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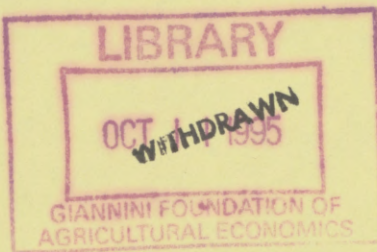
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INTERDEPARTMENTAL PROJECT
ON STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Occasional Paper 15

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**Compensatory training and retraining
programmes under structural adjustment:
The case of Chile**



Interdepartmental Project on Structural Adjustment

The aim of the Interdepartmental Project on Structural Adjustment is to strengthen ILO policy advice in relation to structural adjustment policies in order to make those policies more consistent with ILO principles and objectives.

The project investigates various options to give a different focus to adjustment policies, emphasizing major objectives as equitable growth, improved human resource development and social acceptability and it tries to establish how various ILO policies and policy instruments can contribute to such a different focus of adjustment policies.

The range of policy instruments encompasses labour market regulation, social security, wages policies, training policies, industrial relations as well as the employment and income effects of monetary, fiscal and price policies. Greater involvement of the ILO in the area of structural adjustment needs therefore to reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the adjustment problem by combining activities from different departments in the ILO.

During the 1992-93 biennium, the project concentrates on developing policies for the following five main areas:

- the role of the public and private institutions in structural adjustment;
- the role of fiscal policy in generating employment and favouring equitable growth in a process of adjustment;
- the role and function of compensatory programmes and social safety nets during adjustment;
- public sector adjustment, including issues pertaining to privatization;
- the role and function of the social partners in the adjustment process.

Further information can be obtained from the Project Manager (Rolph van der Hoeven) or the Project Officer (Andrés Marinakis).

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Introduction¹

This paper has been prepared as part of a study carried out by the ILO on the effectiveness of compensatory training and retraining programmes under structural adjustment. It contains a case study conducted on the basis of training and retraining programmes implemented in Chile during the last decade. It also draws policy lessons on how to better design and implement such programmes.

High unemployment and inflation, combined with lower salaries, a decline in GNP and the external debt burden led Chile, as well as many Latin American countries, to adopt emergency employment and training programmes to provide income-earning opportunities for those most adversely affected by the process of adjustment.

While the target population for such programmes was thought to be workers retrenched mainly from the industrial private sector, and from the public sector, they also widely benefited vulnerable groups of workers whose incomes have been reduced as a result of adjustment measures.

Compensatory programmes implemented during the structural adjustment period included: public employment schemes, promotion of self-employment, small enterprises development, incentives to the private sector to hire the unemployed, credit for small businesses, as well as training programmes. Sometimes training was offered on its own and sometimes in combination with one or other of these programmes.

Training and retraining programmes have both been implemented during the structural adjustment period as well as during the present period of industrial restructuring, which also seeks to significantly increase the growth of GNP and the proportion of GNP bound for export.

Despite the rather abundant literature on economic issues related to structural adjustment policies (see bibliography), there has been very little research devoted to the role of training in structural adjustment compensatory programmes.

The paper is divided into four sections. The first one provides information on the evolution of the Chilean economy and labour market during the last 15 years, as well as changes introduced in the provision of state-funded training. The second section presents a description of training and retraining programmes implemented in Chile during the last decade. The third evaluates the impact of such programmes. Lastly, the paper summarizes policy lessons derived from the previous analyses, as well as some insights on improving the processes of designing and implementing emergency training programmes dealing with social groups adversely affected by a strong decline in labour demand.

¹ The author thanks Ms. Nadeja Ebel and Mr Jacques Gaude for their suggestions and editorial comments. Remaining errors are mine.

1. Recent evolution of the Chilean labour market and training

Before entering into an analysis of the evolution of the Chilean labour market during the last decade, it is necessary to reflect on the main elements of structural adjustment processes which have an influence on training activities. Institutional changes introduced into the public funding of training and mechanisms of training provision are also briefly examined.

As for most Latin American countries, Chile suffered during the 1980s from the effects of a heavy external debt burden and has had to introduce severe structural adjustment measures to balance macroeconomic policies. In order to reduce the fiscal deficit, measures had to be taken which necessarily led to reducing government expenditure, modifying the tax structure and renegotiating the external debt.

In the case of Chile, structural adjustment policies, necessary to deal with internal and external adjustments, started as early as 1975 and lasted for at least a full decade. The dramatic fall in real wages (-10 per cent) and GNP growth (-14.3 per cent), coupled with a 12 per cent rise in open unemployment (which reached 27 per cent in 1983), was the consequence of applying macroeconomic policies which sought to produce internal savings to finance imports, government deficits and, later, the external debt. As the pressure of the external debt decreased after 1985, structural adjustment measures were softened and workers were able to recover previous levels of real wages and modern sector employment (García, 1991).

Starting as early as 1974, the military government replaced the previous economic model, based on heavy state intervention in the national economy, by a totally different one. The *leitmotif* of the government was state retreat from all economic activities. Subsequently, massive firing of public employees from both public enterprises and services was the logical consequence, thus, immediately doubling unemployment figures.

Structural adjustment policies not only led to reduced government spending, which in turn meant cutting down social programmes, eliminating subsidies for basic necessities, and to public housing and transportation, but also affected the country's education and training system.

During the second half of the 1970s, the Chilean Government also opened up the national economy to international competition by drastically reducing import taxes. As a consequence, many local industries went bankrupt which caused massive lay-offs and subsequent unemployment.

The external debt crisis which developed over the first half of the 1980s was used to push structural adjustment further. By the end of 1985 it was clear that the country had chosen to fully integrate itself into the international market by adopting liberal economic policies.

Reforms introduced by the military government during this last period included important reforms to the structure of state production and services. All state shares in nearly 400 public companies were sold, agricultural premises were returned to landowners and private investors were offered state-owned forests and some mining resorts. The next reforms were the transfer of social security funds to private banking and specially created companies (called AFPs, *Administradoras de fondos de pensiones* or Pension Plan Administration

companies) transferring schools and hospitals to municipal councils, transferring the administration of some 70 technical vocational schools to employer-run associations and the definite transfer of the national training institute to the *Confederación de la Producción y el Comercio* or the national employers' Confederation for Production and Commerce (CPC) (Corvalán-Vásquez, 1990).

The extent to which training systems are affected by structural adjustment depends on the financing system applicable to training activities. In this regard, three models can be distinguished in Latin America. First, in those countries where an independent tax is devoted to training, such as Colombia, Costa Rica and Venezuela, the amount of financial resources diminished only in relation to the decline in their GNP, reflecting the level of economic activity. Second, in countries where business associations, like the Brazilian Industrial and Commerce Employers' Federations, have the right to collect a training tax from firms in each economic branch, financial resources devoted to training activities diminished at the same rate as the salaries of those firms also decreased. Third, in countries where the training bill is paid by the central government, like Argentina and Uruguay, resources devoted to training suffered more because of severe cuts in government spending.

Chile is atypical to the previous models since it combines a tax rebate system applicable mostly to modern sector firms - which can spend up to the equivalent of 1 per cent of their payroll in training their personnel - with a modest direct subsidy to training courses for the unemployed and socially disadvantaged workers.

Most Latin American countries have considerably diminished their contribution to education and training to fight their budget deficit. Government spending on education in Chile went down from 3.4 per cent of the GNP to 1.7 per cent between 1973 and 1979. After a slight recovery at the beginning of the 1980s, by 1989 the percentage of GNP devoted to education was similar to that observed in 1979, due to structural adjustment measures.

The military government stopped funding the *Instituto Profesional y Centro de Formación técnica* or the National Training Institute (INACAP) in 1981 and its management was transferred to the private sector. New training legislation introduced earlier was in force, so that a tax rebate had recently been implemented to fund modern sector firms' training needs, and a modest direct funding scheme was devoted to train socially disadvantaged groups (Martinez, 1992).

After the 1973 coup d'état, hyper-inflation and high unemployment rates were observed, combined with negative economic growth rates. The slow economic recovery observed between 1977 and 1981 was violently interrupted in 1982 by a 14.3 negative rate of GNP growth. In fact open unemployment had then reached an unprecedented rate of 26.4 per cent (Infante and Klein, 1992).

Industrial salaried workers suffered most from unemployment during the adjustment process. Employment in the urban informal sector and the traditional rural sector remained at about one-third of the total labour force during this period. The percentage of public employment decreased to less than half as a result of structural adjustment measures taken over the period 1976-86 (see table 1).

To implement such measures, the military government had to intervene in most trade unions, foster their division, stop applying job security and labour legislation previously gained by workers' organizations, and stop indexing wages to internal inflation rates. As a consequence, minimum wages diminished to nearly half, so that abundant cheap labour was available to pay back the external debt through competitive exports.

Because of the 14.3 per cent fall in the 1982 GNP, IMF policies were introduced in 1983 to deal with the debt burden. Over the second half of the 1980s the economy recovered from structural adjustment measures and by 1990 economic performance as well as employment indicators presented a promising picture (see table 1).

Since 1984 the economy has grown steadily and real wages started to recover from the shock policies adopted before. None the less, during the structural adjustment period, the portion of GNP devoted to workers' consumption considerably diminished. Also, young workers and women suffered most from the consequences of structural adjustment because of restricted access to newly created employment opportunities (Leiva and Pollack, 1992).

Even though a public employment scheme was introduced in 1975, called Minimal Employment Programme, to deal with high unemployment, it was only in 1982-83 that the scheme had to be diversified further to include several categories of unemployed (see table 3). The coverage of such public employment schemes went up from 175,607 workers in 1981 to 508,000 and 513,770 workers in 1982 and 1983, respectively (Cortés and Navarro, 1987).

2. Compensatory employment and training programmes

In Chile, like in other Latin American countries, training was allocated a minor role as part of the compensatory programmes administered by the military government since the deep economic recession in 1982. Public employment schemes, however, affected up to 12.6 per cent of the labour force by 1983. Only eight years later one could say that such programmes became obsolete.

Structural adjustment measures meant that over the period 1982-84 more than one-quarter of the labour force was unemployed because of industrial restructuring and privatization, and public employment reduction by one-half. Public employment schemes became a need. But training was not usually included in such schemes.

As a matter of fact, public-funded training offered by the *Servicio Nacional de Capacitación y Empleo* or the National Training and Employment Board (SENCE - Ministry of Labour) to the unemployed diminished over the period 1982-86 to less than half. Investment in the employed under a public training subsidy scheme was reduced to about a third (see table 2). Inexplicably, the military government sought to use public funds mainly for emergency public employment schemes which seldom included a training component.

In the case of vocational training and retraining programmes, it should be said that, by the end of the 1980s, a new orientation took place which emphasized the role of training in industrial restructuring, as part of a strong export-oriented strategy.

The newly elected Government which took over in March 1990 immediately set up a national training programme aimed at the unemployed and underemployed women and young people who had little access to employment because of lack of skills.

Public spending on emergency employment schemes and training programmes is examined separately in this section. From a merely administrative standpoint, both programmes were run by two different institutional authorities: public employment schemes were conducted under the responsibility of the National Secretariat for Employment (linked to the Interior Ministry), and training and retraining programmes were the responsibility of a division of the Ministry of Labour (SENCE).

2.1 Compensatory public employment programmes

The first public employment scheme was implemented by the military government in 1975 under the title of *Programa de Empleo Mínimo* (PEM) or Minimal Employment Programme. To combat unemployment rates of above 25 per cent, the Government went from two programmes implemented in 1982 to six programmes in 1983, eight programmes in 1984 and 11 programmes in 1985 (see table 2).

The number of unemployed workers who benefited from these public employment programmes jumped from 175,000 in 1981 to 508,000 in 1982, and remained extremely high during the period of application of structural adjustment measures implemented to deal with the debt burden.

By 1986, 11 public employment schemes were in operation with a quarter of a million unemployed workers, representing a public investment of US\$95 million current (Cortés and Navarro, 1987, 209).

The nature of public employment schemes evolved from community services only in 1975 to economic activities linked to private production units or public works supporting the export strategy.

Table 2 portrays the evolution of each of the 11 programmes implemented to deal with the unemployed as a result of structural adjustment measures. They were:

1. *Programa de Empleo Mínimo* or Minimal Employment Programme (PEM) aimed at unemployed people 18 years and over, who represented the most important source of income for the family and did not receive unemployment insurance allowances or any pension plan income. These workers had to work five days a week, seven hours per day, in several community development activities, such as cleaning and repairing streets, local roads and public buildings, making furniture for schools and toys for day-care centres, preparing food for undernourished children and any other community service. Local mayors designated by the central government were responsible for the programme, assisted by a local committee of municipal employees responsible for carrying out the above-mentioned activities. By 1986, each participant worker received only the equivalent to US\$15 per month (3,000 Chilean pesos). Because of a lack of other employment opportunities, the number of workers registered in this scheme steadily increased from 72,695 in 1975 to 175,607 in 1981 and had doubled by 1983. Forty per cent of the participants in the programme were located in the marginalized areas of the capital city. Fifty-three per cent were women heads of households with

no occupational qualification, 34 per cent were former wage workers and the rest former administrative employees. Most of them had primary education or less schooling. This programme was mainly devoted to women (66 per cent) and young people: one-third was in the 18 to 25 age bracket and another third in the 26 to 35 age bracket.

2. *Programa Ocupacional para Jefes de Hogares* or Occupational Programme for Heads of Households (POJH). Created in September 1982, this programme was implemented by the National Secretariat for Employment through regional authorities nominated by the central government. Local or municipal committees supervised minor public works constructed by the programme and paid a subsidy equivalent to double what was offered to every participant worker in the previously described programme. Participating workers usually had primary and/or secondary education, held a middle-level technician certificate or a university degree. Only one-quarter of them were women, more than half were former industrial workers and three-quarters were 25 or over; 184,680 unemployed workers were included under this scheme in 1985.
3. *Programa de Desarrollo de Proyectos Locales* (PDL), the Community Development Projects Programme, aimed at providing a public subsidy to the unemployed to construct public works or social premises useful to community development projects. An equivalent to more than one-third of the subsidy was provided for the acquisition of construction materials needed for minor public works; 15,058 workers registered in this programme in 1985 and 18,302 in 1986.
4. *Programa Especial de Desarrolla Forestal* (PREDEF), the Special Programme for Forestry Development, benefited 12,000 rural workers in 1985 devoted to fostering forestry in the National Forestry Development Corporation (CONAF). Workers devoted themselves to repairing rural roads, constructing small wooden bridges, camping rehabilitation, forest fire prevention, seed production, land conservation activities and forest plantation.
5. *Programa Especial de Forestación* (PEFOR), Special Forest Plantation Programme, aimed to support landowners willing to increase their forest areas under a contract with the *Corporación Nacional Forestal* or National Forest Co. (CONAF). The state subsidized the wages and social security contributions of about 2,000 workers included in this programme between 1983 and 1985.
6. The *Poda y Raleo de Pino Insigne* or Pruning and Thinning of Monterey Pine (*pinus radiata*) Programme, aimed at providing job opportunities to workers with no occupational qualification by improving pine forest areas for export purposes. Labour was offered by CONAF to rural landowners together with credit for forest plantation or forest development up to a maximum of 1,000 acres per landowner. Workers registered in this programme went from 1,500 to 2,800 between 1985 and 1986.
7. A minor irrigation public works programme, aimed at building or repairing small dumps and irrigation canals needed to take better advantage of major irrigation projects benefited some 6,000 workers over the period 1984 to 1986.
8. The Goldseekers' National Plan, aimed at individual miners carrying out mining activities in a non-industrial fashion, provided a subsidy for a three-month training

period which enabled them to continue as independent workers. This programme benefited 6,613 independent workers in 1985.

9. *Proyectos Intensivos de Mano de Obra* (PIMO) means labour-intensive projects carried out by private construction firms, which submitted public work projects to regional governments and ministries for funding. Contracts were allocated according to a competitive process, but the cost of labour to be hired by the firm could not be over US\$95 per month per worker. The programme benefited 13,602 workers in 1984.
10. The *Programa de Profesionales* or Professionals Employment Programme, aimed at providing professional services to public services, regional governments and ministries understaffed due to structural adjustment measures. The programme benefited nearly 1,000 university graduates by 1985-86, who received the equivalent to US\$150 per month.
11. The *Programa de Expansión de Recursos Humanos Sector Salud* (PERM), or Human Resources for the Health Sector Programme, represented an effort to better staff public hospitals and clinics. This programme hired more than 4,000 medical doctors, dentists, chemists, nurses and hospital personnel over the years 1985-86.

The first group had to work 44 hours a week whereas secondary hospital personnel only had to complete 33 hours a week.

An overall evaluation of these programmes showed that the highly centralized structure which was responsible for planning, programming and budgeting the programmes, only left the execution to local-level authorities. Thus, whenever the National Secretariat for Employment was unable to complete its annual targets, it started transferring financial resources to regional development funds, which in turn called for competitive bidding to execute public works projects; US\$1.6 million were transferred through this mechanism by 1986 (Cortés and Navarro, 1987, 220).

2.2 Compensatory public training programmes

A description of the training and retraining efforts for retrenched workers and vulnerable groups include the following:

1. Training programmes for micro-enterprise development: both the Ministry of Labour's SENCE and the National Secretariat for Employment implemented training programmes for micro-enterprise development. The latter intended to gradually transfer unemployed workers under public work schemes to micro-enterprise projects by organizing groups of about ten unemployed into a micro-enterprise. The declared objective was to foster local industrial states, deconcentration of industrial activity, decentralization and a more balanced population distribution within the country. Also, it was declared that these projects sought to foster private initiative, entrepreneurship and private employment generation.

This programme started in 1985 in three municipal areas of the capital city by creating 12 micro-enterprises which provided training to 500 unemployed workers at a cost of US\$121,000. To support the experiment, local municipalities were asked to buy shares

and products produced by these micro-enterprises. They also tried to produce craft products for export but failed to organize a competitive industrial organization.

The training component was the responsibility of a public agency in charge of providing technical assistance and credit to small businesses through the *Servicio de Cooperación Técnica* or Technical Assistance Service (SERCOTEC). The National Secretariat for Employment provided a part-time economist to help in the micro-enterprise management. By 1986 the latter decided to extend the experiment to 28 municipal areas in six different regions of the country, with a US\$500,000 credit to support the experiment.

Without having found evidence of success in the pilot project but considering that employment creation through micro-enterprises cost US\$2,140 per worker, equivalent to one-third of the cost of creating a job in a small enterprise (US\$7,619), one-fifth of what was required in a medium-sized enterprise (US\$12,070), and only a fraction of what was needed to create a job in a big company (US\$19,150) (Cortés and Navarro, 1987).

Despite such assumptions, this programme encountered serious difficulties in the implementation phase, partly due to mistakes in workers' selection, partly because public servants from SERCOTEC were responsible for micro-enterprise management, partly because technical and economic consultants were academicians and graduate students from the local business administration faculty.

2. Training programmes for wage employment were not popular in a period of high unemployment and economic recession. However, a small number of training courses was funded by SENCE and offered by private training institutes in local municipalities which enrolled and selected trainees. Municipalities were also responsible for placement (see table 3).
3. Training programmes for self-employment. Through a competitive process which provided funding to the national training institute and qualified vocational training institutions, the government provided nearly US\$2 million over the period 1983-85 to foster self-employment. The strategy consisted of providing training in plumbing, gardening, dressmaking, and any other type of independent occupation.
4. Training programmes for income-generating activities, targeted at socially disadvantaged groups, benefited nearly 10,000 people a year over the period 1983-86. However, these were too short, and lower-skill training courses to enable unemployed youth to start an independent activity were set up (see PREALC, 1987).
5. Enterprise-based training programmes aimed at making modern firms more competitive in the international market were fostered by using a tax rebate system. The government provided public funding equivalent to nearly US\$20 million over the period 1983-85. Previously a much lower level of public funding for training activities was channelled through the National Vocational Training Institute (INACAP). In 1986 income was US\$8.6 million (Ducci, 1990, p. 35).
6. Training programmes to support public employment programmes aimed at preparing the conditions for improving national exports were instigated, either through public works (irrigation canals, roads, etc.), or in forest plantation and forest improvement for better gains from exports.

Most training programmes carried out under structural adjustment should have been put into effect, in close relation with public employment schemes implemented, to deal with the extremely high unemployment figures faced by the country.

None the less, training was often unrelated to public employment schemes. In fact, the planning and management of such schemes was transferred from the Ministry of Labour to the National Secretariat for Employment (which depended on the Interior Ministry).

2.2.1 Major features of Chilean compensatory training programmes

(a) *Institutions responsible for planning*

According to Decree Law No. 1,446 of 8 May 1976, modified by Decree No. 137 of 10 June 1977, public subsidized training is the responsibility of SENCE-Ministry of Labour, which is also responsible for planning and funding national training activities.

However, during the implementation of structural adjustment measures derived from policies suggested by the IMF to deal with the external debt crisis, the activities of the National Secretariat for Employment (Interior Ministry) were extended to planning and funding special training programmes for self-employment and micro-enterprise development.

(b) *Institutions responsible for implementation*

The previously mentioned legislation also provided room for SENCE to officially recognize private training institutes called *Organismos Técnicos de Ejecución* (OTEs). The national training institute, INACAP, also became an OTE under this legislation and was entirely transferred to the private sector by 1981. Apart from INACAP, most national and regional universities, technological institutes and post-secondary education centres have been granted SENCE recognition to receive public funding to implement training courses approved by SENCE.

(c) *Main types of training and retraining offered*

Section 2.2 describes six training or retraining sub-programmes which were implemented during the period 1982-86 and the rationale for each type of sub-programme. As training usually focused on unemployed women and young men, retraining focuses on dismissed industrial workers and public servants. As was pointed out before, public employment was reduced by half during the entire period of structural adjustment. Retraining sub-programmes were aimed at preparing redundant public servants for self-employment, micro-enterprise creation and/or development.

(d) *Main features of the implementation management*

Although planning and funding of publicly sponsored training activities were highly centralized, implementation was highly decentralized. Private training institutes submitted their proposals to the Ministry of Labour through SENCE which allocated funds through a bidding process in compliance with the agency's plans. Training needs were detected by local municipalities mainly on the basis of social demand and were transmitted to SENCE.

The lack of a public national training institute and the non-existence of legislation allowing for compulsory training at any point of working life means that there is no such thing as a regular training system allowing people to progress from semi-skilled training courses up to the level of post-secondary technicians and technologists. Also, the lack of linkages between

training activities and the formal education system implies that there is no transition from one sub-system to the other.

As previously stated, the nature of linkages with employment were rather weak during the implementation of compensatory employment and training programmes. Training courses were (and still are) subcontracted to private training institutes which were responsible for course implementation and evaluation. The role directly exerted by central authorities is limited to planning, funding and control. Local municipal authorities were responsible for registering the unemployed or underemployed, selecting them for training activities and detecting local training needs.

(e) *Resources allocated to the main sub-programmes*

Tables 4 and 5 describe the number of trainees in each particular programme. During the period 1981-87 the number of unemployed under public training diminished from 51,853 to 13,751 and resources allocated to training were reduced accordingly, instead of increasing them due to high unemployment and public employment retrenchment.

The characteristics of beneficiaries varied in each particular training sub-programme. As described before, training might be devoted to unemployed women and young men, former industrial workers, former public servants, rural workers, fishermen, miners, or independent workers.

There is no data available on actual cost per beneficiary in each sub-programme, but aggregated data exist described in tables 1 and 2. According to SENCE data quoted by Martinez (1992), the average cost of a trainee in December 1989 pesos was reduced from CH\$52,884 in 1981 to CH\$15,034 in 1985 and CH\$19,903 in 1986. However, since SENCE fines training centres whose drop-out rate is over 30 per cent, it ensures that at least 70 per cent of trainees finish courses. It is thus quite a plausible assumption that completion rates varied between 70 and 80 per cent.

Despite SENCE being responsible for programme evaluation, no data is available on any follow-up studies they may have carried out. A local research centre formerly linked to the Catholic University, under the *Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación* or Interdisciplinary Program for Investigation in Education (PIIE), carried out a follow-up study of a training programme aimed at the self-employed and found that about one half of the trainees found employment in a related trade.

3. The impact of training and retraining workers

The impact of compensatory training and retraining programmes implemented during structural adjustment in Chile may be examined in relation to programme coverage, effectiveness of targeting, internal efficiency, outcome of training, cost distribution and cost-benefit analysis.

According to the previous discussion and figures in table 2, coverage of compensatory training and retraining programmes was rather limited. First, private companies used only one-fifth of the tax rebate system which allowed them to spend and recover from the state up to 1 per cent of the payroll in training. Second, slightly more than 3 per cent of the total employed workforce benefited from a training course per year. Third, training and retraining programmes for the unemployed represented less than 3 per cent of the unemployed.

The reduced scale of compensatory training and retraining programmes helped in fully applying selected eligibility criteria, and effectiveness of targeting was rather high. It is difficult, however, to calculate internal efficiency on the basis of the ratio of administrative cost to direct training cost because SENCE was contracting a service to private training institutes. The latter was paid per trainee, but SENCE set up parameters related to cost per hour of training according to content requirements. Generally speaking, administrative costs were rather low, but the portion spent on training material and equipment in these training programmes was also reduced.

Comparison of costs per trainee with similar programmes carried out by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) indicate that costs per trainee in the latter were equivalent to US\$138 for a 300 hours training course (Corvalán-Vásquez et al., 1987, 36) while SENCE spent about US\$44 per trainee for a 100 hours training course by 1985-86. Therefore, the cost per hour of training was similar to equivalent training programmes, but because of the limited duration of publicly funded training, its outcome was limited and its effect lasted for a shorter period.

As stated above, there are no available data on the percentage of trainees who find employment, particularly in a situation in which more than one-quarter of the labour force was unemployed. It is only in the long run, when the economy recovered and unemployment figures dropped to one-digit unemployment that previously acquired training may have had an effect, at least in avoiding further deterioration of employees' morale.

Compensatory employment or training programmes did not consider displacement costs of the programmes' beneficiaries. A limited experiment was conducted to transfer unemployed people from the capital city to the southern regions of the country while offering transportation and precarious housing in the new home city. This programme failed due to lack of intensive economic activity in the southern areas at that point in time, and the transferred people returned to Santiago.

The rather limited role played by compensatory training programmes and lack of data made it very difficult to carry out an overall social cost-benefit assessment of the programmes. Just to compare how limited training spending was, one may compare it with the US\$450 million spent by the government in 1986 to create 55,000 new jobs at a unit cost of US\$8,1982 each.

4. Conclusions and recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

From the previous discussion on the role of compensatory training and retraining programmes in Chile, it can be concluded that the government missed an opportunity to invest in human resources preparation, so as to ease workers' subsequent redeployment.

Firstly, the resources allocated to such programmes were inadequate since less than 3 per cent of the target group was reached. While it might be argued that scarce resources were effectively used, there was no balance between public resources allocated to public employment schemes compared to resources allocated to compensatory training and retraining programmes.

One may also argue that if marginal returns were low in comparison to other parts of compensatory programmes then there would be no case for increasing resource allocation unless the effectiveness of training and retraining programmes could be improved. However, it is only after a number of years, when the economy recovered and unemployment rates went down to a one-digit figure that the value of training could be appreciated. That is, where there were previously hardly any employment opportunities due to the recession, training was an investment in the future.

Because of the rather limited coverage of compensatory training programmes and the previously passed legislation - which transferred course implementation to private training institutes - one can argue that these programmes were rather well designed. Here, a key aspect is whether decisions on the types of training and retraining to be offered were linked to demand. According to an INACAP qualitative assessment of its training programmes (see Annex I) the availability of local employment opportunities for "retrenched" workers retrained for redeployment far away from Santiago produced a positive impact. Similarly, the availability of effective demand for self-employment and small enterprise activities that were promoted in rural and fishing areas produced a positive cost-benefit ratio for training in such activities (CINTERFOR, 1987).

A related issue is the extent to which attempts were made to ensure that the design of these programmes was consistent with economic restructuring initiatives. The country effectively introduced changes in the policy environment and incentives for different types of activities, including important innovations in the public provision of training. None the less, the extent of proactive planning in the case of redeployment was rather limited.

It has already been stated that training and retraining programmes were often well linked to other employment-creation measures. Concomitant measures such as credit and other support programmes for small enterprise development were rather inadequate. Further, vocational counselling was non-existent and municipal placement services were badly organized and played too limited a role.

It should be recognized that implementation arrangements were rather satisfactory, despite the fact that there was no NGO involvement because the military government was suspicious that they would link training with political activism. Local-level committees and private sector organizations did influence training planning and implementation. But no worker organization had a say about compensatory employment or training programmes during the military government rule. Unfortunately, these programmes were not linked to the regular vocational training system.

Lastly, available data indicate that the contents of the training provided were adequate but limited because of the very short duration of training courses funded by the government.

As well as considering the role of training in compensatory programmes, it is also useful to examine how the training system has been affected by structural adjustment. Chile has undergone an important transformation process during structural adjustment, which led to severe stabilization measures, including disregard for labour legislation, lower levels of real wages just recovered in 1993, a heavy cut in government social spending, privatization of state enterprises, severe lay-offs of public servants combined with turning schools and hospital management into municipal and private corporations. Starting in 1989-90, unemployment figures were down to one-digit rates, GNP growth rates seem to have been

stabilized at over 5 per cent per annum, real wages are back to the level observed in 1970, and inflation is under control to a "historical" 12 to 15 per cent a year.

Real public expenditure on vocational training also doubled between 1979 and 1989 (see table 1). This means that structural adjustment measures did not affect training expenditures in Chile, mainly because of the newly introduced tax rebate system which left it up to firms to decide on the level of training required, and also due to special employment and training programmes directly funded by the government as a response to high unemployment observed during the structural adjustment process.

Technical-vocational-education expenditure per pupil and enrolment diminished by one-third between 1982 and 1987. Also, most enrolment increases produced by youth unemployment were accommodated in general secondary schools which did not offer preparation for work. Therefore, technical-vocational school enrolments evolved in a different way from vocational training enrolment during the 1980s.

Budget constraints in technical-vocational education led to reduced enrolments over the period of structural adjustment. However, the total number of pupils and trainees both in public-funded training schemes as well as within the tax rebate system applicable to firms slightly decreased from 301,309 to 295,040 between 1981 and 1986. During this period, access to vocational education and training was restricted. Only general secondary education was available for all young persons qualifying for it.

The main reasons being that: (a) entry into vocational training is more attractive than continuing in general education or being unemployed; (b) real expenditures per pupil could not suffer further cuts without rendering the training component spurious; (c) enrolment in training programmes directly funded by the Ministry of Labour sharply declined, despite the considerable increases in public employment schemes intake.

Enrolments in enterprise-based training grew from 88,171 to 162,849 between 1982 and 1987. However, compensatory training and retraining for the unemployed decreased from 20,885 to 13,751 per year during the same period.

It seems to be that a considerable amount of previously little-used equipment was used to much greater capacity during the 1980s. While the National Training Institute did not undertake a re-equipment process because it turned to training middle- and upper-level technicians and technologists, it also seems evident that most training institutes relied heavily on in-plant premises for training purposes. In some cases the training equipment available in technical-vocational schools was used for training purposes over the evening when regular students had finished their own assignments.

All in all, there seems to have been a fall in the numbers of trainees directly funded by the government (see table 5) during the adjustment process and due to budgetary restrictions, the effects on the training system were adverse to the quality of the training offered.

Under-investment in training during this period is evident when comparing the intake of public work schemes (table 3) with intake in training programmes which benefit from tax rebates (table 4).

However, the previous pattern observed in vocational training and vocational education are influenced by a quite evident deterioration observed in the quality of both services.

Are the difficulties encountered by the Chilean training system the consequence of structural adjustment measures, or of its own institutional model? This is a difficult question to answer, but it is clear that the Chilean training system leaves little room for workers' participation. State money is administered by civil servants responsible for training, and employers decided on enterprise-based training on their own.

What is the role that vocational training is expected to play during industrial restructuring and the further integration of local economies into the world market? It is clear that training and retraining have become an essential component of industrial restructuring (Peluffo, 1992) and increasingly training programmes would have to integrate themselves into a recurrent training process.

The "dual system" does not seem a panacea to improve training delivery since employers are not eager to take further responsibility for provision.

The military government (1973-89) followed an educational policy which severely restricted access to technical-vocational education and public vocational training. As a result, thousands of unemployed youth remained unemployed even after the economy recovered by the end of the 1980s. The democratic government which took over in 1990 immediately initiated a vocational training programme aimed at unemployed youth, thus reverting previous policies and their negative consequences.

Traditionally, the cost of the training provided to unemployed youth is considerably lower than the cost of a year in a technical-vocational school. Despite huge differences in terms of training content, methods and duration, by the end of the 1980s an effort had to be made to drastically improve the training offered to unemployed youth. To facilitate transition to work, compulsory practical periods were implemented immediately after institutional training.

From the previous analysis it became clear that, at least for the period under examination, the Ministry of Labour's SENCE has no proper mechanism to detect training needs at the local, regional or industry-wide levels. Neither was there a proper evaluation system capable of measuring the outcome of learning. There is still a lack of standards, national testing and follow-up studies on the part of the state.

4.2 Recommendations

This section presents a set of recommendations on how the contribution of training and retraining activities to compensatory programmes could be enhanced.

A number of suggestions can be put forward as to how training could contribute better to compensatory programmes as well as to wider adjustment objectives.

In the short run, training is an important component of employment programmes which facilitate job creation; in the medium term, it has a role to play in supporting self-employment and small enterprise creation; and in the longer term, it has a key role in industrial restructuring processes.

This study has detected a number of deficits in the Chilean training system when dealing with industrial restructuring, based on the role played during the structural adjustment period, namely, first, the need for greater employers' and workers' organization involvement in training organization and evaluation.

There is also a need for improving training methodologies and a better integration between theoretical and practical components of training. Further, "emergency" employment and training programmes need to be integrated into vocational training policies which ensure access to further training, as technological change speeds up. National training funds should be established to benefit good training projects to be submitted either by industry or relevant training institutions in association with industry. Also, linking employment programmes to training remains a problem.

Retraining programmes could be easily implemented if the country had a national dictionary of occupations with a proper description of the competencies associated with sets of related occupations. In addition, further training and refreshment training for instructors and administrators is lacking.

The volume of resources devoted to training in Chile these days would warrant establishing a proper mechanism to evaluate training outputs and outcomes. National standards should first be established so that the quality of training can be judged against them. Research should then be implemented to learn about the impact of the millions of dollars invested by the state - through the tax rebate system - in enterprise-based training. Finally, some coordination in respect of the learning results produced by vocational training and technical-vocational schools should be undertaken, in order to make it possible to transfer from one sub-system to the other.

Table 1. Chile: Labour market and economic indicators, 1980-91

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	GNP % annual growth	Inflation (annual %)	Real wages index 1970=100	Open unemployment rate (x)	Modern sector labour force (%)	Public sector jobs (%)
1976	3.5	197.9	65	19.0	37.8	12.9
1977	9.9	84.2	71			
1978	8.2	37.2	75			
1979	8.3	38.9	82			
1980	7.5	31.2	89	15.0	46.0	7.0
1981	5.3	9.5	96			
1982	-14.3	20.7	96			
1983	-0.7	23.1	86	27.0	37.7	7.5
1984	6.3	23.0	86			
1985	2.4	26.4	82			
1986	5.7	17.4	84	13.0	50.0	6.0
1987	5.7	21.5	84			
1988	7.4	12.7	89			
1989	9.9	21.4	91			
1990	2.1	27.3	93	6.0	55.0	7.5 ^a
1991	6.0	18.7	97			

^a Estimated.

(x) Including "emergency" public employment schemes, which represented 5.9 per cent, 5.0 per cent, 12.6 per cent and 5.0 per cent of total labour in 1976, 1980, 1983 and 1986, respectively. Subtracting (4)+(5)+(6) from the total labour force (100 per cent), one gets the informal sector contribution to Chile's total employment.

Source: Infante, R.; Klein, E.: *Chile: Transformaciones del Mercado Laboral y sus Efectos Sociales: 1965-90*. PREALC, 1992.

Table 2. Chile: Public employment schemes, 1977-87 (thousands)

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
PEM	188	146	134	190	176	227	342	170	141	95
POJH						81	161	169	185	127
PREDEF							2	6	12	6
Goldseekers							0.5	4	7	3
PIMO							7	14	5	0.5
PEFOR							2	1	2	-
Irrigation								6	6	6
Health								3	4	4
Professionals									1	1
Development projects									15	18
Total*	187 646	145 972	133 891	190 423	175 607	508 000	513 770	371 569	478 628	261 042

* Rounded numbers

Source: PREALC-ILO, 1987.

Table 3. Chile: Public (Municipal) Placement Services, 1977-91

	Number of workers recommended for employment
1977	8 216
1978	15 211
1979	17 098
1980	20 473
1981	28 686
1982	26 091
1983	25 736
1984	27 461
1985	29 926 ^a
1986	30 000 ^a
1990	35 781
1991	34 556

^a Estimated.

Source: PREALC-ILO, 1987.

Table 4. Chile: General secondary, vocational school enrolment and public educational spending on vocational education, 1981-91 (Chilean pesos of December 1989)

	(1)(a)	(2)(b)	(3)(c)	(4)(d)	(5)(e)
	General secondary enrolment (total)	Technical-vocational secondary enrolment (total)	Public spending on vocational education (x)	Technical-vocational education spending per pupil (xx)	Vocational training spending per trainee (xx)
1981	392 940	161 809	14 467	89.41	52.89
1982	418 649	147 096	17 279	117.47	39.40
1983	488 346	125 200	11 392	90.99	21.22
1984	524 906	112 186	11 054	98.53	18.73
1985	539 150	128 647	12 266	95.35	15.03
1986	552 978	127 060	11 857	93.32	19.90
1987	579 826	116 037	8 466	72.96	21.01
1988	601 760	133 941	11 001	82.13	20.90
1989	538 029	203 981	14 741	72.27	20.30
1990	464 423	255 396	NA	NA	NA
1991	436 892	262 563	NA	NA	NA

(x) Millions of 1989 Chilean pesos. Approximately 1US\$ = 310 Chilean pesos.

(xx) Thousands of 1986 Chilean pesos.

(a) *Sistema de Educación Media en Chile*, Santiago, Oct. 1992.

(b) *idem*.

(c) CIDE: *Primer Encuentro Nacional de Educación para el Trabajo*, CIDE-CPC, Santiago, 1991.

(d) *idem*, *op. cit.*

(e) Martínez, E.E.: *Incentivos Tributarios para la Capacitación*, CIDE, Santiago de Chile, 1992.

Sources: SENCE-Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Education:

Table 5. Chile: Vocational training enrolment and public spending in vocational training, 1981-91
(Chilean pesos of December 1989)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Enterprise-based (trainees)	Enterprise- based tax rebate (m)	Unemployed under training subsidy	Public subsidy spending (Chilean pesos m)	Total number of apprentices (cost \$ m)
1977	22 640	447.0	32 525	690	
1978	59 546	1 252.7	48 897	1 084	
1979	68 795	2 109.8	51 853	1 534	
1980	97 223	2 701.4	49 271	1 457	
1981	94 236	3 621.2	21 133	1 118	
1982	88 171	2 850.1	20 885	823	
1983	105 452	3 155.1	19 639	417	
1984	122 890	3 535.1	21 682	406	
1985	136 783	3 208.3	21 984	331	
1986	138 125	2 730.0	14 807	295	
1987	162 849	3 397.7	13 751	289	
1988	174 724	3 719.7	9 317	220	
1989	186 875	4 158.9	11 074	225	
1990	249 505	7 995.5*	4 863	150	441 (26)
1991	290 910	9 711.3*	7 148	320	918 (77)
1991a			14 474	414	
Total					

* Chilean pesos of December 1991 equivalent. 1US\$ = 330 Chilean pesos.

Source: SENCE-Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Education.

*SENCE: *Boletín Estadístico* No. 2, Jan.-Dec. 1991.

Source: Martínez, E.E.: *Incentivos Tributarios para la Capacitación*, CIDE, Santiago de Chile, 1992.

Annex I

CHILE: NATIONAL TRAINING INSTITUTE, SELF-ASSESSMENT OF TRAINING PROGRAMMES AIMED AT THE UNEMPLOYED/UNDEREMPLOYED, 1982-87

<i>Programme title</i>	<i>Socio-economic impact</i>
- Programme for technology transfer INDAP-INACAP, VI-X regions and metropolitan region, 1984-87 (small rural producers)	* Higher productivity. * Technology transferring. * Increases employment and informal sector integration
- Education for work. Self-employment OAS-INACAP, XII region, 1982-85	* Higher productivity. * Employment generation. * Local technology and resources. * Self-employment enhancement.
- Vocational training for income generation CORFO-INACAP, XII region, 1985-85	* Develop new economic activity. * Employment generation. * Rural settlement. * Self-instruction. * Technology transferring.
- Special training programme for Huasco and Freirina counties. OAS-INACAP regional government, III region, 1985-88	* Higher productivity. * Small rural, craft and fishing business development. * Employment generation.
- Training programme for the Copiapo Valley. Regional government, III region private sector, 1985-86	* Miners' retraining. * Higher productivity packing. * Export marketing. * Appropriate technologies. * Employment generation.
- Milk production-processing training. Private sector, IX and X region, 1986	* Higher productivity. * Product quality control.
- Income-generation training project San Antonio Province. Private sector-CORFO-local government V region, 1987	* Youth vocational training. * Higher productivity, * Local development. * Fishing industry employment.
- Pilot project for small fishing. CORFO-INACAP, VIII region, 1987	* Higher productivity. * Small business development. * Fishing craft production. * Local development.
- Training for small fishing sector. Regional government. I region, 1985-88	* Income-generating activity. * Basic technology transfer. * Employment generation. * Informal sector integration.

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