



- Analysis is based on 50 semi-structured interviews
 - representatives of administration on European, national and local level
 - representatives of European and national Social Partners
 - in ‚Brussels‘, Germany, France and Italy
 - between 2005 – 2007
- plan of the talk
 - What is the European Employment Strategy about?
 - Analytical approach
 - Striking parallels between EES and domestic reforms
 - Mechanisms that contributed to the domestic impact of EES

What is the EES?

- Attempt of European member states
 - to agree on and to reach common European goals in employment policy,
 - to engage in transnational learning processes,
 - to initiate new form of result-oriented government.
- key instruments of this ‘Open Method of Co-ordination’
 - detailed employment policy guidelines
 - supported by quantitative and qualitative monitoring indicators
 - National Action Plan
 - since 2005 National Reform Programs for EES and economic ‘OMCs’
 - Best Practice, Peer Reviews and Benchmarking
 - Recommendations

What are the goals of the EES?

- equal opportunities on the labor market
 - increase labor market participation of all groups of society
 - include all those able to work into the regular labor market
 - reduce gender, age and education specific inequalities as well as regional disparities
 - Flexicurity as key model
 - Flexibility
 - make labor markets more adaptable
 - Security
 - adapt social security to cover new social risks and include all citizens
 - Activation
 - improve employability of all those able to work
 - empowering and supporting all citizens to meet the exigencies of the labor market
- Reduce social segmentation of the labor market
→ Activation as key pillar of Flexicurity

Example: Guideline 1

Activation (*Employment Guidelines 2003/2004*)

I. ACTIVE AND PREVENTATIVE MEASURES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND INACTIVE

Member States will develop and implement active and preventative measures for the unemployed and the inactive designed to prevent inflow into long-term unemployment, and to promote the sustainable integration into employment of unemployed and inactive people. Member States will:

(a) ensure that, at an early stage of their unemployment spell, all jobseekers benefit from an early identification of their needs and from services such as advice and guidance, job search assistance and personalised action plans;

(b) based on the above identification, offer jobseekers access to effective and efficient measures to enhance their employability and chances of integration, with special attention given to people facing the greatest difficulties in the labour market.

Member States will ensure that:

— every unemployed person is offered a new start before reaching six months of unemployment in the case of young people and 12 months of unemployment in the case of adults in the form of training, retraining, work practice, a job, or other employability measure, combined where appropriate with ongoing job search assistance,

— by 2010, 25 % of the long-term unemployed participate in an active measure in the form of training, retraining, work practice, or other employability measure, with the aim of achieving the average of the three most advanced Member States;

(c) modernise and strengthen labour market institutions, in particular employment services,

(d) ensure regular evaluation of the effectiveness and efficiency of labour market programmes and review them accordingly.

Targets and Benchmarks

(*Annex to Employment Guidelines 2005-2008*)

— that every unemployed person is offered a new start before reaching 6 months of unemployment in the case of young people and 12 months in the case of adults in the form of training, retraining, work practice, a job or other employability measure, combined where appropriate with on-going job search assistance,

— that 25 % of long-term unemployment should participate by 2010 in an active measure in the form of training, retraining, work practice, or other employability measure, with the aim of achieving the average of the three most advanced Member States,

— that jobseekers throughout the EU are able to consult all job vacancies advertised through Member States' employment services,

— an increase by five years, at EU level, of the effective average exit age from the labour market by 2010 (compared to 59,9 in 2001),

— the provision of childcare by 2010 to at least 90 % of children between 3 years old and the mandatory school age and at least 33 % of children under 3 years of age,

— an EU average rate of no more than 10 % early school leavers,

— at least 85 % of 22-year olds in the EU should have completed upper secondary education by 2010,

— that the EU average level of participation in lifelong learning should be at least 12,5 % of the adult working-age population (25 to 64 age group).

A general concept of Activation

- most general notion, policy that attempts
 - to include all those that are able to work into the active population on the labor market (cf. Barbier 2007, Madsen 2002),
- Three pillars of activation (Serrano Pascual 2007)
 - individualized approach,
 - an emphasis on employment as crucial for social inclusion,
 - contractualization,
 - concept of rights and duties for jobseekers.
- Yet, “the way this activation paradigm has been implemented (...) varies a lot from country to country” (Serrano Pascual 2007a: 1)

Opportunities and Open Questions

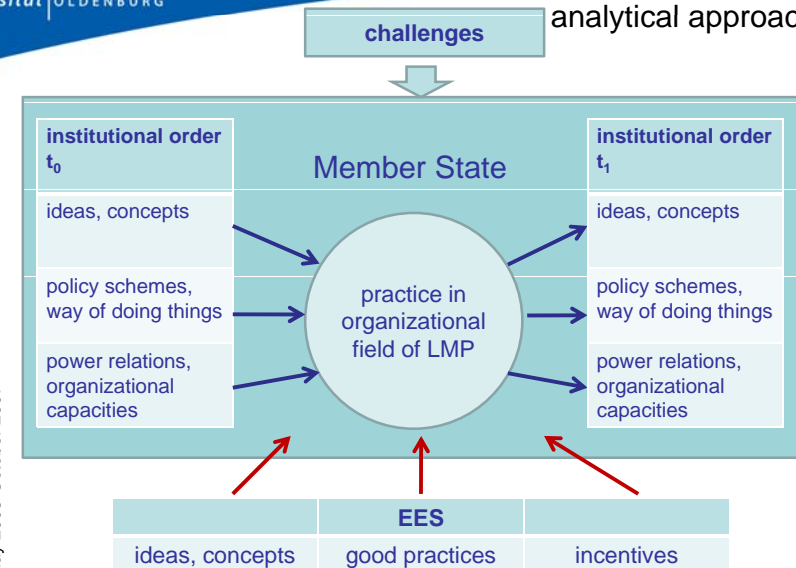
- Opportunity for Continental and Southern Employment Regimes
 - learn from the experience of more successful states
 - frame of orientation for pending reforms
 - but: known as particularly resistant to reform
- Open Questions
 - to what extent and by what means did the EES contribute to the modernization of the employment policies in these countries that have been reform resistant for such a long time
- Question
 - to what extent did the Continental and Southern European countries apply the concept of activation to their reforms between 2000 and 2005
 - by what kind of mechanisms the did the EES contribute to this change

LMP as Organizational Field

- Organizational fields
 - characterised by autonomous regulatory patterns
 - provide orientation for the actors in the field
 - organizations affiliated with the domestic regulatory system constitute an organizational field
 - based on interactions which are oriented towards each other according to their significance, sanctioning potential and power relations.
 - Labor Ministry
 - Social Partners
 - Regions
 - here national employment systems are reproduced in ways which are not identical.
- field of employment policy is embedded in various environments
 - diverse national environments
 - receives legitimacy, needs to fit into institutional complementarities
 - decisions have a direct influence.
 - European context

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analytical approach



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Hypotheses

- implications of this model
 - EES cannot directly steer domestic labor market policy
- Hypotheses
 - The activation model provided an important point of orientation for the national reform processes.*
 - The concepts of the EES are appropriated according to the existing institutional setting and thereby become re-interpreted.*
 - Domestic actors actively draw on European resources and appropriate them to the domestic institutional setting.*
 - Thus the concepts fostered by EES, as activation, take a different meaning in each country.*
 - This makes a path-dependent modernization more likely than radical path changes.*
 - The reforms inspired by EES do not overcome the specific social axis of labor market in- and exclusion within the domestic employment regimes.*

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Reforms in the three Countries, between 2000-2005

	biggest challenges	activation policy reforms	cornerstones
Germany	exclusion of -women -low qualified	Job-AQTIV (2001) HARTZ I-IV (2003-2005)	-reform of PES - organizational as well as in terms of eligibility -focus on employability -rights and duties for jobseekers
France	exclusion of -young people -migrants -low qualified -particularly in combination	PARE (2000) 'social cohesion plan' (2004)	insertion schemes -subsidizing employment -as means of social cohesion
Italy	exclusion of -women -young people -older workers -low qualified -regional disparities -social security	Biagi-laws (2002-2004)	-introducing a broad variety of precarious work contracts for fringe groups -as means of insertion radical reform of PES and LMP -complete regionalization, -no national co-ordination

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Reform Outcomes

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	major outcomes	LM-effects
Germany	-debate on LM participation of women - law for provision of childcare -new after-birth benefit system -ARGE -combining social and long term unemployment benefits -broad variety of individual LMP schemes	attempts to reduce gender specific segmentation persisting/increased segmentation between short and long term unemployed (qualified and low-qualified job-seekers)
France	-expanding the scope and streamlining the variety of programs for job insertion by state subsidies	new segmentation between continuously precarious 'insertion careers' and regular employment (along the 'old' lines)
Italy	-organizational and financial regionalization of PES and LMP -marginal employment contracts do not work as bridge in regular employment -no/little social benefit entitlements for marginal jobs	persisting/increasing regional disparities new/persisting segmentation between marginal and regular employment (along the 'old' lines)

The Use of EES in Germany

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	situation	key mechanisms	impact
ideas, concepts	window of opportunity (placement scandal, perception of policy failure), need for orientation in dynamic reform process	reference to individual EES guidelines -problem analysis and reform orientation by explicit reference in report of the Hartz-Commission	-change of preference in ministry -re-orientation towards a preventive and activating LMP
LMP schemes	dynamic reform process	many individual 'best practice examples' as a blueprint (e.g. one-stop-shop, profiling, job-rotation)	hard problems of implementation, many 'misfits'
power relations	- important role of LM department in ministry -in EES and domestic field -close, informal cooperation with social partners -resistance by 'provinces' ('Landkreise') and regions ('Länder')	-empowering LM department and regions -marginalizing municipalities and regions -'binding' social partners to European commitments	-threat of 'disembedding' the field of LMP from domestic context

The Use of EES in France

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	situation	key mechanisms	impact
ideas, concepts	referring to 'Europe ' not legitimate in domestic field 'You better don't mention Europe if you want to implement something'	no official reference to EES but re-interpretation of European leitmotif of activation	'flexicrité a la française' persisting idea of 'social cohesion'
LMP schemes	LM administration in search for better means to reach existing goals	strong use of 'best practice' examples as inspiration for domestic reforms	variety of new programs for job insertion
power relations	centralistic, etatistic administration -fragmentation of EES and domestic LMP competences -marginal role of social partners and regions in national LMP	strengthening the centralistic administrative co-ordination (SGAE)	threat of 'disembedding' central administration from domestic context

The Use of EES in Italy

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	situation	key mechanism	impact
ideas, concepts	realization of reform exigencies particularly for PES	strong orientation on EES goals due to ESF on regional level	new role of PES (starting in 1997)
LMP schemes	radical regionalization of PES and LMP, -no pre-existing LMP -missing financial resources on regional level	strong orientation on ESF funded schemes, financing PES reform	new training schemes (often as compensation for missing/low social benefits)
power relations	strong fragmentation - between government, administration, regions, social partners, -little co-operation -missing capacity of regions to cope with LMP and PES	ESF financing regional LMP and PES	strengthening local organizational capacities but little progress in the south

Conclusion: Domestic Impacts of EES

EES resources	Germany	France	Italy
ideas, concepts	re-orientation of LMP towards activation	persistence of 'flexicurité à la française'	little realization of exigency to reform LMP
LMP schemes	many implementation failures due to domestic veto-players and institutional 'misfit'	improving LMP schemes	'cherry picking', broad regional variety
power relations	strengthening co-ordinating role of LM department	strengthening inter-ministerial co-ordination body SGAE	enabling regional LMP and PES

Thank you for your attention and
your contributions in the discussion!