lessons on the organization of labour, conferences held by managers and company technicians in the public schools, visits to places of work, intervention by firms in laboratory activity in those schools carrying out work on behalf of third parties, company "stages", etc..

There have been a number of attempts at setting up a relationship with or courses for school teachers, and at promoting forms of circular communication between companies, teachers, school publishers, in order to arrive at a cooperative elaboration of study plans.

Among the various initiatives we recall: a) the school-work Project now in progress with the collaboration of Intersind and the Provincial Administration of Rome; b) the convention stipulated between Naples Provveditorato agli studi (Public Education Office) and Intersind and c) many local Intersind delegations and single public-sector companies (such as Selenia) involved in collaboration with the school institutions; d) the universities agreements such as the Protocol between the State University of Rome ("La Sapienza") and the Intersind's Rome delegation for collaboration in the fields of scientific information, of didactics and research, (1985); e) and the Industry-University project between the Friuli-Venezia Giulia branch of the Intersind and the University of Trieste.

A network of similar initiatives, but on a much vaster scale, has been developed by the Confindustria by its territorial associations and by its young industrialists committees and its other organizations.

Within the framework of the experimental and innovative initiatives that involve the employers organizations we must mention the school-to-work transition pilot projects promoted by the EEO
and carried out by the Ministry for Education in eight important areas, involving 227 secondary schools, 2,440 teachers and 21,970 pupils (2).

The growing attention given by the Confindustria to the link between the enterprising world and training processes is shown by the number of its territorial organizations (about 80 in 1985 on a total of 100) involved in various initiatives from academic and vocational orientation to refresher courses for teachers, from the managerial training of head-masters to systems of school--work rotation and the promotion of industrial culture. This emerged also from its undertakings not only in the quest for and elaboration of new policy lines (3) but also its internal reorganization aimed at re-evaluating the function of private enterprise in training at all levels, including university and post-graduate.

According to Paracone, who is responsible for the research programmes of a well-known Foundation, professional training presents the following distinct problems:

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2) See: Report n. 19, 1985 on the social situation in the country carried out by the CENSIS, pages 144-145.

3) Among the more recent initiatives we point out the contribution of the Convention on "Innovazione, Formazione e Sviluppo" (Mantua 10-11 October 1986) and those proposed for the seminar on "Formazione professionale: esperienze e proposte a confronto" (Lerici 27-28 1987).
- the need to render more effective the training system for the mature and traditional sectors of the Italian economy: industry, artisans, agriculture, traditional services (including commerce, tourism and health);
- the need to answer, with forms of both self-employment and salaried employment, the request expressed so far only in partial and implicit terms, for new skills of a technological and medium-to-high professional level made by industry and by the services;
- the way to support self-employment and develop new enterprises;
- up dating and retraining, both of adults and of the young, so as to make the school and working experiences compatible with needs of the labour market (4).

One of the crucial points to be solved in order to face these different types of problems connected with the training system, is that of the training and up-dating of teachers, which should be carried out by the training institutions and the

4) C. Paracone: Una formazione per gli anni 90, a report made to the Agnelli Foundation on the theme "Per un sistema formativo italiano di alta qualita'" (Turin 11th April 1986), published in synthesis in "Industria e Sindacato" n. 2 dating the 9th Jan. 1987.
enterprises to guarantee an adequate level of know-how, to set up centres of "excellence" able to act as "interfaces" between the training system and the world of production. In this direction two types of important experiences are already under way:

- the large companies are transforming their training centres into service centres for the research, the planning and the running of training activities at medium to high level for high-school and university graduates, such as the case of ANCIFAP-IRI, of ISVOR-FIAT and ELEA-OLIVETTI;
- local firm organizations are creating, with the aid of the regional and local authorities, consortial centres or highly specialized service centres, managerial schools for post-graduates, technology-diffusion institutions like the Tecnopolis-CSATA in Puglia.

The interest of the companies and their associations shown in these experiences does not seem to meet with adequate participation by the trade unions, more preoccupied with basic training processes with a view to youth employment and retraining of the unemployed, fields in which they operate, running their own courses in their own institutions both at national and regional level (5).

5) See: Come funziona e che cosa offre un sistema formativo regionale: synthesis of a research project carried out by N. Schiavone and G. Paracone on behalf of the Agnelli Foundation in Piedmont.
However the interest shown by the companies and the prospect of their taking a central role in the reform of the training system as a whole, point towards the probability of a different kind of involvement by the tradeunion organization even if it aroused different reactions and a number of preoccupations. It seems as if the privileged form of union involvement is within tri-partite relationships (trade unions-institutions-enterprise) rather than in direct trade unions-enterprise relations, as shown by the recent agreements at regional level especially in the territorial contexts where small-scale to medium sized enterprise prevails (6).

6) See: Among others G. Alessandrini: Report to the Executive Committee of the CISL dated the 5th February 1987 as well as the other documents of the Confindustria's Mantua convention and in particular O. Del Turco's report.
Chapter 3: Sectorial and regional cases
3.1 Participation in vocational training in the building industry in a weak area: the example of the "co-managed" builders' school of Pomezia.

(Cassa-del-Mezzogiorno area)
3.1 Premise

The relevant characteristics that interest us in the buildings field are: the high level of absorption of labour with traditional skills or no skill, the fairly stable demand for residential construction in the national economy, the incidence of public expenditure for investment in public works, in popular housing and in infrastructures, the relatively low labour productivity level, the low level of capital intensity and of technological barriers to entry, the presence of micro-enterprises, etc.

In recent times the difficulties in the sector have had a depressing effect on the labour market. From 1981 to 1985 building has lost over 170,000 workers. Yet the area still has considerable weight in employment, absorbing 9.3% of the total working population.

Salaried employment in this sector is in constant diminution (in 1934 there was a veritable collapse) while self-employment has maintained the levels previously reached. This structural change is also confirmed by census data according to which self-employment in the sector grew from 12% in 1971 to 22% in 1981. The explanation of this tendency is to be found in the organization model of the enterprises which tend to operate on reduced staff basis subcontracting various phases of the work to temporary working crews. These are often formed by ex-employees who find it convenient to negotiate a continuous form contract of relationship with the one-time employer thus acquiring the advantages (for example, fiscal) of the "submerged economy". These cases of precarious employment are therefore in part tolerated by and in part chosen by the workers themselves, incli-
ned towards autonomy and exploitation of all working opportunities made available. Approximately two-thirds of those employed have a continuous annual work flow. For the others work is often distributed over two or three three-month periods, even if non-registration with the Cassa Edile (the sector's social-security institution) for a certain period does not coincide with periods of unemployment but rather with other forms of employment, even outside of the sector more or less submerged.

The market presents, however, a number of labour-market bottle-necks. Notwithstanding the high number of workers, for the most part unskilled, on the waiting list, there is a dearth of a number of skilled workers (brick-layers, carpenters, crane-drivers, etc.). And it does not seem that this imbalance will be set right because the building sector does not attract a sufficient number of young school-leavers.

The area of Pomezia in southern Latium is included in those weak areas of the country where the so-called "Mezzogiorno" legislation is applied.

Latium, after Lombardy, Sicily and Campania is the Italian region with the highest number of workers employed in building: 162,000 in 1985, equal to 8.7% of the region's total employed population. Self employment is lower here than in the rest of the country, 17.3% against 24.8%. But the picture that emerges from official figures is largely held to be unreliable: according to the CRESME enquiry (1986) "the labour market in the building trade in the Rome area seems to present two distinct faces: an official and a submerged one, roughly of the same consistency."

Over the past three years the enterprises registered with
the Cassa Edile diminished by 5%. At the same time the number of registered workers dropped also by over 3,000. However this decrease might well correspond with an equivalent increase in submerged activity and employment.

In this context of low entrance barriers, of high status given to specialized work and to traditional skills of a crafts type, of a broad potential labour market in a weak area where there is a high offer of unskilled labour but a lack of specialized skill, there emerges a particular kind of vocational training system where most of the interventions, especially those aimed at entry into employment are run jointly by employers' and employees' organizations.

The reasons that have led, historically, to the development of this type of training system regard the need to regulate entry into the building trade by defining the criteria of selection-competition and so avoid that the pressure of competition react negatively upon wage levels leading to the risk of a reduction of standards and of employment prestige in the highly skilled crafts.

 Governed by the national collective labour contract stipulated in December 1952, the Building-Trade School Institutes run professional training courses for the young (generally for those holding a junior secondary-school certificate) and for adults already working in the sector. The advantages recognized to the training given by these building schools are above all:
- a close tie between the training given and the real work situation;
easier access to employment for trainers with a basic education, favoured by a more specific intermediation between supply and demand of labour;

- the greater motivation of the pupil who "sees" the concrete possibility of one or more outlets;
- the essential and coherent nature of the training cycles;
- the generally elevated quality of the training centres;
- the benefits those trained in the schools have a right to.

These School Institutes are present in almost all the Italian provinces: in 1984 4,500 students attended the courses.

It is generally held that the most valid schools for training in the building skills are: EFMEC, Milan, CIPET, Turin and CEFME in Pomezia.

This type of jointly managed school which finds an important analogy in the schools for printing skills, has been the object of attention during the debate concerning the reform of the training system. On the one hand the possibility of extending the formula to other sectors, that is to the regional vocational schools, came forward; on the other, problems and some new difficulties that reduce the efficacy of this type of institutional solution, were brought forward. In particular the "horizontal" and pervasive character of the new technologies seems to reduce the opportunity of defining professions and job mobility sectorially. On the other hand the level of submerged activity, with all its implications of implicit training, skilling and deregulation seems to grow in proportion to the improvement of wages and working conditions.
3.1.2 The Building School at Pomezia (Southern Latium)

The CEFME (Centro per la formazione delle Maestranze Edili)* of Rome and the province of Rome was set up in 1953. It is run jointly by the ACER (Associazione Costruttori Edili di Rome e provincia)** and by the three central trade union organizations for the sector: FILLEA, FILCA, FENEAL. The training school and the building-yard are situated at Pomezia, in the province of Rome and have operating since 1980.

CEFME gives ample room to initial training and, within its structure, to training contents which privilege multifunctionality (polivalence). However, besides training young people who have finished compulsory school, the building school organizes annual courses aimed at teaching specific skills.

The 1986/87 courses held by CEFME regarded four fundamental fields:
1) - builders - layers - plasterers (biennial course)
2) - carpenters - fitters - scaffolders (biennial course)
3) - drivers of earth-removal machinery (one-year course)
4) - building-yard operators of cranes and electrical-mechanical craftsmen (one-year course).

The two-year courses are open to young people who have finished their compulsory education and are between the ages of 14 and 25.

The two-year course is articulated as follows:
- basic course lasting five months as orientation for choice of the specific skill. The object is to recover basic scholastic notions (arithmetic, mathematics, geometry) and to begin acquiring basic information and training necessary to the builder's and carpenter's skills. At the end of the basic course, during which there are also lessons of civics and concerning labour legislation,
there is an aptitude test to sound trainees' suitability for the building trade in general and help them choose one of the qualification courses.

- Qualification course: this lasts ten months. The teaching during this theoretical-practical phase concerns: practical exercise (twenty hours per week), technology and drawing (two hours), scientific culture (two hours), civics and labour legislation (two hours).

-Final Stage: this lasts eight months and gives practical training in the centre's 'simulation' yard (work on the extension of the centre itself) or in external yards. In this latter case the CEFME makes use of conventions with the Administrations of the surrounding municipalities to carry out works of public utility. This practical work involves the trainees for thirty-two hours a week, while four hours per week are devoted to theory.

The final examinations are held before a mixed Commission of members of the employers' territorial organizations and of the trade union, of the Ministry for Labour, of the Ministry for Education, of the Latium Regional Authority, as well as a member of the school itself. The trainees who receive their certificate are guaranteed employment.

The one-year courses are reserved for over-seventeen-year-olds who have a sufficient basic technical-scientific education. The training course foresees a sole phase including theoretical instruction, machinery handling, laboratory and work-shop training.

The biennial and one-year courses had, in 1986/87, an attendance of 200 trainees.
On 1937 the school set up a further five courses, under the following headings:

- **Salvage of buildings**: this course regards skilled workers already engaged in the building trade, and over the age of 25. The course, which lasted five months (450 hours of theoretical-practical training), was attended by twenty-five persons. The exit level is that of skilled labourer and the trainee qualifying from this course may find employment in the recuperation of historical towns and existing building patrimonies;

- **Skilled multi-function scaffolders**: this course is open to skilled workers (scaffolding carpenters) already employed and over the age of 25. It involves 25 persons for six months (600 hours of theoretical-practical training). The exit level is that of skilled labourer;

- **Decorator-plasterer**: ordinary employed unskilled workers may attend this course if they are over 25. It lasts five months (450 hours). The exit level of the twenty-five trainees is that of multi-function skilled worker, that is of ordinary plasterer of walls and ceilings, painter and scaffolder;

- **Pile-driver and driller**: this course is open to unskilled workers who have been unemployed for at least twelve months and caters for up to 25 enrollments for six months (600 hours). The exit level is that of specialized worker skilled in the use of mechanical pile-drivers and drills, with a knowledge of terrains, basic mechanics and seuldering;

- **Archaeological Restoration**: this is a "positive action" course. It is open to unemployed females of any age. It offers 30 places and lasts five months (450 hours of theoretical-practical training). The exit level is that of skilled building craftswoman specialized in the maintainence and recovery of archaeological and monumental property.
These courses for adults are held in the evening. As we can see, the traditional crafts prevail, although renewed in keeping with the logic of the valorization of the artistic-cultural patrimony of the country. The CEFME intends holding courses too for intermediate figures (building-yard assistants) and technical workers (designers). The average age of those attending the basic course is just above 16, while that of those attending the specialization courses is around 22 with a greater age dispersion among those attending. The majority of those attending qualification courses has a junior secondary school certificate.

About one third of those attending the specialization courses has a senior secondary-school diploma.

The previous school curricula of the young people attending the qualification and specialization courses are marked by a significant percentage of school failure which is the principal or partial cause of their dropping out.

3.1.3 Orientation, selection and access to work.

The CEFME devotes much attention to the publication of its training activities. It has frequent encounters with the district school authorities and the junior secondary schools. There is also close collaboration with the Provveditorato agli Studi for the planning and creation of "guides" to orientate pupils leaving the junior secondary
schools, as well as with the Labour Exchange Offices. The Building School also takes part frequently at exhibitions (The Fair of Rome, Teverexpo etc.).

The young people who apply to attend the CEFME's courses are more numerous that the places available: an average of 400 applications for 200 places.

The selection takes the form of an interview-test in which the candidate's suitability for the building trade is assessed.

An important characteristic of the Pomezia School is that an agreement between the social partners guarantees employment for those completing the courses. In actual fact about 70% of the trainers finds work opportunities before even finishing the training course.

According to the CEFME authorities the pupils taken on by the companies avoid the usual period of unskilled work typical of apprenticeship (the most direct way to work), on account of their good training level which - according to CEFME - is halfway between qualification and specialization.

When taking on new staff, companies are always inclined to avail of the CFL system which allows, besides hiring by employer selection, a noteworthy saving of labour costs during the first two years (6 to 8 million liras per annum per young person hired). The usual procedure is the following: the young person qualifies as a builder or carpenter (two years), is employed by the firm on the basis of CFL formula (the CEFME itself undertakes to handle the training programme) for a two-year period and at the end - if all goes well - he is employed on a permanent basis.

And yet it must be pointed out that the school gives, at the end of the course, only a certificate of qualification, while
the attribution of the qualification itself and relative registration in the worker's work permit is left to the employer who then proceeds with employment formalities (within thirty days).

The qualification, by the agreement of the partners, may be granted by the school only in the case of those courses foreseeing rotation between training and work in external yards.

3.1.4 The organizations model of the CEFME

The CEFME is run by the Administrative Council composed of six building constructors and six trade union executives belonging to the sector. The Chairman is, by Statute, an ACER member, the Vice-Chairmanship given to the trade unions. The General Director is nominated by the trade union.

The running of the training activity of the building School is handled by three management Offices: technical-administrative, didactic and residential.

The staff of the Pomezia school is composed of 55 persons, all on a permanent employment contract. The teachers, including those teaching theoretical subjects (engineers and architects) and those teaching practical skills (usually specialized workers, and some cases draftsmen) are twenty-six in all (out of 55).

The trainers' working obligation is 22 hours per week teaching as well as 12 hours of planning activity and external conferences. Every year the teachers are sent on an 8/12 - week refresher course.

The complexe which houses the school at Pomezia covers a surface area of 50,000 square metres of which 12,000 covered. The school has 18 class-rooms, three laboratories, a 500 - place
Conference Hall, a library, a screening room, a gymasium, sports facilities, lodging covering 3,800 square metres (88 rooms), a 500-place canteen, a kitchen able to cook 2,000 meals at a time and other essential services.

3.1.5 Training - activity planning

A thorough knowledge of the labour market, the evolution of professional profiles and company organization models are considered by the school the basis of training activity and training.

Another important element is the joint planning with the building companies or with their associations of the types of courses, of the didactic syllabi, of experimentation, of the improvement of the assessment and intervention methodologies. It is this way of proceeding that in a big way guarantees reaching the fundamental aim of training: that is the employment of the pupils at the end of the courses. It should be mentioned that the hypothesis of a platform for the building workers at present being discussed requires the setting up of an Observatory for the sector with a view to guiding the action of the schools and of the Formedils (joint national organisms being at present set up at national and regional level for the promotion of the financing of intervention). In 1984, through FORMEDIL's national branch 18 projects for 2,000 pupils were presented to the European Social Fund.

3.1.6 The Building School's Financing Modal

The Building School's financing is provided for essentially by returns from a part of the contributions paid by the enterpri-
ses into the Building Fund and calculated at 1% of the workers' salaries. This type of financing represents one of the strong points of the schools as it guarantees sufficiency of means and autonomy. Other sources of financing are the EEC contributions to projects passed by the European Social Fund and, with regard only to those retraining courses held at regional level, contributions of the Latium Regional Authority towards projects passed and funded by the national "Fondo di Rotazione" (Ministry of Labour's Training Fund).

3.1.7 Services granted to the students in training

The students may lodge on the School's premises if they choose to board. Besides the canteen, personal equipment (professional clothing and tools), access to the didactic-technical structures during free time, the students also have the right to an attendance grant (of about 80,000 Italian Liras per month) as well as a refund of travel expenses.

3.1.8 "Co-management" in practice: some conclusions

The co-operative model put into practice by the CEFME seems to have given results as far as relations between the two partners and the efficacy of the intervention are concerned. Relations between ACER and the trade unions, and these between the Council of Administration and the Director General of the School seem to be marked by maximum collaboration. This is demonstrated by the fact that all the decisions passed by the Council of Administration are always approved unanimously and not by a majority although the Statute allows for this latter possibility.
Problems can and do arise between trade union organizations with regard to the assignment /rotation of posts within the CEFME's staff (The General Direction and the three Technical-Administrative, Didactic and Residential Directions).

Relations between the CEFME and the other institutional bodies (The Provveditorato, the schools and the Employment Exchanges) are frequent. An agreement for the restoration of the Castle of Perna has been stipulated with the Roman Municipal Authority. Here, in the locality of Decima (in Rome's municipal area), the School has been able to open up a yard for the training of pupils and has permitted the Municipal Authority of Rome to save up to 60% of the restoration costs (paying only the costs of the materials used).

There are, however, difficulties and problems. The Pomezia School is today being used well below its potential with regard to the courses set up, the type of trainees attracted towards it, its exploitation on a 24-hour basis.

There is, besides, still much to be done with regard to the functioning of the structure, the quality and variety of the training courses. To this end, the proposed platform for renewal of the national contract, that will be proposed to the building workers, points out the need:
- to extend vocational training to the white collar staff, with funding by the companies;
- to have apprenticeship handled by the Building Schools, raising the number of basic and theoretical training;
- to favour the utilization of CFL on the basis of suitable re-regulation, leaving apprenticeship for the 15/13-year-old group;
- to utilize periods of CIG and Special Unemployment Subsidies and organize retraining courses for workers;
- to promote specialization courses for technicians and middle management (cadres);
- to promote study/work initiatives for new graduates from the senior secondary schools and from the university faculties with some bearing on the building trade and who intend working in the constructions field.

To favour the development of vocational training, the social partners have urged, within the framework of a supplementary provincial agreement, the setting up of a joint Regional Committee for vocational training (Formedil Lazio). This organization has the task of carrying out at regional level, the statutory aims of the national FORMEDIL, already set up according to the Contract of 1983, to co-ordinate the initiatives being carried out at provincial level (European Social Fund projects and Vocational and training plans) and for the presentation of a coordinated programme of intervention for the Latium Region. The supplementary provincial agreement makes specific mention of the CEFME as the suitable centre, on account of its structures and its didactic experience, the seat of Latium's Formedil.

Finally, the Region aims at placing the activities of the CEFME within the framework of its regional vocational training plan. Given the need to requalify and potentiate Regional vocational training, it has been suggested that the jointly managed training institution model be transferred to the training activities run and controlled by a number of regions (for example
the South). According to some experts this project would be more feasible in the case of "new" than in that of the transformation of "old" ones. This on account of the problems connected with recycling structures and human resources (trainers) often inadequate for new training tasks.

On the other hand, it is precisely with regard to new initiatives that this model, as illustrated through the Pomezia Sch shows the greatest difficulties of adaptation: a) sectorial delimitation of the professional profiles (which end up becoming traditional medium-to-low-craft skills, even if up to date) with respect to the new technologies which are of an intersectorial character; b) competition with the parallel market (both black and grey) of irregular work; c) the availability of young people with an insufficient educational background and poor scholastic careers.
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3.2 Experiences in the banking sector in a region of the so-called "Third Italy" with particular reference to female workers.
3.2.1. Training in banks

A case-study on participation in vocational training in the banking sector is of at least two-fold interest, which emerges more sharply when contrasted with the one on the building trade just examined. In fact this is a sector in the services field which has undergone a strong increase in employment over the past few years: employment in banking concerns has risen between 1970 and 1985 from 142,000 to 304,000, that is by 114%, against a 43% increment for the services sector on the whole over the same period, and a mere 7.1% increase in employment in general.

Besides, it is a sector in which the female component has increased significantly and where the sex ratio has changed considerably (see Table).

The considerable increase in hiring that has been thus determined as well as the sizable reconversion, mobility and reorganization processes imposed by the new technologies have led to a growing demand for training. The expansion of training within banks is a relatively recent phenomenon in rapid expansion: from a recent sample survey (see: Formazione, ABI, n.1) it emerges that before 1971 only 12% of the banks examined had begun training activities, but that this figure had risen to 30% by 1975, while as many as 55% of the banks began training experiences between 1976 and 1980.

Attention towards the problems created by the growing female presence and the increased demand for training is shown by a number of studies and conferences carried out by the social partners.

The FIDAL/CGIL, in particular the women's group of the Vicenza area, carried out an enquiry into the Condition of women in the bank, elaborating data gathered through distribution of special questionnaires to women workers.
From this inquest it emerges, among other things, that the banking women are relatively young: the maximum level of hiring in banks was reached during the 1977/79 period in coincidence with the wholesale introduction of informatics. As a result, the majority of women are employed at initial clerical career level. The FIDAC/CGIL, on the basis of the findings of this inquiry, noted that dissatisfaction with work for the most part was connected with problems related to professional know-how, to career and working-hours rather than with discrimination as such.

FABI, too, held a Convention in 1983 on "The Female Presence in Italian Banks";

From the "research on female employment in the banking concerns" carried out by the Centro Ricerca Organizzazionale Azendiale of the Bocconi University of Milan (1984) it emerges that, whereas in banking the managerial and executive career is strictly connected with age and seniority, the managerial and executive posts occupiable by women are necessarily limited due to the low number of women with the appropriate age and seniority requirements, since until the seventies very few women entered banking at all. There also emerges a negative discrimination (though slight) as far as the professional career is concerned, in that, in 1984 the proportion between males and females promoted and the total male staff was 13.0%, while among the female staff the proportion was 31.4%.

From the data concerning training, it emerges that in
1984 the amount of managerial and professional training carried out by the bank was on a level, more or less, with other sectors of industry and of the services in Italy.

In terms of training days per person there is a difference of approach to male and female workers with the same type of course: for the males one finds more specialist/managerial training, for the females greater initial/professional training and more language courses.

The Associazione Bancaria Italiana (ABI), in collaboration with the Bank of Italy and the Banking Employers' Association has promoted a survey on the "state and prospect of training in the banking sector", from which emerges the fact that the introduction of training activities within the banking institutions, with the creation of special training offices, goes back to the seventies. This means it is of relatively recent origin when the banks were going through a period of great expansion and consequent increase in hiring. This origin explains some of the features of in-bank training:

1) it looks like a kind of "home-made" training, aimed at fitting the needs of the internal labour market, at "socializing" employees within the firm, at legitimizing the career structure and having very few contacts with the external market and giving little attention to the dynamics of productivity and the organization of work. The closed nature of the training model explains, in part, the almost exclusive reference to professional trainers for the planning and running of the training activities (Consultant Agencies) and the exclusion of a say by the social partners in matters of planning and control. Only the lesser banks, due to the evident difficulty of keeping the process closed within their own institute, have availed of training centres and of the larger banks, too, to
train staff;
2) training was aimed at coaching and the promotion of an enterprising mentality and has catered above all for the needs of the newly-hired and the white-collar staff, especially at lower levels. The episodic and non-target nature of these training activities and the lack of connection with production and manpower planning and with the need to meet the requirements of development and organization explain the lack of systematic practices of evaluation/verification of the training process, which the Study reports.

During the present period, important changes of outlook can be noted. The employment boom has ended and the banks have become more aware of the need for rationalization and efficiency in organization. Besides, the market has imposed considerable changes in products and processes which have changed the "quality" of training demands. Emphasis has been placed, therefore, upon specialized training in the new processes or the new functions (for example the commercial ones) tailored for high level staff.

The participation of the social partners follows a parallel pattern which is not necessarily converging on and in harmony with these changes. The inquiry documents: an increase in the demand for training by the trade unions, by the employers' associations, by the enterprises and by the staff managers; "the atmosphere regarding training (with regard to involvement) appears from the response to be decidedly positive (op cit. p.12)".

The principal normative vehicles through which the social partners formalize their request for more training are the national collective contracts and the supplementary company contracts.
Such normative mechanisms foresee specific guarantees for carrying out the contracts themselves. In particular, at the request of the trade unions, six-monthly encounters with the direction may be held where the problems concerning work relations can be discussed and suitable provisions made.

The national collective contract for the banking sector, stipulated in 1983, contains provisions regarding professional training. In the chapter entitled "professional training, skill and up-dating", suitable training for newly-hired white-collar staff, to be held during normal working hours is foreseen. It has also been stipulated that at the request of the trade union organizations, meeting to illustrate matters of trade union and labour interests, may be held. Furthermore the companies, in order to favour an increase in professional capacity, shall promote annual non-selective professional training and/or refresher courses, open to the voluntary participation of the white-collar staff on permanent contract, to be held during normal working hours.

These clauses foresee, besides, that the time and the modalities of the courses must be made known in advance to the staff and the company's trade union representatives and that the general direction must examine any recommendations with regard to the courses made by the co-ordinating body of the company's trade union representatives.

Not always does this increased interest in and request for training become real and efficacious participation, breaking down the traditional isolation barriers in the banks' training offices. These offices, which took care of the realization of the training projects used, in fact, to limit themselves to
rendering operative the initiatives set up, thus responding with considerable autonomy, to the demands of the social partners. They rarely carried out consultant functions; thus they found themselves in a position of "line" rather than in one of "staff". The very involvement of those who availed of the training programmes, that is the workers themselves, is seen to have been rather formal and unresponsive, because "they rarely knew the aims and the modalities of the working iter awaiting them" and they found themselves obliged to undergo training without an analysis of the motivation and only for the sake of job content. Therefore, the workers' attitude appeared "ambivalent, divided between a benevolent acceptance and a substantial indifference...".

Another fact connected with insufficient participation that emerges from the survey is that of discontinuity and assessment: "one gets the impression that once the annual packet of training projects has been defined, the activities are not supported in a sufficiently continuous way by ulterior information for the participants but that they follow their own course(p. 11)". The assessment, besides, is limited to an analysis of the impact of training on immediate job performance, on standardization of conduct and knowledge and the normalization of the atmosphere within the company, without penetrating into more significant questions concerning behaviour/attitude and industrial 'culture'.

Awareness of these lacks, as well as external pressure from the "market" is bringing about deep change in the quality of training activities in banks, with a shift of targeting to higher levels, with a more direct and "motivated" interest
on the part of the company managements and/or on the part of
the workers, and with emphasis on enterprising 'culture'
(see scheme).

Having established the fact that the explicit request
for participation by the social partners in the training
process in this sector has grown, it remains to be seen
whether these requests have any real effect upon the
changes taking place or are simply a quantitative extension
of the formal aspect of the problem. To this question
(and to others connected with it) we have tried to give an
answer by means of ad hoc verification of a particular
and specific situation.
3.2.2 The Case of the Tuscan Banks.

Tuscany is a region of central Italy where the development process, due to small and medium companies and spread of enterprising and of technological innovation, has been particularly vivacious.

With Emilia and the "Adriatic Line" regions, Tuscany has had a type of development (the so-called "third Italy," in that it is distinct from both the backward Italy of the South and the "industrial triangle" of the North) that has turned out to be particularly capable of handling, with flexibility, the shocks of the seventies, and has therefore found theoreticians and supporters in Italy and abroad (see Brusco, Becattini, Piore and Sabel). One of the basic characteristics of this model is the elevated level of involvement in the production process of the social partners (employers' and trade union organizations, public bodies etc). We wished to verify, in this region and within the ambit of this model, if participation in the training process has retained and followed the changes in training in the banking sector.

It is necessary to point out that the value of the case is more emblematic than representative, in fact, we find ourselves in what the experts call the best conditions for efficacious participation in training activities. Besides, the principal banking institutes operating in the Region are public law bodies (Monte dei Paschi di Siena, Banca Toscana) or Savings Banks (Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi di Prato) or Popular Banks (Banca Popolare dell'Etruria). The
data of these banks confirm the fact that the increase of female employment is considerable (+96% in the Banca Toscana, +36% in the Monte dei Paschi, +110% in the Banca Popolare dell'Etruria, +45% in the Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze and as much as +45% in the Prato savings bank). Besides, it is significant that the increase in first and second level clerical women's staff corresponds with an equivalent decrease in male occupation. In the upper ranks of employment the growth of female employment is more relevant than that of males.

From a number of company contracts an increased demand for contractual regulation of training emerges quite clearly.

The supplementary contract of one of Tuscany's leading banks, following agreements between the social partners, raises the minimum training period for newly hired first level employees, which the 1983 National Collective contract has established, doubling it to eight weeks. Of these, four are for theoretical-practical training in the Training Centres, two set aside for on-the-job training and the rest to be used elastically at the Training Centres and/or at one of the company's branches or at the Offices of the General Direction.

As far as the second level staff is concerned, (which with the preceding level represents an important female employment sector), the supplementary contract multiplies the minimum training period foreseen by the National Contract for the newly hired, by two and half, taking it up to five weeks. Of these, three weeks are dedicated to theoretical-practical training at one of the Centres and two for job adaptation.

In the case that, due to certain operative needs, it is necessary to use the training time of first and second level employees
differently from the norms set down in the contracts, it is
required that the bank communicate this to the company Unions.

Recently, on the basis of initiatives carried out by the
company's trades unions, another banking institute operating
in Tuscany stipulated a supplementary contract with the company
for the training of white collar, caretakers and auxiliar staff.
This contract foresees that newly hired white-collar staff avail
of a training period of at least twelve weeks; to five of these are also
eligible employees promoted to the first level from the lower level
or from any other career level. To this course, devoted to banking
Practice at the Training Centre, all are eligible.
This period is followed by the placing of the newly employed within
the staff at the Head Branches or Autonomous Branches for practical
training for four weeks under the guidance of experienced staff
of the branches themselves. The remaining three weeks are dedicated
to training in the Branch where the employee will work on a
permanent basis.

A further specific clause agreed upon by the partners foresees
the undertaking to promote, during working hours, at least four
"training/information" type courses and "specialization courses"
open to voluntary participation.
The first type lasts thirteen days of which three are dedicated
to "information" and the other ten to "coaching".
The first level employees, the clerks and ushers are eligible for
the "information" phase. The possibility of choosing,
within the "training" ambit, among four different subjects is given. The four subjects are: basic course, a course on bank credit issues, a course on questions of organization and finally one on times requests by the participants.

The "specialization courses" may regard the following topics: Executive functions, Risk Management, Foreign Banking, the Stock Exchange, Development/Marketing, and may be attended by upper level employees and those first level clerical employees at the top of the seniority lists.

At the end of each course the participants undergo a qualifying exam at which four bank employees nominated by the Secretariats of the Trade Unions take part.

Those employees who pass the exam have the right on the basis of their placing in a merits list, to choose a branch office of the ones indicated by the banks at the moment of setting up the courses where the specific qualifications learnt at the courses are put to use.

From the date of nomination on the basis of the aforementioned choice, the employees are promoted to the level immediately above the previous one; they were employed in up to that moment.

Until recently, the negotiations carried out at national level between Assicredito and the Banking tradeunion organizations have permitted the drawing up of an agreement for a collective national contract for the "cadres", the white collar staff, clerks and ushers of the credit sector.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

\* Banking Employers' Association.
The new contract conditions, which will remain effective until 31st. December 1988, face themes connected with the organization and technical functioning of the banks, such as flexible working hours.

As far as the role of the trade unions is connected a greater number than before of informative communiqués regarding aspects that most directly concern work relations, are foreseen. In particular it is foreseen that the company grant to the trade unions, at their request, information concerning topics such as employment trends and the destination of the newly employed to the various branch offices, indicating separately data concerning males and females.

Besides, the national collective contract requires the separate communication of separate data on female and male staff as far as training and turnover are concerned.

Finally, the new norms foresee that the criteria concerning distance control of employee performance and CFL be set down, and define and regulate the new class of the "cadres" (established by the cadre recognition law of 1985). This category is characterized by functions that involve particular hierarchical-executive responsibilities, that is, elevated professional skill and decisional powers.
2.3 **Conclusions**

Definition by contract of contents and duration of courses, the extension of the minimal training periods, obligations concerning information and consultations, participation in the Examination Boards, forecasting and planning of job opportunities and placing within career structures: these are the new (initial but qualitatively important) signals of a more decisive contribution by plant-level bargaining towards the definition of the role of the social partners in training processes.

These signals qualify but do not change the opinion that the level of real involvement and control is insufficient. "Participation in training processes is non-existent", one director of an important bank training centre told us. Participation (even in the most advanced situations such as Tuscany) hardly ever goes beyond setting down in contracts some aspects concerning participation. The agreements (with some significant exceptions contained in the last contract platform) lack specific indications concerning female staff. The increase of female employment in the sector, with all its training implications, seems to have taken place largely outside the active intervention of the trade unions. Besides, in general, the unions seem to have encountered great difficulty in following and controlling processes of restructuring and in overcoming their traditional weakness within the sector.

Once again an efficacy constraint in participation in training seems to be closely connected with constraint in the evolution of the industrial-relations system. The paradox lies in the fact that it is within the very sector of banking that the
participation in training is most wanting and weakest, and adaptation to the mechanisms of industrial relations is the slowest and the most laboured. In fact, in banking the internal labour market is in great expansion, the upgrading of qualifications and the growth of employment is noteworthy, there is still some form of public regulating defence against competition and the demand for training is on the increase and "qualitatively" improving.

Thus in the very humus of favourable conditions (markets, regulation, labour force structures), where setting up dialogue should be easier, one encounters greater delays and resistance. Therefore the case-study, in conclusion, points towards the importance of conditions of a subjective nature concerning the role of the social partners, the strategies of the collective subjects and their capacity for representation.


Pascucci, F. and Spadafora, M.: "Indagine intercategorial sullo stato e le prospettive della formazione del settore del credito" in Formazione, Quaderni di Studi e Ricerche, n 1 1986 ABI, Rome.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Executive</th>
<th>White collar</th>
<th>Subsidiary</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>99.4%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>98.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Auxiliaries (cleaners and other manual staff)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>men</th>
<th>women</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>70.5%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CRORA research – carried out by the Bocconi University of Milan on a sample of 175 firms.
Summary of participation in training in the banks—from an empirical survey.

Phase 1: beginnings and consolidation 1971-1980

- 63% of the firms interviewed
- the large banks of the North and Centre
- Since 1975 all banks operating at national level.

Phase 2: the actual state of things 1981 - today

- 12% of remaining banks spread to a number of banks at local level.

Phase 3: prospects for the nineties.

- Almost all firms will be engaged in training.

Reference models

- Mainly external specialized training centres
- Job-specific coaching.

Aims

- Newly hired white collar and executive staff (specialized services)
- Teaching through discussion

Training geared to changes

- Organization development
- Productivity efficiency
- Management training for executives
- Specialist training for all white-collar staff
- Basic training for newly-hired
- Diversified teaching

Role of the social partners

- "Isolation" of the training processes from the production process
- "Self-centred" socialization training
- Training is considered by the staff distant and inefficient.

- Training gradually integrates itself into company planning
- The request for training by the social partners grows and spreads
- Effective participation of the collective subjects in training still wanting
- Beginning of the regulation of duration contents, etc., through contracts.

Reference: P. Pascucci and M. Spatafora: "Indagine" 1986
3.3 Some experiences in the metal and mechanical sector in the Lombardy Region.
3.3.1 The role of the social partners in the Vocational-Training System in the Lombardy Region.

The regional laws and norms of Lombardy foresee and guarantee the participation of the social partners in the planning, implementation and assessment of training activities with a number of different modalities which can be summed up as follows:

- planning of the training activities. Representatives of the Employers' and Tradeunion Organisations are members of the bodies charged with planning: the Provincial Commissions for Vocational Training set up within each province, and the Regional Vocational Training Council. A protocol between the Regional Government and the trade unions is foreseen by legislation. This protocol allows for express and preliminary consultation of the tradeunion organizations with regard to most of the important decisions to be taken by the Regional Administration, among which the longterm plan for Vocational Training;

- setting up of a special committee (Comitato di Controllo Sociale) in every Vocational Training Centre, composed of representatives of the Employers' and the Trade Union organizations. It is compulsory to obtain the opinion of the Committee on the most important decisions of the centre: proposals for activities, criteria for the provision of services to trainees, disciplinary regulations, didactic experimentation, etc.

- the social partners shall be represented on the Examination Boards having the faculty to grant certificates of qualification and specialisation;

- a special consulting committee is foreseen for those training
activities held outside the Vocational Training Centre system (for example, projects financed by the EEC and/or the State and the Region, and therefore all training projects aimed at requalifying workers). This Committee aids the evaluation of projects with the participation of representatives both of the Employees' Associations and the Trades Unions. For such initiatives, is foreseen, a final test aimed at assessing whether the objectives have been reached or not. More often than not, in fact there is no Certificate of qualification or specialization at the end of the courses. The assessment is to be carried out by representatives of the regional authorities, of the regional Labour office and the social partners.

It does not appear easy to sum up the experience of participation by the social partners owing to the complexity and variety of levels and mechanisms involved in the implementation and the assessment of training intervention. Certainly the contribution of the social partners would seem to be present in a more continuous and efficient way at the moment of planning rather than at the moment of implementation.

This may be due to the fact that the present organization of the Vocational Training Centres is of the "school" type, which explains the difficulties met by the social partners when trying to play their specific role. Even at the moment of assessment of training initiatives the participation of the social partners seems rather formal within the ambit of the Examination Boards, while the participation of the Trade Unions seems to be more attentive and active when assessing those training activities carried out by the firms or by the centres in collaboration with the firms.
Employment trends in the metal and mechanical industry in Lombardy

Accessions 67,505  △ -4,925  78,279  △ -2,047  90,007  △ + 10,388
Separations 72,430  80,326  79,619
GIG -yearly moving averages 45,203,000  42,438,000  34,396,000

The mechanical sector has been the scene over the past few years of important restructuring due to the introduction of the new electronic technologies that changed radically the organization of work, of traditional profiles. The introduction of the new technologies has particularly affected the composition and quality of employment. In this context training has been and goes on being one of the most important mechanisms that accompanies the changes created by technology.

As an example of this we give the data emerging from a survey carried out on behalf of the Lombardy Region by the IRER (Institute for Economic and Social Research) of Milan in 1986 on a sample of 98 companies. The data show the relative importance of these changes with regard to the different occupations (see Table 1 p. 124)
Effects on employment of technological innovation. Percentage variation per type of professional profile:

**RD and technical offices**

Managers
Project designers
Software experts
Technical designers
Blue collars

**Sales and purchases**
Sales and purchases experts
(buyers, agents, salesmen etc.)
Technical Sales assistants

**Production**
Machine operator
Numerical control machines
Toolmakers
Mechanical maintainence
Electrical maintainence
Electronical maintainence
Internal transport
Carpenters, boiler operators, welders, plumbers
Unskilled assembly staff
Quality control and electrical subsystems
Quality and sampling of final product

In the Lombardy Region the mechanical sector has made greatest use of "training" resources and in particular of training projects funded by the Public Administration; table 2 gives the data:
Table 2

Retraining interventions carried out with the contribution of the European Social Fund and the National "Fondo di Rotazione" over the past three years. The enterprises examined belong to various firm sizes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>number of Projects</th>
<th>Number of trainees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.2 Presentation of a number of company case-studies

Of the numerous training interventions aimed at retraining employees in the mechanical sector carried out on public funds we have chosen three with different characteristics:

- the first case (the Italtel company) represents a formalized model based upon specially created structures, with the participation of the social partners, in the context of a large company involved in an important and generalized restructuring of various plants and the introduction of new product and processing technologies. It must be pointed out that - as a matter of a certain importance - in this case the participation of the social partners is not limited to the training packet alone but concerns also the phases prior to training (restructuring targets, organization of labour, etc.)

- the second case (that of the Alfa Romeo Company) presents a situation of participation by the social partners in the planning, in the implementation and assessment phases of training in a context of grave crisis. In particular, participation follows an agreement regarding the placing of a large number of workers, both white and blue collars, under CIG regime, and therefore takes place in a strongly conflictual atmosphere. One must also take into account that the basic purpose, though not explicitly declared, was that of creating external mobility (alias "redundancy") for a number of workers.

- the third case (that of the Ercole Marelli company) represents a "process" of participation by the social partners in a project for the mobility outside of the firm of workers declared redundant. In this case training is obviously only one aspect (and one mechanism) of an event in which the Public Administration played a decidedly active role.
3.3.3 The Italtel case

The Italtel case illustrates a strategy of Tradeunion involvement in a process of massive re- structuring of a company due to the passage from electro-mechanical to electronic production.

Said involvement concerns not only training intervention but also the organization of work and technological innovation, that is conditions that determine the character of training requirements.

The participation of the Trade Unions takes the form of a system of information procedures and of a company-level technical commission for the periodical discussion of annual training projects and plans.

---

Plant-level industrial relations vis-à-vis vocational training

The strategy that has characterised plant-level industrial relations since 1981 has been based upon an intensive utilization of the information procedures system, also through the stipulation of spacial tradeunion agreements with the company, such as that of the 15th April 1981 and that of the 13th March 1982.

In particular these latter agreements have identified and institutionalised moments of encounter and consultation to discuss the updating of the five-year industrial plan and to verify period-
ically the development and management of programmed initiatives.

Therefore, the company and the trade unions, while maintaining their separate roles of responsibility, have chosen the consultations solution in their search for a negotiated way to verify jointly types of initiatives to take and to bargain over the specific means of adapting and utilizing human resources (vocational training, organization of work etc.)

Among the strategies used to reach the targets identified by the long-term plans, the company has given considerable attention to problems connected with the organization of work and in a more general way to the need of reaching overall higher production levels and an adequate increment of efficiency at all operative levels, as well as to training.

In particular, with regard to this latter topic, the company and the trade unions were obliged to face in a systematic manner the increasing need for the professional qualification of workers.

It was evident that the framework set down by the industrial strategy plan called for the definition of adequate training programmes for a considerable number of workers over a relatively short period. In fact the plan foresaw an increasingly rapid introduction of new production processes, a modification of traditional
managerial roles and a continuous updating of professional know-how.

These considerations (as well as the training needs deriving from the unbalance caused by internal and external mobility of staff) have led to informal undertakings and specific agreements calling for the elaboration of mid-to-long-term training plans. A special "technical bipartite commission", composed of company experts and trade union representatives, has been set up.

The Technical Commission and Planning


Besides, it is foreseen that the "Technical Commission" shall establish encounters at plant level
to define procedures by which the partners (firm and trade unions) can regulate relations in connection with the operative modalities of the training programmes (eligibility criteria, contents, teaching methodology etc.).

The agreement foresees "written information" aimed at informing staff about, and improving their awareness of, the "processes of change taking place within productions and the contribution expected from the various components of the company". Thus the idea of generalized intervention emerged, which was discussed by the Technical Commission meeting, for the first time in October 1981.

At the meeting a modular tree-scheme for comprehensive training was designed. The scheme foresaw training modules characterized by multipurpose basic training aimed at the acquisition of specific know-how and skills. Within the scheme there exists the possibility of creating a number of different training iters, according to the desired requirements of a technological and organizational nature, and depending upon the starting and final skill levels.
The analysis of the themes proposed and the setting down of the first broad training scheme took a few months, the definitive plan was part of the March 1982 agreement and accepted as the basic document for the 1981-1985 period.

Since then, the Technical Committee for Training has met periodically to discuss annual training plans and lines of priority intervention.

This way, extremely widespread training intervention has been possible involving large sections of the company's personnel over the past few years, as follows:

1985   909,634 hours for 8,999 persons
1986   622,516 hours for 7,329 persons.
3.3.4 The Alfa Romeo Case - Employees under CIG Régime.

The Lombardy Region intervened stipulating an agreement between the social partners which foresaw the institution of a mixed commission of the Lombardy Region itself, the Trade Unions and the Company along with the Body running the courses (ANDIFAP). This intervention followed an agreement between the social partners, at national level, which foresaw training intervention for workers under CIG of two main types: the first aimed at retraining with a view to filling new jobs within the firm itself and therefore with the "guarantee" of re-employment; the other was aimed more generally at increasing the technical and professional skills of the workers and was based upon professional figures not related directly to the company's restructuring plans and therefore did not offer any "guarantee" with regard to re-employment.

The Committee's task was to verify the application of the aforesaid agreement relative to workers in the Lombardy area. The regional agreement also gave the Commission the task of examining and expressing its opinion regarding all the training interventions planned by the company and foreseeing public funding, so as to verify interrelations between training and the company's plans for restructuring.
The 1982 agreement

The gap between commercial needs and production capacity induced the Alfa Romeo Group to ask for recognition of its state of crisis, on the basis of the law governing CIG. The provision was passed by the Ministry for Labour in May 1982.

In this context, the Company stipulated with the Trade Unions the agreement of March 1982 which aimed at "...recovery of productivity by re-establishing relations between direct and indirect labour and recovery of running efficiency."

In particular, said agreement established recourse to CIG as and from 18th March 1982 for 5,708 employees, a part of which was to be involved in "suitable training aimed at updating and at skill recovery."

It established, besides, that the aforesaid training shall be aimed at:

A. the requalification of personnel with a view to reutilization in new activities,
B. the growth of technical and professional know-how.

On the basis of the elements quoted, the schemes for a training plan for white and blue collars was drawn up.
The following general objectives were singled out by the agreement:

- to give basic training in know-how and skills such as to allow for the performance of new tasks (requalification)

- to give skills, supplementary to those proper to the trade (increase of technical and professional skill)

In other terms the training interventions must contemplate:

- for a part of the trainees technical/practical training so that they are enabled to carry out tasks different from, on in any case at a higher level, than previous ones;

- for the rest of the trainees the training foresees contents relative to the themes contained in the agreement itself (industrial accounting, quality control and guarantee of product, industrialization of the product, informatics, plant and machinery maintenance, integration of production processes).
3.3.5 The Ercole Marelli Company: Mobility outside the firm

The crisis that hit the Ercole Marelli firm (under extraordinary administration) led to considerable redundancy of both white and blue collar staff.

At regional level an agreement, aimed at re-employment of workers declared redundant, was drawn up. This agreement foresaw the setting up of a mixed Region-Trade Union-Company Commission. The "Lombardia Lavoro" (a company in which the Region is the major shareholder and which aims at favouring the matching of labour supply and demand) has been called upon to participate on the Commission.

The Commission, with the support of Lombardia Lavoro, tried to find out employment prospects and in relation to them planned ad hoc training intervention. The Commission has re-examined its mandate at the end of each re-employment operation.
Chronology of the courses for Marelli staff on C.I.G.

11th June 1986 General assembly at the E.Marelli works for the presentation of the project. In the morning the factory-workers were present and in the afternoon the white-collar workers. Total present about 150/160 person.

Those interested in following a course were asked to answer a questionnaire giving personal data and to choose a course, offering also an alternative choice.

The choice was among the following courses:

1) Electric-mechanical technicians and winding fitters.

2) Traditional tool-machines and computerized numerical control machines.

3) Polivalent maintenance personnel.

4) Welders and carpenters.

5) Catering.

6) Import/Export administration.

7) Secretarial -Office automation.

8) Electronic computer programmes.

9) Public transport drivers.

The persons involved in the various phases of training were 125 in number.

114 answered the questionnaire.

30th June and the 1st, 2nd. The applicants took a psychologica and aptitude test.

July 1986

4th, 5th, 6th. Personal interviews were then held at which 122 took part.

7th, 8th, 9th, 10th. The choice of the courses was made by 108 persons.

11th. Of these four chose the "Catering" course which was not
held. Those who dropped out during the various phases (beginning, during the courses and before the end): 25.

2nd September: Beginning of the courses. Those who began numbered 92. Those who completed them 73.

17th, 18th and: Assessment at the end of the courses and conferring of certificate of attendance.

19th December: Certificate of attendance.
TABLE 2
Implementation relative to the training projects under the agreements between the Eroole Marelli firm, the F.L.M. - Federazione Lavoratori Metalmeccanici (The Metal and Mechanical Workers' Tredunio Federation) and the Lombardy Region, of the 20th. July 1985.

Within the 15th. September, the enterprises interested in setting up vocational training initiatives, aimed at the re-hiring of workers from the Ettore Marelli firm, under extraordinary administration, shall present their application to the Lombardy Region's Educational and Vocational Training Offices, so as to obtain access to the funds foreseen by the European Social Fund.

The training projects, which shall take place as and from the beginning of the 1986 financial year, must be in keeping with the new requirements approved by the EEC commission for the European Social Fund.

The courses may be held:

a) care of the Vocational Training Centres backed by the Region (those of the Region itself, of the local authorities, of consortia etc..) with inclusion of workers in courses already planned or about to be designed especially for this case (the intervention shall take place with the support of the firms interested on bases to be defined hereafter);

b) care of non-Regional structures (suitable for the training targets to be reached) or care of the firms themselves;

c) in mixed form, that is alternating between the Regional centres presumably for the theoretical part and the firms for the practical part.
TABLE 1

GENERAL SCHEME OF THE COURSES

PICTURE OF THE INITIAL SITUATION AND OF THE ORIENTATION

- Electro-mechanical technicians and winder-fitters: 393 hours
- Operators of traditional tool machinery and computerized machinery: 393 hours
- Welders and welder-carpenters: 314 hours
- Welders: 75 hours
- Welder-carpenters: 75 hours
- Informatics, white-collar area (two classes): 321 hours
- Administration and accounting: 291 hours
- Secretarial and office automation: 291 hours
- Language programming (basic): 291 hours
- Drivers of public transport: 286 hours
- Self-employment: 6 hours
Chapter four

Survey of the attitudes of the social partners towards participation in vocational training.
The survey was carried out over the December 1986 - January 1987 period, by means of interviews with persons enjoying a privileged view of the question, using a questionnaire (see Appendix).

The persons to be interviewed were singled out on the basis of their representativeness and their experience in the sectors and on the basis of the representatives of their organizations.

We obtained nineteen answers, shown hereunder in the Synoptic Table. Of the nineteen three were institutional subjects, seven belonged to the larger industries' employers' organizations, two to co-operative organizations, four to the tradeunion organizations, two to training bodies, and one to an artisans organization.

The subject of the survey was the state of-and trends in-the role of the social partners in training as seen by the social partners themselves. The objective was to gather from a self-presentation of the state of the system, éléments regarding perception of the reasons behind-and the significance of-the crisis of participation in the training system. It was intended that in this way the principal direction and trends of proposed changes, already taking place or foreseen for the future should emerge. These objectives were chosen due to the fact that the survey was carried out among the subjects of the training system itself, rather than among its beneficiaries, that is the individual workers and firms.

In general, the willingness shown by the persons interviewed to express amply critical (and self-critical) opinions confirms the fact of the existence of a mature awareness of a need for considerable reform of participation mechanism.
The judgement on the state of the training system expressed by the social partners is often openly critical: "dynamical, unguided, wasteful, of a generally low level, and in general not all appropriate to the needs of the labour market and the economy; rigid, bureaucratic, prone to be patronizing and very unbalanced from area to area". Drier and more lapidary the judgement expressed by another representative organization: "the system is falling to pieces".

The prevalent fact that emerges from the interviews, is that within this context of widespread dissatisfaction, there is a great differentiation in the level and in the quality of participation and therefore in its perceived efficacy.

The framework presents an ample spectrum of situations: some regions and provinces have at their disposal instruments for collecting information on the training systems capable of supporting procedures of periodical analysis and control. Other regions are unable to give exact information concerning the effective state of vocational training financed and run either directly or on the basis of conventions. Only a minority of Regional Administrations draw up Annual Reports on vocational training to present to the Minister for Labour as per the Law of 1978.

This widespread awareness of insufficiency does not take necessarily the form, of converging indications as to how to change the system. Some, complain about the sterility of a "general dissatisfaction, which is expressed on all occasions when planning is carried out... but which offers no concrete solution nor yields practical effect". Actually, from the survey itself there emerges that the social partners have no clear perception of the changes taking place.
There are besides very few indications of concrete cases.

The principal flaw that the survey identifies is the gap between the institutional space allowed for participation to the social partners in planning intervention, which the majority considers sufficient, and the evaluation of the efficacy of involvement by the social partners in observation, analysis and planning etc., which the majority considers negatively. An even greater gap emerges between the former and effective influence upon concrete aspects of training, such as the definition of programme contents, of management criteria and control. What is wanting is a mechanism for observation and evaluation of efficacy by the social partners, especially in connection with training within the firms. Not surprisingly this lack is also responsible for the much lamented absence of effective control, eventhough there are a number of company cases of tradeunion participation in retraining processes connected with restructuring.

Even more ineffective and inadequate are judged the institutional mechanisms for joint assessment of the efficacy of training, especially at central level. It is only in connection with CFT that institutional joint organizations for the evaluation of training activities operate.

In any case, the assessment intervention by the partners is seen as distant and somehow abstract because it is constrained by the nature of conflictual relations. "There are theoretical programmes but there are far fewer practical projects inspired by concreteness such as there would be if the convergence of interests were not only achieved at political level but also and above all at technical and economic level".
The reasons put forward to explain the lack of commitment and efficacy in assessment can be attributed to two basic factors; the lack of "professionality" to be found in participation and the (excessive and/or distorted) "politicization" of intervention, due to an insufficient management culture within trade unions.

The theme of professionalism emerges as a relevant cause of inefficiency, also in connection with the role of the training of "trainers". In general the attention to- and participation in- the question of the training of trainers by the social partners is considered insufficient, even if this point is indicated as a priority and as a problem to be solved urgently. In this regard two important indications emerge:

1) first of all, it has been seen that recently an advanced services activity, as a support to training, that makes "the figure of the trainer less important than before", is developing. Furthermore the new professional profiles of "the training activity project designer", and the profile of the assessment and controls expert, are neither codified nor contemplated by the training system nor by the participation mechanisms;

2) secondly, the technical re - adjustment of the quality of training given by the system is not always seen as deriving from processes of "internal formation" of trainers nor from requalification of the structures. Many propose "opening up" the system to external contributions, to the market and above all
to ad hoc specialist consultants. "It is necessary to reduce the role of the professional trainers (that is those giving a basic and broad training) to make room for specialists and experts in specific questions providing ad hoc temporary collaboration". Thus the specialised contents tend to be privileged over pedagogical issues.

Some point towards "the creation of a vaster market for professional training, thus destroying the monopoly-type régimes in existence today".

3) The implication is that the requalification of the system requires the mobility of teachers which, in the jargon of the social partners means favouring a cutting down on-and a turnover of-the system's permanent teaching staff. This evidently creates grave problems for the social partners directly involved in the management of training organizations, or more in general, finds an obstacle in those social organizations (above all local authorities and trade unions) which have the task of representing the training-centres' staff. In this capacity the social partners have sometimes played a "conservative" role by trying to maintain the existing system and by acting as a check on the changes deemed necessary.

Another theme that is commonly indicated among the causes of inefficiency is that of the " politicization" of participation. The will to participate is in the intentions of the partners considerable, but because scarcely productive, due to the excess confusion of local political interests with those of production and the market". Elsewhere we read that the institutional room allowed by legislation and contracts to participation in training activities "would be sufficient, but the problem is of a political nature, in that frequently the contrasts (both ideological and those more strictly connected with represented interests) that emerge on some occasions, spill over and compli-
cate the contrasts that emerge in other bargaining contests."

At times politicization takes the form of party-political interference, like when "the task of elaborating programmes is assigned to... consultants often nominated by the political parties".

But besides the "conflictuality" and the "politicization" questions, there are other characteristics of the industrial-relations system that have an effect upon the state of participation in the training process. There are above all the problems of frequency and duration, which some regard as being too episodic and discontinuous, while other think them to be regular and continuous. However, this regularity is of a purely "contractual" kind, as some point out, in that training is one of the themes connected with information procedures within the firms bargained for in the collective sectorial contracts, and is generally a part of the tradeunion claims platform. Participation, therefore, seems to follow the same cyclical and seasonal pattern as contracts and contract deadlines.

A second characteristic is the "conflict-dependent" nature of training, above all that at plant level. The involvement of the social partners, as far as the "newly-hired are concerned, is limited to managing the financial and others provisions of legislation" (such as CFL). "In the other cases (internal mobility, restructuring etc.) participation is expressed essentially within the ambit of more general company level controversy and subsequent assessment phases".

Thirdly, to the characteristic of the excessive formalization of participation must be added the complementary one of the rigidity of guidelines and procedures. It is essentially the training institutes that complain about the limitations created by the quantitative and formal assessment criteria imposed
by the concession conditions of Regions and the Ministries and by the difficulty of acceding to the facilitations provided by institutions such as the Fondo di Rotazione and the European Social Fund. The EEC too in this regard seems to create obstacles and proves to be rigid. Changes in the management criteria of the Social Fund have led to an increase in bureaucratic inflexibility on the part of the Regions. According to some, the entire system seems to be overly "hampered by the EEC directives" which the social partners would like to be able to influence and orientate more. It is paradoxical that this rigidness penalizes above all exchange and concerted action at inter-regional and international level: the opportunities offered to training at inter-regional and international level are considered lacking. The possibility of experiment is limited besides; in this regard the negative effect of "abuse" and the subsequent repressive intervention of the Magistrature has been remarked. This has led to the risk of potential "criminalization" of the operators, wherefore, those "responsible for the institutions tend to interpret the norms rigidly and to restrict the possibility of experimenting new training routes".

Lastly, participation is seen to be "procedural" and formal, often "bureucratic" and left"in the hands of local politics", so much so that it sometimes becomes a mere "obstacle to the administrative and organization efficiency of the training process"; in the eyes of the social partners participation of this kind reproduces the "faults" of the industrial-relations system.