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A European Comparison of Change in the National Governance of Integrated Social Cohesion Policy

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Introduction

Major changes have occurred in the field of employment and social cohesion policies within the last decade. The promotion of a rising activation increased all through Europe. And lately, an integrated approach - aiming at a closer cooperation between the employment policies and some other policy fields related to social cohesion - was also encouraged by European and international organizations¹. These fostered trends question the way new challenges are dealt with and thus their governance. New governance schemes not only aim at reducing States' expenditures, but they also aim at implementing activation policies. More important, regarding that *"the feasibility of social policy reforms may be influenced by specific governance configurations"* (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2007), the focus is then put on another objective of new governance patterns: to increase the efficiency of these policies. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) have stressed that, on the subject of social and employment policies, governance is not only 'a way of doing' but has deeper implications in terms of welfare state transformations (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2008). It highlights the need to question the evolution of new ways to deal with employment and social cohesion policies and their governance's schemes.

To address these matters, national governance patterns of these policies will be analysed. How are different policy fields, different political levels and different actors regulated at the national level? This promoted integrated approach and its governance will be questioned through a comparative analysis based on six national studies (Germany, Italy, Poland, UK, Sweden and France²). It will thereby introduce a European research project on the local dimension of integrated social and employment policy³, which analyses will progressively be published.

¹ Related to this can also be mentioned the recent promotion of the notion of « active inclusion » defined as following: *"active inclusion entails a combination of adequate income support, inclusive labour markets and access to quality services. Active inclusion policies are intended for all those excluded from the labour market by supporting them with the resources they need to lead a dignified life and with opportunities for social participation, and promoting access to quality and lasting employment that corresponds to their aptitudes and abilities"* *"The persistence of poverty and joblessness and the growing complexities of multiple disadvantages call for comprehensive, integrated policies (4). With a view to modernising social protection systems, adequate income support needs to be combined with a link to the labour market and access to quality services in an integrated active inclusion strategy (5). This strategy is fully complementary to the flexicurity approach, while targeting those excluded from the labour market. It contributes to the Lisbon strategy by facilitating the activation and the mobility of the workforce, and represents a building block in the social dimension of the EU's sustainable development strategy (6)."* (COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION of 3 October 2008 on the active inclusion of people excluded from the labour market (notified under document number C(2008) 5737).

² See project partners in appendix 2

³ The Localise project questions the way problems of fragmentation and the challenge of overlapping competencies and resources provoked by integrated social cohesion policies are dealt with at the local level (Localise, 18)

Hence, this paper aims at presenting and analysing these integrated employment and social cohesion policies in regard with its governance, which have a broad definition. In the context of social policies, Mary Daly defines governance as the “*organisation of collective action*” (Daly, 2003). This term may also refer to the articulation of old public administration, new public management and new public service or to the growing importance of the local level. Moreover, when analysing the governance of employment and social policies, most academics have only focused on the delivery of services. Nonetheless, it appears relevant to widen this analysis, which does not take into account policy making. Thus, not only will the governance of service delivery be analysed, but the way policies are designed will also be analysed in terms of governance.

Van Berkel and Borghi have identified three new forms of governance (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2008). First, the “*rescaling (of) welfare*” characterized by the decentralisation process represents the main new form that has occurred in most European countries. “*Marketization and competition*” are presented as the second form. And finally, “*interagency cooperation and service integration*” appear as the last aspects of new governance schemes. It quite corresponds to the three pillars that will be developed throughout this article, which focuses on the analysis of changes regarding the multi levels, the multi dimensions and the multi stakeholders. Our approach, thus formulated, aims at defining and understanding the multi-faceted governance and the levers able to intervene on it.

To address these questions, we will first define the integrated approach in a context of activation. The first part aims to understand how both these concepts are related. Does activation require integration and *vice versa*? An analysis of the way activation has evolved over the last decade will enable us to define this relation and to present the different levels of analysis that will be used all throughout this article. Once the main concepts of our article defined and contextualised, the main identified common trends and specificities in agenda setting between the six case studies will be discussed through some key notions related to the political decisions made in terms of integration in order to reveal the established dynamic: conditionality, cross sectoriality, individualisation, contractualisation and marketization. What does ‘activation friendly integration’ - as we call it – result in? What kinds of multi-faceted governance does each country promote? Then, a dynamic analysis of

change will put the emphasis on the real implementation of these policies in order to analyze the way changes occurred and their intensity. What initiated changes and how strong were they? All these different considerations will finally enable us to discuss typologies of European varieties in governing social cohesion and to introduce Localise following work packages.

1. Contemporary activation and integrated approach: an obvious couple?

Nowadays, activation seems to be settled in Europe. Indeed, even though this trend is often presented as a European concept, academics have shown over the last decade how it became more or less nationally acknowledged. In brief, the aim of such trend was to face new challenges of rising unemployment⁴ and social exclusion.

At the same time, at the European level, but also at some national levels, an integrated approach was increasingly promoted as a way to face the same difficulties against which activation policies were supposed to fight.

What do both concepts mean in the current context? What do they aim at? And most importantly, how are they related to each other? Has the so-called integrated approach been promoted as a component of activation policies, or is it a new answer to contemporary challenges, away from activation bases?

1.1 Contemporary activation: toward a more formal activation

Prior to defining the integrated approach that was introduced previously, it is of paramount importance to set up the context in terms of activation. In terms of its definition, we will refer to Barbier, who defines it as follows: *“an increased and explicit dynamic linkage introduced in public policy between social, welfare, employment and labour market programmes, which implies critical redesigning of previous income support, assistance and social protection policies in terms of efficiency and equity, as well as enhancing the various social functions of paid work and labour force participation”* (Barbier, 2000). As already stated, the topic of activation policies have been increasingly analysed by European academics. Based on these analyses and on each partners’ national works, we will demonstrate the current place of activation in the studied countries in order to then facilitate the understanding of the rise of an integrated approach.

A shift towards more activation seems to characterize the last decade. The reasons that made each country decide to implement more activation may vary. This shift can be very

⁴ The statistics presented in appendix 1 help understanding the European context over the last decade (cf. appendix 1). It shows rising unemployment and new ways to deal with employment issues (atypical contracts, etc.).

different from one country to another in terms of both its newness and effectiveness⁵. Activation can be perceived as a new agenda for the employment / social public policies. The reasons for such novelty can be traced in the critique or the exhaustion of the traditional welfare state. Indeed, all of the six countries studied here have institutionalized active labour market policies in their legislative bodies, and sometimes at the highest level like in the case of Poland, where ALMP are perceived as a constitutional right promoted by the article 65 of the national fundamental law. At least at a discursive level, all countries promote labour market policies oriented towards a new conception of unemployment, based on a redefined balance of rights and duties, a revised system of incentives and sanctions, and a renewed set of policy tools and system of actors. The former shift to activation policies was strengthened by a strong impact (that may have taken many different forms: appropriation of resources, new discourses, etc.) of the European employment strategy to make activation a national priority. It is now being reinforced by the fact that activation seems to be more and more acknowledged by national governments as a way to deal with rising challenges. Indeed, the development of activation policies - that mainly occurred after the Commission launched it - has now been increasingly integrated into the national policies' agenda. And in most countries, it is no longer only a way to fit into European recommendations. This process of policy learning and transfer is different from one country to another. It can be rooted in history as a traditional way of building a "middle road" between capitalism and socialism like in Sweden where ALMP dates back to the mid-20th century. It can also be directly related to a recent transitional history like in Poland, which went through a structural transformation from centrally planned economy into market economy. It can also be brought on the political agenda as a market-oriented "third way" like in the UK.

Moreover, even though activation appears to be a common objective for all, it takes a more or less formal shape. Obviously European countries promoted activation and then established policies that follow this trend, and therefore try to really implement activation. However, in some of these countries, activation remained informal, as it was not effectively implemented. Indeed, in Italy, the European influence seems more important than the

⁵ Questioning effectiveness aims at analysing whether policies are only at a discursive level or at levels actually really implemented.

national will with regards to activation. In Poland, the Commission also played a major role in shaping current employment policies. However, due to structural transformations that occurred at the end of the XXth century, the impact of European policies in terms of activation policies started later (Poland entered EU in 2004, but we can notice an appropriation of EU resources of various kinds earlier that may be notably explained by the wish to integrate the European Union and thus to fit into its objectives and recommendations). Nowadays, Poland effectively implements activation policies, which hence became more formal over the years. Thus, even though we can assume that activation was promoted to give a good impression to European institutions, the fact that it is now effectively implemented reveal that activation has been acknowledged as the way to face new challenges. Italy's policies are however still not effectively implemented and are therefore more informal, which leads us to suppose that activation was mainly promoted to fit into European objectives than to create a new national dynamic.

In terms of formal / informal activation, Sweden and UK have acknowledged activation in a formal way early. Since the introduction of this trend, they established measures often described as 'strong' activation policies: sanctions, increasing conditionality, etc.

Regarding France and Germany, both countries made activation⁶ more formal (through executed increasing conditionality for example). However, even though these policies are getting 'stronger', it should be noticed that they were for a long time 'softer' than the ones in UK and Sweden. It can be explained not only by the nature of the policies (generosity of benefits, conditionality, etc.), but also by its effective implementation. Thus the informal aspect of their policies appears more relevant to highlight than the intensity of established activation policies, because - as it does not enough emphasize the actual implementation of these policies - it may hold the analysis at a discursive level.

Hence, shifting to more formal activation can emerge from a highly institutionalized program reforming together the employment policy's aims, system of actors and tools, like the Hartz's program of reforms in Germany. On the contrary, a more informal activation is often characterized by a rhetorical way of sticking to European incentives while recognizing a new

⁶ A dynamic analysis of these changes will be realised in the last part of this article and will thus reveal this way and the reasons it changed through the last decade.

political equilibrium led by the strength of the employer's interests in France or in Italy with shy effects in terms of implementation.

1.2 The rise of an integrated approach

As already stated, European welfare states have put the emphasis on an “*active employment policy*” conceived of as the core of the “*active and dynamic welfare state*” (European Council 2000). The promotion of activation, widely analysed by academics, was followed by the promotion of a so-called integrated approach, which has not initiated many analysis in terms of employment and social cohesion. Are both trends related? Do activation policies suppose integration? What is to be integrated and what is the objective?

The definition of activation previously presented⁷ (Barbier, 2000) highlights the importance of including several fields. It also shows the many restructuring consequences activations policies result in. Therefore, when working on activation policies, it appears of paramount importance to take into account both employment policies and wider social services.

This definition thus puts the emphasis on the need for an integrated approach. Indeed, over the last two decades, this concept of an “integrated approach” was used to promote a new way of dealing with employment and social cohesion challenges to an increasing extend. However, even though the use of this concept has increased, its definition remains vague.

In a European context, it was first used to promote a new way to deal with gender inequalities in the labour market (Pascual, 2002). In Serrano Pascual's work on gender issues, this approach is presented as an innovative response to inequalities, consisting of the integration of women's problems in all European public policies.

Progressively, this approach started to be used in other fields such as environment, migration and also employment and social cohesion (notably through the Lisbon agenda and the OMC processes for the latest).

⁷ “*an increased and explicit dynamic linkage introduced in public policy between social, welfare, employment and labour market programmes, which implies critical redesigning of previous income support, assistance and social protection policies in terms of efficiency and equity, as well as enhancing the various social functions of paid work and labour force participation*” (Barbier, 2000)

Concerning this last field, an *activation-friendly integrated approach*⁸ aims at reducing inequalities in terms of employability, and facilitating social inclusion. The term ‘integrated’ notably implies that the different challenges vulnerable populations - understood as persons furthest from employment - may face, should be linked and coordinated together. For example, the need to conciliate social inclusion and employment issues has progressively been reinforced (Barbier, 2000). It is at the start of the economic crisis that the need to conciliate social inclusion and employment issues was emphasized. Indeed, national administration and experts then realized that increasing unemployment⁹ did not reach the whole population in the same way, but was much more focused on certain categories of the population. Considered for a long time as two distinct objectives, inclusion and employment issues have hence recently become more and more interdependent.

Such integrated approach became more formal and is now being increasingly used in discourses. Thus, in a recent report entitled “Employment and Social Developments in Europe 2011”, Laszlo Andor - Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion – explains that « *the integrated approach which the Commission has applied in preparation of the review corresponds to the Europe 2020 strategy. This is a long-term development strategy which sees social inclusion, the fight against poverty, greater labour market participation, employment and job quality as essential elements for Europe’s prosperity* » (European Commission, 3).

Hence, new challenges in terms of social cohesion require a wider approach including social and employment policies. It puts the emphasis on an approach that does not isolate problems but foster the inclusion of a wide range of fields, but also of actors and levels.

However, even though activation and this integrated approach appear to have similar objectives, does activation require such approach? Or is it two different answers to a same problem?

On the one hand, Serrano Pascual questions the relation between integration and activation by showing that activation represents a punctual answer to current challenges and relies on targeting and thus, on a kind of positive action; whereas the integrated approach aims at a

⁸ We will refer to this notion of « activation-friendly integration » in order to point out the fact that in this governance scheme, there is a normative assumption to foster activation. Integration of social policy fields could well be organized to promote other means than increasing access to employment.

⁹ See statistics in appendix 2

deeper change than corrective actions (Pascual, 2002, p.264). The author wonders whether the newly promoted integrated approach would be a way to deal with the failure of activation. Thus, integration would not be a component of activation but rather a new answer to common challenges.

On the other hand, based on Barbier's definition of activation, we can assume that this integrated approach is necessary to implement activation policies. It is what makes activation wider than active labour market policies that were more focused on one isolated field. Hence, activation would require integration.

Based on the fact that institutions promote both trends simultaneously and tend to make activation more formal and thus still acknowledge it as an adequate answer to current challenges, we assume that – at least in terms of political decisions – today's activation require an integrated approach. The latest even appear as at the core of activation given that activation made employment the key issue of current welfare systems. And in order to achieve this goal, employment issues should not be isolated and should therefore follow the 'integrated approach'.

1.2 The three levels of analysis of the activation friendly integration

Based on the linkage established between the integrated approach and activation, we can refine our understanding of integration in that specific context. If the discourse on integration has been progressively adopted on both European and national levels, it is of paramount importance to define this notion precisely in terms of common trends and specificities in the national contexts in order to conduct a comparative analysis of its evolution. We distinguish three levels in this activation-friendly integration, on which we will rely to analyse and compare the six countries.

Activation may be defined as a mix of work first / workfare approach and of the provision of different services (placement, training, counselling, psychological support, housing...) where professional integration and transition onto the labour market represent the key dynamic to promote social integration and economic competitiveness (Hvinden 2001, Eichhorst / Konle-Seidl 2008, Barbier 2005, Serrano Pascual 2007, Bonoli 2010). Hence, the first level is based on the established statement that social integration is now clearly related to employment.

Therefore, it focuses on a necessary bridge between different fields. The multi-dimensional aspect of this integration is hence indubitably one of the core components of the activation friendly integration.

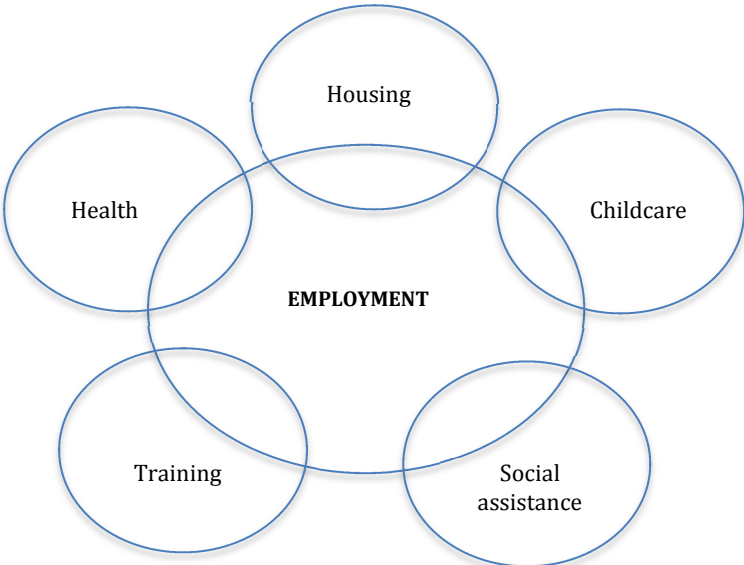
On a second level of analysis, integration can be analysed as a vertical dynamic. Indeed, from this point of view, integration relies on territorialisation and rescaling of social and employment policies. This multi levels aspect is also a key component of the analysed trend.

Finally, the last level of analysis puts the emphasis on the multi-stakeholders' dynamic. Such horizontal integration supposes a reinforced coordination in terms of policy actors (public/public, as well as public / private actors).

1.2.1 Multi dimensional side of integration

For what is regarding the multidimensional integration, and with regard to our six studied countries, we have selected five policy fields potentially related to the employment policy in terms of activation. These policy fields are: housing, health care (including substance abuse), childcare, training and social assistance (see fig. 1). At this stage, our aim is to analyse in our different countries the agenda setting in terms of activation-friendly integration of these policies.

Figure 1. Multidimensional integration policy fields



It should first be reminded that the nation building process in western European countries has historically been on the segmentation into separate policy fields (Muller, Jobert, 1987). With regard to a general dynamic of differentiation / specialization of societies, governmental activities have been segmented into specialized sectors (work, education, transport, army, health, etc.). The development of social policies emerging with the 20th century welfare states have been conducted within this general process of sectorialization. The result lies in a complex organization of separate social policy fields poorly coordinated until now. The growing scarcity of public resources as well as the growing complexity of social problems have led to an increased necessity for transversal policies able to bound together sectorialized policies around a shared objective of socio-economic development. Our aim here is to study these crossed borders of policy fields with an emphasis of the contribution of these five policy fields to the employment policy.

First of all in terms of common trends, we should notice that the integration of policy fields is clearly on the multiple national agendas. As for activation, the need for a transversal employment oriented social policy has become a common ground in most of our countries. Of course several degrees of involvement, and realities of implementation can be highlighted; but activation-friendly integration seems to be a shared goal.

Second, there is a clear predominance of the link employment / training. Indeed, in all of our countries, professional training and vocational education policies are closely connected to the national employment strategy. It shows that the need of training (of any kind: apprenticeship, on the job training, etc.) in order to facilitate access to employment is acknowledged. Although often devolved to local authorities (generally at the regional level), training policies have been “spontaneously” integrated because of their close relationship with the labour market. Training measures are regularly prescribed by the PES to secure professional transition – in Germany and France. In Sweden, it was a very popular instrument (its use decreased since 2001 because of the introduction of new instruments) and it started to be used in 1986 as a qualification for a new unemployment benefit period. In Italy, training policies are often considered as lever for competitiveness. In Poland, although supported by a human capital investment philosophy, they are generally limited in time, and financing an immediate utility in terms of access to the labour market. Apprenticeship appears to be a resource in that integration scheme; which is progressively

developed in some countries such as Sweden and France with regard to the German dual system.

More specificity appears when taking in consideration other social policy fields. Healthcare can be a very important stake, high on the agenda of integration, especially when it comes to the question of bringing people granted a sickness benefit back on the labour. Among the studied countries, it is most importantly the case in both Sweden and UK. In Sweden, *“prior to the 1990s, the model of decision-making for the Swedish Social Insurance Agency (hereafter the SSIA) was to rely on the doctor’s medical judgment concerning an individual’s work capacity. However, the increased demands on long-term ill individuals were seen in measures and activities to (re)discover a capacity for work through working-life rehabilitation programmes (Hetzler 2009)”* (Sweden Nation Report, p.7). And in UK, *“the large number of people claiming sickness benefits in the UK has forced the issue high up the political agenda”* (UK National Report, p.20). Indeed, the government minister responsible for welfare in the new coalition government declared in 2010: *“we are committed to tackling the huge numbers of people languishing on Incapacity Benefits. We currently have some two and a half million people claiming inactive benefits – a figure which has remained stubbornly high, costing the taxpayer £7.2 billion. Despite many of these people wanting to work, people can spend years on Incapacity Benefit without ever being required to have an assessment...Our society should be capable of tailoring support to get people into work...This is why we are starting the process of migrating 1.5 million of those on Incapacity Benefit on to Employment Support Allowance and simultaneously providing intensive, personalised support to help them make that transition back into work. (Speech delivered on 30th June 2010 by Iain Duncan Smith, Secretary of State for Work and Pensions.)”* (UK National Report, p20-21).

Sometimes these links can appear paradoxical as in Poland, where the free access to health care for the unemployed is seen as challenging activation as a counter-incentive. Indeed, the *“conditionality of access to health insurance upon the status of unemployed is criticised by Polish researchers and employees of Public Employment Services (PES), because it creates incentives for registration as unemployed other than seeking employment (eg. Gora 2006)”* (Poland National Report, p.21).

Concerning family policies, childcare seems to be the main point of entry toward integration. Closely linked to the model of welfare state - the male breadwinner model being particularly challenged here –, the question of childcare is central as an opportunity for a fair access to employment. It is generally used as an incentive to work for parents especially with low incomes. In Sweden, childcare is less expensive for the unemployed, and so, could be said to work as an in-work benefit. Moreover, the strong tradition of aiming at full employment has led to an integration of family and childcare policies with extensive financial security for families and children. In Germany, childcare policies - although not targeted on unemployed beneficiaries (limited integration to MIS) – aim at facilitating *“the reconciliation of work and family life”* (German National Report, p.49). In the UK, childcare issues are connected to tax credits and financial support for costs. Moreover, *“initiatives such as Sure Start and Neighbourhood Nurseries were launched to tackle childcare availability. The Sure Start programme started in 1999 and, with the establishment of a network of children centres, was consolidated in 2004. Those centres offered early education and childcare and support for parents including advice on parenting and help to get paid employment (Langan, 2010)”* (UK National Report, p.28). It clearly shows how childcare is conceived as a way to facilitate employment. In Italy, where family solidarity is still central, a parental measure gives a bonus to fathers taking a parental leave - although this measure is limited to standard contracts -, and in France early schooling (from 2 and half) is now discussed. In sum, all does not equally use childcare policies as an incentive toward employment. Only shy attempts to use it as a possible way to foster female employment can be noticed.

Social assistance is a more blurred and complex matter. From all the different measures related to it, the question of a minimum income scheme seems to prevail. In France with the transformation of the RMI into RSA, social benefits' conditionality has been a major attempt to promote activation during the last five years as it *“supplies an income provided an active search for a job or a vocational project (training) is being carried out”* (France National Report, p.14). Italy launched an experimentation of a minimum income scheme – later cancelled -, which was *“not conceived as a mere passive assistential measure but (...) bound to activation policies, (and which) aimed at reintegrating the individual into the job market”* (Italy National Report, p.21). In Germany, Hartz IV fundamentally reformed the unemployment assistance by integrating it with MIS.

Despite few measures, housing seems to be the weakest point in integrating social policies within the dynamic of activation. In most of our countries, with the exception of Germany¹⁰ - where additional payments for housing are included in the minimum income scheme -, the housing question is still poorly connected to employment policies.

1.2.2 Vertical integration: a common strengthening dynamic of territorialisation

Territorialisation has been promoted as a *modus operandi* associated to the reform of labour market policies towards a greater activation. Related to a growing individualization, decentralization appears as a main governance tool to promote proximity policies. Proximity is seen as a practical and efficient way to develop a tailor-made public intervention. Also, territorialisation has often been analysed as a mean to transfer a part of the financial burden of employment policies to local authorities in a period of scarce public resources. Finally, territorialisation supports the logic of policy fields' integration. Bringing together such different public action domains such as childcare, professional training, health, housing, social assistance, etc. seems easier to be conducted at a local level than at the national one. For all that reasons, decentralization is perceived as a mean to achieve an activation-friendly integration of social policies.

In terms of common trends, we can first of all notice that the definition of political goals and the design of instruments remain mainly controlled and regulated at the national level (instrument's creation, definition of standards, group's targeting, etc.) whereas local levels are more often responsible for the implementation of public policies. Indeed there seem to be a common frame in the distribution of power between states, regions and local authorities in terms of policy-making process.

In Germany for example, it is the national/federal level, which is in charge of the supervision of the employment agency, while municipalities and districts are responsible for

¹⁰ "Since the Hartz-reforms, only non-ALG II beneficiaries are entitled to file for housing allowance. Long-term unemployment benefit (ALG II) entails housing and heating costs (Kosten der Unterkunft, KdU). (...) Housing and heating costs are administered jointly with the subsistence costs in ALG II. The Jobcenters are responsible for administration and delivery" (German National Report, p.45-46).

implementing the federal and regional laws. The Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy is in charge of *“employment and unemployment policy, working conditions, wages and labour benefits, collective labour relations and collective bargaining”* (Poland National Report, p.13) but *“has not direct control over organisations which carry out everyday tasks of social policy”* (cf. infra). In terms of labour market policies most of these responsibilities were transferred to Poviast Labour Office (PUP). However, as in many countries, *“policy instruments, target groups as well as standard of job counselling and job placement are centrally defined”* (Poland National Report, p.15). In UK, even though the central government is *“seeking greater local involvement in policy making to address criticism that policies are not reflecting local needs”*, it remains a centralized system of government (Hall, 2001), which mostly territorialize through contracting out. In Italy, several measures have fostered decentralisation (Treu Law, Bassanini Law, Constitutional Reform, etc.). Regarding employment policies, the Constitutional Reform made them a competency of both the state and the regions, and the later became the exclusive responsible for social assistance (Italy National Report, p.15). The regional responsibility for ALMP is completed by the role of the provinces in implementing the regional policies. Nonetheless, due to an unclear division of responsibilities, its implementation remains unsuccessful. In this case, the territorialisation affects specific target groups. In France *“it appears that if the state has the authority on employment issues, social issues have been territorialized to local authorities”* (France National Report, p.22). Sweden decentralized its employment policies *“to cope with activation of welfare recipients, specifically youths”* (Sweden National Report, p.38). However, even though the room for manoeuvre for local authorities appears to be more important than in other countries (for example, because local authorities are legally authorized to refuse or lower economic support in some specific cases), the main political decisions (notably in terms of identifying target groups and of policy instruments) are still centralized.

This can be analysed in terms of heritage from the social-states building process. A politics-related hypothesis could also be argued. The political importance on unemployment in the national political debates as well as an usual accountability of national governments on that matter lead them to keep this highly sensible and strategic policy field under control.

These six analyses, mainly based on the last decade, reveal a clear shift from central states to a more decentralized implementation of the employment policy has clearly occurred within the last ten years (and even – with a broader point of view – within the last fifteen years). All countries studied here acknowledge the need for “stronger” local authorities in employment and social cohesion policies. The six countries have indeed encountered several decentralization processes during the last decade, or earlier for some of them, but not always effectively implemented or with difficulties.

Moreover, in this general process of decentralization, social policies are often at stake. Throughout Poland, Germany, Sweden, Italy, UK and France, some major social policies including employment policies, social assistance, professional training health and housing have been decentralized.

These six countries reveal a common trend but also quite different situations. On the ‘specificities’ side, the idea of territorialisation can hide several different dynamics according to national contexts. In federal states such as Germany, territorialisation is taking place in an institutionalized frame of multilevel government. Transferring competencies is a formal process leaving space to the voluntariness of subnational political bodies. Even in countries of traditionally centralized ALMP like France or Sweden there is an on-going process of deconcentration¹¹. It is a state-centred way to build institutional answers to unemployment on a proximity basis; the counterpart may result in multiple conflicts with local elected entities when they are responsible for other ALMP-related policy fields such as training for example. Apart from deconcentration and decentralization, contracting out appears as a kind of third way to territorialize. As already demonstrated, in the UK, where local governments appear comparatively weak despite the process of devolution, territorialisation is carried out through a growing process of outsourcing. Italy represents another dynamic, where territorialisation is embedded in a federalization process that is still remaining in the middle of the road. Due to this, a lot remains to be done in the process of clarifying competencies between the central state and local authorities. In Poland, territorialisation is taking place in a moving institutional context where new local and new regional political entities are a very recent creation (for example, the lowest local level of self-government

¹¹ Deconcentration and decentralization are understood here as different ways to foster territorialisation. Decentralization refers to the devolution of power to local elected entities, whereas deconcentration occurs when more autonomy is given to local civil servants of central administrations.

was created in 1990, while poviats and new voivodeships were created in 1998). It takes time to stabilize organizational frames and build intergovernmental relations. It is then not surprising to find integration problems when the labour market policy, and the other social policies are not devolved to the same level of government.

The implementation of decentralisation processes also appears to be complicated, especially regarding the transfer of competencies. This transfer requires precise definitions of who is in charge of what, but that is usually not clearly set. Thus, different local authorities fight over their responsibilities instead of cooperating. In most of the cases, national authorities did not really facilitate either cooperation or decentralisation although transferring more and more burden to local authorities.

To sum up, in terms of vertical integration, there is clearly a common process of territorialisation in the six Localise countries¹². This process has found its place on the political agenda, and is generally legitimized by the need for proximity argument. Above this general observation, the processes of territorialisation appear different from one country to another. Caught between sometimes-opposed deconcentration, decentralization, and contracting out logics, the intervention of local authorities is dedicated to the implementation of other levels of governmental decisions (generally national and sometimes regional). In terms of implementation, in a few cases (France, Poland, Italy), the process of territorialisation in itself encounters several problems. Due to uncertainty and opacity in the distribution of competencies between territorial levels of government, these countries appear to be halfway through in the process of implementing decentralization. It is probably a difficult situation to assume a coordinated employment policy able to integrate other policy fields and their stakeholders.

1.2.3 Horizontal integration: merging policy fields and stakeholders?

As mentioned before, horizontal integration relies on the reinforcement of stakeholders' coordination. Increasing cooperation means making public civil servants work together and/or make them work with private actors (multi-stakeholders integration).

¹² See Localise partners in appendix 2

Actors cooperation and organization's coordination is quite the most difficult kind of integration to achieve. Bureaucratic inertia, corporatist's resistance, professional culture's barriers, or mutual ignorance, represent some of the well-known obstacles to the promotion of a multi-stakeholders' integration. Despite this general consideration proposed both by the governance theory, and the sociology of organizations, it should be noticed that all countries have promoted more coordination between stakeholders. From a general point of view, policy-makers foster stakeholders' cooperation under various patterns. This cooperation includes both public / public coordination and public / private partnership. These broad observations cover several level of intensity in coordination. On the public / public side, these relations can be cooperative or hierarchical, while on the public / private side, they can include governance when this partnership is large and related to the whole chain of policy-making, and externalization when it is limited to implementation.

Cooperative partnership is sought when ministries are asked to join their fields of competencies in a multi-dimensional perspective. For example in Sweden - where the SSIA is ruling the sickness insurance - the agenda, seeking to bring back to work sick people, has led to a growing coordination with the PES. As the SSIA is in charge of the work capacity's evaluation in the rehabilitation chain, its advice is closely related to the placement mission of the PES. In Germany, the incentive provided by the European employment strategy has led to an increase of "consultative coordination" between ministries.

Hierarchical coordination has been a key question in France when the placement and payment agencies were brought together. The creation of Pôle Emploi, resulting from the merging of the ANPE and UNEDIC, has been conducted in a hierarchical way by the government, although social partners rule the UNEDIC. This mode of relationship can also be found at the territorial level in Poland, where the Head of Poviát can allow the director of the PUP (local employment agency) to engage public tenders, to prioritize the public, or to commission certain services.

Governance, including private and public actors, can be illustrated by the German case of the dual system. A strong tradition of intense partnership between the government and social partners leads to a highly technical corporatist coordination in the matter of labour market's governance and reform. It should also be noticed that although social partners generally

tend to gain more influence in each country, there is still a strong differentiation in their involvement in policy making. For example, the last five years in France have been marked by an intensive use of the National Intersectoral Agreements (under the pressure of the government) aimed at preparing the legislative reforms by a constrained negotiation of the social partners. The common development of on the job training and apprenticeship are clear indicators of the integration of the economic actors to the governance of ALMPs.

Finally, the most developing pattern of multi-stakeholders' integration seems to be the *externalization process* (this point will be further developed in the part on marketization). Acknowledged by the six national reports on national employment policies¹³, externalization is by far the most developed way to coordinate public / private actors. It aims at reconciling the wish of national governments to keep employment policy under a close control; and their decreasing financial capacity reinforced by the 2008's crisis. Also fostered by the New Public Management theory, externalization has been introduced as a common way of implementing employment's public policy.

Finally, NGO's represent a singular case. From a general point of view, they appear to be more and more associated to the implementation of public labour market policies, but with a very different intensity from one country to another. It can be institutionalized as for the case of the "networked community governance model" in Great Britain, where the aim is to increase the coordination of public, private and NGO's actors. It can be targeted on some policy fields like in Sweden, where housing policies for homeless are based on an increasing role of NGOs. It can be also focused on policy's implementation, like for the case of subsidized jobs. In that case, NGOs are an intermediate beneficiary of the employment policy. They are offered subsidized jobs for their own beneficiaries, and by this way, contribute to the decrease of unemployment rates¹⁴. It is the case in Poland for socially useful jobs and public activity. It has also been for decades one of the main policy tool of the state's intervention on the labour market in France.

¹³ See Localise partners in appendix 2

¹⁴ See statistics in appendix 1 on unemployment and atypical contracts

To conclude on the question of activation / integration in the agenda-setting dynamics, it appears that, despite national differences in both decision-making and implementation, there is a common trend toward integration and activation. Either vertical or horizontal, with different patterns in each country, an increased cooperation of various stakeholders is sought by national governments. Although not being explicitly high on the political agenda, integration has been fostered by the way of multiple national reforms. These reforms are complex and quite different from one country to another. To grasp their interest in terms of decision-making, we chose to put the emphasis on a few key notions promoted by these activation-friendly integration policies.

2. Key concepts in the decision-making process toward an activation friendly integration

Activation policies require re-consideration of the way policies were governed. These thoughts on governance questioned the established organisation and articulation of well-established welfare systems. Hence, an activation-friendly integration progressively appears as an adequate answer to the increasing need to reconsider governance schemes.

National contexts have been set up in terms of selected data and national differences and similarities. We now need to call into questions the decisions that were taken to promote such governances.

Prior to analysing the actual implementation of these dynamics, we will focus on an analysis of the political discourses. It will reveal the nature and the means of the decisions that were taken. The analysis will focus on a series of central key notions in order to understand these cognitive changes that are at stake, and to explain the way these changes were institutionalised. It will then enable us to tackle the actual implementation of this 'activation-friendly integration' in a last part.

What was understood as being central to set up and re-conceive more integrated employment and social cohesion policies? What does that imply in terms of organisation? Hence, what kind of governance schemes is promoted? National cases studies stressed some common notions that thus appeared of paramount importance to develop. They represent new ways of organising these activation friendly integration policies. The first one is cross sectoriality that is at the core of this article as it tackles the multi dimensional aspect of our topic. Second, all brought up conditionality as a central component of this activation friendly integration. Contractualisation was also emphasised as a way to deal with rising challenges. This last notion introduced and/or reinforced individualisation and marketization that are the last two notions that will be analysed in order to understand changes.

These five key concepts were identified in all national reports. Also found in the literature on activation and governance (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2007, Eichhorst Konle-Seidl, 2008, etc.) they hence appear as central constituent of the activation friendly integration.

2.1 Conditionality

Activation has often been characterized by the increase of conditionality that follows the implementation of such policies. *De facto*, social benefits' conditionality is a key issue with regard to activation. It relies on two pillars: the unemployment insurance's access conditions, and the definition of a system of sanctions to ensure an active behaviour from the unemployed.

Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl (2008) explained that: *“redefining the link between social protection and labour market policies on the one hand and employment on the other by stronger benefit conditionality has been a common issue in labour market reforms”*. It promotes a new relationship between the state and the beneficiary of services: a relationship, which puts the emphasis on rights and duties. If the beneficiary does not fulfil its duties, sanctions may apply. Thus, duties are highlighted and individual responsibilities are reinforced.

At first, conditionality affects the access to unemployment benefits. All national systems of benefits rely on the definition of access' criteria to receive the unemployment insurance. Except from the UK, which access to benefits is related to the participation in active labour market policies (ALMP), the five other countries rely on duration criteria (see table p.33). In France as in Sweden, access to unemployment benefits relies on a minimum duration of six months of work¹⁵. Regarding Germany, Italy and Poland, the base period is 12 months during the 18 last months (Poland) or the 24 last months (Italy).

Traditionally, conditionality took the shape of making social benefits conditional over active job seeking (for example, reducing or cutting down the minimum income in case of not showing an active behaviour regarding job search). Hence, conditionality established an important relationship between employment and social policies. But, based on our previous statement acknowledging the multi-dimensional aspect of activation that is being fostered, the increasing conditionality is thus also spread to these other policy fields. Thus, *“following the principle of benefit conditionality in an activation framework, even participation in training and education programmes is made mandatory by being a prerequisite for further benefit receipt”* (Eichhorst, Konle-Seidl, 2008).

¹⁵ In France, one must have worked at least six months during the 22 months before unemployment. In Sweden, one must have worked 80 hours per month during the last six months prior being unemployed.

When one does not fulfil the conditions he or she is supposed to, sanctions occur. In some cases, such as in Italy, the existence of severe sanctions (unemployment insurance's withdrawal) seems to result in its non-implementation *de facto*. In France, to make the implementation of sanctions acceptable to the PES' employees, the introduced sanctions were made progressive. Such progressivity is a common rule for five countries (France, Germany, UK, Sweden and Poland) and is expressed through status (radiation), level (percentage of benefits) or benefits' duration. It affects two key questions in terms of sanctions: the refusal of a suitable job, and the refusal of answering placement services' convocations. It generally takes into account three levels of scaling, which correspond to the number of refusals.

In Germany, refusing a job results in a withdrawal of benefits (ALGI) for three weeks when it is the first refusal, six weeks for the second and twelve weeks in the case of a third refusal. Moreover, during the period of suspension, the unemployed have the right to receive the flat-rate benefit of ALGII, if their income is low. In the case of ALGII, "sanctions can be very strict. Beneficiaries have to comply with their integration agreement, take up reasonable jobs and participate in offered measures. If they do not comply with their duties, the subsistence- and living costs can be reduced up to 30%, in the case of repetitive delinquency up to 100%. For young beneficiaries the sanctions are even stricter: they don't get a reduction of the payment but no cash-benefit anymore, only living costs directly paid to the landlord. The living costs can be cut in the case of repetitive delinquency but homelessness has to be prevented (Boeckh et al., 2011: 240-241)" (German National Report, p.33) At the first infringement, there is a reduction of 30% of ALG II, at the second, a reduction of 60%, and when repeated, a 100% reduction. In Sweden, the first job refusal results in a decrease of 25% of benefits for 40 days, the second in a decrease of 50% for another 40 days, and the third results in the withdrawal of benefits. In Poland, the consequence of the first job refusal is a suspension of the beneficiary's status for 120 days, which leads to a loss of unemployment benefit - if the person was entitled to it - and might be also tantamount to loss of access to healthcare and social assistance. The consequence of the second refusal is a suspension of 180 days and the third job refusal brings the suspensions up to 270 days. In the UK, this refusal leads to a high level of sanctions, which take the shape of a total suspension of benefits for 3 months for the first refusal, 6 months for the second and 3 years

for the third. Finally, in France, the first refusal results in a radiation of 15 days, the second and the followings result in a radiation from 1 to 6 months (a definitive radiation can also be decided by the prefect).

Sanctions that may apply in case of refusing to attend an appointment with the placement services are generally the same or less severe than the ones that occur when refusing a job (with the exception of Sweden, where such refusal results in radiation). The same level of sanctions applies for job refusal and appointment refusal in France and Poland. Sanctions are less severe in Germany (withdrawal of ALGI for a week) and in the UK - where a system of softer sanctions results in a shorter duration of the suspension than for a job refusal (1 week for the first appointment refusal, two weeks for the second and 4 for the third) -.

Table 1. Nature of sanctions

Sanctions (only the most common ones will be developed in that table)	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	POLAND	SWEDEN	United Kingdom
	The amount of people that were sanctioned was tripled in a year (2005-2006) but sanctions are still largely unapplied (2% of beneficiaries)	Different sanctions for beneficiaries of ALGI & ALGII and difference infringement (refusal a suitable job, training or job creation scheme)	NOT USED IN PRACTICE			JSA allowance: full conditionality (sanction heavier when refusing to apply for a job than to comply to work preparation); ESA allowance: mild conditionality (prepare to work) ; Lone parents: low conditionality (prepare to work), ESA lone parents: no conditionality
Job refusal	1 st refusal = unregistration for 15 days 2 nd refusal & more = unregistration for 1 to 6 months (can also be definitive)	1 st refusal= -ALGI: no benefit for 3 weeks, -ALGII : 30% reduction of benefit 2 nd refusal= -ALGI: no benefit for 6 weeks -ALGII: 60% reduction of benefit 3 rd refusal= -ALGI: no benefit for 12 weeks -ALGII: no benefit	Benefits are not delivered	Loss of the status of unemployed for: 1 st refusal = 120 days 2 nd refusal = 180 days 3 rd refusal = 270 days	1 st refusal = -25% for 40 days, 2 nd refusal = -50% for 40 days 3 rd refusal = end of benefits	1 st refusal: 100% payment ceasing for 3 months 2 nd refusal: 100% payment ceasing for 6 months 3 rd refusal: 100% payment ceasing for 3 years
Missing an appointment	1 st refusal= unregistration for 2 months 2 nd refusal = unregistration for 2 to 6 months (can also be definitive)	- ALGI: no benefit for 1 week - ALGII: 10% reduction of benefit		Loss of the status of unemployed for: 1 st refusal = 120 days 2 nd refusal = 180 days 3 rd refusal = 270 days	Unregistration	1 st refusal: 100% payment ceasing for 1 week 2 nd refusal: payment ceasing for 2 weeks 3 rd refusal: payment ceasing for 4 weeks

Source: National Reports (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK)

Hence, sanctions that someone unemployed may face, if he/she does not show an active behaviour in job seeking, or does not accept what is considered as a 'suitable job', can strongly differ. However, all have introduced and/or reinforced scaled sanctions: from warnings, to the loss of unemployment insurance or other benefits.

Conditionality also increased regarding the obligation to accept a suitable job, notion at the core of the idea of conditionality, and which gives a good example of the rise of conditionality. The definition of a suitable or adequate job has though not been institutionalized in all six countries (e.g. Italy does not have a proper official definition, nor as the UK). However, the two examples of France and Sweden reveal a different use of the idea that some jobs should be considered as acceptable for some people. What is interesting, with respect to our issue, is that, once defined, someone cannot refuse such job opportunity, without losing progressively its benefits. Moreover, the definition of the job you have to take may vary after a certain time (e.g. after few months being unemployed, you may have to take a job further from where you live).

Table 2. Definition of an appropriate job

A/unappropriate job	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	POLAND	SWEDEN	UK
	After 4 months : a suitable job represents at least 95% previous salary After 6 months : 85% of previous salary + maximum 1 hour on public transportation After 1 year : salary at least equal to unemployment benefit	<i>NOT appropriate job :</i> ALGI : lower income than former income (first three months: more than 20%; following three months: 30%; after six months: lower than ALG I) & longer commuting (2,5h) or relocation (for some) ALGII : every job is appropriate except for some beneficiaries' (according to incapacity, children, family care, etc.)	No clear definition	Employment or remunerated work, subject to payment of social contributions, Unemployed person possesses sufficient qualifications and professional experience to perform the job, or will be able to perform it after training, Her health condition makes it possible to perform the job, Journey to work and back home does not exceed 3 hours and can be made by means of public transport, The gross income should equal at least the national minimum wage, if it is a full-time job (or should be calculated proportionally to the time of work)	Since 2007 the unemployed has to accept a job in the whole national labour market straight away	No clear definition but it is noted that a good reason for refusing to follow a 'direction' might be, for example, because it conflicts with religious beliefs or because the job involved would mean the person would be worse off than on Jobseeker's Allowance

Source: National Reports (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK)

Indeed, it would be unacceptable to sanction jobseekers for having refused a job obviously inappropriate. It is thus necessary to define the nature of these jobs as a feature characterising the job seekers' required compensation. The notion of suitable or appropriate job is set in these terms. National employment systems now rely on the definition of what is an appropriate job; in other words a job, which refusal may result in a sanction for the unemployed. The level of the demand is generally based on two variables: the distance from the place of residence and the level of salary. In Italy, this notion has not been clearly defined, which should be related to the weak implementation of sanctions. Poland defined the suitable job by a distance (less than 3 hours of public transports from the place of

residence), according to qualifications and professional experience, health condition and the salary. In 2001, Sweden gave up the geographical reference from the place of residence and, since 2007 the national labour market is taken into account. In Germany, the definition of a suitable job for the beneficiaries of ALGI is expressed in terms of inappropriate job based on its level of earnings (during the first three months: more than 20%; during the following three months: 30%; after six months: lower than ALG I) and on the distance (more than 2,5 hours of transports). For the beneficiaries of ALGII, all jobs are considered as suitable, subject to the compatibility with the characteristics of the beneficiary (incapacity, family, etc.). Finally, in France, the notion of suitable job initiated important political and technical debates. It is mainly earnings that are taken into account. During the first 4 months, a suitable job is a job with a salary that cannot be less than 95% than the previous one. After 5 months, the level of earnings goes down to 85% and a condition of distance is included (1 hour of public transports maximum). After 1 year, as in Germany, the reference becomes the amount of the unemployment benefit. Thus, about this technical question on the appropriate job, differences are again important between European countries both as regards the nature of criteria, and their intensity.

The risks resulted from this conditionality appeared as one of the best incentives to take up a job and not to remain unemployed for many countries (except from Italy, which did not put such a strong emphasis on social benefits' conditionality). The difficult task is then to manage, to implement efficient conditionality.

2.2 Cross-sectoriality

As presented previously, the integrated approach is based on the inclusion and the connection of several policy fields, several actors and several levels. These components of the approach all aim to face new challenges regarding employment (employment being understood as at the core of social cohesion). A broader understanding of new challenges, a non-isolated approach that includes all problems that someone may face regarding its social and employment integration thus define the approach.

One may observe that the idea of such an approach appeared later than the concept of activation. Activation only progressively addressed the question of governance schemes. The

focus was first put on active policies and work first approach - as opposed to passive policies -, and then, activation policies – acknowledged in Europe as the new model of welfare systems and employment policies – were more broadly implemented and subsequently required new ways to deal with the several fields involved.

Facing the need to implement this new approach in order to address new challenges, cross sectoriality appeared as one of the main ways to introduce this trend. It was first promoted through the reinforcement of an established link between social inclusion and professional integration. Second, the emphasis was put on transferring this linkage to public policies. Hence, many policy fields saw their policies evaluate with respect to employment issue that was spread to other issues.

The identification of vulnerable groups is a transversal component of the six national systems analysed in this paper¹⁶. It is a key element of intersectoriality and a good indicator of its level of progress.

It is indubitably a central element taking part to the employment policies' individualisation trend (cf. *infra*), but in a way it is also an indicator of the level of integration of fields of public action, in a logic of cross sectoriality. Indeed, in each of the studied countries, and with regards to singular social matters, a certain amount of exposed populations have been identified.

Another transversal statement is that in each of these countries, targeting of activation policies can be observed. Such targeting measures for some categories of the population considered as more problematic in terms of employment are broadly used to facilitate the access to the labour market. It is interesting to highlight that these categories do not systematically overlap. Thereby, in France, identified vulnerable categories are long-term unemployed, youngsters, handicapped people, elderly workers (>45 years old), women and immigrants¹⁷. But all activation policies target long-term unemployed, youngsters and elderly workers. In Italy, women and youngsters appear as vulnerable categories, whereas activation policies mainly target the first group. In Sweden, vulnerable categories are youngsters, foreigners and people with mental handicap, while activation policies' target groups are first of all people on long-term sick leave, youngsters and immigrants. In the UK,

¹⁶ See Localise partners in appendix 2

¹⁷ See datas on specific groups in appendix 1. It shows differences in terms of unemployment / employment between each country for each group (youth, senior, etc.)

vulnerable people are long-term unemployed, beneficiary of health insurance, elderly workers (>50 years old) and the NEET. However, activation policies are targeted at IB claimants, youngsters that are unemployed and lone parents. In Germany, long-term unemployed were identified as the most vulnerable group, while activation policies focus on the following targets: elderly workers, youngsters, long-term unemployed and immigrants. Poland also represents a significant case. Populations at risk are youngsters, women, low qualified, elderly workers (>55 years old), homeless, and long-term unemployed. Their active policies' targets represent a long list of categories defined according to their relation with the labour market¹⁸.

This statement raises questions. Indeed, on the one hand, activation policies' targeting is first established with regard to the labour market's selection mechanisms. Thus, such targeting is built according to the identification of populations based on their difficulties to access employment. However, categories identified as vulnerable may be considered this way because of broader social factors, which more generally refer to social policies' targeting rather than employment policies' targeting.

This statement is strongly significant regarding the integration of policies in a perspective of activation and priority access to employment. The decoupling of categories in terms of activation and vulnerability may reflect quite a weak integration. Indeed, we could assume that in the logic of fulfilled integration, socially vulnerable categories would be prioritized in activation policies. However, it appears that it is not yet the case in all the studied countries.

¹⁸ Young unemployed (below 25); elderly unemployed (over 50); long term unemployed; Unemployed whose social contract with social assistance has terminated; unemployed; women, who have not returned to work after a birth of their child; Unemployed people without professional qualifications, without professional experience or without secondary education; Unemployed single-parents; unemployed ex-prisoners, who had not taken up job after being released from a prison; disabled.

Table 3. Vulnerable groups

Population	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	POLAND	SWEDEN	UK
Vulnerable groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term unemployed - Youth - Disabled - Senior workers - Women - Foreigners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term unemployed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women - Youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth - Women - Low skilled - Disabled - Senior (>55) - Homeless - Long term unemployed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Youth - Foreigners - Person with psychological disabilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term unemployed - People on sickness benefit - Senior (>50) - NEET
Activation policies focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term unemployed - Youth - Senior 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Older workers - Youth - Long term unemployed - Foreigners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young unemployed (below 25) - Elderly unemployed (over 50) - Long term unemployed; - Unemployed whose social contract with social assistance has terminated - Unemployed; women, who have not returned to work after a birth of their child; - Unemployed people without professional qualifications, without professional experience or without secondary education - Unemployed single-parents; - Unemployed ex-prisoners, who had not taken up job after being released from a prison - Disabled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long term ill - Youth - Immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IB Claimants, young (focus on 16-17 years old on jobseekers allowance) - Lone parents

Source: National Reports (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK)

2.3 Individualisation

We have just shown that one of the main principles of activation policies is to target specific groups in terms of employability. The definition of these targeted groups is of paramount importance regarding our questions (cf. supra). Not only does it concern activation policies, but it was also transferred to the matter of integration and is a possible indicator of its level. Indeed, all attempts to promote such integration (vertical, horizontal or regarding policy fields) were based on specific policies targeted at some groups nationally identified as encountering difficulties in accessing the labour market. It shows that integration is not only promoted to make policies more efficient, but that is also aims at more individualising the way employment and social cohesion policies are dealt with.

To set up targeted policies and tailor-made services, profiling individuals becomes necessary. Categorising groups requires analysing several variables regarding the individual. On what variables is this profiling realised? The main variable at stake is the measure of the “distance to/from employment”. How far from being employable is the person? Hence, it will establish different categories that are entitled to different services (e.g. people further away from work can be entitled to subsidised contracts). The transition from the definition of target groups for activation policies to the individualisation of these policies represent a managerial issue of first order. In many cases and following a process of practices’ diffusion in the European space, the fulfilment of this transition relies on profiling mechanisms of the

unemployed. Profiling is a technique, which makes possible the matching of individual situations to instruments of public action. It relies on the definition of public action's categories enabling the classification of individual situations with regard to the kind and the level of service that may be offered.

In all cases, profiling is a good indicator of the diffusion of a managerial model of the individualisation of back to work policies. Profiling is first of all a management technique, which – even if it is spread in Europe – does not mechanically mean that countries using it have a strongly individualised job seekers' support, and that those not using it implement non-individualised policies.

Among our six countries, two do not use job seekers' profiling (Sweden and Poland). Two countries have established a profiling based on three categories: Italy and France. In Italy, the three profiles are defined according to the employment policies' programmes: ordinary unemployed, cassa integrazione (without suspension of the work contract) and beneficiaries of the mobility programme. In France, job seekers are profiled based on their risk to become long-term unemployed. Their profiling results in three levels of services: simple, reinforced or social supports. It is important to highlight that the French situation represents a case of negotiated statistical profiling, as the profiling by statistical indicators must be confirmed by an interview with a placement adviser. Finally, in the UK, profiling is based on four categories also corresponding to level of services: full conditionality, work preparation, keeping in touch with the labour market, and no conditionality.

Table 4. Profiling

Profiling	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	POLAND	SWEDEN	United Kingdom
	Four levels of service are proposed: - free access, - individualised coaching, - reinforced placement - social backing Realised through statistical profiling & agreement by case manager	ALGI ALGII → case management (profiling is possible)	3 types : - ordinary (compulsory social insurance scheme) - ordinary and special (cassa integrazione) - mobility benefit	No standards of profiling	No profiling	4 categories based on conditionality requirements : - Full conditionality (Jobseeker's Allowance claimants) - Work preparation and work focussed interviews - Keeping in touch with the labour market - No conditionality (ESA claimants and lone parents with children under 1 year old)

Source: National Reports (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK)

Targeting and profiling people result on an individualised support. By promoting such individualisation, countries expect more efficient services, closer to real needs and to real individual situations. Obviously, such dynamic questions the governance schemes on several

issues: multi-dimensional, multi-levels and multi-stakeholders. Indeed, it implies not to focus on sectorial issues (social or familial for example), but rather on a group of issues that affect one person. Hence, the way the citizen is conceived, and the way his / her concerns are dealt with radically change.

2.4 Marketization

According to Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl (2008), *“at the hear of (this) general redefinition of relations between actors are the concepts of ‘management by objectives’ and ‘steering by outcomes’, which are the foundations for more contractual relationships, not only between the individual and the state, but also between different levels of government and between public entities and private or privatiser service providers”*. The New Public Management, to which we often refer in regard with new governance schemes, emphasizes on *“introducing techniques of business management, service and client orientedness, market mechanisms and competition”* (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2007). Hence, most have broadly promoted contracting out to private actors, even though it remains a very complex task to implement in many European countries.

Indeed, UK is the country the most far ahead regarding the marketization trend. Except from this example, our national cases studies show only very weak attempts to implement real marketization. The partnerships approach has been implemented but mainly with respect to long-standing tradition of public administration. Thus, the established partnerships and involvement of new actors remained within public administration. NGOs and social partners are, according to different national contexts, taken part to integration employment and social cohesion policies at different extend and mostly regarding social issues than employment and labour market policies. Increasing contractualisation facilitates the increase use of contracting-out, or at least its promotion.

Hence, UK is the most obvious example of such movement. The intensive development of public / private partnerships and marketization of public services has led to implement a technology of government based on PPP. The new Work Program has led to a kind of devolution of the employment services for long term unemployed to private companies. This program is based on public tendering and payment by results of the service providers. Sweden also shows a long experience of purchase of training actions from private providers. In general, training represents one of the main policy fields where externalization is used. It

is the case in Italy, where regions, provinces, and local employment agencies regularly use private offering. In France, the decision has been made in 2002 to make compulsory the use of the public market code for unemployed training programs. This change has considerably impacted the organization of the professional training market and the delivery of service to beneficiaries. In Poland, although private organizations play a minor role in service providing, training actions' measures are also one of the fields where externalization is developed.

2.5 Contractualisation

Hence, the individualisation, marketization and conditionality's increase results in new relationships between the state and the citizen, but also between the state and other actors (public and private, local and national).

The operational process of reinforcing sanctions and tailor made services thus introduced a new social contract, which changes the equilibrium between the citizen's rights and duties that are emphasized, and transfers an increasing responsibility on the citizen. Hence, it relieves the State from this responsibility.

Even though the process of contractualisation was put forward in the context of active welfare states as a way to make sure the balance between rights and duties was respected. However, it appears that nowadays, the citizen's duties are being much more emphasized than its rights. Indeed, as Van Berkel and Borghi explain (2008), contractualisation has mainly been *"formalised in the form of individual action plans. At the same time, clients have few institutionalised resources at their disposal to ensure that an activation offer is made to them that fits their needs and circumstances, or to force agencies to provide the services agreed upon in the contract"*.

Changing the nature of the social contract through this shift of responsibilities may have an impact in terms of services quality.

The idea of a 'social contract' developed by Rousseau and the more managerial notion of contractualisation of the employment administration are both vague. They refer to uncertain contents and practices, in which it is generally difficult to distinguish what comes under a contractual relation and what is pure rhetoric.

Firstly, we should question the mutual obligations between the job seeker and the placement and compensation services. Some of those obligations have already been highlighted in this part of the article with regard to conditionality and individualisation. It is expedient to complete these first elements by two other indicators: the level of financial compensation of a job loss as an incentive to get someone back to work, and the definition of suitable / appropriate (or inappropriate) job regarding job seekers' obligations.

The level of compensation of the lost salary when starting a period of unemployment is an important factor of securing professional transitions (Gangl, 2008). The unemployment benefit system, as well as being a way to put pressure on the unemployed to ensure his/her active behaviour, is also a key component to avoid the shift into long-term unemployment and social assistance. We already showed that criteria to access unemployment benefits are variable from a country to another (cf. supra). They are often based on employment durations and contributions to the unemployment insurance. The level of compensation is also very different from a country to another. It varies in intensity (percentage of previous salary) and in time (in the previous job or during the unemployment period).

In Poland, level of compensation is low and benefits are flat-rate (i.e. not depending on the level of previous salary and contributions). The standard flat-rate benefit stands for approximately 22% of average salary and 54% of minimum salary during first 3 months and is reduced to 17% of average salary and 43% of minimum one in the following months (2010). Unemployed who have worked for less than 5 years receive 80% of this standard allowance, while those who have worked over 20 years receive 120% of it. In France, the average of the compensation level for the main unemployment benefit (*aide au retour à l'emploi ARE*) is 62% of the previous salary. In Germany, the rate of compensation of ALGI is 60% (with no income conditions), and 67% for the beneficiaries with children. In Italy, the ordinary system¹⁹ is based on a level of compensation of 60% during the first 6 months, which goes down to 50% during the two following months, and then down to 40% until the 12th month.

¹⁹ In the specific case of Cassa Integrazione, the rate is 80% minimum

Table 5. Unemployment benefit: conditions and compensation level

Unemployment benefit	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	POLAND	SWEDEN	United Kingdom
Conditions to be entitled to unemployment benefit	6 months of work during the last 22 months	Have accomplished eligibility period (at least 12 months in a job subject to social insurance contributions)	<i>Ordinary</i> : - 1 year of work during the past 2 years - payment of contribution during 2 years - declaration of immediate availability <i>Cassa integrazione</i> : - temporary economic crisis - the employer must have more than 15 employees <i>Mobility</i> : - work for 12 months and according to size of the firm - the employer must have a minimum amount of employees	- Work for 1 year during the last 18 months earning minimum salary - Paid eligible contributions	the person needs to have worked, during the last 12 months before unemployment, at least 80 hours a month in at least six months or, alternatively, having worked 480 hours during six consecutive months and then at least 50 hours per month	<i>Job seekers allowance (JSA)</i> : contributions based (up to 6 months) or income-based <i>Employment and Support Allowance (ESA)</i> : The person must have an illness or disability which affects his/her ability to work. Contributions based or income-based (in this case, the person should have savings of less than £16,000 and have a partner or civil partner that works for less than 24 hours a week on average).
Compensation level The overall replacement rate (OECD) is of 44%	The average compensation level is of 62% of the previous salary (ARE).	2 successive levels : -ALGI (12 months, not means tested, 67% if with children, 60% otherwise) - ALGII (means tested, infinite duration, stronger activation)	<i>Ordinary</i> : Duration : 8 months if the worker is below 50 years old and 12 otherwise Level : 60% for the first 6 months, then 50% months 7 & 8, and finally 40% until the 12th month <i>Cassa integrazione</i> (52 weeks): never above 80% of the previous income <i>Mobility</i> (1 year if below 40 years old, 2 years if between 40 and 50, 3 years if above 50 years old → if in the South of Italy +1 year for each category): level variable	- People who have worked less than 5 years receive 80% of the standard allowance - people who have worked more than 20 years (fulfilling above mentioned conditions) get 120% of it - standard allowance : 22% of average salary and 54% of minimum salary during first 3 months, reduced to 17% of average salary and 43% of minimum one during the following months	Maximum 300 days (exception for parents of children under 18 à 450 days) The compensation level for the first 200 days is 80 percent, thereafter 70 percent until day 300	<i>Contribution-based Jobseeker's Allowance</i> : up to 6 months

Source: National Reports (France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK)

These synchronic elements reveal an important difference in terms of financial compensation's generosity. This difference can better be assessed in a diachronic perspective, which the net replacement rates express.

Table 6. Net replacement rates in percentage (NRR²⁰)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Germany	61	61	61	57	45	46	45	44	45	44
France	55	55	49	50	50	49	49	49	49	49
Italy	21	21	21	21	22	22	22	24	24	23
Poland	23	23	23	23	23	23	22	22	22	22
UK	30	30	30	30	29	29	29	29	29	29
Sweden	43	44	44	43	43	43	40	44	43	43

Source OCDE

²⁰ The net replacement rate indicator is defined as the average of the unemployment benefit net, the replacement rates for two levels of salary, three familial situations and 60 months unemployment (<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/60/7/49971180.xlsx>)

This last table shows the difference between the replacement rates offered to jobseekers by unemployment benefits systems. We thus notice major differences, as the rate can easily double from a country to another. In a chronological perspective and within the last decade, we observe a relative stability in time of these rates with two exceptions: Germany and France that went through a significant decrease²¹.

Following the activation trend, the unemployment benefit becomes an incentive mechanism. It has the role to financially compensate for the efforts made by the job seeker to return to work. Among the required efforts of the unemployed' active behaviour, accepting job offers made available by the placement services is an important one. We have highlighted in the part dedicated to sanctions that in some countries (notably Germany and UK), refusing a job results in reinforced sanctions. Therefore, the nature of the jobs offered by the placement services has an important role (cf. conditionality).

More generally, the activation friendly integration has changed the former conception of welfare states in all the six countries. It has introduced new ways of conceiving the relationship to the State, new ways to understand the way policies were structured so far, and the role of non-public actors. These changes have challenged traditional governance schemes that have – and are still – trying to fit into, to deal with and to facilitate these new dynamics.

²¹ A previous OECD report (analysing replacement rates from the 1990's) reveals that replacement rates have also decreased in other countries earlier (Martin, J.P. 1996 'Measures of replacement rates for the purpose of international comparisons: a note').

3. The implementation of changes: a difficult task in troubled times

Beneath the current situation that was presented through new governance schemes' similarities and differences and through the cognitive world of activation they resulted in, a question of paramount importance remains. How did we get there? What are the exogenous and endogenous factors of change? Have these changes crossed the barrier of the cognitive world? In other words, to what extent have these new governance schemes been implemented? To answer these questions, we will first address the question of the reforms' timing in order to understand when policies change and whether there is any reason why they change at such or such time. And then, we will try to go past the cognitive elements that were presented so far in order to understand to what extent are these reforms really implemented.

The question of the change analysis is of paramount importance as it brings to light the reforms' efficiency as well as the way change occur. It will thereby enable a better understanding of the dynamic that underlay the policies' changes.

3.1 Activation throughout time

It has already been demonstrated that the last decade has witnessed many reforms towards stronger activation and more decentralisation in the field of employment and social cohesion. Hvinden (2001) opposed two different kinds of activation: a "soft" one that would be based on financial incentives, on an individual right to access activation's programmes and on quality employment services, versus a "hard" one, which involves the restriction of eligibility conditions to benefit from social assistance and financial pressure and/or legal obligations to reduce the level or the duration of benefits (Barbier, 2006). This distinction could be used in a dynamic way, and not as two opposed paradigms that would each represent different countries. Thereby, the last decade could be distinguished in two main periods, which went through continuing changes that can notably be explained by exogenous factors that will be described in the following part.

The first period (approximately from the beginning of the decade to 2006) would be characterised by what Hvinden called "soft" activation. The launch of the European Employment Strategy, and the relative - but noteworthy - economic growth (even though

the economic situation was more difficult at that time than during the second part of the decade in Poland), enabled most European countries to transfer European recommendations in their national context in a quite serene setting. Moreover, the pressure to reduce expenditure did not yet reach a crucial stage/point and it seems that the main aim was to reach full employment and quality services. Then, the second period (2007 until nowadays) mainly represents a time of economic crisis, which brings the emphasis on the need to drastically reduce the public expenditures. The “hard” type of activation is subsequently fostered as a result of economic difficulties and may consist of a more formal activation system or of instruments putting the emphasis on sanctions, conditionality, etc. In sum, reforms that focuses on the citizen’s duties rather than on its rights. This differentiation between two periods characterized a tendency rather than very strict activation modes. Indeed, all countries have very different backgrounds in respect of their welfare state (cf. Barbier, 2006, Esping Andersen, 1991, etc.). However, a move towards even stronger activation and towards more restrictive access to benefits supports the idea of a second “harder” period.²²

This distinction can apply to each country to different extents. The table presented at the end of this part highlights several new reforms that could be qualified as ‘hard’ passed during the second part of the decade. In Sweden, there was a decrease of the unemployment insurance, while in Germany the 2009 labour market instrument re orientation act cut or restricted some instruments – mainly training – and the currently discussed new act will reinforce sanctions and obligations. In France, the PPAE set up progressive disciplinary measures. Regarding the UK, such evolution does not clearly appear from the table as no new measure was established at that time (even though some existing reforms were reinforced – Pathways to Work for instance -). However, in 2007 the Freud report concluded by recommending ‘stronger conditionality’ for those already on incapacity benefits, which once again reveals not a shift but at least a move toward ‘harder’ activation. Even though Poland does not really correspond to the previous framework, the 2010 Act on employment that initiated stronger sanctions may reveal a current will to foster ‘harder’ policies. Finally, Italy does not seem to follow the same evolution as *“from the mid-Nineties to 2011 employment and social cohesion policies have been subjected to both major and*

²² Poland does not fit in this periodization notably because of its different economic situation during the decade given that important restrictions were set during the first half of decade (or even before).

marginal reforms, and thus this period can be regarded as dynamic especially if compared to the stagnation of the previous decades. However the lack of a long-term and comprehensive strategy and the contradictory logic, with which these policies have been approached, have created a sort of “fragmented incrementalism” (Naldini and Saraceno 2008) that has added new inefficiencies and overlapping without solving the previous ones” (Italy National Report, p.32).

Jones and Baumgartner demonstrated that *“a single process can explain both periods of extreme stability and short bursts of rapid change. This process is the interaction of beliefs and values concerning a particular policy, which we term the policy image, with the existing set of political institutions – the venues of policy action”* (Baumgartner and Jones, 1991: 1045). According to them, instead of focusing on the equilibrium of the policy, we should rather focus on the punctuations in the equilibrium. Hence, the emphasis was put on key moments that seem to alter or to punctuate the equilibrium established in terms of activation policies within the last decade. We have already analysed in this article the nature of the studied policies. Now, our interest is on their timing. Therefore, the last table presented (which is not exhaustive but shows the main national reforms) reveal when measures were passed and hence, reveal some key moments that can be explained by both national and European factors.

As Bonoli argues, the role of politics *“remains unresolved”* (Bonoli, 2010). It is a very complex question to tackle politics as a possible variable explaining these changes. Even though it has been demonstrated that activation policies *“are not a typical liberal welfare state phenomenon”* (Van Berkel, and al., 2011), one can wonder if and in what manner the fact that as right wing governments increasingly govern European countries has impacted the nature of activation policies? The relation of cause and effect between political parties and the nature of reforms is obvious (this statement is less obvious in case of post-communist countries: post-communist parties were also introducing reforms regarded as (neo)liberal, while right wing parties might have a more solidaristic). For example, between 2006 and 2008, when Italy went through a time of left wing legislature, a Commission (Onofri) highlighted the need for a major change in terms of social and employment policies notably regarding their governance scheme. The will to implement these objectives was soon

stopped by the new centre right government, which did not implement any of these recommendations. Nevertheless, the activation trend seems to overcome political differences. Even though politics thus appear as a very complex variable, the nature of this activation, the way it is interpreted and transferred into national policies may differ according to political factors. Indeed, when the centre right government took office in 2006 in Sweden, it seems that the nature of activation policies changed. From then on, the focus was put on tax reforms (deductions and allowances) as one of the main incentives. At the same time, the unemployment insurance became less generous. Moreover, even though the social democratic government had increased the ceiling of health insurance in 2006, the new right wing government decreased it just after it took office.

Concerning this politics' variable, one could expect activation to be ideologically situated (it is often describe as a neoliberal way of considering social integration). In reality, the situation seems more blurred. It appears that socio-democrat governments launched central activation measures, such as the Hartz reform in Germany or the New Deal program in the UK. Hence, the variable of politics is not necessarily decisive when it comes to fostering activation, but in the same time activation is clearly sensible to political changeover, especially regarding the choice of policy instruments. To sum up in somehow caricatural words, activation's reforms are not necessarily conducted by right-wing governments, but they are often launched inside a policy window following a governmental reshuffling.

Thus, these changes affect the nature of activation policies, and thereby they also impact its governance. Indeed, it was stated that activation fosters integration of several actors, levels and policy fields and that it thereby automatically involves new governance schemes. How did these changes occur? And what kind of changes are at stake?

Some of the six national analyses suggested a strong relation between reforms' timing and national or European events. It stresses the importance to focus on the period reforms were passed in regard with politics' changes and European key moments. For example, the launch of the European Employment Strategy in 1997 clearly appears as a time of changes for all countries as many reforms were passed during the following three years (approximately), especially in Italy and UK (followed by France and Germany at the beginning of the decade). Evidently, its impact varies according to the country's political and economical context. Nevertheless, it initiated for some, and clearly reinforced for others, the need for stronger

activation and flexicurity. Thereby, several reforms fostering activation were passed around that time (except from Poland which did not enter the European Union until 2004): Treu Law in Italy (1997), New Deal Programmes in UK (1998), etc. (see table below). Were these reforms passed in order to change the way to deal with employment and social cohesion issues or were they only passed to fit into European objectives? What was the role of politics in the reinforcement of these new trends?

The analysis of the promoted changes' implementation will help us answer these questions, as it will throw light on the transfer of the paradigm to the field.

Table 7. Main reforms in the six countries in the last decade

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Italy	Treu (flexibilisation)	social pact for development and employment		Law 328/2000 (reorganisation of social assistance policies)			Biagi Law (reorganization of the labour market incentives, more flexibility)								
	Onofri Commission			Law 53/2000 (training leaves and parental leaves)											
	decree decentralising the implementation of ALMP to provinces														
	Bassanini (territorialisation of placement and ALMP)			Minimum Income Scheme (cancelled later)	Constitutional Reform		Law 53/2003								
Germany							Hartz reforms (reorganisation of the institutions, flexibilisation, etc.)								
					Job AQTIV Act				PPP Acceleration Act (increasing public/private cooperation)						
									merging unemployment assistance and social assistance	reform of federalism (division of legislative power between the federal and the regional level)			labour market instruments re-orientation act (less training, implementation of minimum wages in some branches, etc.)		
France					Prime pour l'Emploi				Social Cohesion Law / Plan			PPAE (personalized action plan and Disciplinary action against unemployed)			
					PARE PAP (allows job seekers to have a placement service as counterpart of an ending of a tapering benefit)	VAE (access to «diplomation» based on the assessment of professional)		DIF (right to training)	DUDE (single electronic file for each job seeker)			Pôle Emploi (merging of unemployment benefits and placement services)	RSA (active solidarity income)		
UK		New Deal	Sure Start programme (for parents)				Pathways to Work							Work Programme (programmes provided by private contractors and in some cases sub-contractors from the public, private and third sectors)	
		Working Families Tax Credit	tax credit à in-work payment to make work more financially appealing than benefits												
Poland		2 additional levels of local government were created				access for new applicants to preretirement closed for unemployed with long job tenure		Act on social assistance and family benefits					Broadening of target groups		
								Act on employment promotion and labour market (new instruments, stricter conditions for subsidised employment)	Amendment of the Act (individual action plan must be signed for some categories of unemployed)					Act on employment (stricter sanctions)	
Sweden															
				Activation guarantee	new definition of an appropriate job					job tax deductions	Entry recruitment incentive		Job incentives		

3.2 From a cognitive discourse to implemented changes

It was shown that the activation of integrated social and employment policies, and the new governance schemes it requires, have clearly been spread and adapted in each of the six countries to different extents. However, this statement does not give a deep enough analysis by itself, as it does not inform us about the actual implementation, neither does it inform us about the effect of these new modes of governance²³.

The components of these changes have been presented in the previous parts of the article in terms of differences and similarities and from a cognitive point of view. It revealed that all countries have fostered the integration of several actors, levels and dimensions in employment and social cohesion policies in order to face new challenges and to make activation policies more efficient. However, this promoted integrated approach did not affect the three aspects of integration the same way in all six countries studied. Even though all tried to reinforce more or less conditionality, cross sectoriality, individualisation, marketization and contractualisation, different instruments were used and to very different extend.

Moreover, even though national governments acknowledged, and fostered new ways to deal with employment and social policies, it does not mean it was efficiently implemented and fulfilled its aims. Promoting an integrated approach, implementing it and reaching the objectives are different stages that should be distinguished. On the one hand, there is the government's will, which often refers to reducing expenditures and reaching full employment. On the other hand, what matters is the matching between the new reforms promoted and the national context, the means given to the reforms, etc. And finally, there is the policy's impact. How were these changes implemented?

3.2.1 Spread of employment issues

At the beginning of the decade, all western European countries acknowledged the need to integrate social and employment issues. Employment is more and more understood as at the core of social cohesion, as one of the main lever to maintain a social equilibrium among the population. To put it in a nutshell, not only is employment of paramount importance with regard to the national economy, but it also becomes important in terms of social

²³ The impact of such governance will be developed throughout the LOCALISE project.

inclusion. However, the integration of several dimensions into new employment and social policies represent a very challenging task to implement in regard with national attempts.

Poland faces major difficulties to set up an integrated approach. Their political context and their tradition of a central state may explain these difficulties. Indeed, Poland started to foster activation policies later than all other western European countries, as it went through a structural transformation from centrally planned economy into market economy. As already stated, Western Europe's priorities in regard with activation policies did not reach Poland at the same time. Policy fields' fragmentation in this country remains quite strong. Nonetheless, Poland is opened to various innovation and experiments, which might make integration at the local level easier.

Italy also faces strong difficulties regarding the implementation of these new governance schemes. Not only does it concern the multi-dimensional issue, but it also applies to the multi levels and multi stakeholders involved. There is an important gap between, on the one hand political will and policy-making, and on the other hand, real implementation. The means dedicated to such implementation might be an explanatory factor. However, the State's unclear positioning in that matter certainly holds back any changes.

France appeared to be concerned with this issue before this decade. For example, the widening of the Public Employment Service, which, in 1998, included social action, shows this new understanding of employment issues. During the first half of the decade, the shy attempt to foster such integration was mainly operated through vocational training and its aim to secure professional path. Then, the second half of the decade was launched with the Social Cohesion Law, which widened again, and scaled the definition of the PES. The part of the decade witnessed the implementation of the RSA established in 2008, which made the minimum income conditional under active job search and thereby reinforced the link between social assistance and employment.

Germany faces a distinct situation as it has fostered such integration progressively but in a way that managed to reach several other fields (family policies, training policies, health policies, etc.). The Hartz IV measure (2005) that bridges employment with health insurance and housing issues illustrates that.

These few examples reveal that the multi-dimensional integration implemented in these countries was shaped according to national's definition of target groups in terms of

employment issues. The Swedish example clearly shows that the goal was to bring back to work as many people on sick leave as possible. Therefore, the link between the sickness insurance and the public employment service got reinforced. However, as for many countries, there is still a remaining division between these formerly separated fields. This division can be explained by the lack of global and comprehensive strategy, which could notably take the form of regulatory systems. It leads up to unclear situations for institutions and beneficiaries (e.g. in the Swedish case, the sickness insurance and the PES may give two different definition of someone's work capacity, which let the person in undefined situation).

3.2.2 A challenging territorialisation

The increased connection between employment and other related policies thus remains a difficult task that governments seem to tackle in a very timid way. Furthermore, it requires involving many different levels and stakeholders that are asked to work together, and towards the same objective. Decentralisation processes that have occurred in the six countries, aim to develop this integration of these different levels.

Whether decentralisation takes the form of giving more responsibilities to local authorities in terms of policies' implementation, or whether it means giving them more responsibilities in terms of policy-making, decentralisation still has not reach its objectives yet.

Employment policies have often only been territorialised to a small extent. Either it was territorialised through the delocalisation of policies' implementation, with a very limited scope of adaptations and innovations; or it was let as a voluntary task (e.g. in Germany, labour market policies are a voluntary task for Landers). Most of the time, the decentralisation process concerns what is at the margins of this field: target groups (e.g. persons on social assistance in Sweden, youth in France), related policy fields (e.g. vocational training in France and social assistance in many countries), etc.

Even though local authorities are increasingly involved in employment policies, they are still mainly centralised, especially when it comes to labour legislation. The reason for this relative centralisation in a context of increasing decentralisation should be questioned. Indeed, is this statement a matter of governments' will or is it a matter of policies' efficiency? Both these reasons appear relevant when observing the situation in many countries. A remaining

unclear division of responsibilities represents the main reason for this difficult implementation (France, Italy, etc.). Local authorities often do not precisely know what they are responsible for. It results on a kind of consensus taking the shape of timid actions, which do not affirm a responsibility, but show that the issue is not left apart for all that.

The fear of too strong territorial differences can also explain the reticence about this process. States thus try to manage equilibrium between giving more responsibilities to local authorities and keeping a national cohesion. It often results in territorialising policies' implementation and keeping policy-making quite centralised.

3.2.3 A large range of actors

Finally, the horizontal coordination's role has increased all through the last decade, in parallel with the promotion of integrated social and employment policies. Indeed, the integration can only be achieved through the inclusion of more and more actors – public and private - working together.

In terms of public/public cooperation, one-stop shops were created (e.g. German and UK Jobcenters, French Maison de l'Emploi). This comprehension of the way to integrate several public actors represents, according to Van Borghi and Berkel (2008) a "*popular strategy*". The French example of Pôle Emploi shows further developments than the only co-location of services. It has merged the unemployment insurance and the national employment agency services, as the Hartz IV Reform did, merging long-term unemployment assistance and social assistance.

Concerning private/public partnerships, UK is certainly the most far-reaching example. Indeed, through the rise of new public management, the marketization of public services was made more likely. Contracting out has resulted on putting more importance on results (the payment is calculated according to results: e.g. higher payments for hard to help participants). "*The welfare state has been conceptualised as a burden on the productive growth enhancing economy*" (UK National Report). That partly explicates the devolution of services to private organisations.

Except from the UK, other European countries have promoted some private/public partnerships, but it faces strong tradition of public services.

3.3 The diffusion of change

This change analysis has highlighted the importance of exogenous factors to explain the intensity of change and the way these changes were implemented. How can this changes' intensity be characterized? Peter Hall's typology of changes (Hall, 1993) discerns 3 orders of change:

1. Level of setting of policy instruments' modification;
2. Policy instruments change, but the policy's overall goals remain unchanged;
3. Goals, instruments and their settings are transformed in a change of policy paradigm.

Based on this typology, we agree with Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl (2008) who argued that: *"turning to activation can be seen as a paradigm shift (Hall 1993) involving both modification of policy instruments and policy goals"*. Indeed, integrated social and employment policies' instruments and goals have encountered a change of third order in these six countries. This change of paradigm appears in regard with the important cognitive changes, as well as in regard with the amount of reforms that were passed over the last decade about these issues.

However, this third order change goes along with a lesser important change: a change of first order, which affects the involved institutions. It can be explained by the fact that *"the major challenge here is to overcome this institutional barrier and to ensure that demanding and enabling measures follow the logic of necessity and not primarily an institutional logic"* (Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl, 2008, 18).

On the one hand, important changes have occurred regarding instruments and goals. On the other hand, organisations have not managed to implement very effective changes. Even though they were promoted and sometimes even implemented through new reforms, their implementation often did not reach their goals. The functioning internal logic of these organisations represents a strong lever to slow down changes. It makes the actual implementation difficult, which explains the gap between changes of different orders (Berthet, 2012).

The change thus seems to spread faster in regard with goals and instruments than within organisations.

The integration, whether it concerns the several dimensions, levels or stakeholders to include, seem to be acknowledged by all as a response to societal issues, and especially in those economically-troubled times. Many reasons can explain this trend: financial reasons (e.g. the creation of a one stop shop might reduce expenditures, the transfer of responsibilities to private organisations may too), efficiency reasons (to address several problems at the same time), etc.

However, despite these facts, the integration's implementation remains unclear, vague and clearly unsettled (to different extent). Two assumptions can be made: on the one hand, the economic crisis brings back the emphasis on economic issues rather than social ones, and the priority is thus put on financial matters; on the other hand, integration is particularly hard to implement because of the tradition of formerly compartmentalized policy fields. It thus involves a change of paradigm (a change of third order according to Peter Hall's theory), which thereby questions us on whether, in a time of economic crisis, a change of paradigm be realised.

Conclusion

Hence, the recent activation friendly integration called into questions its former governance scheme. It now appears even more multi-faceted and the way it addresses new ways of governing employment and social cohesion policies is complex. It tackles several issues: actors, level of actions and decisions, and involved dimensions. Our analysis showed that all the six countries involved – Poland, France, Sweden, Italy, UK, and Germany²⁴ - acknowledge the need to foster an activation friendly integration. Decentralisation and cross sectoriality, both appear to be common responses to this need. It was obviously nationally defined and implemented in different ways. However, in terms of broader understanding, it clearly shows that activation, in the context of the XXIst century, seems to require more local and multi dimensional policies. It also promoted the multiplication of actors. Indeed, it automatically followed decentralisation processes along with the link established or reinforced between several policy fields. However, notably based on very different public services' traditions, the increase involvement of private actors did not happen everywhere.

Moreover, through a dynamic analysis, this article highlighted the importance of taking into account exogenous factors such as the economic crisis to understand the way activation evolves. Activation policies are not fixed, or beyond these exogenous factors that make national Welfare States readapt their policies with regard to their priorities (reducing expenses, etc.).

The different degree of efficiency in terms of implementation was also analysed and revealed very various situations that highlighted both results of these exogenous factors (for example, some may have implemented policies to fit into European objectives, and thus, did not really put any effort to implement them), and also the importance of national definitions of Welfare State (a formerly very sectorialized country will face more difficulties to implement multi dimensional policies)²⁵.

In sum, new modes of organisation regarding activation friendly integration policies have rose during the last decade. They are still unstable and changing time to time based on several factors (exogenous and endogenous). However, trends toward more cooperation

²⁴ See Localise partners in appendix 2

²⁵ The question of the implementation will be further developed later in the LOCALISE project thanks to an empirical work.

and collaboration at different levels (local and national), with different actors (public or private) and involving different fields (social, housing, health, etc.) can clearly be observed.

Thus, can a typology of European varieties in governing these policies be drawn out of the identified differences and similarities? Would it be relevant and a useful tool to understand the trends at stake?

As Eichhorst and Konle-Seidl argues: *“it is by now almost a commonplace among comparative analysts that activation, both as an idea and as a concrete set of policy provisions, escapes easy classification due to large national variation, different target groups and the various systems of social security provision and labour market policy into which it is introduced”* (Eichhorst, Konle-Seidl, 2008). The presentation of many researchers’ works in this paper corroborates the previous point and reveals that many attempts to classify activation were made (Barbier, 2002; Serrano, 2007; etc.). Doing so, they all tackled the question of new governance schemes through different issues: decentralisation, individualisation, marketization, etc.

We agree with Van Berkel and Borghi, who argue that *“it is more useful to study countries in terms of the provision model mixes they have adopted, the tensions and problems these produce, the effects these have on the nature of activation and the ‘publicness’ of activation services, and the measures taken to cope with ‘perverse’ effects of specific service provision models, than in terms of their transition from one ideal-typical model to another”* (Van Berkel, Borghi, 2008). Indeed, we thought that it was more appropriate – regarding the six national cases studies realised – to describe and analyse the changes that occurred in different national settings, as well as the differences and similarities they face. Only a precise analysis of the concrete implementation would enable us to discuss typologies. Regarding the more general aspect of this paper, we would rather suggest to discuss them later with regards to WP4 and WP5’s results, which will bring more empirical work to the present broader analysis.

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APPENDIX 1: CONTEXTUAL COMPARATIVE DATAS

The following selected datas clarify the contextual insights of our topic:

- General employment and unemployment statistics
- Employment and unemployment rates of specific groups (based on age and gender)
- Further datas (part time work, limited duration contracts, long-term unemployment)

The strictness of employment legislation will not be presented because of its many limits that question the utility of such indicator²⁶.

Global employment/unemployment rates

As the following dataset shows, most country followed almost the same dynamic over the last decade. Poland represents a different case because of its history. It first went through an important increase of its employment rates, and a consequently decreasing unemployment rates. But then, once at a stage close to the other countries studied, it followed the same dynamic. However, Germany is the only country, which encounters a noticeable increase of its employment rates and a decreasing unemployment rates since 2008.

²⁶ The measure of the strictness of employment protection legislation (OECD) is based on 18 items that can be separated in three main categories:

employment protection of regular workers against individual dismissal,
specific requirements for collective dismissals,
regulation of temporary forms of employment.

All these items are not expressed in the same way. Indeed, some use the units of time, some use numbers and some others use a scale.

The following steps explain how the indicator is created: “the first step of the procedure was therefore to score all of these first-level measures of EPL in comparable units. They were thus converted into cardinal scores that are normalized to range from 0 to 6, with higher scores representing stricter regulation. The three remaining steps consisted in forming successive weighted averages, thus constructing three sets of summary indicators that correspond to successively more aggregated measures of EPL strictness.

At the last step of the procedure, when forming for each country an overall summary indicator from the three subcomponents for strictness of regulation for regular contracts, temporary contracts and collective dismissals, the summary measure for collective dismissals was allocated just 40% of the weight assigned to regular and temporary contracts. The rationale for this is that the collective dismissals indicator only reflects additional employment protection that was triggered by the collective nature of a dismissal. In most countries, these additional requirements are quite modest” (OECD, 2004).

The OECD itself recognises some limits regarding this indicator. For example, Thierry Kirat explains that the way jurisprudence is put into practice may vary from one country to another and thus alter the measure of the EPL strictness (Kirat, 2006). Moreover, the way dismissal is handled may also vary in each country (for example, the trial period in France can be freely established in the contract (OECD, 2005).

Table 8. Employment rates

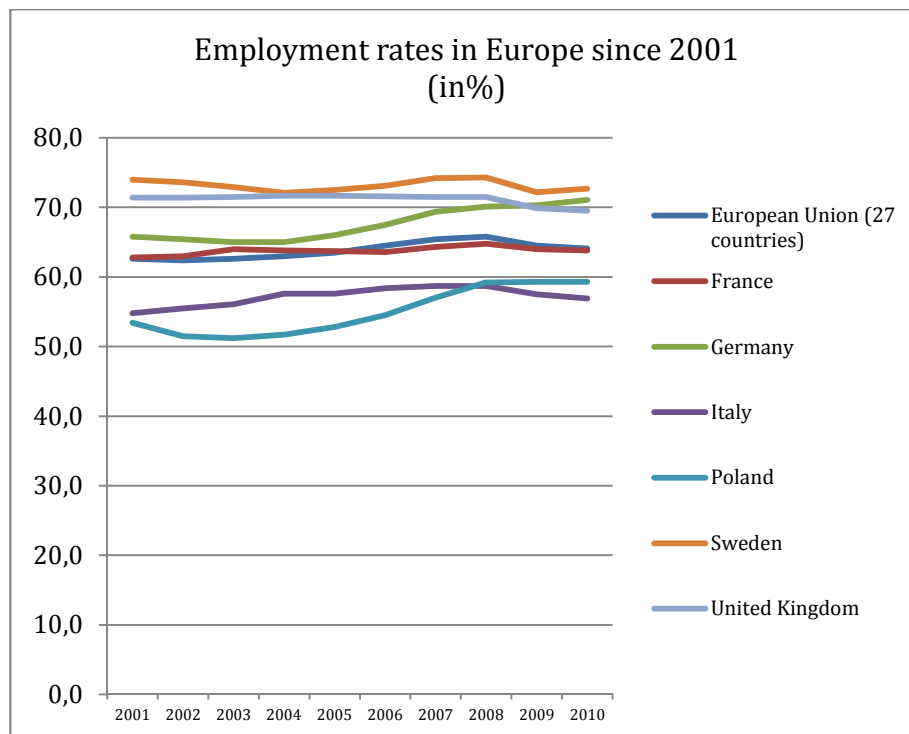
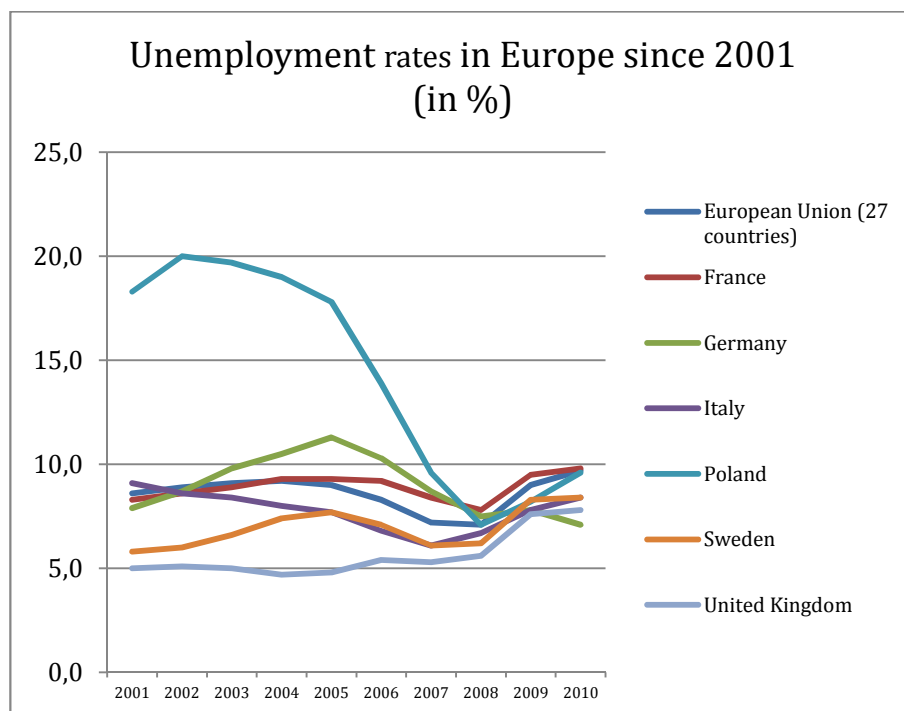


Table 9. Unemployment rates



Unemployment and employment rates in Europe since 2001: Specific groups

Putting the emphasis on specific groups is of paramount importance when analysing activation policies. Indeed, such policies are, as we will see all throughout this article, targeted at some specific groups considered as being more vulnerable than others regarding employment and social issues. We chose to present the most common specific groups as it not possible to be exhaustive on these questions, especially in different national contexts.

Youth

Regarding this target group, it appears that they remain a very central and common vulnerable group in Europe.

Table 10. Youth employment rates

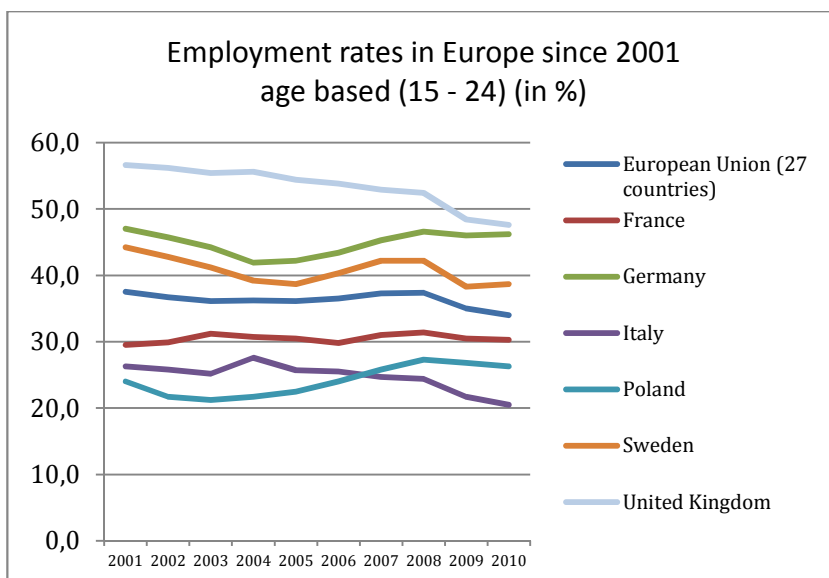
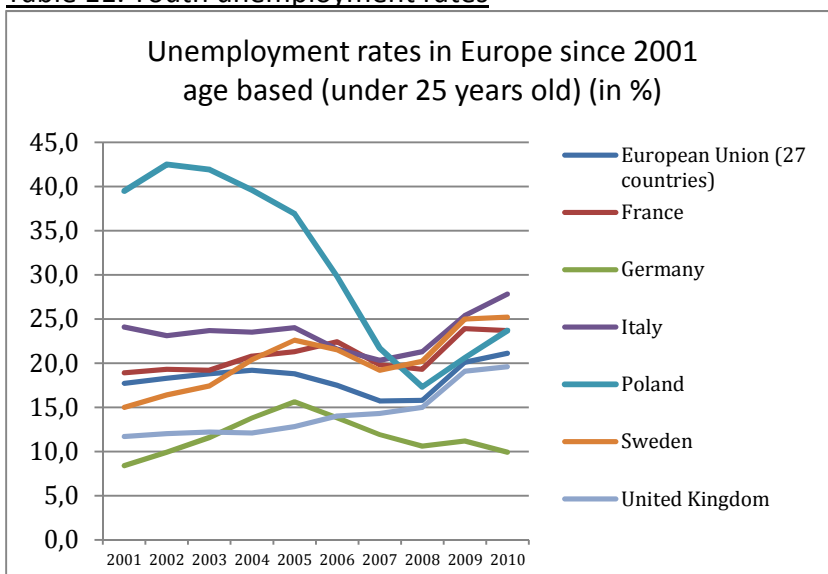


Table 11. Youth unemployment rates



Gender

Regarding gender issues, it seems that women that were at the core of many employment policies in many countries before the start of the XXIst century, do not face a situation as critical as youth. Indeed, even though differences remain between men and women, except for Italy, other countries have small differences that were not really altered during the last decade.

Table 12. Female employment rates

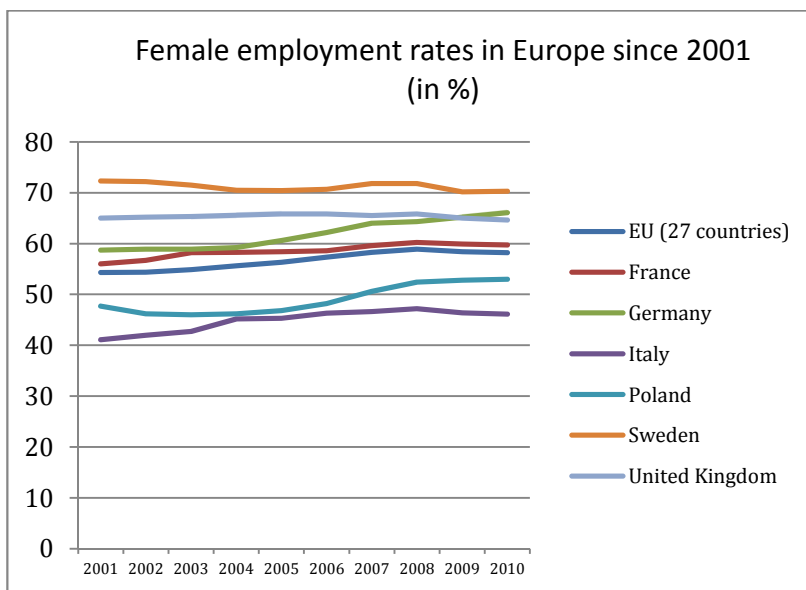


Table 13. Female unemployment rates

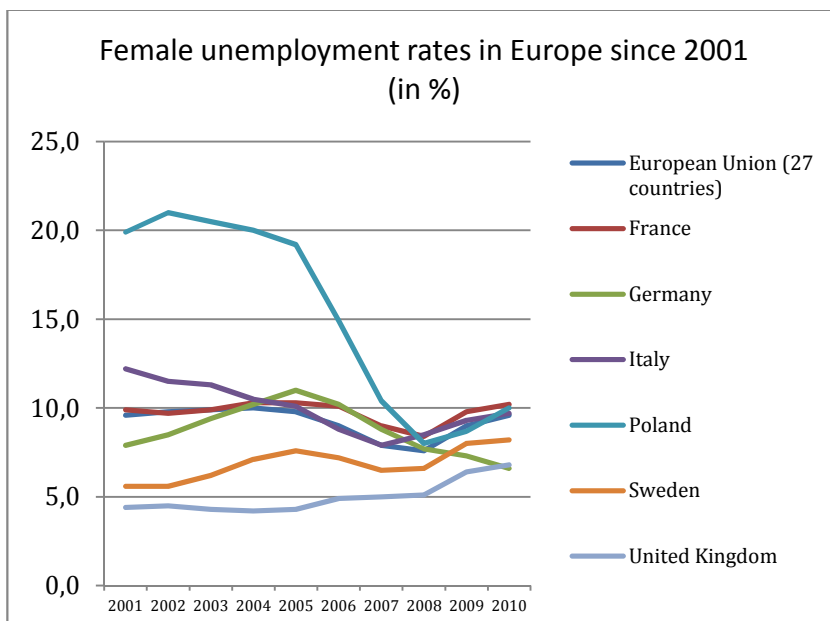


Table 14. Male employment rates

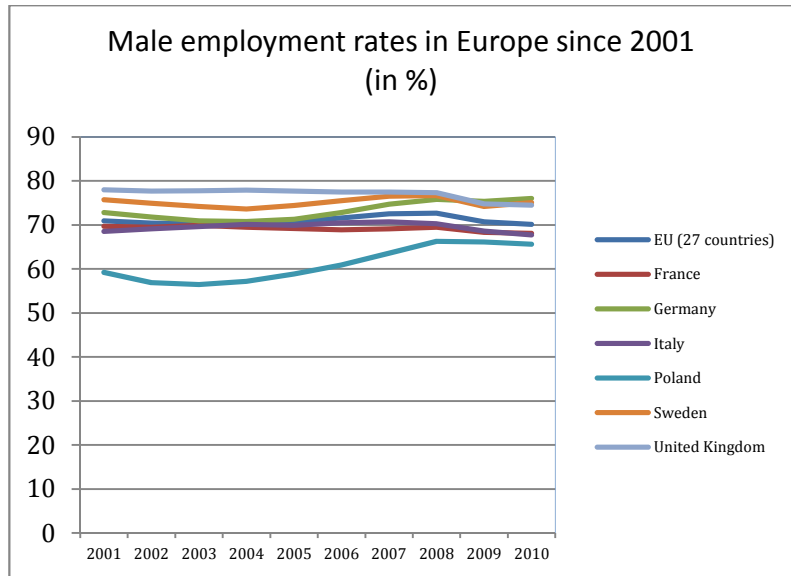


Table 15. Male unemployment rates

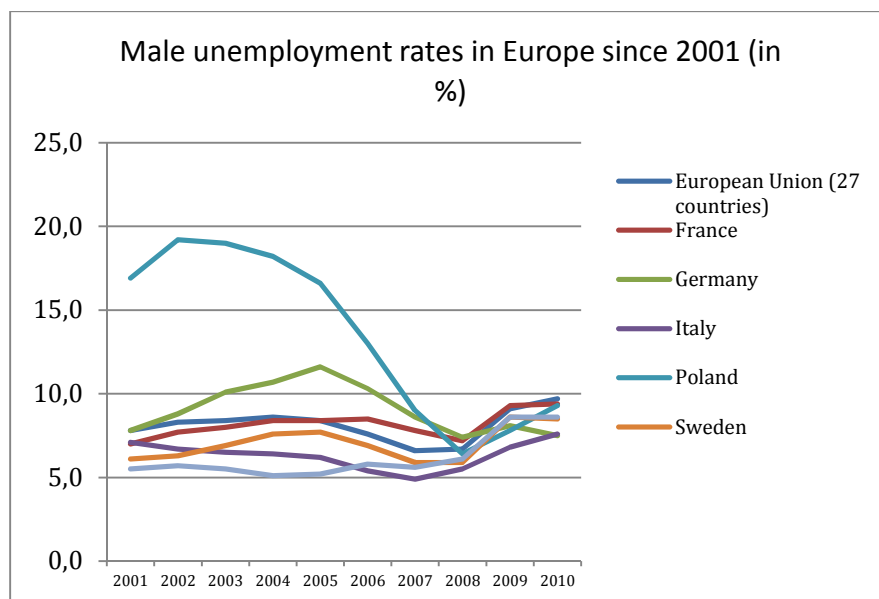
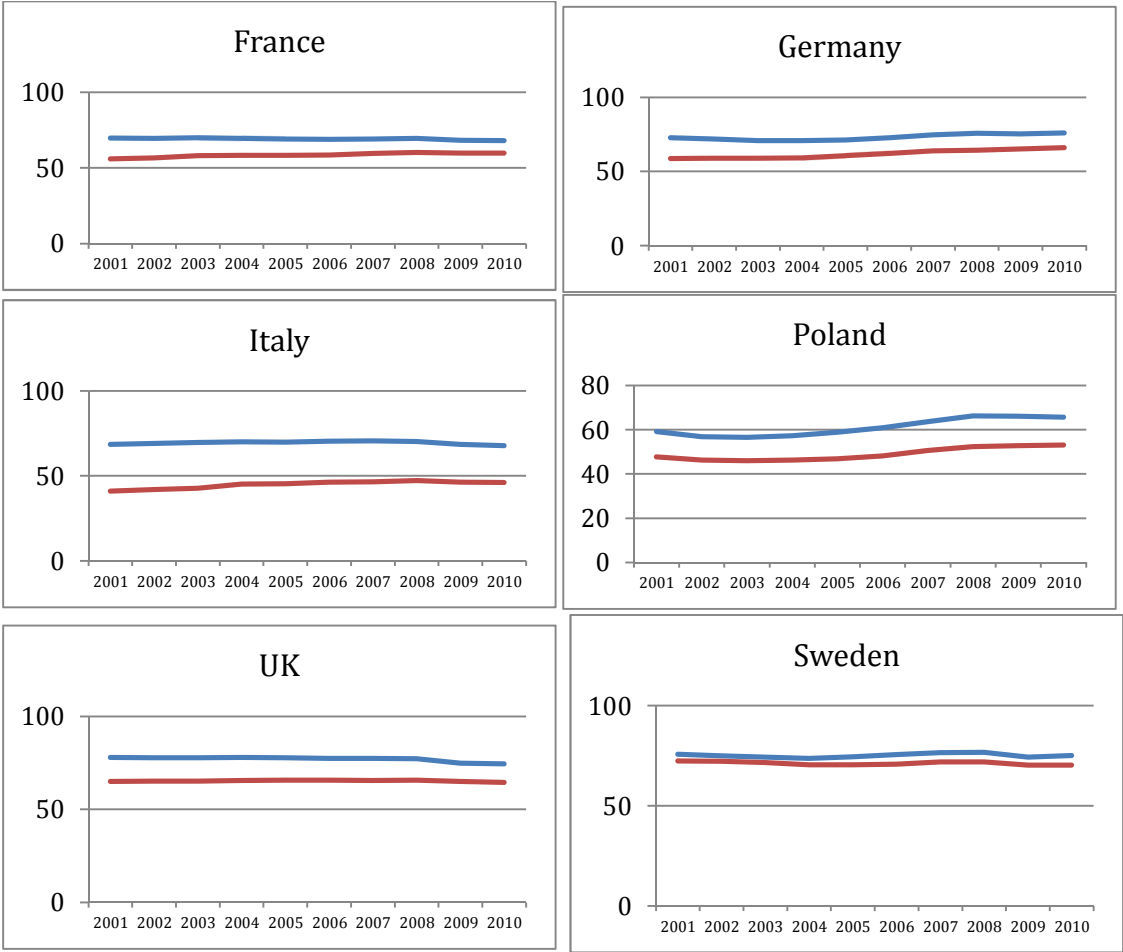


Table 16. Employment rates per country since 2001 per sex

Male —
 Women —

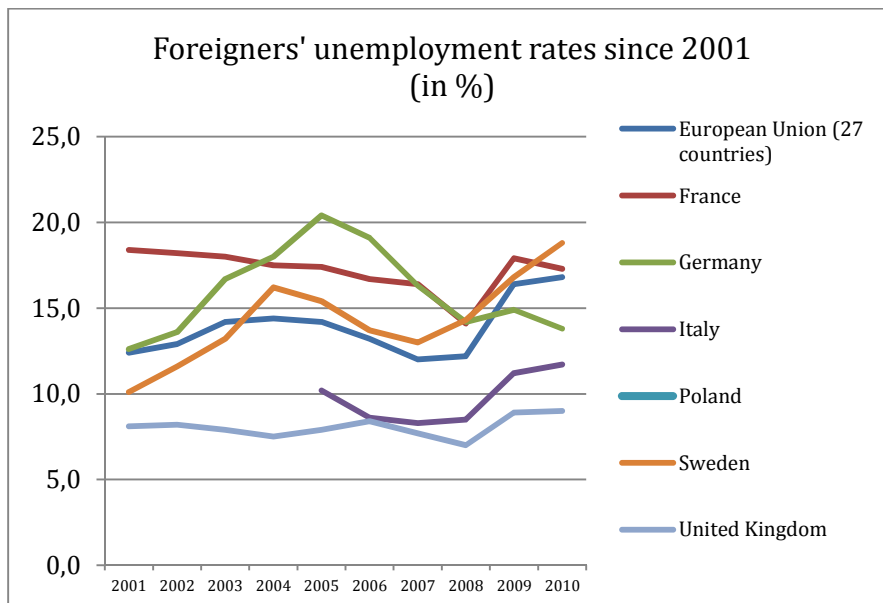


- Foreigners' employment rates per country since 2001

Table 17. Foreigners' employment rates



Table 18. Foreigners' unemployment rates since 2001²⁷



The rise of atypical contracts

These last statistics aim to present further information than the most commonly used datas.

²⁷ No information about the unemployment rate of foreigners in Poland

It notably shows the rise of part time employment in many countries, especially in Germany and in Sweden (UK also uses part time employment a lot but it remains quite constant). Poland is the only country, which sees its part time employments decrease. Moreover, except for Germany, long-term unemployment appears to be an increasing problem for the five other countries. Finally, the use of temporary contracts only went through a small increase during the last decade, except from the UK, which remains constant with a small decrease, and except from Poland, which saw its percentage of employees on a temporary contract almost doubled.

Table 19. Part time employment rates

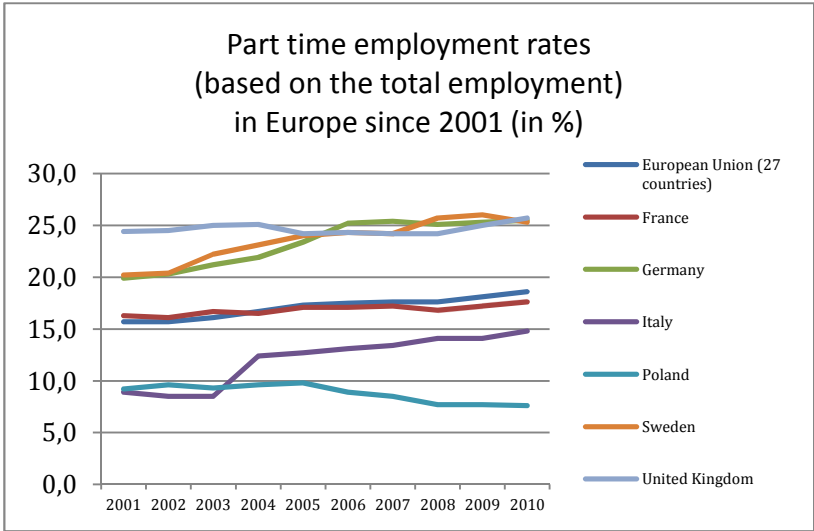


Table 20. Long term unemployment rates

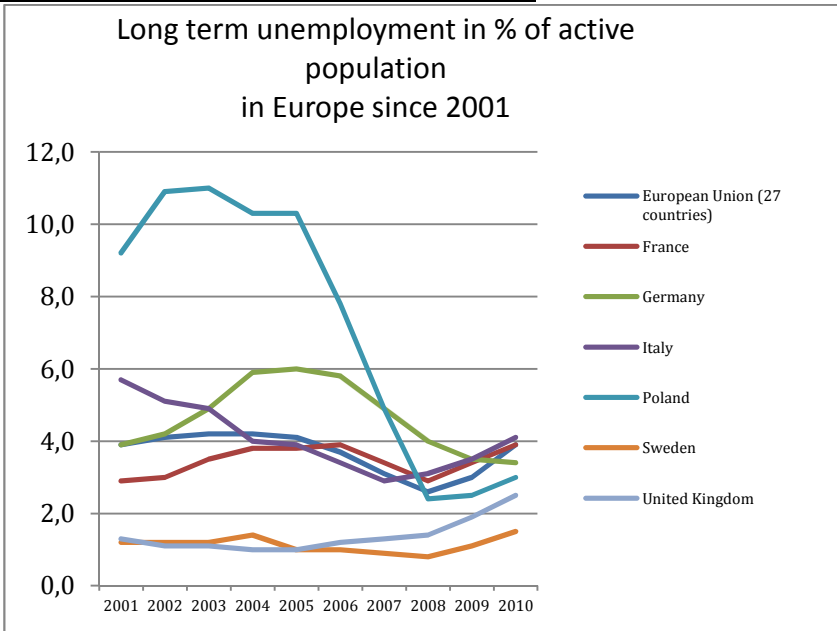
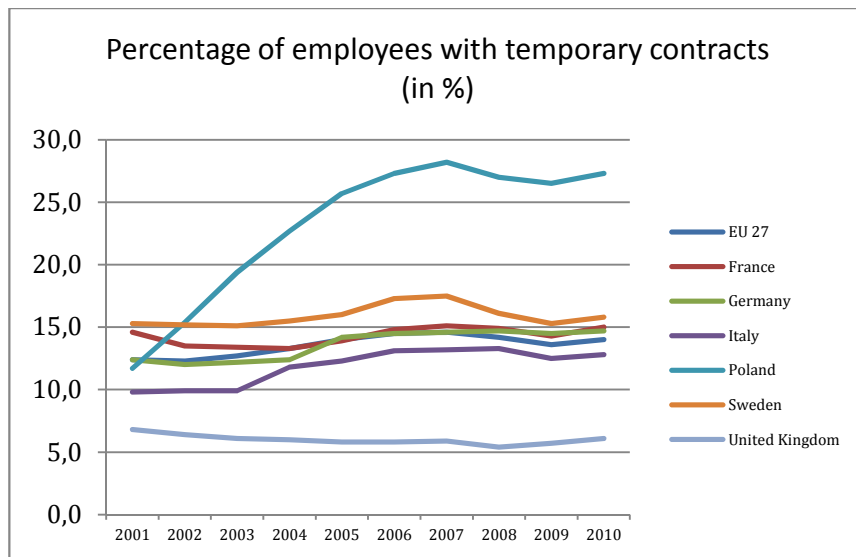


Table 21. Percentage of employees with temporary contracts



APPENDIX 2: LOCALISE PARTNERS

Participant no.	Participant organisation name	Participant short name	Country
1	Jean Monnet Centre for Europeanisation and Transnational Regulation Oldenburg University of Oldenburg	CETRO	Germany
2	Employment Research Institute Edinburgh Napier University	ENU	United Kingdom
3	Department of Institutional Analysis and Public Management Bocconi University	IAM	Italy
4	Science Politique Relations Internationales Territoire Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux University of Bordeaux	SPIRIT	France
5	Stockholm Center for Organizational Research Stockholm University	SCORE	Sweden
6	Institute of Sociology University of Warsaw	ISUW	Poland