-evaluation takes are fundamentally three:

(a) First of all the experience of the CFL. The agreements on these have played an important part in simplifying and de-regulating the procedures, in disciplining the specific aspects of training (hours dedicated to theoretical and technical-practical training, trainers, certification, employment, outlets, the place, the institutions, subsequent placement etc.) in creating bilateral technical commissions etc.. There are also examples of CFL at local level such as those of the Unione Industriale of Turin and the Federliguria (Turin's and Liguria's Employers Associations) concerning small to

medium sized firms, which have seen considerable tradeunion involvement.

(b) Secondly, tradeunion participation and involvement in in-firm training processes has been noticeable in the case of restructuring and Shakingout of surplus staff. This role has been formalized of company-level agreements such as those of the FIAT, ITALTEL or Alfa Romeo.

(c) Finally, some large enterprises have re-evaluated their own training centres (as is the case of Elea-Olivetti, Isvor-Fiat, Reiss Romoli etc.). In some cases there have been requests for information and participation in the activity of these institutions especially by the cadres' associations.

6) Vocational training has become one of the privileged grounds for innovation and experimentation in industrial democracy.

The Protocols stipulated between the trade unions Confederations and the public-sector companies (IRI, EFIM, GEPI) all contain more or less ample provisions. In some cases joint committees for training have been set up (see GEPI). In other cases "training and information seminars... promoted jointly" are foreseen. Finally in other agreements on the matter vocational orientation and school-to-work transition have been drawn up (see Intersind-Trade Unions).

7) Lastly, training has become a central element in job creation and enterprise creation policies, within strategies of intervention in local systems (local employment initiatives). In these cases training is connected with partners offering packets of services to the firms (especially to new and innovative ones), and creating a network of intervention, involving training, research and education. In all these initiatives at a still largely experimental phase,

the involvement of the social partners is seen as a necessary component of what has been called an "endogenous development model". (Fua').

Trends and innovations in a phase of transition and change inevitably create contradictions, overlapping, sometimes confusion, often error and dissatisfaction. Equally inevitable in this state of affairs is the emergence of a demand for rationalization, co-ordination and revision of the legal framework. The social partners too have supported this demand that has recently taken the form of proposals for reform of the laws governing vocational training, in particular the "framework" law of 1977.

It is probably too soon to assess the outlets and outcomes of this experimental phase, and to codify them in terms of a "definitive" re-definition of the legal framework. The recent proposals of the Labour Ministry have, nonetheless, clearly identified a number of decisive themes for confrontation, involving the social partners too, into which to channel research and further experimentation. First of all the link between the training system and education policies: to what extent basic vocational education can or must be made available by the school-university system and to what extent it requires the ad hoc parascholastic structures of the public or semi-public training organizations? We seem to note a converging trend towards the "de-scholarization" of training and towards the "professionalization" of schooling particularly at higher levels. The second theme of reform is that of the centralized-decentralized institutional organization of training and therefore of

participation in that system: further de-centralization and/or recentralization, co-ordination among the various levels of institutional autonomy and/or the competitive multiplication of structures and initiatives? This report points out some trends in innovation and experimentation carried out that have an important bearing on this question: that is the tendency towards "bargained deregulation" aimed at creating new areas for bargaining, that is the substitution of legislative and contractual obligations by specific bargaining procedure geared towards decentralization and plant-level agreements. The agreements concerning CFL which accept the "silence is consent" principle move along these lines and attribute to participation in jointly-managed local technical-consulting organizations an essentially arbitration function (besides the planning function) rather than a management-administrative one. This tendency seems to us to represent the intersection between parallel processes of the evolution of the training system and industrial relations: the relaunching of bargaining, the "legification" and simplification of administrative constraints, decentralization and attention to local systems, the bilateral dimension (in agreements and in institutions) and direct relations between the S.P. without public intermediation, the emergence of new subjects such as the cadres' organizations, youth movements etc.. Certainly these tendencies come up against the above mentioned difficulty of making the social dialogue work within the training process at firm level, particularly inside small firms, and against similar difficulties met by the new firms, the growing importance

of which within the industrial structure, is widely recognised. There are significant experiences of agreement and participation initiatives at local level aimed at supporting the creations of new firms. There are also interesting cases of training in managerial and entrepreneur skills within the ambit of policies of enterprise-creation. It has still to be seen how and to what extent this will involve single entrepreneurs, new and potential entrepreneurs, and individual workers, young people in search of a first job; and the unemployed. It remains to be seen what happens where the industrial-relations mechanisms are wanting, or there is no training activity, and if it is possible to devise incentives powerful enough (not necessarily coersive and binding legislation) to institutionalize and render effective participation in the training system.

It is well known that the training system in Italy is characterized by a fundamental dualism: that between "explicit" and "institutional" training and implicit or "submerged" training which is based upon decentralization of production, precarious employment in small subcontracting firms, the learning implicit in the creation (or rather the creative destruction) of firms. Even industrial relations have their own "implicit" or submerged dimension which often proceeds hand in hand with submerged training processes.

The great challenge of the nineties is to make these

hidden processes emerge and be re-institutionalized in order to give a more decisive and representative role to the social partners and greater efficacy to training.

Due to the fact, as mentioned in the historical analysis, that the strategies of the social partners have played a considerable role in "submerging" a part of the training processes and of the industrial-relations system, this task becomes not only necessary but also possible.

+ + +