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UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN GERMANY

BY
MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

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DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

The past two decades have witnessed a radical change in the public attitude toward unemployment. The view widely held in the past that the unemployed are themselves to blame for not having jobs, and that all who really wanted work could find it if they tried hard enough, has long been discarded. The accepted view today is that unemployment is primarily a problem of industrial organization and not one of individual character.

The recognition of these facts has led several European states to provide machinery for taking care of the involuntarily unemployed. Great Britain was the first to create such an insurance system on a national scale. Since 1911, the important British industries have had insurance against unemployment. As amended in 1920, the British scheme brought into the insurance system virtually all persons employed under contract of the age of 16 and upwards.

The tremendous problem of making provision for millions of unemployed and the recognition of the fact that, whether an insurance system prevailed or not, it was necessary for the welfare of the state that the jobless worker be taken care of, led the German government to make several experiments along the line of unemployment relief during the years subsequent to the Treaty of Versailles. From 1919 to 1927, every possible expedient was made use of which might relieve the many workers who were suffering from unemployment. The experiments during this period resulted, in 1927, in the passage of an unemployment insurance law.

Recognizing the importance of the German Unemployment Insurance Law of 1927, the Guggenheim Foundation granted the author of this volume a fellowship which made possible a first hand study of the organization and administration of the newly created insurance system. The results of this investigation are incorporated in the following pages. The significance of the problem and its bearing upon the work of the Institute of Economics have led us to include this study among our publications. Although the volume is not a coöperative institutional product in quite the sense that our other publications are, its organization and form have nevertheless been supervised by two members of our staff.

In the year since this material was first published the Act of 1927 has been appreciably modified by amendments and executive orders covering scope, eligibility, and rate of contributions. Exceptional and continued business depression creating simultaneously unemployment and national financial stringency has forced careful scrutiny of the system and an attempt to work out an actuarially sound fiscal policy that is sufficiently comprehensive to meet the legitimate demands of participants in an unemployment insurance system. The amending rules and orders are included in the present volume.

EDWIN G. NOURSE,
Director.

Institute of Economics,
June, 1930.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgment of special indebtedness for assistance in this study is made to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, which granted a fellowship permitting the author to devote a year in Germany to the problem.

Dr. Oskar Weigert, head of Section IV of the German Ministry of Labor which deals with unemployment matters, and chief author of the present law, gave personal assistance and access to the resources of the Ministry. Other technical experts in the Ministry generously placed their information at the writer's disposal. Officials of the General Federation of German Trade Unions and of employers' associations in Berlin and representatives of labor and employers in Geneva, Switzerland, assisted. Dr. Robert R. Kuczynski suggested clues and contacts. Dr. Ruth Weiland of the German Red Cross interpreted social situations related to the unemployment problem. The staff of the Institute of Economics, particularly Harold G. Moulton, Isador Lubin, and Lewis L. Lorwin, made invaluable suggestions and aided in the final presentation of the work. While those who have offered help have been numerous and their aid has been gladly accepted and utilized, the writer must take responsibility for the point of view.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL.

Baltimore, Md.,
May, 1929.

CONTENTS

	Page
DIRECTOR'S PREFACE	vii
AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix

PART I

EARLIER EXPERIMENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
--------------------	---

CHAPTER I

PRE-WAR EXPERIENCE	6
--------------------------	---

CHAPTER II

POST-WAR EXPERIENCE	13
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER III

FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.....	19
I. The Difficulties of the Inflation Period.....	23
II. Stabilization and the Orders of 1924.....	26
III. Looking Toward a New Law.....	28

CHAPTER IV

PRODUCTIVE UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF WORKS.....	32
I. Public Works	33
II. Productive Relief through Private Business.....	39
III. Productive Relief through Welfare Agencies.....	40

CHAPTER V

THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE.....	42
------------------------------	----

PART II

THE NATIONAL INSURANCE SYSTEM

CHAPTER VI

THE ADVENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.....	48
I. Basis of Support of the Insurance System.....	48
II. Scope of the Law.....	50
III. Eligibility to Benefits.....	51
IV. Duration of Benefits.....	56
V. Rates of Benefits.....	57

	PAGE
CHAPTER VII	
ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.....	60
CHAPTER VIII	
THE USE OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE.....	65
I. Placement	65
II. Vocational Guidance	69
III. Unification of Insurance and Placement.....	71
CHAPTER IX	
VALUE-CREATING UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.....	73
CHAPTER X	
FINANCIAL ASPECTS	81
CHAPTER XI	
UNIFICATION AND AUTONOMY.....	91
CHAPTER XII	
PROBLEMS	96
CHAPTER XIII	
PROBLEMS—CONTINUED	103
APPENDIX A	
GERMAN STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.....	115
I. Number of Recipients as a Measure of Unemployment.....	115
II. Applications of Employees and Employers to the Exchange..	121
III. Trade Union Unemployment Statistics.....	122
IV. Special Investigations	123
V. Measures of Employment.....	124
APPENDIX B	
EFFECT OF POPULATION CHANGES IN GERMANY UPON FUTURE LABOR SUPPLY	125
APPENDIX C	
TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN ORDERS AND ACTS DEALING WITH UN- EMPLOYMENT	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY	130
INDEX	135

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GERMAN STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The Act of 1927 facilitates collection of statistics on unemployment. The consolidation of placement and unemployment insurance into a national system expedites reporting. Certain data published by the statistical service of the *Reichsanstalt* are only recently available. Others have been collected for over a decade.

I. NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS AS A MEASURE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is partly measured by the number of recipients of unemployment assistance.¹ These figures do not give the total volume of unemployment, because they do not cover persons who are not legally entitled to benefits or emergency allowances. There are about 17.2 million members in the German unemployment insurance fund.² They comprise about four-fifths of the wage and small salary earners. Their dependents number about 13 million.³

Statistics of recipients of unemployment donations or benefits from 1918 to 1930 are not wholly comparable. Data were gathered only for some cities during the first months of federal assistance. The figures for 1919 are estimates. They are open to such grave question that the statistical department for the Ministry of Labor hesitates to use them and generally begins its analysis with 1920.⁴

Reporting was not compulsory until federal orders were issued on May 15, 1923, and on April 22, 1924. Regulations of the latter date required reports on the first and fifteenth of each month. From March 1, 1923, to April 15, 1924, no figures were available for the occupied territory.

Changes in the legal definitions of eligibility to benefits affected the comparability of statistics of unemployment assistance. The early orders

¹ The graph of recipients of these three forms of aid may be found on page 12.

² See, *inter alia*, *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 1928, Pt. II, p. 532. The number remains fairly constant.

³ Estimate made from figures by Syrup, *Arbeitsmarkt und Arbeitsmarktpolitik in Deutschland*, p. 11. Dr. Syrup, head of the *Reichsanstalt*, calculated the number of dependents of wage and small salary earners at from 16 to 17 millions. The workers and their dependents together approximated 60 per cent of the total German population, according to his statement. About four-fifths of them were comprehended within the unemployment insurance scheme; and the writer assumes that their dependents represent about an equal proportion in the working-class families.

⁴ In spite of this fact and with due knowledge of the limitations of their value, figures for 1919 were included in the making of the graph on page 12, to give some indication of the peak of unemployment following demobilization.

of the Federal Office for Economic Demobilization allowed benefits to juveniles aged 14 or more. The age requirement was later raised to 16. Subsequent rules made receipt of relief on the part of persons from 16 to 18 years conditional upon specific performance such as compulsory labor or attendance upon vocational classes. The law of 1927 again comprehended all above the age of 14, with certain exceptions and reservations. The *Pflichtarbeiter* was not defined as a recipient of assistance before May 1, 1924, but was subsequently so classified. The necessitous clause limited the total group until its abandonment in 1927. Inclusions of persons unemployed through industrial disputes swelled the totals during the early period of federal measures. Changes in occupational groupings occurred from time to time. The restriction of unemployment assistance to persons able and willing to work but involuntarily unemployed involved varying definitions. The lengths of time required to establish claim to assistance and duration of benefits were construed differently throughout the decade. Partially employed workers in receipt of assistance were included within the statistics of standard benefits after October 1, 1922. Persons granted emergency unemployment allowances swelled the total of those relieved after November, 1926. Data concerning them are published separately.⁵ Those employed upon public relief works are today not counted among recipients of unemployment assistance but are separately classified, although from May 1, 1924, to January 1, 1926, they were included. After December, 1928 special rules for seasonal workers again modified the group for which data were gathered. The total unemployment throughout the entire decade was considerably in excess of listed recipients of aid.

The data on persons assisted through unemployment benefits and of the number of their dependents are published in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. According to the official figures, the number of monthly recipients of benefits during the post-war decade exceeded one million upon four different occasions. These were in the years 1919, 1924, 1926, and 1927. In 1926 it rose above the two million mark, including one in every 30 inhabitants of Germany. Toward the end of that year emergency unemployment allowances increased the number of persons assisted. For four months in 1927 and nearly three more in 1928 more than 200,000 were aided from this special fund. In February of 1929 and 1930 the number assisted through insurance and emergency allowances exceeded 2,600,000.⁶

During the year, October 1, 1927, to October 1, 1928, the number of persons receiving insurance per month varied from slightly more than 300,000 in October, to nearly 1.4 million in the middle of January. They represented 1½ per cent to over 8 per cent of the persons insured.⁷ The recipients of emergency unemployment relief, from March 15 to October 15, 1928, comprised from 0.5 to 1.4 per cent of the insured workers. They numbered from 1.3 to 3.4 per thousand inhabitants.

⁵The graph on page 12 includes them.

⁶Data on recipients of emergency unemployment allowances and their dependents are published annually in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

⁷These data are published monthly in the *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt* and annually in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

The number of adults who were assisted by standard unemployment benefits and by emergency unemployment allowances was augmented by those who were given employment upon value-creating unemployment relief works instead. Those who received this form of assistance in place of standard benefits numbered from 20,000 to 70,000 monthly during the first year of operation of the Act of 1927. Those who worked instead of receiving emergency allowances ranged from 8,000 to 21,000 a month within the same period.

In addition partially employed workers were granted benefits to compensate for days of work lost. Data covering them are not published, but the following official figures give an idea of the extent of service to them:

PARTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT COVERED BY BENEFITS IN SPECIFIED WEEKS OF 1928*

Week Ending	Number of Persons Receiving Benefits				Total Benefits (In marks)
	For Three Days Lost	For Four Days Lost	For Five Days Lost	Total	
January 28	5,388	419	203	6,010	16,563
February 25	5,630	460	188	6,278	18,165
March 31	6,367	398	431	7,196	19,111
April 28	7,211	628	366	8,205	23,728

* Official figures from files of the Ministry of Labor.

Since October 1, 1927, special data concerning the recipients of unemployment benefits and emergency allowances have been collected. The additional information covers wage classification, age, duration of benefits or

WAGE CLASSIFICATION OF RECIPIENTS OF STANDARD UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, OCTOBER 15, 1927-SEPTEMBER, 1928*

(Number in each wage class as a percentage of the monthly total, for months ending on the 15th)

Wage Classes under Act of 1927	1927		1928								
	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	July	Aug.	Sep.
I.....	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.7	2.5	1.0
II.....	2.5	2.6	2.6	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.6	1.7
III.....	4.7	4.6	4.4	4.9	5.0	5.0	5.3	5.6	6.0	5.6	3.6
IV.....	10.5	9.5	9.2	10.0	10.1	10.8	11.1	11.8	12.4	12.0	8.8
V.....	14.3	13.2	13.0	13.8	13.7	13.9	14.0	14.2	14.5	14.1	12.6
VI.....	16.6	15.7	15.9	16.1	16.0	16.0	15.7	15.3	15.0	15.4	27.7
VII.....	15.4	15.6	15.5	15.1	15.1	14.9	14.3	13.9	13.5	13.7	18.3
VIII.....	13.1	14.0	14.1	13.3	13.2	12.8	12.1	11.7	11.3	11.4	13.0
IX.....	8.8	9.6	9.8	9.3	9.2	8.9	8.7	8.5	8.5	8.8	5.0
X.....	5.7	6.3	6.7	6.1	6.2	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.7	6.0	3.6
XI.....	6.9	7.5	7.4	6.6	6.8	6.8	7.0	7.2	6.8	6.9	4.7
Total....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1928, p. 392; and *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt* for June-October, 1928. Figures for October, 1928, are not available because of incomplete reporting for that month.

allowances, persons exhausting claim to assistance, and those employed upon public works. The distribution of recipients of standard benefits according to wage classes established by the Act of 1927 is shown for the first year in the table on page 117.

The distribution of recipients of emergency unemployment allowances has been published regularly since July, 1928. The figures for one quarter are given in the following table.

WAGE CLASSIFICATION OF RECIPIENTS OF EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT ALLOWANCES, JUNE 15-SEPTEMBER 15, 1928*

(Number in each wage class as a percentage of the monthly total, for months ending on the 15th)

Wage Classes Under Act of 1927	July	August	September
I.....	0.9	1.0	1.0
II.....	1.8	1.7	1.7
III.....	3.7	3.6	3.4
IV.....	9.2	8.8	8.5
V.....	13.5	12.6	12.0
VI.....	28.0	27.7	27.8
VII.....	18.2	18.3	18.1
VIII.....	12.2	13.0	13.3
IX.....	4.9	5.0	5.4
X.....	3.4	3.6	3.8
XI.....	4.2	4.7	5.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

* *Statistische Beilage zum Reichs-Arbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger*, 1929, No. 7, Feb. 12, 1929.

The age classification of recipients of standard unemployment benefits published for three dates in 1928 are shown in the following table.

AGE AND SEX OF RECIPIENTS OF STANDARD UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR MONTHS ENDING JANUARY 15, APRIL 15, AND OCTOBER 15, 1928*

(Number in each age class as percentage of respective totals)

Age Class	Jan. 15			April 15			October 15		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
18 years or less . . .	3.2	5.3	3.5	2.3	4.5	2.7	3.1	4.7	3.5
Over 18, through 21	12.0	14.7	12.4	11.8	13.1	12.0	13.0	12.3	12.8
Over 21, through 45	59.3	58.6	59.2	59.5	64.0	60.3	58.2	67.0	60.4
Over 45, through 60	20.4	17.6	20.0	20.2	15.3	19.3	19.4	13.4	17.9
Over 60.....	5.1	3.8	4.9	6.2	3.1	5.7	6.3	2.6	5.4

* *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 1928; No. 7, Pt. II, p. 104; No. 16, Pt. II, p. 273; No. 34, Pt. II, pp. 550-551.

They received insurance during the first year for the following lengths of time:

DURATION OF PAYMENT OF STANDARD UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, IN THE FIRST YEAR'S OPERATION OF THE ACT OF 1927^a

Month Ending	Total Number of Recipients	Percentage of Total in Receipt of Benefits for Specified Number of Weeks			
		13 or Less	Over 13 Through 26	Over 26 Through 39	Over 39 Through 52
1927:					
November 15...	392,569	61.3	20.1	12.5	6.1
December 15....	830,586	78.1	12.8	6.1	3.0
1928:					
February 15 ^b ...	1,290,921	78.2	16.6	3.7	1.5
March 15.....	1,200,271	63.0	31.8	3.8	1.4
April 15.....	844,890	51.2	42.4	4.9	1.5
May 15.....	642,180	55.8	38.0	4.6	1.6
June 15.....	622,165	59.0	35.3	4.0	1.7
July 15.....	579,763	63.8	36.2	—	—
August 15.....	567,720	64.6	35.4	—	—
September 15...	576,498	64.0	36.0	—	—
October 15.....	593,589	64.8	35.2	—	—

^a From *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, December, 1927—November, 1928.

^b January figures not available.

Standard benefits were limited by the law of 1927 to 26 weeks, and the extension to 39 weeks allowed by the Act was not granted in practice. Nevertheless, during the transition period from the old law to the new, special concessions were made to persons expecting longer aid under previous rulings. This exception was first limited to March 1, 1928, but was extended to July 30 of that year. It then expired. However, one-half to nearly four-fifths of the persons listed had received benefits for three months' time or less. Even when aid was extended for a year, the majority were assisted for less than six months. Comparatively few persons received benefits long enough to exhaust their claim. This is indicated by the figures below showing the number of persons whose claims to benefits were exhausted during the months specified.^b They comprised from 1 to 10 per cent of the recipients of insurance.

Month Ending	Number of Persons
1927:	
November 15	20,358
December 15	18,332
1928:	
January 15	18,982
February 15	24,116
March 15	20,908
April 15	27,461
May 15	39,696
June 15	46,889
July 15	61,216
August 15	39,635
September 15 ^c	39,315

^b *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, December, 1927—October, 1928.

^c Figures for October not available because of temporary disorganization resulting from inclusion of labor offices into the *Reichsanstalt* during that month.

GERMAN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Those who received emergency unemployment allowances during the first year were given this form of aid for the lengths of time indicated in the following table.

DURATION OF PAYMENT OF EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT ALLOWANCES IN FIRST YEAR'S OPERATION OF THE ACT OF 1927^a

Month Ending	Total Number of Recipients	Percentage of Total in Receipt of Allowances for Specified Number of Weeks				
		13 or Less	Over 13 Through 26	Over 26 Through 39	Over 39 Through 52	Over 52
1927:						
November 15	126,215	44.7	20.7	18.1	16.5	—
December 15	171,657	58.0	15.0	12.6	10.7	3.7
1928:						
February 15 ^b	215,502	63.0	19.8	6.6	6.0	4.6
March.....	212,322	51.9	31.0	6.1	5.4	5.6
April 15.....	182,393	40.5	40.6	6.1	5.5	7.3
May 15.....	142,948	38.0	40.3	6.8	5.8	9.1
June 15.....	125,518	37.7	36.6	7.9	6.7	11.1
July 15.....	89,650	54.7	42.0	3.3	—	—
August 15....	80,895	59.2	37.4	3.4	—	—
September 15	82,356	59.4	34.8	5.1	0.7	—
October 15..	89,703	46.9	36.0	13.9	2.2	—

^a *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, December, 1927, to November, 1928.

^b Data for January, 1928, were not published.

These recipients of emergency unemployment allowances were grouped into two classes: (a) those who had worked between 13 and 26 weeks during the previous year, and those who had exhausted their claim to standard benefits. Their distribution in these two classes for the first year was as follows:²⁰

Month Ending	Number Not Meeting Requirements for Benefits	Number Having Exhausted Their Claims
1927:		
November 15	38,094	87,933
December 15	85,742	85,915
1928:		
January 15	144,418	83,862
February 15	147,100	68,402
March 15	147,168	65,154
April 15	123,460	58,933
May 15	88,543	54,405
June 15	70,086	55,432
July 15	48,311	41,339
August 15	34,966	45,929
September 15	31,133	51,218
October 15	30,901	58,502

²⁰ *Statistische Beilagen zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, December, 1927–November, 1928.

II. APPLICATIONS OF EMPLOYEES AND EMPLOYERS TO THE EXCHANGE

The extent of unemployment in Germany is also indicated by statistics of applicants for work at placement offices. Data cover reports of the public exchanges and also, since January, 1923, those of the private, non-fee bureaus. The private, non-fee agencies played a larger rôle in Germany before the war than they do today. They comprise services established by employers, trade unions, and the public and private welfare bodies. Fee agencies are largely confined to placing certain types of women's labor. They are only required to make quarterly statements to the employment exchanges. Their placements are, therefore, not included within the monthly employment statistics. Placement by the public exchanges comprises the major proportion of such service rendered in Germany.¹⁴ The present consolidation of the employment exchanges with unemployment insurance is expected to increase the volume of service rendered by the public exchanges and their relative importance in placement. The percentage of all jobs filled that are handled by the employment exchanges cannot be determined accurately.

Employment exchange data on applications for positions are of two types (a) the number of persons applying for positions at the middle and at the end of each month, and (b) the relation of applicants for work to positions registered. Most of the persons seeking jobs on specified days are unemployed. Only about 3 to 5 per cent are attempting to change their jobs.¹⁵ A few are counted twice because they have registered at both the public and the private, non-fee exchanges. On the whole, however, these figures represent the bona fide unemployed. Their number is considerably greater than that of the recipients of unemployment relief. On the last working day of June, 1928, for example, 1,207,410 persons applied for positions at the employment exchanges. That month unemployment insurance was granted to 610,687 persons and emergency unemployment allowances to 113,595 others. About 80,000 more people were employed upon value-creating unemployment relief works. There remained about 400,000 applicants who were not assisted. Perhaps 10 per cent of them were employed. The rest had not fulfilled the requirements for insurance or had exhausted their claim.

Statistics of applicants to the public exchanges are published monthly in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* and annually in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. More weight is attached for administrative purposes to the placement service's index of employment. This is the ratio of applicants to 100 jobs listed with the exchanges. Its value as a gauge of unemployment is relative, however, since the employer's use of the exchange differs in

¹⁴ Comparison of the activity of public, non-fee private, and private fee agencies may be made by reference to the annual statistics of placement published in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

¹⁵ At the end of August, 1928, of 1,162,000 applicants to the employment exchanges, 90 per cent were unemployed, and 5.6 per cent were occupied on value-creating unemployment relief work, leaving only 4.4 per cent who were employed but were seeking other positions. *Reichsarbeitsmarkt-Anzeiger* No. 41, 1928, p. 10.

proportion to availability of labor, customs of the locality or industry, and policies of the exchange. Reports of the employment exchanges are now given according to occupational classification. It is, therefore, possible to determine seasonal variations in employment with greater accuracy than could be done prior to 1927.

III. TRADE UNION UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Trade union statistics are a third source of information concerning unemployment. Local bodies send reports monthly to trade union headquarters, which forward them to the Ministry of Labor. In 1920 the data on unemployment among trade unionists were based upon the reports of 35 national unions having about 5.5 million members, and, in 1927, upon 39 national unions with about 3 million members.¹³ How representative these data are of the general situation in Germany is hard to determine. The trade union group undoubtedly has a more advantageous position than the unorganized. About three-fourths of the members are estimated to be skilled or semi-skilled workers. They probably experience a lower rate of unemployment than do the rest of the workers. They represented about one-fourth of the working population in 1920¹⁴ and about one-seventh in 1927.¹⁵

The completeness of the trade union statistics is also difficult to determine. The data are much more reliable than American trade union experience would lead one to anticipate. The *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, which is the largest federation of trade unions in Germany, compels locals to report. The central office can exert pressure on non-conforming locals through its right of expulsion. This power involves the recalcitrant member's loss of participation on legal bodies dealing with labor matters. Therefore the national organization believes that it commands a high rate of compliance. According to Dr. Wunderlich, reports in the last quarter of 1923 were obtained from 83 per cent of the paid membership.¹⁶

Trade union data on unemployment and partial employment are given in percentages of unemployment among their membership. These are published annually in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. The figures are not strictly comparable throughout the eight years shown. The data are reported according to members not fully employed and according to the amount of time lost weekly. Since January, 1926, the reports have not given the number of persons partially employed, but the total time lost through partial unemployment. Partial employment is listed in

¹³ *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, 1920, pp. 25, 347; 1928, Pt. II, 143.

¹⁴ The number of employed workers in Germany in 1920 was estimated as 19,250,000 by Dr. Wl. Woytinski in *Die Welt in Zahlen*, 2. Buch. *Die Arbeit*, p. 16.

¹⁵ The number of employed or employable workers in Germany in 1927 was estimated as 21 million by Dr. Syrup, in *Arbeitsmarkt und Arbeitsmarktpolitik in Deutschland*, in 38. *Sonderheft zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Wunderlich, Frieda, *Die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit in Deutschland seit Beendigung des Krieges*, 1925, Fischer, Jena, p. 13.

four groups, showing loss of one to eight, nine to sixteen, seventeen to twenty-four, and twenty-five and more hours a week. The total amount of time lost is calculated by the number of hours at the mid-point of each group. This total is then divided by eight to give the number of days of unemployment. The result added to the data on total unemployment among trade union members gives the volume of unemployment for organized labor. The data on volume of unemployment are published as percentages of employment of every trade unionist for eight hours a day.

IV. SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS

Two special investigations have been made of recipients of unemployment relief or insurance. The first, covering recipients of relief on July 2, 1926,¹ secured information from 1,594,300 persons. It was conducted primarily to determine wage classes for an unemployment insurance law and the relative costs of relief and insurance, but also gave data relating to sex distribution of recipients of relief, amounts of aid they had received, and their dependents.

A second and more detailed investigation² made on March 15, 1929 secured schedules for 2,064,423 recipients of unemployment insurance or special relief to necessitous seasonal workers. Eighty-five per cent of these persons were men. Work histories for one year or longer before report of current unemployment were secured from 1,527,992 persons, 1,306,332 being men and 221,607, women. Exhaustive analysis of these schedules was made. Recipients were classified according to age, sex, and occupational grouping, the seasonal and non-seasonal groups being separated. Under these classifications previous wage rates, duration of employment in insured occupations, receipt of unemployment benefits or emergency unemployment allowances, incapacity for work through sickness, and loss of time for other causes were tabulated.

Over 82 per cent of the one and one-half million had received no benefit at all during the year preceding report of current unemployment. Analysis of their wages showed that Class VI, from 30 to 36 marks, or \$7.50 to \$9.00 was the mode for the entire group. Class VIII covering wages from 42 to 48 marks, or \$10.00 to \$12.00, was modal for men and Class IV with wages of 18-24 marks, or \$4.50 to \$6.00, for women. One-half of them fell within Classes V to VIII, with wages from 24 to 48 marks, or \$6.00 to \$12.00. These classes comprised 55 per cent of the men and 34 per cent of the women. Classes IX to XI, with wages of 54 marks and over, included 34 per cent of the men and 1.6 per cent of the women. Classes I to IV, receiving up to 24 marks, covered 64 per cent of the women. The married men fell in classes VII to XI with wages of 30 marks and over and unmarried men mostly received 24 to 48 marks. Both mar-

¹ *Erste Ergebnisse der Erhebung in der Erwerbslosenfürsorge vom 2 Juli, 1926 Beilage zum Nr. 40 Reichsarbeitsblatt, 1926.*

² *Ergebnisse der Erhebung in der Arbeitslosenversicherung und in der Sonderfürsorge bei berufsfählicher Arbeitslosigkeit vom 15 März, 1929. Beilagen zum Nr. 25, 27, 30, 34, 40, 52, 1929; Nr. 6, 14, 1930 Reichsarbeitsblatt.*

ried and unmarried women were mainly in Classes III to V, with wages of 14 to 30 marks; but there was a higher percentage of married than of unmarried women in the lowest wage class. Among the men the highest wage groups comprised more seasonal than non-seasonal occupations, while women seasonal workers, most of whom were in agriculture, were in the lowest wage classes.

V. MEASURES OF EMPLOYMENT

Further evidence of the volume of unemployment is given by the measures of employment. Data on positions available at the employment exchanges show a rough inverse relationship to the curve of unemployment. Even more pronounced inverse relationship is found in the figures on employment among the members of the health insurance fund.²⁹ Employers are legally obligated to report to this fund employment or release of all persons who are required to insure in it. There is probably a high percentage of compliance. The data of the fund give the number of members in the firm and those who are released and hired. The local funds are required at the beginning and end of each month to report to the Ministry of Labor, their statistics giving the total number of employed and those hired or released during the month.

The figures until recently have not been gathered universally. They have merely been samples of employment conditions taken from various districts. They have usually been taken from communities that have had large health insurance funds. The result has been undue weight to the greater fluctuations of employment in the large cities. Today all funds are expected to report. It is not possible, however, to secure complete and immediate compliance from the health insurance fund. To eliminate the resulting inaccuracies, a chain index of health insurance figures has been adopted. Using January of each year as 100, percentages are based on the reports actually turned in for each month. These indices were first used in 1925, but were carried back retroactively to 1923. They are published in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

²⁹ Numbering over 21 million persons in the summer of 1928.

APPENDIX B

EFFECT OF POPULATION CHANGES IN GERMANY UPON FUTURE LABOR SUPPLY

The war checked the growth of German population, through loss of men and through decrease in the birth rate. It is estimated that 2 million Germans were killed in the war, that 3 million fewer children were born, and that three-quarters of a million persons died in the hunger blockade of 1918.¹ The low birth and high death rate between 1915 and 1918 resulted in a continually increasing excess of deaths over births for that four-year period. The official population data are published in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.

The German population had been prolific before 1914. In the half century before the war the birth rate was high and the death rate constantly decreased. In 1871 the birth rate was 34.5 per thousand of population; from 1874 to 1877 it exceeded 40 per thousand. In 1880 it was 38.9, and in 1890 it was 35.7 per thousand. During the nineties and the first decade of the twentieth century it declined slightly. Around 1910 it stood at about 30 per thousand. In five of the years between 1900 and 1910 there were over 2 million living births per year. In that decade the population increased from 56 to 64 million. Between 1910 and 1914 over 3 million more were added. By 1914 the birth rate had decreased to 27 per 1,000.

While the total German population decreased between 1914 and 1925, it is difficult to estimate the change in numbers of employable persons. Of the 2 million persons killed in the war, about 1,950,000 were men between the ages of 18 and 40. An additional 722,000 soldiers were so badly injured that they were entitled to special compensation. Many of them found return to industry impossible. The high pre-war birth rate, however, added employable persons from the younger age groups. Applicants for work were therefore numerous in spite of war losses in man power. The war also increased the existing excess of females over males. In 1910 there were 800,000 more German women than men. In 1925 the difference had become 2,100,000.

Of the 3 million children unborn because of the war, two and a quarter million would probably have entered the labor market at the age of 14. The decrease in 14-year-old persons going to work was expected to be evident between 1929 and 1933. The estimated decrease² in the number

¹ These figures are quite generally accepted in Germany. They are used by Dr. Syrup in *Arbeitsmarkt und Arbeitsmarktpolitik in Deutschland*, 38 *Sonderheft zum Reichsarbeitsblatt*, p. 8.

² *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, No. 44, 1925, Pt. II, p. 716.

of juveniles entering employment at the age of 14 is as follows, for the years 1929-1933:

Year	Estimated Decrease
1929	80,000
1930	500,000
1931	570,000
1932	640,000
1933	590,000
Total	<u>2,380,000</u>

These calculations are made on the basis of the records of children enrolled in the *Volksschule* or intending to enter it. Practically all pupils are graduated from this school at the age of 14 and go to work or enter an apprenticeship immediately thereafter. The school estimates³ of the number of children graduated each spring from the *Volksschule* and expected to go to work each spring, for the years 1928-1933, are as follows:

Year of Graduation	Number of Children
1928	1,293,900
1929	1,210,528
1930	793,023
1931	717,431
1932	650,903
1933	696,637
1934 ..	1,311,475
1935	1,270,537

Attempt has also been made to predict the occupational distribution of this shortage of juvenile labor. Calculation has been made on the basis of the 1925 census. The table on page 126 shows a marked reduction amounting to almost 50 per cent decrease in juvenile labor by 1932. The two groups, agriculture and industry, experience the greatest numerical loss because they employ the largest number of juveniles.

More permanent effects upon the future population in Germany are anticipated in the post-war decrease in the birth rate.⁴ These population changes lead some to believe that the high rate of unemployment is relatively temporary. Others contend that German population is far too great for the resources of the country and that the decrease in the birth rate is counterbalanced by the increasing longevity. The development of technical processes and the "rationalization" of industry are also expected

³ *Reichsarbeitsblatt*, No. 44, 1925, Pt. II, p. 716.

⁴ In 1925 the German birth rate was "close to the desired French limitation." ("Der Arbeitsmarkt und die Bevölkerung" in *Der öffentliche Arbeitsnachweis*, April, 1927, pp. 25-38.)

POPULATION CHANGES

127

to exercise such a change upon the labor market that even a declining population may experience unemployment.*

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF JUVENILES AGED 14 ACCORDING TO CENSUS ENUMERATION OF 1925 AND ESTIMATES FOR 1928-1940 *

(In thousands)

I. MALES

Year	Total Juveniles Aged 14	Agriculture and Forestry	Industry and Manufacture	Trade and Commerce	Clerical and other Office Work	Health Activities	Domestic Service	Total Employed	Unemployed (in school and unemployable)
1925	644.9	146.5	269.1	39.1	4.1	3.9	4.5	467.2	177.7
1928	620.8	141.0	259.0	37.7	4.0	3.7	4.3	449.7	171.1
1929	587.6	133.5	245.1	35.7	3.8	3.5	4.1	425.7	161.9
1930	385.0	87.4	160.6	23.4	2.5	2.3	2.7	278.9	106.1
1931	337.4	76.6	140.8	20.5	2.1	2.0	2.4	244.4	93.0
1932	307.4	69.8	128.2	18.7	2.0	1.8	2.2	222.7	84.7
1933	337.8	76.7	140.9	20.5	2.2	2.0	2.4	244.7	93.1
1934	633.5	143.8	264.3	38.5	4.1	3.8	4.4	458.9	174.6
1935	628.0	142.6	262.0	38.1	4.0	3.8	4.4	454.9	173.1
1936	604.6	137.3	252.3	36.7	3.9	3.6	4.2	438.0	166.6
1937	574.8	130.5	239.7	35.0	3.6	3.4	4.0	416.2	158.6
1938	544.7	123.6	227.1	33.2	3.4	3.2	3.8	394.3	150.4
1939	565.9	128.5	236.1	34.3	3.6	3.4	4.0	409.9	156.0
1940	545.1	123.8	227.4	33.1	3.5	3.3	3.8	394.9	150.2

II. FEMALES

1925	628.1	154.8	77.9	35.0	1.9	3.1	53.7	326.4	301.7
1928	610.3	150.5	75.7	34.0	1.8	3.0	52.2	317.2	293.1
1929	578.5	142.6	71.7	32.2	1.7	2.9	49.5	300.6	277.9
1930	377.1	93.0	46.8	21.0	1.1	1.8	32.3	196.0	181.1
1931	328.4	81.0	40.7	18.3	1.0	1.6	28.1	170.7	157.7
1932	298.6	73.6	37.0	16.6	0.9	1.5	25.6	155.2	143.4
1933	327.5	80.8	40.6	18.2	1.0	1.6	28.0	170.2	157.3
1934	612.4	151.0	76.0	34.1	1.8	3.0	52.4	318.3	294.1
1935	609.3	150.2	75.6	33.9	1.8	3.0	52.2	316.7	292.6
1936	588.7	145.1	73.0	32.8	1.8	2.9	50.4	306.0	282.7
1937	556.6	137.5	69.0	31.2	1.7	2.7	47.3	289.4	267.2
1938	524.1	129.5	65.0	29.3	1.6	2.6	44.5	272.5	251.6
1939	545.8	134.5	67.7	30.4	1.6	2.7	46.7	283.6	262.2
1940	526.0	129.7	65.2	29.3	1.6	2.6	45.0	273.4	252.6

* From official records of Ministry of Labor.

* Answer is made to this contention that a program of rationalization must include attention to the buying power of the population. It is held that the home market is, in the last analysis, the best place for the disposal of goods and that high wages must accompany increase in productivity. This latter argument finds perhaps its greatest advocates among the trade unions.

APPENDIX C

TRANSLATIONS OF GERMAN ORDERS AND ACTS DEALING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

English translations of German orders and laws dealing with unemployment are published by the International Labour Office at Geneva, Switzerland. These include the *Employment Exchanges Act of 1922*; the *Productive Unemployment Relief Orders of 1923*; the *Unemployment Relief Orders of February, 1924*; and the *Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927*. Copies of these translations may be secured upon application to the International Labour Office headquarters in Geneva or the branch office in Washington, D. C.

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The following bibliography is not intended to be comprehensive. It has seemed to the writer more important to indicate a few of the outstanding books in the fields related to the subject than to present an exhaustive bibliography. The former policy seems of more practical value and certainly less discouraging to a person seeking to understand the major trends in a foreign country which uses a language different from his own. The sources given lead those who wish to pursue the subject further to other material. Moreover, fairly exhaustive bibliographies are available. The International Labour Office has issued one which, it is to be hoped, will be continually brought up to date. Another has been privately collected by the Industrial Relations Counselors, Incorporated, of New York City.

Similarly, periodical material in this field is plentiful. A list of a few of the outstanding German periodicals representing different points of view and carrying frequent articles on the subject would therefore seem to be of value to American readers. For those wishing more detailed guidance to periodicals and books on German unemployment insurance, attention is called to the bibliographies published regularly in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt*.

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INDEX

- Ability to work, (*see tests of involuntary unemployment*)
- Abuse of the unemployment insurance system, 95, 97, 102, 109-111
- Accident insurance, 25, 59, 83, 90, 92
- Actors, 80
- Administration, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 60-64, 82, 88, 89, 102, 111, (*see also administrative committees*)
- Administrative Committees, 10, 19, 20, 21, 26, 44, 61-63, 91, 95, 104, (*see also non-partisanship*)
- Administrative Council of *Reichsanstalt*, 61, 62
- Age, insurable, 22, 51
- Agricultural labor, 10, 26, 27, 30, 36, 37, 44, 50, 51, 61, 68, 77, 79, 80, 99, 101, 102, 106
- Aliens, insurance of (*see citizenship requirements*)
- Allgemeiner deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, 122
- Allowances for dependents, (*see dependents, allowances for*)
- Amendments, 48, 58, 81, 89, 90, 100, 101, 111
- Appeals, (*see court of appeals, and courts of reference*)
- Apprentices and apprenticeships, 27, 43, 45, 50, 51, 65, 70, 71, 105, 106
- Autonomy, 64, 91-95
- Benefits, 9, 19-24, 30, 57-59, 73, 82-87, 115-120, (*see also dependents, emergency unemployment allowances*)
- Berlin-Schöneburg, 7
- Birth rate, 13, 88, 106, 111, 125, 126
- Board of Directors of *Reichsanstalt*, 61
- Borrowing, (*see deficit*)
- Brewing industry, 10
- British unemployment insurance, (*see English unemployment insurance*)
- Building trades, 17, 36, 37, 77, 99, 100, (*see also housing projects, seasonal unemployment*)
- Burden of support of insurance, (*see costs of unemployment insurance, deficit, poor relief, and social insurance*)
- Canal and waterway construction, 36, 37, 76, (*see also productive unemployment relief*)
- Capacity to work, (*see tests of involuntary unemployment*)
- Casual employment, 51, 97
- Charitable agencies' unemployment relief, 3, (*see also productive unemployment relief*)
- Charity, (*see poor relief*)
- Children, (*see birth rate, dependents, juvenile labor*)
- Citizens, unemployment relief to, 42, 50, 57, 69
- Citizenship requirements, 50, 57
- Civil service, 63
- Claim to benefits, (*see eligibility*)
- Classification according to wages, (*see wage classes*)
- Classification of risks, 9
- Clerical workers, 6, 77, 103-106
- Cologne system, 7, 8, 17
- Combating unemployment, (*see preventive measures*)
- Commercial agencies, (*see fee agencies*)
- Commercial clerks, 6
- Committees, administrative, (*see administrative committees*)
- Compensation, (*see benefits*)
- Compliance, 55, (*see also compulsory provision of employment, compulsory reporting by worker, compulsory reporting of vacancies, penalties*)
- Compulsory provision of employment, 14, 15, 18, 42
- Compulsory reporting by worker, 55, 56, 65, 72
- Compulsory reporting of vacancies, 44, 45
- Concentration of industry, 17

- Conditions for benefits, (see *eligibility*)
 Consumers' coöperatives, 7
 Continuation schooling, 71
 Contributions to social insurance, (see *health insurance, social insurance*)
 Contributions to unemployment insurance, (see *funds, source of*)
 Coöperation, 95
 Cost of collecting contributions, 48, 49
 Cost of living, 20-23, 26, (see also *inflation*)
 Cost of unemployment insurance, 5, 48, (see also *funds, source of, deficit, poor relief, social insurance, value-creating unemployment relief*)
 Court of Appeals, 61, 63, 97
 Courts of Reference, 61, 63, 97
 Creating opportunities for work, 43, 80, (see also *compulsory provision of employment, public works*)
 Customary wage rates, 44, 53, 101, 102
 Cyclical unemployment, 4, 99, 111

 Deficit, 83-90, 98, 99
 Demobilization, 13
 Commissioner, 22
 Committee on, 19, 27, 42
 Federal Office for Economic, 19, 42, 43, 116
 Dependents, allowances for, 20-22, 28-30, 54, 57, 58, 68, 85, 115
 Differentiation of rates of benefit, (see *benefits, representative wage*)
 Disabled persons, (see *handicapped persons*)
 Disputes, (see *industrial disputes*)
 District labor offices, 26, 49, 60-64, 65, 74, 86, 91
 District reduction of rates, (see *reduction of rates of contribution*)
 Diversification of industry, 17
 "Dole," 4
 Domestic servants, 27, 44, 50 107
Doppelverdiener, 108
 Dresden employment office, 10
 Duration of benefits, 5, 22, 26, 56, 67, 85, 88, 100, 101

 Economic voluntarism, 110, 112
 Economy in use of insurance funds, 83
 Elasticity of income of *Reichsanstalt*, 83

 Eligibility, 6, 19, 21-23, 26-28, 45, 51-55, 90, 96-98, 102, 109, 115, 116, (see also *tests of involuntary unemployment*)
 Emergency Powers Act, 23
 Emergency unemployment allowances, 5, 27, 28, 39, 49, 50, 54, 56, 57, 63, 67, 73-75, 82, 85, 69, 93, 95, 101, 115, 116, 118, 120, 121
 Employers' exchanges, 10
 Employers' organizations, 44, 95
 Employers' plans for unemployment relief, 3, 7, 9
 Employment exchanges, 3, 9, 10, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33, 38, 42-45, 48, 49, 54, 59, 65-69, 86, 87, 91, 95, 102, 112, 115, 121, 122, 123, (see also *employers' exchanges, fee agencies, local employment exchanges, non-fee agencies, placement*)
 Employment Exchanges Act, 43
 Engineers, 80
 English unemployment insurance, 3, 4, 29, 87
 Equi-partisan Committees, (see *non-partisanship*)
 Exempted occupations, 27, 50, 51
 Expenditures, 84-90, (see also *deficit, poor relief, productive unemployment relief, social insurance, value-creating unemployment relief*)
 Expert Commission, 85
 Extended benefits, (see *emergency unemployment allowances*)
 Extent of unemployment, 3, 9, 12-17, 32

 Family allowances, (see *dependents*)
 Farm labor, (see *agricultural labor*)
 Federal Economic Council, (see *Reichswirtschaftsrat*)
 Federal equalization fund, 27, 31
 Federal Insurance Bureau, 63
 Federal Office for Economic Demobilization, (see *demobilization*)
 Fee agencies, 10, 11, 44, 69, 102, 121
 Female unemployment, 29, 30
 Financial difficulties, 98, 99 (see also *deficit, funds*)
 Fishermen, 50
 Flexibility, provisions for, 111

- Fluctuation of employment, 95 (see also *cyclical unemployment, seasonal unemployment, technological unemployment*)
- Foreigners, 10, 42, 50, 57, 69, 102 (see also *reciprocity to nationals of other countries*)
- Forestry, (see *agricultural labor*)
- Free Trade Unions, 6
- Freiburg, 7
- Frequency of reporting, (see *compulsory reporting by worker*)
- Funds, sources of, 19, 22-29, 48-50, 81-90
- German Federation of Trade Unions, (see *Allgemeiner deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*)
- Ghent System, 7-9, 17
- Governing bodies of the *Reichsanstalt*, 61-63
- Governmental bodies, 95, (see also *public welfare agencies*)
- Great Britain, unemployment insurance, (see *English unemployment insurance*)
- Grundförderung*, 35, 73, 78, 86
- Hamburg Coöperative Society, 7
- Handicapped persons, 43, 94
- Health insurance, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 44, 48-51, 53, 55, 59, 62, 90, 92, 93, 97, 110, 123, (see also *social insurance*)
- Heyl, Cornelius, factory, 7
- Housing projects, 36, 37, 39, 77, 101, 102, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
- Income for unemployment insurance, (see *funds*)
- Income of the unemployed, 21, 22
- Individualization of workers, 87, 107, 123, 124
- Industrial accident, (see *accident insurance*)
- Industrial disputes, 4, 21, 44, 54, 62, 67, 97, 98, 116
- Industrial home work, 50, 86, 107
- Industry, unemployment relief by, 3, (see also *employers' plans for unemployment relief*)
- Inflation, 14, 15, 22-26, 32, 45, 103
- Institutions, inmates of, 52
- Instruction, (see *apprenticeship, schools, vocational education*)
- Insurance, (see *social insurance*)
- International Labour Office, 129
- Invalidity and old age insurance, 25, 50, 51, 59, 90, 92
- Involuntary unemployment, proof of, (see *tests of involuntary unemployment*)
- Irregular employment, 52
- Itinerant workers, 43, (see also *migratory labor*)
- Joint exchanges, 10
- Joint risks associations, 25
- Juvenile labor, 19, 48, 69-71, 74, 75, 105, 106, 116, 125-127
- Juvenile unemployment, 43, 106
- Krisenfürsorge, (see *emergency unemployment allowances*)
- Labor exchanges, (see *employment exchanges*)
- Labor market, 80
- Land reclamation, 38, 39, 76, 79, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
- Lans, Heinrich, factory, 7
- Large scale productive relief works, 33, 35, (see also *verstärkte Förderung*)
- Legal claim to unemployment compensation, (see *eligibility*)
- Leipzig, 7, 9
- Limitations of unemployment insurance, 109-112
- Loans to private enterprise, (see *private enterprise*)
- Local administration, 22, 25
- Local employment exchanges, 3, 9-11, 27, 42, 43
- Local labor offices, 43, 49, 60-72, 86, 91, 94, 102, 104, (see also *employment exchanges*)
- Local unemployment relief, 3, 7-9, 17, 20
- Local wage rates, 101, 102
- Locality classification of relief, 19-31
- Lockouts, (see *industrial disputes*)
- Male unemployment, 29, 30
- Market problems, 14-16, 70, 71, 112, 126
- Maternity benefits, 59
- Migratory labor, 21, (see also *agricultural labor*)

- Miners' sickness fund, 23, 25, 59, 92
 Minimum wage, (see *trade agreements*)
 Mining industry, 90
 Misuse, (see *abuse of the unemployment insurance act*)
 Mohr, A. L., factory, 7
 Morale, 80
- National planning of production, 80
 National treasury, (see *deficit*)
 National unemployment relief, 14-31
 Necessitous condition as requirement for relief, 19, 21, 27, 28, 56, 57, 83, 93, 99, 116
 Non-commercial agencies, (see *non-fee agencies*)
 Non-fee agencies, 10, 11, 44, 69, 121
 Non-partisanship, 10, 43, 44, 63, 68, 69
 Notice required before discharge, 42, (see also *compulsory provision of employment*)
 Nullen-Schreiber, 15, 103
- Occupational wage rate, 101, 102
 Old age pensions, (see *invalidity and old age insurance*)
- Partial assistance, 21
 Partial employment, 9, 15, 16, 20, 27, 42, 56, 84, 116, 117, 122, 123
 Penalties, 50, 53-55, 66, 67, 97, 102
 Pensions, 59, (see also *invalidity and old age insurance, poor relief*)
 Periods of incapacity, regulations, (see *health insurance*)
 Personal limitations causing unemployment, 4, 5
 Personnel of *Reichsanstalt*, 63, 72, 91, 111
Pflichtarbeit, 54, 74, 75, 88, 105, 116
 Placement, 3, 5, 9-11, 16, 42-45, 49, 55, 56, 65-72, 86, 87, 91, 95, 102, 105, (see also *employment exchanges*)
 Political parties, 69, 71, 111
 Poor relief, 5, 6, 9, 10, 40, 57, 67, 73, 93, 94, 97, 106, 108-110
 Population problems, 13, 106, 112, 125-127
 Postal service, 36, 37
 Preventive measures, 65, 68, 82, 87, 88, 95, 104, 112
 Printers' union, 6
 Printing industry, 10
- Private agencies, (see *fee agencies, non-fee agencies*)
 Private enterprises, loans to, 33, 38-40, 74
 Private unemployment insurance, 7, (see also *employers' plans for unemployment relief, Hamburg Co-operative Society, trade union benefits*)
 Procedure of placement office, 66-69, (see also *employment exchanges*)
 Production problems, 15-17, (see also *rationalization*)
 Productive unemployment relief, 15-17, 21, 32-41, 55, (see also *value-creating unemployment relief*)
 Professional workers, 65, 71, 80
 Proof of involuntary character of unemployment, (see *tests of involuntary unemployment*)
 Proposed unemployment legislation, 22, 28-31
 Provision of employment, 21, 43, 45, (see also *compulsory provision of employment, Pflichtarbeit, public works*)
 Public agencies, (see *governmental bodies*)
 Public Welfare Act of 1924, 14, 40
 Public welfare agencies, (see *poor relief*)
 Public Works, 3, 5, 18, 26, 32-41, 62, 95, 116, 118, (see also *productive unemployment relief, value-creating unemployment relief*)
- Railway construction, 36, 37, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
 Rates of benefit, (see *benefits*)
 Rates of Contribution, 48, 81-84
 "Rationalization," 16, 17, 39, 70, 126
 Reciprocity to nationals of other countries, 21, 57, (see also *foreigners*)
 Reduction of German territory, 13
 Reduction of rates of contribution, 49, 81, 83
 Refusal of work, 34, 53, 54, (see also *tests of involuntary unemployment*)
Reichsanstalt, 59, 60-65, 68, 69, 71-74, 76, 83, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91-95, 98, 100, 104, 106, 110, 115
Reichsrat, 28
Reichstag, 9, 28, 111
Reichswirtschaftsrat, 28, 111

- Relief of unemployment, 3, 4, 6, 14, 15, 18-31, 43-45, 89, 115, 116, 123
- Religious agencies' exchanges, 10
- Reparations payments, 16
- Reporting, (see *compulsory reporting of vacancies, employment exchanges*)
- Representative wage, 57
- Reserve fund, 27, 31, 49, 62, 81, 83, 84, 88-90, 98-101
- Residence requirements, 19, 21
- Revisions, 89, 90, 95, 100, 101, (see also *amendments*)
- Road building, 33, 39, 77, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
- Salaried employees, 60, 61, 103-105
- Salaried employees' insurance, 25, 44, 50, 59, 90
- Schools, 70, 71, 106, 124, 125
- Scope, (see *eligibility*)
- Seamen's insurance, 25
- Seasonal unemployment, 4, 17, 22, 49, 50, 56, 57, 68, 69, 83, 84, 86, 98-101, 107, 110, 123, 124
- Sickness insurance, (see *health insurance*)
- Small scale productive relief works, 33, 35, (see also *Grundförderung*)
- Social insurance, 5, 23, 25, 30, 49, 53, 59, 84, 90, 92, 93, (see also *accident insurance, health insurance, invalidity and old age insurance, salaried employees' insurance*)
- Source of funds for unemployment compensation, (see *funds, source of*)
- Special relief fund for seasonal workers, 49, 50, 56, 57, 89, 100
- Stabilization
Of currency, 14, 15, 16, 26
Of employment, 3, 4, 49, 50, 56, 57, 89, 112
- Stamping unemployment cards, 66
- Standard unemployment benefits, (see *benefits*)
- State aid to the unemployed, 23, 24, 49, 89, (see also *emergency unemployment allowances, special relief to seasonal workers*)
- State control of unemployment, 112
- State employment exchanges, 10, 27, 43, 44, (see also *employment exchanges*)
- Statistical inquiries, 29, 30, 85, 95
- Statistics of unemployment, 115-124, (see also *extent of unemployment, statistical inquiries*)
- Stellenvermittlergesetz, 11
- Strassburg, 7
- Strikes, (see *industrial disputes*)
- Structural changes in production causing unemployment, 4, 5
- Subsidies, 35-40, 74
- Suitable employment, 19
- Supplementary allowances for dependents, (see *dependents*)
- Supplementary wage, 45, 58
- Support of unemployment compensation, (see *funds, source of*)
- Stuttgart employment office, 10
- Tariff barriers, 16
- Tarifverträge, (see *trade agreements*)
- Technically trained employees, 80, 103-105
- Technological changes, unemployment caused by, 4, 5, 83
- Temporary employment, 59
- Tests of involuntary unemployment, 9, 19, 22, 25, 26, 52-55, 78, 80, 96, 97
- Title to benefits, (see *eligibility*)
- Trade agreements, 43, 68, 74, 99, 103, 107
- Trade fluctuations, unemployment arising from, (see *cyclical unemployment*)
- Trade training, (see *vocational education*)
- Trade union benefits, 3, 4, 6, 8, 17, 20, 95
- Trade union exchanges, 10, 95
- Trade union unemployment, 15, 16, 124
- Trade unions, 6, 8, 44, 68
- Transients, 21, (see also *migratory labor*)
- Travel allowances, 6, 21, 68
- Types of unemployment, 4
- Umpire, (see *Courts of Appeal, Courts of Reference*)
- Unemployment
Character of, 4
Compulsory reporting of, (see *compulsory reporting of vacancies*)
Insurance, national, 22, 28-31, 48-59
Relief, (see *relief of unemployment*)
Types of, 4

- United States, unemployment in, 3-5
 "Unreasonable hardship," 22, 26, 51, 52, 54, 98
 Unskilled day laborers, 100
- Vacancies, compulsory reporting of, (see *compulsory reporting of vacancies*)
- Value-creating unemployment relief, 62, 73-82, 84, 88, 95, 101, 104, 107, 112, 117, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
- Verstärkte Förderung*, 35, 37, 38, 73, 86
- Vocational counsel, 5, 11, 17, 42-44, 49, 69, 70, 71, 87, 106
- Vocational education, 5, 45, 54, 68, 105
- Vocational reëducation, 5, 42, 54, 68, 71, 96, 97
- Volksschule*, 71, 125
- Volume of unemployment, (see *extent of unemployment, statistics of unemployment*)
- Voluntary extended insurance, 51
- Wage classes, 29, 30, 85, 86, 88, 101, 107, 109, 117, 118, 123, 124
- Wage rates, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 43, 53, 74, 102
- Wages bill, national, 90
- Waiting period, 19, 55, 62, 66, 100
- War pensions, 59
- Waterways, construction, (see *canal and waterways construction*)
- Wiemar Constitution, 9, 14
- Welfare agencies, (see *poor relief*)
- Wharves, 38, 40, (see also *productive unemployment relief*)
- Willingness to work, (see *tests of involuntary unemployment*)
- Winter unemployment, 7, 17, 20, 21, 77, 85, 89, 98-101, (see also *seasonal unemployment*)
- Women workers, 10, 19, 65, 86, 88, 96, 106-108, 123, 124
- Work, provision of, (see *compulsory provision of employment, employment exchanges, public works*)
- Work histories, 123, 124
- Workmen's compensation, (see *accident insurance*)
- World War, 9, 13, 124
- Young Plan, 85
- Zeiss firm, 7, 51, 95

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